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ROSIE

THE INVESTIGATION OF A WRONGFUL DEATH

PAGE 13

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BOAT 0105

On April 4, 1979, Boat 0105 sailed from Vietnam into the South China Sea. Back Minh Chai, a 39-year-old former school teacher, said the engine stopped two days later. Boat 0105 bobbed through an overnight storm that left most of the people aboard terrified and sick. Some of their food and water was washed overboard.

The next morning another boat approached. The refugees wept and smiled, said Bao, until so did the crew of the other boat, who turned out to be Thais.

As soon as they detected our boat, they brought out a pistol and several knives, axes and screwdrivers. They took the men from the refugee boat into their own and took their watches and rings and the gold some of them had hidden in their clothing.

The Thais took necklaces, watches and rings from the women.

While several Thais guarded the men on their boat, six others took Vietnamese girls below the deck of 0105 where, as children and other women looked on, they raped them. Then the Thai guards on the other boat switched places with those on 0105 and the acts were repeated.

It was the first of 23 boardings by Thai fishermen-turned-pirates as boat 0105 floundered helplessly with an engine that would not run.

Freighters passed, but they were always too far away and never stopped. After the sixth day people started dying. There was no more fresh water. Food was all but exhausted. The first to die was an infant, then the elderly and young children.

They threw their dead overboard with enough regularity to attract a constant escort of sharks.

On April 27, a small Malaysian fishing boat towed them to the Malaysian coast, where they were held in a camp until June 27, when they were put out to sea. □

WE PAY MORE AS . . . GAS PROFITS SOAR!

The price of gas is now over a dollar a gallon in many areas of the country. In some, it is up to \$1.50.

And Jimmy Carter and his economic advisors want us to blame ourselves—from the gas lines to the recession—on the Arabs.

The facts, however, are different.

BONANZA

The American oil monopolies have reaped fabulous profits as oil prices have been driven up and up.

According to the Wall Street Journal (July 24), the oil companies have received a "bonanza of profits" in the second quarter of this year.

Profits jumped in the April through June period—while you were waiting in the gas lines—from 80% for the Ashland Oil Company to 20% for Exxon, the top company.

Texaco's net income rose 105%. Gulf's by 65%. In the first half of 1979, profits for the 22 largest United States oil companies were up 63% to \$5.2 billion, according to the American Petroleum Institute.

The top four companies (Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California) also happen to be partners in the Arabian American Oil Company, Aramco, which accounts for almost all the oil production in Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter.

The Saudi government raised the prices of its oil exports by 42% since the end of last year. This increase is, however, smaller—by some \$2 to \$3 a barrel—than the increases of other OPEC countries.

The four largest American companies, however, have charged the same price for oil products as their competitors—companies using higher priced crude.

HUGE

The result, according to the Wall Street Journal: "The lower cost of Saudi oil is resulting in huge incremental profits for the companies involved in Aramco."

Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO), another industry leader, is not significantly affected by OPEC prices. Yet SOHIO reaped 70% profits in the second quarter—up to \$201 million—based on production in Alaska.

One analyst, Constantine Fliakos, an oil specialist for Wall Street's Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, has argued that the OPEC nations were in fact caught surprised by the profits explosion.

When the oil companies began to capitalize on the buyers' market which developed during the shut-offs in Iran, and when the buyers began to bid up the price of refined products,



Detroit auto workers face mass layoffs

OPEC was left behind.

"You had the unusual situation of OPEC being the laggard," says Fliakos. "OPEC looked at the situation and asked, 'Why should we let them make all the money?'"

SYSTEM

The real problem is not OPEC. It is the existence of a system of production and distribution which is geared, not to satisfying

needs, but to maximizing profit margins. This is how the oil monopolies have been able to take all of us for a ride. This is why they are now pushing up the price of home heating fuel beyond the reach of millions. The real villains are not the "greedy Saudis" of the Middle East—they sit tight here at home—in the board rooms of Wall Street. □

Oil Companies: Second Quarter Results

Company	Revenue	Net Income	Net Income Percent Change From '78
Exxon	\$14,614,000,000	\$800,000,000	+ 20.3
Mobil	13,800,000,000	404,000,000	+ 37.8
Texaco	8,522,000,000	365,400,000	+ 132.1
Standard Oil (Calif.)	7,000,000,000	412,000,000	+ 69.0
Gulf	6,108,000,000	291,000,000	+ 65.3
Standard Oil (Ind.)	4,600,000,000	401,200,000	+ 36.4
ARCO	1,731,485,000	260,400,000	+ 23.5
Shell	3,500,000,000	277,000,000	+ 54.7
Conoco	3,000,000,000	215,000,000	+ 67.4
Sun Company	2,500,000,000	158,500,000	+ 56.8
Phillips Petroleum	2,100,000,000	214,600,000	+ 44.0
Union Oil	1,866,300,000	128,200,000	+ 48.0
Standard Oil (Ohio)	1,800,000,000	201,400,000	+ 70.1
Marathon Oil	1,590,000,000	84,800,000	+ 67.8
Cities Service	1,486,000,000	75,700,000	+ 30.5
Gulftex Oil	1,150,000,000	139,500,000	+ 148.1
Pennzoil	480,200,000	52,000,000	+ 89.9

VICTORY IN NICARAGUA p. 7

(See pages 10 and 11 for a feature article on the the causes of the boat people.)

CHRYSLER TO CLOSE DODGE MAIN

The U.A.W.'s once famous Detroit Local 3 to be liquidated

by JOHN ANDERSON

In little more than five years the work force at Chrysler's Dodge main plant has been cut from over 18,000 to less than 6,000. Now it has been

announced that this plant will be closed in the summer of 1980.

Dodge Local 3 was the spearhead in organizing the

auto industry. In October, 1936, a threat to strike the plant gained seniority rights for the workers in this plant. The Dodge flying squadron played an important role in the winning of union bargaining rights for the Kelsey Hayes workers in December, 1936. It participated in many a battle in the formative years of the UAW.

LEADERS

Richard T. Frankenstein, the Probe boys, Pat Patrick, Pat Quinn and Mike Novak, important leaders of the UAW, came from Dodge Local 3. When Frankenstein bowed out of the UAW in 1946, Local 3 became a stronghold of Reuther forces.

In recent years it produced such radical groups as the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement—DRUM—but it was short-lived.

For some time Dodge main has no longer been the stronghold of Polish Catholics. Large numbers of women, blacks and Arabs have been manning the Dodge production lines.

Dodge main is six stories high covering about 40 acres.

It is over 60 years old. The Company claims it takes too much energy to heat this building. It is inefficient to operate. A corporation on the verge of bankruptcy feels compelled to abandon the plant.

To abandon this plant means to liquidate Dodge Local 3. It means to uproot the lives of 6,000 workers. Although these people have devoted their lives to the service of the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW, neither have a satisfactory answer to the workers' problems.

ANSWER

On July 18, upwards of 1,000 UAW members demonstrated in front of the Chrysler headquarters in Highland Park. Officers of Dodge Local 3, the Regional Director and Douglas Fraser spoke to the rally. None of them had a clear answer to the workers' problems.

The closing of this plant and the liquidation of UAW Local 3 has become a traumatic experience for the UAW. It will live through this amputation, but faith in the bureaucracy will be severely tried. □

"It made my blood run cold"

MIDDLETOWN, OH—35 sheet covered racists, supported by some 400 racists in street clothes, met in this Armco steel town in southwestern Ohio on July 22.

The Klansmen chanted, "White Power—Death to Niggers," and burned a twenty-foot cross. "It made my blood run cold," said an anti-Klan demonstrator. "The sheets, the hoods, the burning cross, it was a frightening spectacle," said another.

OPPOSED

But the racists were opposed by nearly a hundred counter-demonstrators, mostly black youth from Middle-

town, but also contingents from Columbus and Dayton. Outnumbered, the demonstrators were not intimidated.

They shouted "Death to the Klan, scum of the land," and promised to be back in larger numbers when the Klan holds another rally, promised for October.

The Klan predicted that 2,000 people would attend its cross burning, but managed fewer than 500. Anti-Klan organizers are already preparing for the October rally, where they hope to out-number the Klan and "get on to the business of smashing the Klan." □

by CONNIE COKER

UMWA: BILL LAMB LOSES, MILLER FADES

BECKLEY, W.VA.—The International Executive Board (IEB) of the United Mine Workers Union has again refused to reinstate Bill Lamb, the board representative from Ohio who has twice been elected by miners to represent District 6.

The Board upheld Lamb's suspension 18 to 1. Bob Long, the delegate from District 1, was the only representative to support Lamb. He was beaten up for doing this.

ATTACK

The day before the vote, two employees of the union, Everett Accord and Jonathon Williams attacked Long without provocation. A cashier at the restaurant nearby testified that she overheard them plan the attack.

Bill Lamb was elected to Ohio and West Virginia to handle miners one and a half years ago. He was removed from the board by UMW president Arnold Miller in August, 1977. He was reelected in March, 1978.

The board has charged Lamb with misconduct. The fact is that he represents the last outspoken opposition to the leadership of the union. He was also a leader in opposition to the settlement of the 1978 national miners' strike. He fought to stay out for a better contract.

The UMW today is in shambles. It has built up a deficit of \$800,000 in the first five months of this year alone. President Arnold Miller has become a non-entity. He appeared at the Beckley meeting only once, wandering silent through, looking pale and drawn.

The effective leaders of the union, though they are effective only for themselves, are Sam Church, the vice-president and old Boyle supporter from Virginia, and Frank Clements, the new "Chief of Staff"—who has just been assigned to the leadership of the union with "unlimited powers."

OPPOSITION

Rank and file miners are disorganized, and weakened by layoffs throughout the eastern coalfields—nearly 5,000 in District 29 in southern West Virginia, 2,000 in central West Virginia, and 2,000 in Ohio.

"The companies want us as weak as possible—before the coal boom begins," according to one Ohio oppositionist. But there are still efforts to organize an opposition, as West Virginia miners are planning a meeting in Charleston next month to coordinate plans for the UMW convention—planned for December in Denver.



FLOC members Joe Velasquez and Ray Santiago

TOLEDO, OHIO—The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) is gearing up for a renewed strike against the Campbell and Libby companies in the tomato fields of Northwestern Ohio.

FLOC, which has about 3,500 members, struck last year at harvest time, and hopes to win the strike this year. The tomato crop ripens in mid-August, and FLOC pickets hope to stop the harvest. Workers come to Ohio from as far away as Florida and Texas for the harvest.

FLOC is also holding its National Convention in August—in Holgate, Ohio, on August 4. Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers (UFW) will address the convention.

Support for the strike is welcome. FLOC is already boycotting all Campbell and Libby products. Contributions can be sent to: FLOC, 714½ South St. Clair, Toledo, OH 43609.



There is plenty of oil

by AHMED SHAWKI

Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

President Carter's energy revelations are quite simple. Americans are using too much oil.

There was simply not enough oil to go around, so everyone will have to tighten their belts, grin and bear it.

The other "leaders" of the major powers have come up with the same "answer."

They are gearing up for a massive assault on workers' living standards.

Although a recession was underway before the oil crisis, they are using it as an excuse to attack standards of living. Their arguments are rubbish.

There is a small oil shortage—between 1 and 2%.

WAIT

It could be easily solved if the major oil companies—the Seven Sisters—supplied it. Instead they are withholding oil from the market waiting for the price to go through the roof.

After 1974, the price of oil actually dropped in relation to the prices of other goods.

According to the Financial Times, it rose by 16% in five years while the cost of goods imported by the oil producers rose by at least 50%.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) increased their prices to close the gap.

But the Arab oil producers are not to blame for the spectacular rise in gasoline prices—nor are "greedy" American motorists.

The Arabs are a convenient scapegoat for our rulers and the press.

And far from being the cause of the oil shortage, American workers have been

among the hardest hit, with gas lines up to three hours long.

According to a Gallop Poll, 77% of Americans do not believe the energy crisis is real.

BLAME

They blame the long lines and the increases on profit-hungry oil companies, their own government or even both working together.

Their disbelief is well founded.

When the price of oil dropped between 1974 and 1978, the oil companies decided to increase production only slightly.

They didn't want too much oil on the market because it would have brought prices—and profits—down.

With the slight shortage which followed the Iranian revolution, they were unwilling to meet the increased need.

This has meant shortages for us, and spectacular profits for them.

In the first four months of this year, profits of the 23 largest oil companies in the United States went up 58%. Exxon's—the largest of the Seven Sisters—have gone up 44%.

Far from easing the oil shortage, the United States government has made things worse.

Neither Arabs nor American workers are to blame for the shortage.

The oil companies are largely responsible—along with a world capitalist system based on profit.

There is plenty of oil which could be made available. The OPEC countries could in-

crease production but are keeping the oil in the ground.

Mexico could produce nearly as much oil as Saudi Arabia—but it is not.

SIMPLE

Alaska, as a leading oil geologist put it, is the juiciest piece of real estate in the world—but the oil is hardly being produced.

It is estimated that the Soviet Union has up to a third of the world's oil but that, too, is being kept in the ground.

The technology to increase output from existing wells by half exists but is laying idle.

The reason is simple. The oil companies do not want more oil on the market because they want prices and profits high.

The countries with oil—from the United States to Russia—would prefer to keep oil in the ground and watch the prices go up.

There would be plenty to go around—if the parasites who control it were removed. □

OHIO ABORTION DEFEAT

COLUMBUS, OH—Ohio's state legislature have passed an amendment to the state budget bill which is one of the most vicious anti-abortion laws ever.

The bill states that no federal funds will be used to perform or promote abortions unless 2 doctors testify in writing that it will prevent the death of the mother. If the woman has been raped, she must report the rape within 48 hours. If the woman is physically unable to report the rape, again two doctors must testify to this in writing. Finally funds will not be provided except in the case where a pregnancy is a result of incest, but again, the assault must be reported.

What this bill will mean for Ohio women is that federal funds can be denied agencies such as Planned Parenthood, family planning, mental health and retardation clinics. Women will be denied abortions even when it has been medically proven that the fetus is malformed or carrying immediately fatal diseases, such as Tay Sachs. □

FIGHTING WORDS

"That man over there says that women need to be placed into carriages and lifted over ditches and they have the best place everywhere.

"Nobody ever helps me into carriages and over puddles and gives me the best place. And ain't I a woman?"

"Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns and no man could head me and ain't I a woman!"

"I could work as much and eat as much as any man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman!"

"I have born thirteen children and seen most of them sold into slavery and when I cried out with my mother's grief none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman!"

Sojourner Truth
Akron, Ohio, 1851

And they say this system isn't crazy

The senate has voted to cut Amtrak passenger service by 20%. Despite all the talk about conserving energy, and despite the fact that in the past year there has been a big increase in rail traffic, Amtrak will shrink again.

PROTECT

Jimmy Carter wanted bigger cuts. He called for 43% reductions. The only thing that saved what's left of Am-

trak, according to Washington, D.C. political gossips, is the fact that several powerful senators protected lines in their states.

The United States already has by far the worst rail service of any industrial nation. Many major cities have no service at all. And now there will be less.

Makes no sense? Why not develop a national mass transportation network and vastly

reduce dependency on oil? That would be the rational thing to do.

RATIONAL

The point is capitalism is not rational. Profits are the priority, and today there are no profits to be made by providing good mass transportation.

In the meantime, the rich will travel by jet. The rest of us can save our gas to get to work. □

NUKE PROTESTS MARK BOMBING

SEABROOK, NH—3,000 people attended an energy fair in protest to the construction of the Seabrook nuclear power plant on July 21 and 22. There were a number of speakers, workshops and music as part of the action.

The Seabrook action is one of the many to be held around the country.

The bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 is to be marked by protests against both nuclear power and nuclear weapons. There will be protest actions on the 4th of August in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Milwaukee and Philadelphia, and on the 5th in Berkeley, New Haven, New York and Toledo. Be there! □

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"Let's stop the nukes ourselves"

AMHERST, MA—The Student Coalition Against Nukes (SCANN) met here on July 21st for its first organizers meeting.

The conference was excellent. 75 people attended, representing 15 colleges and three high schools. The conference was action oriented. Discussions were held on organizing, structure, relating to other no nuke groups and fall plans.

Many delegates felt SCANN had to become an outgoing organization, based on militant opposition to nukes, if it was to be successful.

The conference also discussed the plans of the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, a part of the Clamshell Alliance, to occupy the Seabrook plant in October. After a debate on the prospect of a strong turnout, SCANN officially endorsed the occupa-

tion.

With the slogan, "No more accidents, let's close the nukes ourselves," the coalition hopes to step up the ten-year struggle against the Seabrook nuke.

Maureen Blasco, a coalition member, told Socialist Worker, "We are organizing to mobilize thousands of people. We plan to use flexible tactics to get onto the site. The key to our strategy will be contingen-

cy plans worked out by affinity groups before the occupation."

Danny Gindes, also of the coalition, said, "The attempts by the oil companies in cahoots with the government to manipulate the public with another energy shortage forces us to fight to show concretely that people can regain control over their lives."

by KENT WORCESTER

ATOMS
FOR
CAKE???

FRIT-UM
SPELLS

DEATH

CLOSE
THE
NUCLEAR
ATOMS



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA



photo by Mark Shaub

REPORT SHOWS LITTLE PROGRESS

The economic gap between blacks and whites in the United States is widening.

This is the conclusion of a new report, just published by the National Urban League.

"In 1975," according to the report, "the black unemployment rate (13.9%) was 1.8 times higher than the white jobless rate (7.8%)."

WIDEST

"By 1978, the black jobless rate (11.9%) was 2.3 times greater than the white jobless rate (5.2%)—the widest ever since the Department of Labor began recording job statistics by race."

The report also showed that "between 1975 and 1977, while the number of poor white families decreased by 8% (from 3.8 to 3.5 million) the number of poor black families increased by 8% (from 1.5 to 1.6 million)."

The increase in poverty among blacks "was primarily concentrated among families headed by black women—who have experienced the sharpest decline in employment opportunities."

The Urban League also con-

cluded that economic recessions have been particularly hard on blacks, and that five national recessions in the last 25 years have helped widen the economic gap.

"Before blacks had a chance to recover from one recession," according to League researchers, "they were subjected to another." The recessions of 1953-54, 1957-58, 1960-61, 1969-1971 and 1974-1975 all cost blacks some of the economic advances they had made during periods of prosperity.

The report concluded by taking exception to some government reports that "blacks have made enormous and extraordinary progress."

JOBS

Blacks continue to face discrimination in every walk of life. They face severely restricted opportunities. Of the 3.5 million new jobs in industry opened between 1974 and 1977, blacks received only about 5%. Blacks can expect the new economic recession to make their situation even worse.



The new coat of paint that Jimmy Carter applied to his administration this July is cracking from the heat of

economic and energy problems, while blistering from pre-election tensions within his staff and cabinet.

Jimmy Carter is cracking; he is a desperate politician. Gas lines, inflation and the newly declared recession have made him one of the least popular presidents, and next year is an election year. Political survival dictated brushing on the gloss, so Carter dipped deeply into the bucket for his televised energy speech.

"MALAISE"

A "Malaise of the spirit" is haunting America, intoned the president as he called for it to be overcome by patriotic self sacrifice. The policy points of the speech gave Carter the chance to use his new platform gestures of fist-clenching and arm-waving designed by his advisers to show assertiveness and leadership.

Carter's new style was the covering for an energy policy based on Nixon's old concept of energy self-sufficiency. The devil in the energy crisis is supposed to be OPEC. To end the threat of foreign oil, Carter proposes a synthetic fuel program, increased use of coal, and, in a Kansas City speech the next day—more nukes.

This acceptance of the environmentally damaging program of the Energy Industry was softened politically by increased financial support for solar power and mass transit. The windfall profits tax on Big Oil is supposed to finance the package.

Jimmy Carter cracks

by PAT MORGAN

The tax is represented by Carter as an attack on the unpopular oil industry, but what the administration takes away, it also gives back. Big Oil is big coal, nukes, synthetic fuels, and much of solar power conglomerated into a few large energy monopolies.

In spite of the policies, Carter's assertive new style went over and his standing in the polls increased—for two days, until the new popularity of leadership and the unpopularity of government inspired the purge of half the cabinet. Carter's purpose was the conversion of the White House into a campaign organization for next year's election.

QUESTIONS

The display of political ruthlessness over-shadowed the success of the energy speech and Carter is again on the defensive. The firing of the Secretaries of Energy, Defense, HEW and Transportation raise all the old questions about Carter's presidential abilities. His approval rating in the polls is 32%. The reaction of the international money markets to the whole train of events was a run on the dollar. The stock market fell. Confidence in the new Carter was short lived.

But confidence is the name of the game for politicians. The hand that mixed the paint that Carter applied to himself and the White House belongs

to presidential pollster, Pat Caddell.

Carter, on Caddell's advice, was engaging in presidential public relations—telling the people what they want to hear while doing what they don't want done. Carter's problem is his job, conning us into accepting lower living standards, higher gas prices and handouts to big business.

WORSE

Fired Energy Czar, James Schlesinger, defined the job as putting over a "revolution of declining expectations" in his letter of resignation. Carter at the Camp David summer said, "I think it's inevitable that it's going to get worse in '80 than it was in '79 and it will get worse in '81 than in '80. The only trend is downward. But it's been impossible to get people to face up to this."

Carter and the other politicians have no solutions to inflation, energy, or the growing recession. All they are willing to do is paint over the problems. Sooner or later the paint wears thin.

Carter follows in office a crook and a fool. Waiting in the wings are the hero of Chappaquiddick, a California tokenist, and a retired actor. After 1980 there will probably be a new face in the White House. As Carter fades from office, only his smile remains... and a mouth full of sharp teeth.

UPS, Teamsters fire stewards

CHICAGO, IL—United Parcel Service (UPS) and the Teamsters Union have conspired to fire two union stewards, Calvin Hudson of Dayton, Ohio, and Michele Hobart of Denver, Colorado.

Both are members of UPSurge, and both were active in the fight for a good contract, when the UPS national contract expired this year. Both lost their grievances at the national grievances panel in Chicago, when the union representatives voted against them.

Hudson, a black package car steward, was fired for an "avoidable accident". He did less than \$20 damage to some low-hanging wires in a driveway. He didn't even consider it an accident. He had eleven years seniority at UPS—until he was fired.

Hobart, a part-time steward in Denver, was fired for attendance "discrepancies". She was charged with 21 various attendance infractions and fired, even though there are two part-timers on her shift who are each working with 32 discrepancies.

She also believes she has been fired because of her union and UPSurge activities. "It happened once I got active," she told Socialist Worker.

"But I thought I had my job back for sure when I went to Chicago. So did the company. They couldn't believe it when the union voted against us."

Hobart says the union is giving its stewards a message. Don't join UPSurge, not if you want a job. "They're also saying the same thing to Tom Bernard. He's on his own as far as grievances go."

Tom Bernard was recently elected to the Board of Trustees of Denver local 435, and then made a business agent. He's a supporter of UPSurge as well.

UNION

Both stewards plan to continue the fight to get their jobs back. Hobart is sure she can prove a case of victimization—she was fired for protected union activities.

Send messages of support to UPSurge, P.O. Box 18213, Cleveland, OH. 44118

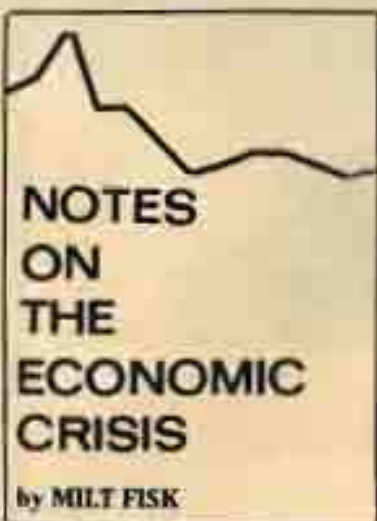
1980: A MILLION MORE UNEMPLOYED

People are puzzled by the headlines about a downswing in the economy. Most of them never knew there was an upswing. Their incomes buy less each year, and good jobs didn't get any easier to find once employment picked up a bit after 1976.

The downswing is expected to put a million more people out of work by 1980. It will make it tougher to get wage increases, even though inflation will continue to run around 10% for the next year. The boss can always appeal to the pool of unemployed to face down wage demands.

CLEAR

The signs of the recession are clear. In the second quarter of 1979, the Gross National Product took a nosedive, falling at an annual rate of 3.3%. Sales were off sharply, they



were down 4.5% compared with the first quarter. As a result inventories of goods are piling up even though less is being produced, with industrial capacity down to 85% utilization. The big drop in auto sales in June led to a build-up

of unsold cars and sent shivers through the auto production centers of the nation.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman G. William Miller blamed it all on the OPEC price hikes. But he has been busy himself encouraging recession with higher and higher interest rates. Miller's hope of combatting inflation with tight money has proved groundless.

CYCLE

Economist Arthur M. Okun got to the nature of the downturn when he said, "What we are seeing is not just an energy spasm but a real turn in the business cycle." After all, OPEC has contributed at most one-fourth to the rise in gas prices since January. And even the remaining three-quarters of the rise in gas prices due to the oil corporations was at best the spark

that was finally thrown on the tinder. The recessionary pressures have been building for some time.

Michael Blumenthal, who will be followed at the Treasury Department by Miller, said, "We need a slowdown and we're getting it in the right way." Business needed the slowdown, and Carter and Miller helped them get it. They feared an offensive from labor while their profit margins were slim due to the last decade of unbroken stagnation. The dollar amount of profits keeps going up, but these inflated figures have yet to improve the ratio of return to investment across industry.

In this situation, business feared that labor would try to make up for a deteriorating standard of living with big wage gains. This would have been disastrous for the health

of capitalist business. With the aid of Carter's wage-price guidelines and of Miller's high interest rates, business got its wish. Demand has fallen off and the next step is a wave of layoffs.

BURDEN

The federal deficit will grow with less tax revenue and more welfare payments. But that will just have to be the price of keeping labor from upsetting the apple cart. Anyway, labor will get the burden of the deficit through higher taxes when the recession is over.

It is easy to see why the government gets blamed for all of this. After all, it has worked for it diligently. But it is not the government that is running the economy; it is the goals of business that are running the government.

The rise of Stalin's dictatorship

The defeat of the German revolution early in 1919 emphasized the need for an effective revolutionary international and a decisive break with the unreliable 'independent' and 'centrist' leaders.

The Communist International held its founding conference in Moscow in March, 1919. Within three years it had gained the support of mass Communist parties in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and some smaller European countries, on the basis of an uncompromising internationalist and revolutionary programme.

CRISIS

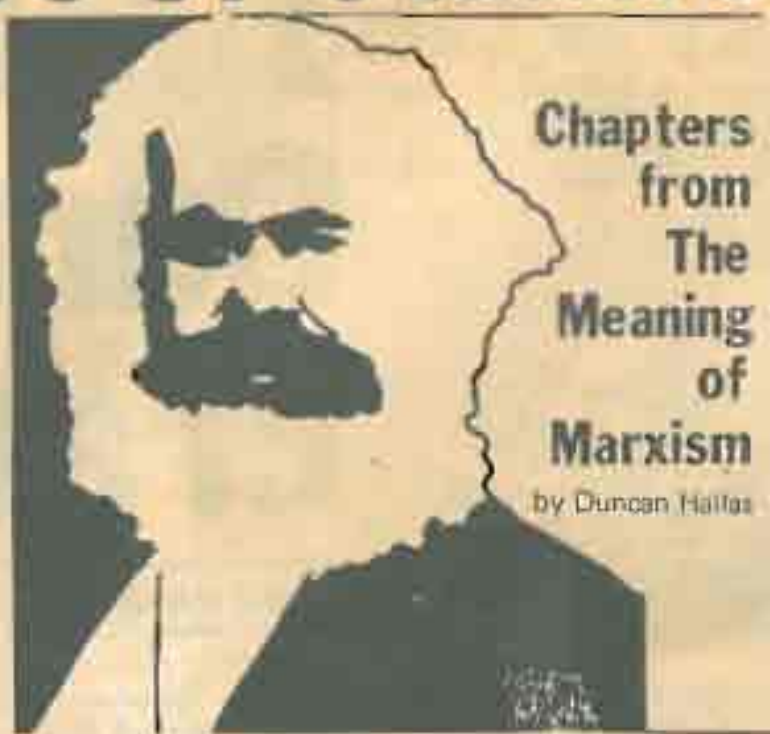
Unfortunately by that time the crisis had passed, European capitalism had been temporarily stabilized and the Soviets outside Russia destroyed. But the next crisis would, it was hoped, find well-established revolutionary parties with a strong working-class base.

Yet the Communist International was inevitably critically influenced by what happened in Russia. And by 1921 the Russian Soviet regime was facing a desperate situation.

The long term outcome of that crisis was to demoralize and ultimately destroy the international and to paralyze the working-class movement for half a century.

The end of the civil war left the Soviet government isolated in a hostile world and isolated also from the mass of the Russian people—the peasants.

So long as there was a real



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

danger that the Tsarist landowners might be restored, large sections of the peasantry supported the Bolsheviks. Once this danger had passed they became actively hostile to a government that had been driven to rely on forced requisitioning of grain to feed the cities.

"The entire system rests on the discipline of the party, on organized famine in the cities, on requisitions in the country," wrote the communist Victor Serge.

The rising of the sailors in Kronstadt and, even more ominous, the strikes in support of it showed that the re-

gime was losing working class support, too. It was becoming a dictatorship not of but over the peasantry and the remnants of the working class.

CONSEQUENCES

Reactionaries argue that this was the inevitable consequence of the 'original sin' of revolution. Some people on the left, who ought to know better, argue that it was due to the ruthlessness of Lenin and the existence of a disciplined party.

This is rubbish. The essence of the matter has been stated by Marx 60 years earlier. "If the working class destroys the political rule of the capitalist,

that will only be a temporary victory... so long as the material conditions are not yet created which make necessary the abolition of the capitalist mode of production."

On an all-European scale, these conditions had been created, in Russia by itself they had not. This was well understood by the founders of the Communist movement.

Since there has been so much misrepresentation of this basic truth, it is necessary to emphasize it. Speaking at the third Congress of the Communist International, Lenin stated: "It was clear to us that without the aid from the international world revolution, a victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. Even prior to the revolution, as well as after it, we thought that the revolution would occur either immediately or at least very soon in other backward countries and in the more highly developed capitalist countries, otherwise we would perish. Notwithstanding this conviction, we did our utmost to preserve the Soviet system, under any circumstances and at all costs, because we know we are working not only for ourselves, but also for the international revolution."

SABOTAGE

In the event the renegade leaders of the social democratic parties succeeded, in the critical year 1919, in sabotaging what would otherwise have been successful revolutions in several European countries.

The Soviet regime—the rule of the working class through democratically controlled workers' councils—did indeed perish. But there was no restoration of the Tsarist landlords and capitalists.

Instead a system still called itself a "Soviet Socialist Republic," but in fact a totalitarian dictatorship, developed in Russia. It is not possible here to trace the struggles that led to the rise of Stalinism. But the effect of this development on the Communist International changed the whole course of events outside Russia.

The parties of the Communist International contained the cream of the working class. In their early years these parties were far from being subservient to Moscow. In 1923 the French and Polish parties had protested vigorously against the attacks of the Russian bureaucracy—the Stalin faction—on the Communist opposition in the USSR. But with the receding of the revolutionary mood in Europe the parties became more attached to the one surviving "Soviet" regime and more dependent on it. Advice from Moscow became the most important source of their political ideas.

Increasingly the Russian bureaucracy, which dominated the executive of the International, began to interfere with the internal life of the parties. Telegrams from the executive became more frequent.

A wit described the CP in the U.S. in the mid-twenties as "suspended by wires from Moscow." The Stalinists used genuine political disputes within the movement to promote leaders for whom the decision of Moscow was final. Gradually the more independent leaders and the more serious Marxists were eliminated.

The policies that Stalin and his colleagues pressed on the Communist International were partly determined by the factional struggles inside the Russian party—until 1925 when Stalin became the supreme boss—and partly by the requirements of Russian foreign policy.

DEFEATS

In the middle-twenties semi-reformist tactics were adopted and they led to a number of avoidable defeats. Most spectacular was the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1926-27.

Stalin urged the Chinese CP to "unite" with the Kuomintang—the party of Chinese capitalism. The Kuomintang was to be pushed into power and the Communists were to curb the violent risings of workers and peasants in the interest of "national unity." Chiang Kai-shek was actually made an "honorary member" of the executive of the International.

The results of this adventure were the smashing of the Chinese revolution and the creation of a right-wing military dictatorship under "Comrade" Chiang. Worse was to come. The German party, the strongest in the international and with it the whole German working class movement, was to be led to catastrophic defeat. The consequence was the victory of fascism in Germany.

Rocky Mountain Hog

John Denver is certainly sitting high in his Colorado home. He was recently the target of protesters who objected to Denver installing a 4,000 gallon gasoline storage tank at his home in Old Snowmass—also ordering three 2,000 gallon tanks.

People objected to Denver singing about the environment while hoarding gas. They threw rocks across the road next to his house.

On workers' control in East Germany: A communist Party boss has recently discovered that there is something "fundamentally wrong with Marxism."

"Karl Marx did not foresee that fulfilling the needs of the masses in socialism was not enough to motivate people to continue working hard.

"The way I see it now, socialism lacks the motivating forces that still make capitalism work."

A Federal District judge has blocked the scheduled mailing of 300,000 notices to former servicemen.

The notices warn the veterans of possible health hazards resulting from exposure to radioactivity in nuclear bomb testing.

The judge blocked the mailing after the Defense Department refused to delete two paragraphs which attempt to dissuade the servicemen from seeking medical attention.



By PATRICIA GILMAN



"Here's Anastasio, now, Reza, let's find a fourth for Risk."

AND NOW GET READY FOR THE ENERGY GLUT

"Right now, there is no shortage of oil," says Paul H. Frankel, chairman of Petroleum Economics, Ltd., a London based consulting group. "And if the world moves into a recession as expected, there will be an energy glut."

U.S. businessmen are worried that the energy surplus will strengthen the public's belief that the crisis was a hoax and that this

will "lessen the nation's resolve to solve the problem."

"What will be the attitude of the public?" wonders Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., chairman of Exxon Corp. "They may say, 'hey, you told this to us once before,' because we told them we didn't have enough oil and then they read about what was called an oil glut."

Nicaragua: the dream come true

Can workers and peasants seize and hold power or will a new ruling class emerge? The next few months will be of tremendous importance in answering this question.

The task of the left of the Sandinistas will be to defend the achievements of the past years of fighting, and to build a revolutionary workers' party capable of providing the only alternative for the masses of Nicaraguans—socialism.

Here Neil Smith recounts the story of the Sandinista struggle and their victory. □



After 46 years of brutal, dictatorial rule by the Somoza family, a mass popular uprising led by the Sandinista revolutionaries has brought freedom within the grasps of the Nicaraguan people.

At 2 o'clock in the morning, July 17th, the widely hated Anastasia Somoza was forced to flee Nicaragua for Miami.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, July 19th, Sandinista revolutionaries and their Provisional Government marched triumphantly into Managua, the capital.

DREAM

What the Nicaraguan people had dreamed of, worked for, and eventually died for, had, after 46 years, come true. Managua was not the only city celebrating, nor was Nicaragua the only country.

Throughout South and Central America—in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Panama—jubilant socialists gathered to celebrate the victory in the Nicaraguan revolution. For the struggle demanded not only a unified and costly fight by the Nicaraguan people; it also required substantial international socialist support for the Sandinistas.

The United States installed the Somoza regime in the 1930s. In a classic piece of "gunboat democracy" they sent Marines to "stabilize" the country in 1933.

But then, as now, "Stabilization" really means imperialism. By the end of 1977, U.S. companies had a cool \$160 million invested in Nicaragua, and to assist in continued "stabilization," the U.S. government gave Somoza \$20 million in direct military aid between 1975 and 1978 alone.

Sound familiar?—Iran? Dominican Republic? Chile? Panama? Batista's Cuba? This is the United States' traditional strategy for maintaining stability in the world capitalist economy—capitalist stability. And who gains from this stability?



Triumphant freedom fighters

Certainly not the Nicaraguan workers who were consistently jailed, tortured, and shot by Somoza's National Guard for trying to organize or go on strike.

Certainly not the peasants whose land was expropriated (often by Somoza himself) and who were left starving with no means to make their living.

Certainly not the 30,000 Nicaraguan peasants and workers (1.3% of the population) who were murdered in the last 18 months by the National Guard. The U.S. is clearly concerned about the human rights of some people more than others.

The U.S. only officially halted arms shipments to Somoza in February, 1979, but huge quantities already in the pipeline were still reaching Managua three months later.

And when the National Guard ran low on ammunition in June, 1979, the U.S. came quietly to their aid. Several eyewitness accounts from Managua describe seeing U.S. Air Force planes unloading military equipment as late as July 8th.

Publicly, of course, the U.S. government was saying that Somoza ought to go.

What the U.S. clearly wanted was that the National Guard remained intact but that Somoza left—Somozism without Somoza. They wanted a sympathetic right-wing regime, not a Sandinista controlled army once Somoza left.

They even tried to buy off the Sandinistas by promising them reconstruction aid if they would include more "moderates" (American for "businessmen") in the Provisional government. Checkbook democracy, this time, rather than the gunboat version.

Not that they didn't try the gunboat version.

In the early days of July the entire canal fleet was put on alert, and a small force of marines went into Costa Rica and began setting up sophisticated communications equipment at the Nicaraguan border.

TEST

This was designed to test the water for direct intervention, but when massive demonstrations in Costa Rica obliged the Costa Rican Congress to order the marines out, the U.S. realized direct intervention was not on.

The U.S. was impotent in Nicaragua. Throughout the final offensive, from May to July, 1979, the Sandinistas grew in strength. They forced Somoza to leave, and they defeated and destroyed the National Guard. And they are busy trying to create a new kind of stability in Nicaragua—one where the people are fed, not shot, free not oppressed. Capitalist stability benefits only the capitalist class.

CRISIS

But as the revolution in Nicaragua and the economic crisis back in the U.S. both show, capitalism can't keep itself stable any more.

President Anastasia Somoza owned 20% of Nicaragua's landed property; his business empire was worth an incredible \$500 million; the country's National Guard was his own personal army; he had the military, economic and political support of the mighty United States.

All of that came ultimately to nothing, however, when the Nicaraguan people organized themselves into a revolutionary movement. □



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

IRAN: KHOMEINI FACES CRISIS

by COLIN SPARKS

In Iran today the Khomeini government has:

- begun to re-establish military discipline in the army;
- clamped down on the minority nationalities who make up half of Iran's population. Under the Draft Constitution they will be given no rights to run their own affairs;

- refused to allow free elections for an Assembly to draft a new Constitution. Only a select group of politicians, religious leaders and businessmen will have any say in its shape;

- started another attack on women's rights.

HOUSING

There are four million unemployed in Iran. Another four million are underemployed. Only 10 per cent of industry is operating. Workers who are still employed are well organized.

One local businessman lamented, "One hundred per cent wage increase demands are not unusual. In addition, workers want housing, more meal allowances, longer vacations, profit sharing and say they want to run the company. If the labor force remains in a state of rebellion like this, its going to sink a lot of companies".

BOSSSES

The new rulers are not united. Bazargan's government is dominated by the big bosses and Khomeini is supported by thousands of bazaar merchants and small businessmen.

More serious are the demands of the nationalities. The Kurds have a history of struggle for national rights. They have captured large quantities of weapons when the Shah was overthrown.

Arabic-speaking workers in the Gulf have power. Vital oil exports depend on them. An alliance between workers and national minorities could tear the regime apart.

A struggle for national rights in Iran would spread to the surrounding countries. From Tehran to Washington, the ruling class cannot yet sleep easy in their beds.

1919: the re

“Black power, black pride, black organization, armed self-defense of the black community”

The summer of 1919 was the bloodiest in the history of racist violence in the United States.

But the summer of 1919 also marked the beginning of the modern revolutionary black nationalist movement—a movement which defended itself from racist attacks, a movement which stood for black power, black pride and black self-determination—a movement which identified with the Russian revolution and the struggles of oppressed people shaking off colonial rule.

WAR

The summer of 1919 was called the “Red Summer.” Race war raged from May to September, 1919. Over 500 blacks were killed—thousands wounded.

There were riots in 25 cities, with major riots in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and Elaine, Arkansas. There were hundreds of brief interracial clashes and lynchings. In 1919 lynchings became publicly sanctioned instruments of local or regional policy, aimed primarily at stopping the militancy and aggressiveness of blacks.

In Elaine, Arkansas, whites fired upon a meeting of black sharecroppers who were forming a union. In the fighting that ensued, a sheriff and his deputy were killed.

A reign of terror followed and, according to James Weldon Johnson, president of the NAACP, “over 300 blacks were hunted down in the fields and swamps and shot down like animals.”

The black population was blamed for the bloody episode. 79 black people were arrested for murder and insurrection. The trials were held in the presence of an armed mob. Twelve were sentenced to death; 67 faced from 20 years to life.

MARKET

The race riots developed in the social dislocation following World War I.

The presence of tens of thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled black workers in a shrinking labor market heightened the racist fears of the white workers. Employers used black workers as strike breakers in 1919 deliberately to foster race hatred. This combined with an acute hous-

ing shortage due to black emigration to Northern cities.

The savagery of the white rioters was fueled by the rise of the “new” Ku Klux Klan, founded in Atlanta, Georgia in 1915. There was fundamentally nothing new in this hooded order. Its goal was to “keep the nigger in his place.” But the new Klan moved North. By 1920, it had 100,000 members and chapters in all major cities.

BROKEN

The leadership of the American Federation of Labor also fanned racist flames. In its history it did little to organize black workers into unions and nothing to combat the racism of its white members. For this, the trade union movement paid dearly. The steel strike of 1919 was broken because of the racism of white workers and white workers fought black workers in the meat-packing plants in Chicago.

But this same dislocation created the “New Negro.” The “New Negro,” as militants called themselves, were no longer willing to accept the racist violence of white America.

400,000 black soldiers were abroad in World War I to make the world “safe for democracy.” There was no democracy at home. But these soldiers were armed. They were trained to fight, and when they came home to a world of vicious racism, they fought back.

The “New Negro” was also inspired by the Russian revolution and the upheavals which took place in China, India, Africa and the Caribbean. In 1919 there were massive strikes and demonstrations against colonial rule in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, South Africa, Trinidad, British Honduras and Panama.

CENTER

Harlem, in New York City, became the center of the global struggle. Black nationalist and socialist orators spoke from street corners. There was the growth of the radical black press,

in 1919, Marcus Garvey made his first public speeches in Harlem, advocating black resistance. “The best thing the Negro of all countries can do is to prepare to match fire with hell fire. No African is going to allow the caucasian to trample eternally on his rights.”

Garvey founded the United Negro Improvement Association and in the 1920s led the black nationalist movement which inspired black people throughout the world.

A. Phillip Randolph was another “New Negro.” He was called the “most dangerous Negro in America” because of his socialist politics. His newspaper, the Messenger, gave a Thanksgiving Homily, in 1919, which thanked the Russian revolution, the revolutions in Germany, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria, the great steel and miners’ strikes and the Seattle general strike. Randolph also gave thanks to the demise of the “old world negro” and the birth of the “new negro.”

Randolph later became famous as the organizer of the

Pullman sleeping car porters.

The black radicals of 1919 believed in armed self defense against white terror. In the 1919 rioting, white mobs faced armed blacks. One black defender wrote a friend in Washington, D.C., “The colored troops did well. We have something to fight for now.” The Washington Bee, a black newspaper, headlined approval of black self defense during the Tulsa race riot: “Colored rioters poorly armed but casualty lists favorable.”

MOBS

After 1919, white mobs had to call in the army, police or national guard to do their grisly work.

The ideas of black power and black pride developed in the period of 1919. “I am a Negro,” wrote Langston Hughes, black poet, “Black as the night is black/black as the depths of my Africa.”

Cyril Briggs, founder of the African Blood Brotherhood gave a classic definition of race pride in an article in his newspaper, the Crusader, called “Race Catechism”

which called for great sacrifice—life itself—if need be—to gain for the race that greatness in arms, humanity, art—three combined without which there is neither respect, honor nor security.”

Black power, black pride, black organization, the need for armed self defense of the black community, the importance of black organization fighting for liberation—these were some of the ideas which rose out of the Red Summer of 1919. Identification with the Russian revolution and solidarity with oppressed people fighting imperialism were the goals of these black nationalists.



Langston Hughes: “Black as the depths of my Africa”

THE AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

“For African Liberation and Redemption, for immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere.”

This was the Manifesto of the African Blood Brotherhood, the first revolutionary black nationalist organization in the United States.

Its program demanded “A liberated race, absolute racial equality—political, economic and social, the fostering of race pride and uncompromising opposition to Ku Klux Klantism.”

It called for working fellowship with the “darker masses and with class-conscious, revolutionary white workers.”

LIBERATED

The Brotherhood wanted “a liberated race—in the United States, Africa and elsewhere. Liberated not merely from

political rule but also from the crushing weight of capitalism which keeps the many in degrading poverty that the few might wallow in stolen wealth.”

The African Blood Brotherhood was founded by Cyril Briggs, a communist, who was born in the British West Indies.

He came to Harlem in 1912 and started working for the Amsterdam News. In 1918 he founded the Crusader, a black revolutionary newspaper.

Briggs, along with Marcus Garvey, advocated national self-determination for black people—in Africa, the Caribbean and the United States.

At its peak, the Crusader had a circulation of 36,000 and the Brotherhood had a membership of 4,000, including a chapter of black West Virginia miners.

Most of the members were ex-soldiers, and there were chapters in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Omaha and Tulsa. The Brotherhood established groups in a number of the Caribbean islands.

The Brotherhood was a paramilitary organization which worked within Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association.

DEFENSE

It was accused of starting the Tulsa race riot of 1921. In fact, it didn’t start the riot, but it played an important role organizing the military self-defense of the black area of the riot. When white mobs threatened a black march with lynching, the Brotherhood chapter announced it would prevent any such action—using violence if necessary.

Summer



*If we must die, let it not be
like hogs
Hunted and penned in an
unglorious spot
Making their mock at our
accursed lot
While 'round us bark the
mad and hungry dogs,
If we must die,
Oh let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood
may not be shed
In vain; then even the
monsters we defy
Shall be contrained to
honor us though dead!
O Kinsmen! we must
meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered,
let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows
deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies
the open grave?
Like men we'll face the
murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying,
but fighting back!*

*Claude McKay
July, 1919*

Black veterans came back to unemployment, a housing shortage, and no democracy.

OTHERHOOD: AN UNTARNISHED RECORD

And when they marched to a jail threatening to lynch a black man accused of bothering a white woman, they were met by a contingent of armed blacks. When the whites attempted to disarm the blacks, fighting broke out. A white was killed. The riot began.

The national guard was sent in. The governor hired a private plane to drop bombs which leveled several black neighborhoods.

ARMED

However, the armed defense of the Tulsa ghetto, organized by the Brotherhood, bore fruit for other communities. White mobs never again invaded black neighborhoods, except once in Detroit during World War II.

The Brotherhood was proud of its role in defending the

Tulsa black community. The Crusader stated, "Remember Tulsa! Remember the bright untarnished record of the ABB! What other organization can match that brave record?"

REVOLUTION

In its short lifetime, the Brotherhood developed into a communist organization, although it had no ties to the Communist International or the U.S. Communist Party. It identified with the Russian revolution because of the Bolshevik Party's "enlightened attitude toward national minorities."

Many of the leading Brotherhood members joined the Communist Party in the 1920's, and developed and led its work on black liberation. Three leaders continued to be active even in the black strug-

gles of the 60s—Cyril Briggs, Harry Haywood and Richard Moore. Otto Huizwood was active in the independence movement in Surinam and W.A. Domingo played a role in the fight for Jamaican independence.

The Brotherhood did not live through the twenties, and today little is known of it. But this revolutionary organization played an important role in the development of the Garvey movement, and in the revolutionary nationalist movement of 1919.

It should not be forgotten. It is an important part of black history, a precursor of the Black Panther Party and DRUM. We all owe a debt to these brave fighters, to Cyril Briggs and the African Blood Brotherhood. □



The bombed out black section of Tulsa

Letters

Be ready to defend the clinics

Dear Socialist Worker,

Now, more than ever, women must be ready to defend their right to a safe, legal abortion. Those who oppose our right are growing in numbers. Dr. Carolyn Gerster, head of the Right to Life Committee estimates their membership to be between eleven and thirteen million. When asked about future "pro-life" violence, Dr. Gerster said,

"We teach non-violence but you can't control 11 million people. Violence is bound to attract violence, I'm afraid, and that's what's going on in those clinics." (Catholic Telegraph, June 29, 1979).

Just recently, five college students were acquitted of trespassing charges brought by a St. Louis clinic in March, 1978.

Perhaps emboldened by this action, 60 Right to Lifers marched on a clinic on June 23 in Cincinnati. Several tried to get into the clinic but were stopped by the Abortion Rights Committee and people from the clinic. In your area, help defend a woman's right to an abortion. Help defend the clinics.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth H. Hamilton
Cincinnati, Ohio

OCCUPY SEABROOK!

Dear Socialist Worker,

On July 21-22, the Clamshell Alliance sponsored an energy fair and rally at Seabrook, New Hampshire. Crowd size estimates were 2 to 3 thousand for each of the two days. Such a small turnout is especially disappointing in light of the fact that just over a year ago, a rally at Seabrook brought 20,000 demonstrators, several thousand of whom were willing to occupy the site at that time.

Since the Harrisburg disaster, opposition to nuclear power has grown, not decreased. The small turnout at Seabrook says less about public concern over nuclear power than about the nature of the event. An energy fair does little toward building a movement aimed at stopping nuclear power plants, which are being built now.

On October 6, there is scheduled an occupation of the Seabrook nuclear site. The Coalition for Direct Action in Boston is sponsoring the occupation, which already has received shows of support throughout the Northeast. The Coalition for Direct Action has removed many of the pacifist principles which have bogged down the No-Nuke movement for some time, and the occupation shows the potential of building a militant anti-nuke movement in the Northeast. Build the Oct. 6 occupation!

Sharon Smith
Providence, R.I.

BLACK COPS SHOULD QUIT

Dear Socialist Worker,

I was disheartened to read the article, "Black Police Lead 'A Walk for Justice'" in the June issue of the paper.

Of course the police force is racist and reflects that in their hiring, promotional and street tactics. That is their job.

Who ushers in the scabs when a strike takes place? Who arrests those demonstrating against nuclear power? Who shoots down black "suspects" in the back?

They are the enforcers of the laws that oppress us. And reform will never change that fact.

The police force cannot be reformed. The only "walk for justice" black cops can lead, is a walk out of the force and into the streets.

Fredrika Sprengle
Boston

Vietnam: the agony continues

The plight of the boat people, the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the evidence of repression in Vietnam—all these have led to a debate among socialists and others who opposed the war in Vietnam, a debate which includes such well known people as Joan Baez, the folk singer, William Kunstler, the movement lawyer, and Dave Dellinger, the editor of the radical magazine, Seven Days.

Without going into the details of the various arguments and positions, Socialist Worker offers the following as an opinion—our opinion on the background to the new tragedies in Vietnam, an analysis of the boat people themselves, and an argument in light of these factors, on the responsibilities of socialists.

When the United States left Saigon in 1975, defeated on the battlefields by the peasant soldiers of the National Liberation Front, they left behind a devastated country.

The countryside was often a wasteland, ruined by years of napalm, carpet bombing, chemical warfare against both the people and the land, the systematic destruction of the villages, and mass assassination campaigns against the villagers.

The cities, if not destroyed, were swollen with refugees, dependent on the American presence. In Saigon alone, the population grew from one to three million, including 200,000 prostitutes, 150,000 drug addicts, 300,000 orphans, and half a million defeated soldiers.

Now the United States is engaged in a new campaign against Vietnam, but this time not with bombs. Vietnam is desperately poor, the victim of half a century of war and foreign domination.

TOTAL

They created the conditions which exist today in Vietnam. Then they welcomed the fascists who ran the totally corrupt and criminal Saigon regime. But now they close the doors to the boat people—except, of course, to a token number—for the sake of appearances.

According to a United Nations supervisor, the selection of refugees by the "humanitarians" of the West is "nothing more than a meat market, and a buyer's market at that."

There is a high demand "for cute little girls for adoption." Countries publish strict lists of guidelines on who is to be accepted and who will be rejected. West Germany wants only those with "some prior links to Germany." Japan wants refugees with Japanese relatives; five have been accepted so far.

Yet, the United States is squeezing Vietnam with an economic embargo on all trade, aid and credits. Vietnam defeated imperialism on its own shores, but not the world market.

Now it cannot fill its acute shortages of food, medicine and other necessities, except through dependence on Russia.

PRESSURE

And the United States is even pressuring Russia to withdraw aid. The Australians have joined in by threatening to cut wheat sales to Russia, unless the Russians will agree that none of the wheat will go to Vietnam.

At the Paris Peace Accords, the United States agreed to pay the Vietnamese \$3.4 billion in reparations—money meant to begin the rebuilding of a war-torn economy. Yet none of this has been paid.

Therefore, when the "humanitarians" in the White House and in the other western capitals demand that Vietnam stop the flow of refugees, they are the most contemptible hypocrites.

The United States wants those who were employed by the CIA or other government agencies, also those who were

the "temporary wives" of U.S. officers during the war. It wants only those who can prove they have skills and means.

All this is why we must say that the boat people are welcome here in the United States—all of them! Not that this would undo the crimes of the United States in Vietnam. They will never be undone. □

Why

There should be no doubt that the publicity given the events in Southeast Asia has its purpose.

The concern, however, is not with the plight of the boat people—nor is it with the cause of freedom in Vietnam. If that were the case, we would expect to find the same press rejoicing in the fall of the Shah, and now in the defeat of Somoza.

LINK

No, the publicity has another purpose. Put bluntly, it is meant to link the suffering of the boat people with the struggle for socialism. It is meant to discredit the anti-war movement of the sixties, and to repair the damage done the spirit of patriotism. It is meant to prepare for future war.

None of this, however, changes the responsibility of socialists to be internationalists, nor does it excuse us from our duty to oppose oppression wherever it exists, even when it is done in the name of "socialism" or "communism."

We supported the war of the people of Vietnam against the American armies. We celebrated the victory of the National Liberation Front.

And we did this well-knowing that the victory in Vietnam would not mean the triumph of socialism. On the contrary, we knew that the new regime in



"Villages were systematically destroyed."

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THE BOAT PEOPLE: VICTIMS OF WAR, HUNGER AND RACISM

There are those, including unfortunately some on the left, who would have us believe that the boat people are the last remnants of South Vietnam's old order—the anti-communists and the rich, people laden with gold, beaded for the West.

The facts are somewhat different. The old ruling class has indeed left South Vietnam—but in 1975, when Saigon fell. Most of these people—135,000 strong—are now situated quite comfortably here in the United States, if not in Switzerland or on the Riviera.

ORIGINS

The boat people, according to a survey recently published in Australia (cited in the *Battler*, the paper of the International Socialists in Australia), are of humbler origins.

Recent refugees in Hong Kong have not been gold and silver laden traders from the Chinese quarter of Ho Chi Minh City. Many have been workers, people who have lived 25 years under Hanoi socialism.

The same report said of refugees in Australia:

A lot are fishermen from around the edges who can't get boats. There's a lot who can't read or write—fishermen and peasant farmers from the South.

The middle class ones are mostly tradespeople, a few

doctors and lawyers.

Most of the refugees are of Chinese origin. Many claim that they have been denied a livelihood in Vietnam, dismissed from government employment, banned from fifteen specified occupations, forbidden private employment.

One known case is that of the 3,000 Chinese miners who were dismissed from the Quang Ninh coal mine in the North.

And far from escaping with vast hoards, the average refugee pays from \$100 to \$500 to escape—a good deal of money in Vietnam no doubt, but hardly a fortune, much less in the league of those who fled with the Marshall Key's in 1975.

TOKEN

Most often the payment represents a family's life savings, the sum of their total possessions. The Australian survey reported that the average refugee family arrived in Australia with less than \$25.

In conclusion, then, the boat people are not the old ruling class, capitalists and fascists, opting for the easy life.

Many may well be anti-communists. But Vietnam is not communist! The boat people are workers, peasants and middle class people attempting to escape war, hunger, oppression and racism. □

socialists must protest

Vietnam would quite likely be forced by circumstances to turn to internal repression and a reactionary course in world politics.

We would do the same again, for there is no hope whatsoever for socialism if imperialism goes unchallenged. We will also support the fight against imperialism today—in the Middle East, in Nicaragua, in Southern Africa—and we will place no conditions on our support.

TRUTH

But we will also oppose the treatment of the boat people, and we will oppose repression inside Vietnam. We cannot control what the bourgeois press does, nor can we stop the charges of imperialist governments. But we can tell the truth.

Not everyone on the left will agree with this. Some, unfortunately, unprepared for what has happened in Vietnam, have become disillusioned and have retreated from revolutionary politics. Others have preferred silence, saying that "socialist" governments are not to be criticized, not in public anyway. And worse, still others on the left have all but blamed the boat people themselves—in the name, incredibly, of "socialist reconstruction."

First of all, it should be said

that the idea that socialists should not criticize "socialist" regimes is a very dangerous idea. It stands well outside the revolutionary socialist tradition—in fact it is alien to the Marxist spirit. When Rosa Luxemburg, for example, criticized Lenin and the Bolsheviks in power in 1919, no one disputed her right to do so. They simply argued with her conclusions.

DISASTROUS

But the danger of this idea is best seen in the experience of the thirties, when even the slightest criticism of Stalin's regime was not to be tolerated, on the grounds that any criticism, right or wrong, "objectively" would aid Hitler. The result was disastrous for the left. We still live with the damage.

The important point, however, is that Vietnam is not now and never has been socialist. There was never a workers' revolution in Vietnam. There has never been a government based on the workers and peasants. There has been the confiscation of private property, but the purpose was state capitalist accumulation, not socialism.

And this, really, is why the Vietnam debate is so important for the left, and why it cannot be passed off as an imperialist plot. Or saved as

something for private conversation only.

Today, the American left, much of which developed in opposition to the Vietnam war in the sixties, is confused and in retreat. Part of this is due to the fact that overwhelmingly the left identified socialism with the struggle for national self-determination in the "third world."

EXPLANATIONS

Now this left desperately needs explanations—if it is to continue, if it is to go forward. Why did Vietnam invade Kampuchea? What caused the war between China and Vietnam? Why are the most elementary rights denied to workers in Russia and in every other so-called communist country? And, yes, why the boat people?

There is a reason why the press reports the tragedy in Vietnam in such detail—the boat people, the invasion of Kampuchea, war with China, every hint of internal repression.

The press (along with the rest of the media, the government, etc.) sees these as confirmation of its belief that socialism is impossible, that there is no alternative to capitalism and to a world dominated by imperialism.

It reports the events in Vietnam in the same spirit it re-

ported the Hungarian workers' revolution of 1956. Not because it cares about the lives of Hungarian or Vietnamese workers, but because it wants to identify socialism with the tyranny of state capitalism.

We cannot allow this identification to be made. We can-

not let it go unanswered. If we do, we give up the strongest arguments for socialism—that socialists stand with the poor, the oppressed, the workers everywhere; that only socialism offers the possibility of real freedom—in a world without wars, racism and oppression. □



Only those who actively opposed the American war in Vietnam have a right to criticize today. Otherwise it is just hypocrisy.

WHERE WE STAND



WORKERS' CONTROL

Workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively take control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution according to human needs instead of profit.

The working class is the key to the fight for socialism. Freedom and liberation will only be achieved through the struggles of workers themselves, organizing and fighting for real workers' power.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The capitalist system cannot be patched up or reformed as some union leaders and liberal politicians say. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of workers. No reform can do away with this exploitation. The only way workers can relate to society and create a system based on freedom and a decent life for all is by overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with revolutionary, democratic socialism.

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The present state apparatus (federal and state governments, the courts, army and police) was developed to maintain the capitalist system. This apparatus cannot be taken over as it stands and converted to serve workers. The working class needs an entirely different kind of state based upon mass democratic councils of workers' delegates.

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda—newspapers, radio, television, movies. Workers are bombarded daily from all directions with capitalism's point of view. The working class needs its own source of information. To help meet this need, we are dedicated to building a newspaper that the working class can trust and use in their fight against the present system.

FIGHT OPPRESSION

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism forces and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, gays, Native Americans, youths, gays—suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing and against racial firing and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

We support the independent organization and struggle of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

The unions today are largely business machines that long ago stopped fighting seriously for the interests of the working class. Business union leaders either act as brakes on workers' struggles, or as police, delivering workers into the hands of the bosses. We fight to change this.

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, power must be built on the shop floor. This can only happen if the rank and file organize themselves independently of the union bureaucrats. We work to build rank and file organizations in unions and companies wherever we are employed.

INTERNATIONALISM

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international and that is why the struggle for socialism must be world-wide. A socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation.

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to China and Puerto Rico, from East and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. They are state capitalist and part of one world capitalist system. We support the struggles of workers in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

As the working class movement gathers strength, the need for revolutionary leadership becomes crucial. It is a part of the long process of building a democratic revolutionary party rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolution are urged to join us now.

Join the International Socialist Organization

For more information about the International Socialist Organization (ISO) please write to Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

ISO NEWS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

Final plans are now being made for the second national ISO convention.

The convention will be held in Oberlin, Ohio, on August 16, 17, 18, and 19.

Delegates will be attending from as far away as California and Washington state. There will be international representatives from Iran, Britain, Canada, Peru and Jamaica.

The convention will focus on the problems of oppression, primarily black and women's oppression, and the relationship of oppression to exploitation in capitalist society.

There will also be important sessions on the rank and file movement, the fight for reproductive rights, and opposing nuclear power, including a guest speaker from Harrisburg's Three Mile Island Alert.

Please make plans now to attend. Observers are welcome. Childcare is available during all the convention sessions. Room and board is available at Oberlin College.

Write: ISO, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118 if you plan to attend.



Hera Press will be having a fire sale

NATIONAL CONVENTION

OBERLIN, OHIO

AUGUST 16, 17, 18, 19

"The philosopher have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it."

- Karl Marx

If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us. There are ISO members and branches in the following places:

Berkeley, P.O. Box 4663
Berkeley, CA 94704

Bloomington, P.O. Box 29
Bloomington, IN 47401

Boston, MA, 505 Mass Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02138

Burlington, P.O. Box 54
Burlington, VT 05401

Charleston, P.O. Box 1748
Charleston, W. VA 25310

Chicago, P.O. Box A-3088
Chicago, IL 60690

Cincinnati, P.O. Box 8909
Cincinnati, OH 45208

Cleveland, P.O. Box 18037
Cleveland, OH 44118

Dayton, Box 166, Wright Brothers Station
Dayton, OH 45409

Detroit, P.O. Box 2106
Dearborn, MI 48123

Gary, P.O. Box 1941, Glen Park Station
Gary, IN 46402

Indianapolis, P.O. Box 2191
Indianapolis, IN 46206

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New York, NY 10011

New Haven, CT, Box 303
Branford, CT 06405

Northampton, P.O. Box 284
Northampton, MA 01060

Philadelphia, 3009 Spruce
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Portland, P.O. Box 03285
Portland, OR 97203

Providence, P.O. Box 2961, Brown Station
Providence, RI 02902

Seattle, P.O. Box 9056
Seattle, WA 98109

Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 2115
Washington, DC 20001

What's ON

BOSTON

"The Case for a Second American Revolution," a talk by Kadi Sprengle, August 5, 7:00pm, 595 Mass Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

CLEVELAND

"Why we Need a Revolutionary Party," a talk by Christina Bergmark, August 4, 7:00pm, call 371-0419 for details.

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ROSIE

THE INVESTIGATION OF A WRONGFUL DEATH

reviews

"She wanted to live, to leave poverty and welfare behind her"

In August, 1977, the Hyde Amendment became law and the federal government stopped paying for Medicaid-funded abortions except where the woman's life was in danger. In defense of the law, Jimmy Carter reminded us that "Life is unfair," that poor people can't afford many of the things rich people have.

Two months later, Rosaura Jimenez died in McAllen, Texas, from an infection caused by a backstreet abortion. She was 27 years old, and left behind a 4-year-old daughter named Jenny.

FUNDS

Rosie was the first woman known to die from illegal abortion following the cutoff of Medicaid funds. The Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, through its Abortion Surveillance Branch, made a cursory investigation of the case.

Rosie: The Investigation of a Wrongful Death, by Ellen Frankfort with Frances Kissling, New York, the Dial Press, 1979, \$8.95 hardcover.

When this federal agency finally knew the truth—thanks to Rosie's friends in McAllen and the authors of this book—it refused to take any action to protect other women from Rosie's fate.

The facts were distorted by government and medical officials. For example, the *Ob-Gyn News*, a national "trade" publication, stated that Rosie, a Chicana, had "slipped across the border" to Mexico for the abortion, because Hispanic women are supposedly too ashamed of their sexuality to seek abortion in the U.S.

Thus her death had nothing to do with the cutoff of funds. Rosie was just too ignorant and backward to know how to take care of herself. Or so the story went.

Ellen Frankfort investigated

"This is not a horror story told for its own sake. It's a story of great horror—a true, real horror, told to help it not happen again."

Review by DEBORAH ROBERTS

and found that the reports were all wrong. The botched abortion had been performed in McAllen, Texas, U.S.A. for \$130, about half the going price for a legal abortion.

Frankfort found that Rosie had previously sought legal Medicaid abortion in McAllen, so the official assumption about her sexual "shame" was nothing but a sexist and racist stereotype.

Rosie Jimenez died for one reason, and only one: she was poor. Life was unfair to her, and she didn't have what rich people have—money.

She couldn't pay for a legal abortion and she couldn't rely on Medicaid, so she went to a butcher. Period.

Rosie died slowly and horribly. A great strength of the book lies in its graphic description of what death from septic abortion looks like, smells like, perhaps even what it feels like.

HELP

This is not a horror story told for its own sake. It's a story of great horror—a true, real horror, told to help it not happen again.

It's the element of immediate human reality in Rosie that makes it such an important book. Even if they'd wanted to, the officials who investigated her death couldn't have found the truth because they didn't talk to the people who knew it.

They gathered information only from the other professionals—the doctor who attended the dying woman, the Planned Parenthood counselor, etc. Frankfort knew that the only way to find out what really happened to Rosie was to bring her back to life, to reconstruct the real person from the memories of the friends who loved her.

Rosie had waged a life-long struggle to escape from poverty. The daughter of migrant workers, she supported her little girl on welfare (\$86 a month), worked part-time, and went to college, studying to teach disturbed children.

She was near graduation when she died, with an uncashed \$700 scholarship check in her purse. Seven hundred dollars. More than enough for a legal abortion.

Rosie gambled her life to save the money to finish school, so she could leave poverty and welfare behind her.

But who stacked the odds? What kind of a social system would force this choice on her, leave her to die, and then slander her to cover its own crimes.

Like most of this society's victims, Rosie had great, human things inside her: times she looked forward to, people she loved, things she planned to do, a life she wanted to live, a child whose future meant everything to her. Not a saint, Rosie was a person.

RESPECTABLE

In her afterward to Rosie, Fran Kissling describes her efforts and those of other reproductive rights activists to



Rosie Jimenez 1950-1977

interest the respectable pro-choice groups in Rosie's case. "I was told over and over that people are not concerned about the death of one woman. The death of only one woman would not be a strong enough argument to restore public funding."

Of course it's not just one woman, and Rosie is not Hyde's only victim—she's the first one who could be proved. Even at the time of her death in 1977, there were others. By now, there are many. (See report in *Ms. Magazine*, January, 1979).

SINGLE

But what if it were "only one woman?" Kissling concludes. "The women of America must let the leaders of this country know that we will not tolerate the death of a single woman from a butchered abortion caused by a lack of funding. For each of us the life of one woman is significant."

As Ellen Frankfort writes, "We knew that what had happened to Rosie could, at some point, happen to all of us." Thanks to this fine and very moving book, we will remember Rosie Jimenez.

We will remember her and think of all the nameless others who have died this way, for the same reason, killed by the same system.

We'll remember them—and those who killed them—every time we demonstrate for women's liberation and reproductive freedom. Every time we keep the "Right to Life" from invading a clinic.

Every time we don't give in to "respectability." Every time we stand up, speak out, and fight together for the better future we deserve. Rosie deserved it too. □



Authors Ellen Frankfort and Frances Kissling

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALISM X5
SUMMER 1979

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Heru Press \$2.00



DON'T COUNT ON UNION REP

BLOOMINGTON, IN—July saw a six day strike by IBEW members at the GE plant here.

Having accepted the national contract, the strikers went out for local grievances. But hardly had the strike begun when it was over. The reasons for the return to work are to be found in the role of the international representative.

Jake Wienegar, a striker, told *Socialist Worker*. "We got the union rep to get us what we want, not what the company wants."

That isn't what happened, though. On the fourth day of the strike, the union made its first proposal to the strikers at a rally. The international rep urged that another strike vote be taken "to see how strong we are," even though one had been taken a month before.

VOTE

The vote was to be taken later by "secret ballot" even though all the best union members were at the rally and in a show of hands were unanimous in the desire to strike to win.

The rep was trying to use the majority vote of passive

members to get a vote by which to force a return to work. The trick worked and the strikers went back with little more than they came out with.

Wienegar was mad. He figured that the only reason the union was selling out was because they were losing money paying for picket duty.

Dor Berriman, the regular international rep, had supposedly had a heart attack after the national contract had been accepted. If it had been him trying to engineer a sell-out it wouldn't have worked so nicely.

The neighboring companies of Westinghouse and Otis Elevator were known to have bought him a car. Wienegar said, "Berriman and this bastard are crooks. The union at Westinghouse has facts and figures to prove that the company bought him a car."

The strike was a classic example of which side the well-dressed union bureaucrats are on, and the lesson is that no one but workers and union members can be counted on to conduct a serious struggle. □

by ED MOOR

UPS: 'WAIT TIL NEXT TIME'



Louisville UPSers voted no

United Parcel workers voted to accept a new national contract.

The three year contract includes the same monetary package as negotiated earlier in freight—80¢, 35¢ and 35¢. It also includes an uncapped COLA, paid semi-annually.

The new contract includes important concessions to the company, however, including the right to use replacement drivers—casuals. And it in-

cludes nothing to stop productivity programs and nothing to defend full-time jobs.

UPSurge, the rank and file UPS workers organization, fought unsuccessfully to turn the new contract down. Three months of stalling by the union, during which few if any union meetings were held, discouraged rank and file activity.

UPSurge was able, however, to recruit many new

members and supporters during its contract campaign, and through its paper it established the only communications network there was.

UPSurge plans now to strengthen itself as a rank and file group, to fight for the day-to-day rights of UPSers on the job and in the union, and to be stronger for the next national contract. □

CARHAULERS: MINORITY RULES

Carhaulers, the truck drivers who carry new cars, have rejected the contract negotiated by the Teamsters union

by a thin margin—6,976 No, 6,309, Yes.

Nevertheless, the contract takes effect, as according to

Teamsters rules, two-thirds must vote no to reject a contract—that is, one-third rules.

There were wildcat strikes in opposition to the Teamster deal, including one for 48 hours in Linden, N.J. and another of 750 workers in Lordstown, Ohio.

SOLIDARITY

The Lordstown strike was a fantastic display of solidarity in the face of company repression. The strikers held out fifteen days until a federal judge banned company firings. Still, more than forty workers have been suspended for up to ninety days, including the entire stewards committee.

Sympathy strikes in other automobile centers might have forced the union back to the bargaining table—but they did not materialize, and the union was able to guarantee the sell-out. □

"We need freedom of movement"

NEW HAVEN, CT—2,000 women marched here in one of the biggest Take Back the Night demonstrations in the Northeast.

The women marched through downtown New Haven to protest violence and sexual harassment against women.

At the rally before the march, Andrea Dworkin, the author of "Woman Hating," told the women, "When we women struggle for freedom we must start fighting at the beginning for the freedom of movement." □

by ROBIN LATTA

An Opinion

John Anderson is a lifelong militant and socialist. He was formerly president of UAW local 15 in Detroit.

Solidarity House: the image of a fortified castle

Just a few years ago one could go to Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters on E. Jefferson in Detroit and ask to see any of the top officers of the union. This is not possible today.

CASTLE

Solidarity House has taken on the image of a fortified castle. Along Jefferson Avenue, it is protected by brick and mortar. One entrance has an eight foot high steel gate; at the other an armed guard is on duty 24 hours a day. On the east and west side of the area are high steel fences. The inside of the building is patrolled by three plain clothesmen.

I asked the armed guard if I would be permitted to enter. (I have been a member of the UAW for 43 years.) He told me he would have to check with his boss. I asked him who his boss was. He said this was privileged information.

Watching the cars driven by the bureaucrats in and out of the parking lot, one sees late model Cadillacs, Lincoln Continentals, Chrysler New Yorkers, and other expensive gas guzzlers. When one is paid 31 cents per mile to drive a car, the high price of gasoline is covered.

Inflation creates no problems for the UAW bureaucracy. They profit from it.

Their pensions and other fringe benefits match their high salaries and expense accounts.

The rank and file are becoming increasingly alienated from the UAW bureaucracy. With the forced overtime eliminated the auto workers will have to change their life style. They will have a hard time making ends meet. The news media reports "a cloud" has appeared over 1979 negotiations.

THREAT

The energy crisis, the recession, the 7% guidelines laid down by President Carter, car sales being 22% imports, but most of all the number of unsold cars in the hands of the dealers are very dark clouds threatening 1979 negotiations.

The press is giving front page publicity to the high wages and fringe benefits of UAW members employed by the Big Three. It is saying nothing about the super profits earned by the industry over the last thirty years. Nor does it mention the \$3.5 billion earned by General Motors in 1978.

The working membership as well as the retirees have been lead to believe that COLA for retirees will be won in 1979 negotiations or it will become a strikable issue. I am told the leadership will not attempt to get COLA for

retirees in this round of negotiations. Failure to gain the usual economic gains in 1979 could give rise to an organized opposition within the union. Neither the union bureaucracy nor the employers would want to see this take place.

Should the 1979 negotiations fail to give a measure of satisfaction to the UAW membership the security of Solidarity House might be threatened. The officials will have to think of building a moat around it to prevent the rank and file from taking it over and occupying it.

BOMB

With the closing of the Dodge plant in Hamtramck, the employers southern strategy, the sales of foreign imports increasing and the elimination by mergers of many of the supplier plants the number of permanently unemployed auto workers grows. The desperate frustration of these unemployed could explode like a time bomb at the gates of Solidarity House.

The question must be asked: can the opposition groups within the UAW unite these explosive forces and guide them into constructive channels? The opposition will have a golden opportunity. Will they measure up to the needs of the hour? □



Electrical workers fight to save pensions

PITTSBURGH, PA—A take-away demand by Westinghouse sparked strike action by 37,000 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the United Electrical Workers when the contract expired July 16.

PENSIONS

The company is attempting to make workers contribute to the pension fund. The current fund is fully paid by Westinghouse. Also at issue is the question of plant shutdowns. The union is demanding severance pay, retraining, transfer rights, pension benefits, and advance warning.

Westinghouse, like many other companies, has shifted union plants from the Northeast to the non-union South.

The union busting stand of Westinghouse provoked the strike while other large electrical contracts were settled. The General Electric contract was the pattern maker. The contract provides a low yearly wage increase compared to recent industrial settlements in trucking and rubber, but the strongest cost of living formula in existence.

Electrical workers will get a penny for each .2% rise in the cost of living index. This may prove to be a bad deal in a recession if inflation slows.

GUIDELINES

The Westinghouse strike raises no new economic demands and is a defensive try at preventing cuts. Taken with the GE settlement the major electrical contracts fall within Carter's wage guide. Labor has bent the guidelines in trucking and rubber, but as the electrical contracts show, they are unfortunately not broken.

by PAT MORGAN

Workers walk out on Babcock and Wilcox

by KEVIN MURPHY

BARBERTON, OH—6,000 workers have struck seven Babcock and Wilcox factories—the company that built the Three-Mile Island nuclear plant.

For J.R. McDermott, the company that took over Babcock and Wilcox last year, the strikes are just another problem to add to a list of plant shutdowns, fraud and racketeering convictions and multi-million dollar law suits.

SHUT

Six of the factories have been shut down since July 15th as part of the national contract of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers. Many of these strikers are directly involved in the production of nuclear installations such as the Barberton, Ohio plant which manufactures reactor cores and the Nuclear Power Generating Division in Mount Vernon, Indiana. Other strike sights include Brunswick, Georgia; Paris, Texas, West Point, Mississippi and Wilmington, North Carolina. In addition, 850 UAW members have been on strike since June 1st at Bailey Controls (a subsidiary of B&W) in Wickliffe, Ohio, where nuclear components are produced.

McDermott is not used to facing union resistance. Before it took over Babcock and Wilcox, less than a thousand of its 20,000 workers were union members. But when McDermott took over Babcock and Wilcox it inherited 17,000 union members.

McDermott's labor problems are just one of many recent headaches. Its safety record speaks for itself. The Department of HEW now predicts that at least ten people will get cancer as a result of Three-Mile Island (probably a conservative estimate considering the source).

Four other plants built by



This is James E. Cunningham, chief executive of J. Ray McDermott & Co., parent company of Babcock & Wilcox—builder and designer of the reactor at the Three Mile Island Nuclear Plant.

His reaction to the near disaster at Three Mile Island?

Well "I thought it was unfortunate, but I didn't perceive any great calamity. I thought the problems could be worked out—it's a well-designed, well-run plant." The public reaction to the accident was in Cunningham's view "a bit hysterical." After all, "Accidents do happen but nobody got killed." Well, not this time anyway!

Mr. Cunningham, of course, does not live anywhere near Three Mile Island—he owns a 2,500-acre cattle ranch in Mississippi.

Babcock and Wilcox have had to close down to repair faulty cooling systems. Babcock and Wilcox may also have to recall steam generators at three Canadian nuclear plants.

But the Three-Mile Island disaster and subsequent shutdowns did not phase McDermott officials. McDermott

chief executive James E. Cunningham commented, "Accidents do happen, but nobody got killed," and said he found public reaction to the incident "a bit hysterical."

The Three-Mile Island disaster was not just the result of faulty equipment or operator error as Babcock and Wil-

cox would have us believe. It was also the result of gross mismanagement on the part of Babcock and Wilcox. One Babcock and Wilcox manager recently told a Congressional Committee that he did not follow up investigations into defects of the Three-Mile Island design before the accident because he "thought another unit of the corporation was looking into the matter."

CROOKED

The management of the McDermott company is not merely incompetent but is also crooked. In February of 1978, the company was convicted of fraud and racketeering when it attempted to obtain offshore contracts in the Gulf of Mexico by bribing an executive of the Tenneco Oil Company. McDermott also made illegal campaign contributions to Louisiana Congressmen and was convicted of bringing cash into the country without reporting it.

One Babcock and Wilcox striker told Socialist Worker, "How can you pretend to be dealing with straight up people when the big shots have had their hands in the pot and got caught? How can you believe them when they say we ain't going to be screwing you no more because we're not crooks and then you read in the paper that they've lied and cheated. These guys are crooks."

The strikers and the people living in areas around the company's nuclear power plants should not be the victims of problems created by McDermott's madness.

A militant fightback must be launched to stop the company's immediate attack on us all.

This is yet another example of workers and the no-nuke movement sharing a common enemy in Babcock and Wilcox and the corporate power structure.

How many more?

CLEVELAND, OH—On July 27th, a 17-year-old woman, seven months pregnant, the mother of a two-year-old daughter, attempted suicide.

She told her great-aunt, who is also her legal guardian (her real mother left her), "I ain't gonna have no more babies."

Susan had tried to get an abortion at the Cleveland Metropolitan hospital. But she was told an abortion cost \$600

in cash, in advance. She was already depressed because of debts and she didn't have the money. So she went to a friend's house and shot herself in the stomach.

Already six women have died as a result of the Federal government's cutting off federal funds for poor women who need abortions. Other women will try to kill themselves, rather than go through an unwanted pregnancy.



Join Us

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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

850 DO THE WORK BUT GET...

"Nothing but suspensions,

**firings and
headaches"**



Roosevelt Minter and Larry Madda

Larry: The current situation is that the company called off negotiations. The union told the company that they were willing to negotiate and they all showed up at the meeting place and the company didn't.

It seems to me that the key issues are that the articles in the contract have to be revised and the cost of living increase. Working conditions are terrible but that's all locked up in the articles.

Roosevelt: The health condition isn't the issue that it would take that much time to straighten out. You figure if they can buy cameras to watch us every day, they can straighten out the working conditions. The whole main thing is that the company does not want to recognize the union. Until the company sits down and really tries to negotiate with the union, then there's always going to be trouble.

Larry: We've got to have the cost of living. That's one of the main things we're fighting for.

Roosevelt: Our average wage is \$6.09 and there are places with 8 and 9 dollars an hour where they're doing the same type of work. If we settled for 45¢ one year, 30¢ the next and 30¢ the next year, then by the time you've got your dollar and something, the cost of living has gone up 3 dollars.

Larry: We've been held to the 7% when they can jack up their prices any damn time on any of their products. They've got the whole fourth floor carpeted for management.

They've got \$17,000 for lawn work. They give the salaried people \$100 bonuses for working production and they give them \$3.00 lunches a day. That's \$3,000 a day. They don't have money to give us? Bullshit. 850 people make the

money for this goddamn place and we don't get nothing but headaches, humiliation, suspensions and firings.

Larry: Right now I think the company is trying to see if we are as strong as we were 3 or 4 weeks ago. The company told people if they wanted to pick up their vacation checks, that they could pick it up at the entrance of the factory. Only about five people crossed the picket to do it. Almost everybody was willing to wait to get their checks because they didn't want to cross the picket line and because they want the company to pay the 15¢ to mail each of them out.

Roosevelt: I think a few people are hurting for money. I had money but a lot of people had to go out on food stamps.

Larry: When people start to hurt but they're still willing to stick it out, those are what you

WICKLIFFE, OH—850 UAW members are on strike here against Bailey Controls, a subsidiary of the Babcock and Wilcox Corporation.

They have been on strike since June 1, when they walked out, rejecting a company proposal which amounted to an all-out attack on their wages, working conditions, and benefits.

The strike began militantly, with hundreds of workers willing to face fire hoses, police, and court orders, all to keep scabs from breaking their strike.

The UAW international, however, put an end to the militant tactics of the rank and file, and since early June, the strike has been confined to three-a-gate pickets, with no end in sight, while hundreds of other non-union employees continue work inside the plant.

Still, the spirit of solidarity is high on the picket lines, as this interview with two Bailey workers, Larry Madda and Roosevelt Minter shows. Kevin Murphy of Socialist Worker asked them about the strike and working at Bailey Controls. □

call union people. If they don't get back to the tables you're going to see a lot of things happen. The court injunction definitely favors the company. If we have to go back to that mass picketing, we'll do it. I still think we ought to have 850 people out here one more time to show the company that we really don't care for their contract.

It was hell in there for the

last three years and people got really humiliated but it's not going to happen this time. Women, younger people, older people have put up a hell of a fight so far and we hope it continues.

I think the company realizes that the people working inside that factory are not Bailey, but union people and we're not going to take any more from this company.

HERE'S ONE WAY TO MAKE YOUR POINT

CONCORD, CA—Fifty rapid transit workers here have occupied a BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) building, locking themselves inside with chains, locks and barricades.

The maintenance employees began the sit-in on July 30, as a protest over plans to transfer them.

'They're not exactly the best conditions, but they're not that bad either', said Paul Varacalli, executive secretary of United Public Employees Union Local 390, who is one of three union officials locked inside.

INSIDE

The workers are sleeping inside unrepainted train cars, sweltering in 106 degree heat, and bathing in hand-rigged showers.

The maintenance workers are upset with plans to replace them with supervisors at the Concord yard. BART management is alleging the union is involved in a slowdown—union spokespersons deny it.

BART is a network of ultra-modern commuter trains which run between San Francisco and the East Bay counties of Alameda and Contra Costa.

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