

# THE MILITANT

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

## Nat'l antidraft march set for Washington

### Thousands urged to join March 22 protest

By Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON—A news conference here February 14 urged thousands to demonstrate in Washington, D.C., March 22 to protest Carter's reinstatement of draft registration.

Called by the March 22 National Mobilization Against the Draft, the press conference was attended by some fifty national and local reporters.

Referring to the scores of antidraft protests around the country, United States Student Association president Frank Jackalone told the media: "Over the past three weeks, opposition has been growing and mounting as more and more people are becoming aware of what the issues are."

Patrick Lacefield of the Fellowship of Reconciliation said, "The march is open to everyone who is opposed to registration and the draft. It is a broad coalition."

Kitty Krupat, a staff member of United Auto Workers District 65 in New York City, was also present. She read a statement by Ed Gray, regional director of UAW Region 9, and David Livingston, president of District 65.

"We oppose registration and the draft as morally wrong and abhorrent to fundamental American rights and values," the statement said in part. "Such a step would signal to the nations of the world that we have chosen a road leading away from freedom at home and peace abroad."

Lacefield told the press that the coalition "is going to approach each and every union" to get support for the march.

"This has to be a coalition of all people," he said, adding that organizers will contact "Black groups such as the NAACP, Operation PUSH, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Urban League." The coalition is also in contact with antinuclear groups, he said.



Militant/Lou Howort

New York City protest February 9. Antidraft organizing now focuses on building national demonstration March 22.

Hilda Mason, a Black member of the D.C. City Council, spoke out against the threat of war, saying, "We don't want another Vietnam."

"We don't want registration for people who haven't even had a chance to register for a job, register for education or health care," she told the media.

Michael Harrington, national chair of the

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee also spoke, as did Barry Lynn, national chair of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Plans are already under way to build for March 22. For more information contact: United States Student Association, 1220 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone: (202) 667-6000.

Special 8-page feature

## Nicaraguan revolution today



## Next steps in ERA fight

With a hypocritical show of concern for women's equality, Carter announced February 9 that both women and men would be registered for the draft. Now, Carter was saying, not only will women be discriminated against at home with unequal pay, they will fight and die abroad to protect the interests of big business. The president says that's what equal rights is all about.

We disagree with President Carter and agree with President Eleanor Smeal of the National Organization for Women. She and other leaders of the women's movement say that neither men nor women should be drafted to fight these dirty wars. The response of Equal Rights Amendment supporters should continue to be loud and clear: *ERA, yes! Draft, no!*

Already some legislators are jumping on the bandwagon to scuttle ERA by linking it to the draft.

Virginia State Sen. Virgil Goode, a Democrat who cosponsored the bill for ERA in 1977, now uses this excuse: "I'll probably vote against it [ERA]. I don't want women in the draft or on the front lines." Goode's treachery killed ERA in Virginia February 12.

The dishonest attempt by Carter and others to link equal rights with conscription is a grim reminder to ERA supporters that we have no friends in the White House, in Congress, or in state legislatures.

This is the message, too, of the recent setbacks for ERA in Missouri and Georgia. In Missouri the Democratic sponsors of the ERA fearfully withdrew it at the last minute, claiming not enough votes for passage.

Such faint-heartedness and duplicity stands in sharp contrast to the militancy demonstrated January 13, when some 5,000 trade unionists—men and women, Black and white—joined with women's rights organizations to march for ERA in Richmond, Virginia.

What ERA supporters need to do now is continue the momentum generated by January 13. That march showed that the powerful alliance of women, civil rights forces, and labor needed to win ERA *can* be built.

It can be done because millions of working

women are fed up with making fifty-nine cents to each dollar earned by men, and they are more and more eager to fight for ERA.

It can be done because union members—male and female—are seeing that two incomes are necessary for a family's economic survival. They are learning in the heat of battle that inequality keeps down the wages and conditions of all and weakens labor's ability to stand up against the employers and government.

Where should the ERA fight go from here? Discussions are under way in Illinois between women's organizations and the labor movement for an ERA calendar of action in that state. This would include a labor conference, a student conference, a student march in Springfield, and a possible national march in Chicago in late spring.

This is just what is needed to take the ERA fight forward. Illinois has one of the strongest labor movements in the country. If its forces are joined with powerful women's groups such as NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and others, ERA can have a fighting chance of passage there.

The fight for ERA has helped give a new spirit to the labor and women's movements. And it in turn will be strengthened as working people and Blacks stand up for their rights, as students and young workers mobilize against the draft, as unionists and farmers oppose Carter's plans to tighten the economic noose around our necks.

This new fightback spirit was expressed January 13 by Frank Mont, director of the civil rights department of the United Steelworkers. "The steelworkers," he said, "were created out of struggle to bring some dignity to the work place . . . and equality and justice. But to have equality and justice it must be available for everyone.

"There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this is our country. It doesn't belong to them. It belongs to us and we must make it work. We must do it as one group of people, because we are the have-nots, the workers of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is."

This sense of power and confidence should guide us in the next months as we organize in Illinois and every other state to make the ERA the law of the land.

## N.Y. rail workers

The banks plan to rip off an even bigger chunk of New York City's budget in interest payments in 1980. They aim to make working people pay for it in lower wages, poorer working conditions, fewer jobs, and decaying public services.

Democratic and Republican officials are 100 percent behind the banks in this antilabor drive.

The immediate target is workers for the Long Island Rail Road, owned by the Metropolitan Transit Authority. They need a catch-up wage increase to make up for murderous inflation.

The employers want to make an example of these workers so that they can hit New York City's bus and subway workers even harder in upcoming contract talks.

The MTA and the government are using every trick in the book to push the LIRR workers down. After a seven-day strike, Carter ordered rail employees back to work for sixty days on December 14. He formed one of those "neutral" emergency boards.

The board's proposed increase came nowhere near matching 1979's inflation rate of 13 percent—and 1980 promises the same kind of price hikes or worse.

As Carter's strikebreaking order ran out, the MTA declared the LIRR a "public-benefit corporation." No public benefit was intended by this phony maneuver.

The goal was to bring LIRR under the state's anti-union Taylor law, which bars public employees from striking.

As we go to press, the United Transportation Union (UTU) has set a February 14 strike deadline.

As Victor Nieto, railroad worker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, declared, "The MTA and the politicians are testing the waters to see what they can get away with.

"If they can force the UTU to accept the few pennies offered and give up their other demands, then other workers will be in a worse position when New York City contracts expire on March 31 and June 31.

"All working people have a stake in supporting the LIRR workers against the combined strikebreaking of Carter, the MTA, and Governor Carey."

## Militant Highlights This Week

- 5 Embassy takeover & Iran revolution
- 6 Chicago teachers strike ends
- 7 Muhammad Ali in Africa
- 8 Steel bosses cry poverty
- 9 Layoffs threaten women's jobs
- 10 George Meany: bureaucrat
- 11 Nicaragua in 1980
- 12 El Salvador: protest & repression
- 13 U.S. socialists in Nicaragua
- 14 Nicaragua miners & nationalizations
- 17 FSLN jails ultralefts
- 24 Why 'Call' backs Afghan rightists
- 6 No Nukes! Notes
- 13 Solidarity With Nicaragua
- 23 In Review
- 25 Union Talk
- What's Going On
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
- If You Like This Paper . . .

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Canada women fight for jobs
- 20 Swedish women lead labor fight
- 21 Frame-up of Kampuchea flops

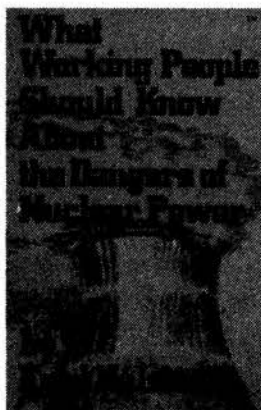


### Open letter to Muhammad Ali

Is a boycott of the Olympic Games in the interests of American Blacks? **Page 7.**

### Layoffs threaten job gains of women

As employers use massive layoffs to push women out of newly won industrial union jobs, labor needs to respond with firm defense of equal rights. **Page 9.**



### The case for 'no nukes'

A new pamphlet by Fred Halstead, veteran socialist and antiwar leader, offers a concise and readable explanation of why working people should oppose nuclear power. It can help in campaign to win mass support for April 26 antinuclear march on Washington. **Page 23.**



## The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Diane Jacobs, Janice Lynn, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$20.00 a year, outside U.S. \$25.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$50.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London and then posted to Britain and Ireland: £3.00 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months (twenty-four issues), £11.00 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4.50 for ten issues, £10.00 for six months, £15.00 for one year. Send checks or international money order (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

# No to the draft!

Carter's call for reinstituting draft registration is a big test for the warmakers in Washington.

The 'New York Times' underscored this in a February 10 editorial. 'At the moment,' the 'Times' said, 'we see only one powerful reason to ask young Americans to register for an eventual military draft: to demonstrate that the public, and especially the generation that grew up with Vietnam, is once more ready to contemplate conscription for military action abroad.'

In other words, a kind of referendum on whether Americans want a new Vietnam war.

'... The country should want registration postcards—and from virtually every family—to signify support for the idea of service and sacrifice in defense of national interests,' the editorial continued.

But Carter's war referendum is getting a different response. With lightning speed in the streets, campuses, high schools, and plants across the country the answer is: 'Hell no—we won't fight for Texaco!'

And what is most significant—organized labor is beginning to take its place in the ranks of the opposition. The antidraft resolution recently passed by the California Conference of the International Association of Machinists (see box) is an important

sign of the trade union power that can be brought to bear to stop Carter's plans.

As the articles in this 'Militant' show, opposition has grown from individual campuses to city, state, and regional organization and action. And all this by a new generation, before troops have been sent to war.

Part of the new wave of campus revolt is the involvement of high school students and the militancy of large numbers of women who are ready to act against the draft.

Debates on the draft, war, and U.S. foreign policy are also occurring daily in factories, mines, and offices.

Black and Latino workers are among the most vocal in their opposition to fighting in another Vietnam. Many of them are Vietnam vets—from the front lines. Many of them have brothers, relatives, and friends who came back maimed or in body bags.

All this shows the tremendous potential to stop Carter's moves toward reinstituting draft registration.

The March 22 antidraft action in Washington, D.C., called by the United States Student Association and other groups, provides a national focus for this growing movement.

Carter wants a referendum? Well, let's give it to him. The referendum of the majority—in the streets!



New York demonstration, February 9

Militant/Lou Howort

## N.Y. rally: 'We will take to the streets'

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—Rev. James Kirkpatrick opened the Times Square rally February 9 by declaring, "They thought we had lost track of the Vietnam war. They tried to erase it from our minds. But that didn't work, did it?"

Two thousand people roared back "No!"

The antidraft rally here was predominantly youthful. About half the participants were women.

One of the best-received speakers was Wilfredo Calderon, a Puerto Rican high school student. He denounced the draft of Puerto Ricans living in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

"They say there is no money for schools and jobs. Then how come there is money for bombs? We don't want more bombs!" said Calderon. "Give us books."

Speaking for District 65 of the United Auto Workers, Kevin Lynch said his union represents "the interests of working people, and their interests differ from those of the U.S. multinational corporations."

"Carter says that we can have differences on domestic policy but we can have only one foreign policy. That's bunk. In District 65 and throughout the UAW we intend to represent the people we are sworn to represent."

He concluded: "That means, hell no, we aren't going to this one."

The protesters picked up the chant and shouted, "Hell no, we won't go!"

"We will fight registration and the draft all the way," proclaimed Maggie Leventsen of the Columbia-Barnard Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

"In whose interest is the draft?" Leventsen asked.

"It certainly isn't meant to support the Afghan people's struggle for self-

determination. Or to strengthen democracy in the Persian Gulf and around the world.

"Carter wants to protect 'our oil.' Not only is it not 'our oil,' but the people Carter would send to die for it would only dying for corporate profits. But sorry, Jimmy, we aren't going to let you get away with it."

The rally cheered as she declared, "We will organize and educate. We'll take to the streets. We will shut the whole damn country down, if necessary. But there will be no draft."

Former Congresswoman Bella Abzug denounced the use of Carter's draft registration plan as a "pressure against the woman's movement."

"Equal rights doesn't mean we become warmongers," Abzug said. "It doesn't mean that we support an incorrect policy because our government says that's the policy."

"The issue is not whether women should be registered, but whether anyone should be registered. And I say that we all have an equal right as human beings to say no."

Other speakers included Rev. Herbert Daughtry, head of the Black United Front; Pedro Rodríguez, New School for Social Research; Jeremiah Gutman, American Civil Liberties Union; and Rev. Mike Clark, Riverside Church Disarmament Project.

Sam Meyers, president of UAW Local 259, sent greetings to the antidraft gathering.

The rally was followed by a march to Carter's campaign headquarters where a picket line was set up.

The antidraft protest was sponsored by more than fifty peace, civil rights, and religious groups, along with Black and Puerto Rican organizations. These groups have formed the New York Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) and they plan to organize further protests.

### Calif. machinists denounce draft

The following is the text of a resolution passed by the California Conference of Machinists held in San Diego January 30 through February 2. This was a gathering of the California International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, which represents more than 150,000 machinists.

WHEREAS: The President of the United States has proposed to reactivate the draft over the Afghanistan incident to protect American interests in that part of the world, and

WHEREAS: Thousands of American Youth were killed to protect the alleged American interests in Korea and Viet Nam; and

WHEREAS: There were no American working peoples interests served in Korea and Viet Nam, but only Multi-national interests, and

WHEREAS: There are no American working peoples interests served in Afghanistan or Iran, only Multi-national interests, and

WHEREAS: The Viet Nam undeclared war divided the country;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this California Conference of Machinists stand opposed to the registration and draft of both male and females to defend and protect Multi-national interests any place in the world;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That our international President, William W. Winpisinger be made aware of this resolution and urge that he use his good office to support this resolution;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That the Secretary of this Conference inform the Congressional Delegation and the State Legislators of this action.



New York, February 9

Militant/Lou Howort

# Thousands join California demonstrations

By Suzanne Haig

A roar of opposition to Carter's draft registration plan rose from many California campuses on Monday, February 11.

The following coverage is based on reports from *Militant* correspondents Patti Iiyama, Gary Balsam, and Mark Friedman.

The marches, rallies, and teach-ins were part of a day of statewide actions called by the University of California Student Body Presidents' Council, which represents the nine UC campuses. Other campuses not in the UC system, including four in Oregon, also held actions.

At UC Berkeley 3,000 students packed into Sproul Plaza and responded with shouts and cheers when Fernando Guerrero, a representative from the striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1979, said, "Both the oil strikers and students are saying no to the oil companies' abuse and contempt for people in the market place and in the military."

"You're not saying no to the flag, motherhood, and apple pie, you're saying no to those people who want you to go fight for their oil, which you can't even afford."

Guerrero appealed for participation in the OCAW-sponsored picket line on February 13 at the Standard Oil office building in San Francisco.

Ten strikers staffed an OCAW table distributing information. Twenty-five people signed up to help work on the strike.

The view that the draft means going to war for big oil was widespread.

One huge banner read "Exxon = draft = war." Another said "Draft the 7 sisters" (referring to the major oil cartels). A sign showed an Exxon tiger dressed in a general's uniform with the caption, "I want you in my tank."

Other speakers included Daniel Ellsberg, a member of the campus ME-ChA, and a representative from Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Fifteen high school students were present who had traveled forty-five miles from San José.

At the University of California in San Diego, high school women led a march around campus that swelled from 750 to 2,000, drawing people out of their classes.

Signs read: "We won't die for big oil" and "We won't die to re-elect Carter."

Three thousand attended the rally. Speakers included a former draft resister; several campus professors: Robin Pugh, a high school student from the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD); and Carol Rowell from the Center for Women's Studies and Services.

Kathryn Crowder, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 755, read part of an antidraft resolution adopted by the IAM California conference (see box).

Plans are under way for a meeting February 17, 1 p.m., at the United Auto Workers Hall to plan a city-wide action. Fifteen thousand leaflets for the planning meeting have been printed,

and 5,000 of them have the IAM resolution on the back. Forty-five people have signed up with the sponsoring groups—San Diego Students for Peace, CARD, and others—to leaflet high schools and plants where IAM members work.

At UCLA a whole series of actions have occurred. On January 31 Ron Kovic, Vietnam veteran leader, spoke out against the draft to 400 people and urged them to stop the government's "war hysteria."

Students gave him a standing ovation when he ended by saying, "The victims from Vietnam now have a rebirth of responsibility to join you in this fight to make sure war never happens again. We've got to awaken a sleeping nation."

On February 5 more than 100 students and faculty formed the Campus Coalition for Peace to plan activities to oppose draft registration.

On February 8 a rally to build for the candlelight vigil at a fund-raising event for Carter's campaign drew 500 students.

On Monday, February 11, the Campus Coalition for Peace organized a teach-in of 250 people.

At UC Santa Barbara 2,000 rallied; at San Diego State University 750 mobilized; and at California State University in Long Beach, 600 students protested.

February 11 was only the beginning of protests in California. Planning meetings are being organized at campuses across the state for further antidraft actions.

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Some 7,000 demonstrators marched against war and the draft here February 8. The demonstration took place outside the Beverly Hilton Hotel, while inside, Rosalynn Carter addressed a \$1,000-a-plate fund-raising dinner for President Carter.

Sponsored by the Alliance for Survival and publicized as a candlelight vigil, the protest emphasized: "Survival is a human right. No nuclear weapons, no war, no draft."

The call for the demonstration drew an unexpectedly large and militant crowd, which jammed into the long blocks surrounding the hotel. The overflow crowd lined Wilshire Boulevard, separated from the main march only by the passing cars, loudly honking their horns and their passengers flashing peace signs to show their support.

Many chanted: "2-4-6-8, we don't want to registrate!" A variation was: "2-4-6-8, we don't want to radiate!"

Other slogans were: "Hell, no we won't go—to fight a war for Texaco!" "No blood for oil!"

"Hell, no, we won't glow!"

"Draft the shah, Rockefeller, Brzezinski!"

"Salvadoran revolution, yes; Mid-East intervention, no!"

Salvadorans and Arabs joined the march, along with many people with their young children; and many junior high and high school students. A majority of the marchers were women.

## Antidraft actions spread across country

Antidraft actions continue to spread across the nation. In Chicago 1,000 people marched February 9 down Michigan Avenue shouting "We won't fight, we won't go, we won't die for Texaco!" and "ERA yes, Draft no." Sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), the march ended up at the Northwestern University downtown campus for a memorial service.

More than 800 people marched February 9 in Washington, D.C. in an antidraft protest sponsored by the Washington Area CARD. Speakers at the rally that followed included Jerry Gordon, executive assistant to the director of Region

2, United Food and Commercial Workers Union and coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now, and John Miller of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

At the University of Arizona in Tucson, 2,500 people turned out for a rally sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild, CARD, and others. A march is planned for February 20 in Phoenix.

On February 11, 500 people gathered at the University of Albuquerque in New Mexico, in a rally sponsored by the Emergency Peace Coalition. A march and rally are planned March 1 at the Albuquerque Civic Plaza.

Four hundred marched in Al-

bany, New York, on February 9.

In Pittsburgh on February 5, 350 people attended a forum at Carnegie Mellon University, sponsored by CARD, and 150 people participated in a forum at the University of Pittsburgh. These events culminated in a rally of 400 on February 9.

Some 800 people rallied at the University of Oregon in Eugene. In Portland 400 people rallied at the Lewis and Clark campus.

In Cleveland 200 people marched February 9. In St. Louis, an action is called for February 16.

On February 9 and 10 some eighty students representing thirteen campuses and twenty organi-

zations met at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut for a northeast regional conference. The meeting endorsed the call for a March 22 antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C.

In Plymouth, Michigan, a high school rally organized by CARD drew 150 students.

Sixty people attended a meeting against the draft at the University of Alabama in Birmingham. A gang of right-wingers marched into the meeting in an unsuccessful attempt to break it up. Then some of them sat in on the meeting and discussion as it proceeded without disruption. The outcome was seen as an important victory for the antidraft movement on campus.

**If you oppose Carter's plan for draft registration, you'll want to read this book.**

*Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War.* By Fred Halstead.

"A vivid and valuable account of a mass popular movement that had a tremendous impact on modern history . . . an important contribution . . ." Noam Chomsky

"Out Now! brings back vividly the whole story of the struggle to end



the Vietnam War. . . ." Dr. Benjamin Spock

If you're interested in preventing another Vietnam, read *Out Now!*

A Monad Press book, 759 pages, \$8.95 (include 75¢ for postage). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

## Tarrytown auto workers discuss draft and war

By Wells Todd

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—At the General Motors assembly plant here, response to President Carter's request for selective service registration has been less than favorable. Comments ranged from: "They'll have to come to my house and get me" to "I'd rather get a piece of steel in my eye here than a bullet in my ass over there."

A woman worker who has been campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment in the plant said, "Men and women should have the equal right not to get drafted." A young black worker said "I lost two cousins in the Vietnam War, and I'll be damned if I'll go."

One Vietnam veteran had a pro and con opinion. He said, "It will

be good for young Blacks and Hispanics who can't find jobs. But it would be a shame if they can't get training in the army so they can make a living after they get out." One worker said he thought draft registration was necessary because of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

A twenty-nine-year-old Black veteran said: "The United States just wants to protect the oil so they can keep on making millions of dollars."

Wells Todd works at the General Motors assembly plant in Tarrytown, New York, and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 664.

## Iranian marchers back students

# How embassy takeover deepened revolution

By Janice Lynn

The newly elected president of Iran, Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr, has publicly attacked the militants occupying the U.S. embassy in Tehran—the Muslim Students Following the Path of the Imam's Line.

In a February 6 interview published in the Tehran newspaper *Kayhan*, Bani-Sadr said, "How can one rule a country when a group called 'Students Following the Path of the Imam' acts in a self-centered way and behaves like a government within a government?"

The specific incident that prompted Bani-Sadr's statement was the students' charge that Minister of Information Nasser Minachi had cooperated with the CIA.

The students had appeared on television and produced U.S. embassy documents to support their charges. One of these, dated December 8, 1978, said of Minachi, "He has been very truthful and frank with the embassy staff and has been passing information."

Following the broadcast, revolutionary guards arrived at Minachi's home with a warrant for his arrest, and he was brought to Evin Prison for questioning.

### Censorship threat

In the *Kayhan* interview, Bani-Sadr branded the accusation and arrest "a disrespectful deed by children who don't know what they're doing." He also criticized the directors of the state radio and television, asking, "Why do they always put these children on the air without consulting the authorities?"

Later that day, the Revolutionary Council ordered Minachi's release and also ordered the state broadcasting system to stop giving the students air time. The Council said that from now on it must first review whatever evidence they might have.

In response, a spokesman for the students in the embassy said that if they were denied radio and television time, they would use the newspapers to continue the disclosures of documents they have found. He also reaffirmed the students' position that the shah must be returned to Iran to stand trial for his crimes before the hostages can be released.

The students' exposure of the U.S. embassy files has played an important role in accelerating the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist dynamic of the Iranian revolution.

The documents showed U.S. embassy collaboration both with Iranian government officials and with certain capitalists.

The students had first come under heavy fire in late December after they released embassy documents on Amir Entezam, the first deputy prime minister under Mehdi Bazargan. The documents showed that Entezam had met with U.S. officials in January 1978, before the shah fell. He was acting as a representative of Bazargan's opposition organization, the Liberation Movement. Entezam had offered to accept a compromise whereby opposition figures would merge with the



Workers from Tehran General Motors plant marching last December in support of embassy occupation.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

shah's regency council in a coalition government acceptable to Carter.

After these files were released, Bazargan and others called for the students to be punished.

But on December 28 tens of thousands of Iranians rejected the attack on the students. They marched to the U.S. embassy chanting, "Students, continue the exposures!"

The exposures coincided with what Iranian workers were finding from their day-to-day experiences. They saw how the imperialists were sabotaging the economy by refusing to provide needed spare parts; how the Iranian capitalists were hoarding goods and closing plants, as well as blocking efforts to establish workers' control over production; and how the Ministry of Labor was often frustrating workers' attempts to deal with these problems.

Iranian workers were convinced that bringing the shah into the United States signalled a serious move by the American government to reassert its domination over their country. The files in the U.S. embassy were seen as conclusive proof of U.S. imperialism's attempt to subvert the Iranian revolution.

### Inspiration to workers

Thus, the occupation of the embassy in early November opened a new stage of the Iranian revolution, inspiring months-long, daily mobilizations by Iran's workers and farmers against any compromise with imperialism.

The workers *shoras*, elected factory committees, began to take the initiative in calling and building the protests.

The *shoras* have also been taking bolder and bolder measures against the bosses, organizing to win improvements in working conditions, wages, and other needs.

Similarly, the small farmers, many of whom have seized estates of big landlords, have intensified their calls on the government to carry out land reform.

One of the signs hung by the students from the embassy building says: "The only way to cut off all the imperialistic dependence is by revolutionary action."

Many Iranian workers and farmers have concluded that revolutionary action must be directed not only at the imperialists but also at the landlords, factory owners, and those figures in the government who are openly block-

ing efforts to achieve independence from U.S. imperialism.

For example, the Islamic Workers Shora, consisting of representatives from shoras in 128 Tehran factories, marched to the U.S. embassy December 23. They presented a resolution calling for the extradition of the criminal shah as well as a break with Iran's dependence upon imperialism in the economic, commercial, and military fields.

The resolution also declared, "Abolish capitalism and plunder! The government should take complete control of industrial planning and run industry in the interests of national growth. . . in collaboration with the shora in each plant."

The students at the embassy hailed the workers as "the arm of the revolution." A representative told the December 23 workers demonstration, "You are organizing yourselves in shoras, which you consider the only way to cut Iran's ties to imperialism."

### Oppressed nationalities

The anti-imperialist upsurge has also given another impulse to the struggle by the oppressed nationalities. Large protests took place in Azerbaijan during December, and renewed struggles have broken out in Kurdistan.

This time the government felt pressured to take an overall posture of negotiations rather than military action.

Many Azerbaijani and Kurdish rebels supported the anti-imperialist struggle, and many Iranian workers became more open to seeing that the overall struggle against Washington would be strengthened by granting the oppressed nationalities the right to govern their own affairs, choose their own leaders, and observe their own culture.

The events at the U.S. embassy have also deepened the internationalist consciousness of the Iranian masses. Their solidarity with other anti-imperialist struggles has been enhanced and their suspicion of the U.S. role in other countries deepened.

### Afghanistan

This can be seen in regard to Afghanistan. The official position of the Iranian government is one of condemnation of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and support to the right-wing guerrilla forces, who are falsely portrayed as Islamic revolutionaries. But there ap-

pears to be little enthusiasm among the Iranian masses to join with the U.S.-backed Afghan rightists in the battlefields.

The conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries held January 27-28 in Islamabad, Pakistan, sparked considerable controversy in Iran. The purpose of this imperialist-inspired conference was to condemn the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

The students at the embassy denounced the conference as a "conspiracy against the Iranian revolution." But when the conference agreed to add U.S. threats against Iran to the agenda, the Iranian government sent a deputy foreign minister to Islamabad.

Ayatollah Khomeini, who for six weeks had not made a public statement on the Soviet actions, broke his silence February 4 in a statement read by his son. The statement pledged "unconditional support" for the forces fighting the Afghan government.

Bani-Sadr also attacked the Soviet troops, but rejected sending Iranian soldiers to fight them. The January 28 *Le Monde* quoted him as saying, "Certainly we intend to resist Russian expansionism, but we are not going to give that to the Americans as a pretext for retaking a foothold here."

### New tests

The new Iranian government faces big tests in coming months. The workers have won significant economic gains, established a certain amount of control on the job, and have enjoyed more democratic freedoms. This has raised their expectations. They now expect the new government to take moves to solve the social and economic problems of their country, and they have become vigilant against any possible collaboration by Iranian officials with the U.S. government.

The Iranian people have made it clear that they support the demands of the students in the embassy and support the continuing release of U.S. spy files.

Tehran radio reported a march February 8, by a "huge crowd" calling for the state radio and television network to give time to the militants to air their exposures.

No matter how the situation with the hostages in the U.S. embassy is resolved, the actions of the students has propelled the Iranian workers and farmers further along the road of independent political struggles.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Hamid Shahrabi freed

On January 30, Hamid Shahrabi, a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), was released from prison in Ahwaz. This brings to ten the number of socialist prisoners who have been freed on bond.

The remaining four HKE prisoners are Hormoz Fallahi and Mustafa Seifabadi, imprisoned in Karoun Prison; Mahsa Hashemi, one of the two women prisoners, who is in Behbahan Prison; and Fatima Fallahi, the other woman prisoner, who has been hospitalized in Ahwaz.

# Chi. teachers push back antilabor drive

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO—The first round in the fight against devastating cutbacks in education and all city services has ended in a partial success for the Chicago Teachers Union. At a mass meeting in the Chicago Amphitheater on Sunday, February 10, striking CTU members voted 4,645 to 213 to return to work.

Through a one-week refusal to work without pay, followed by a one-week strike, the CTU succeeded in winning back the jobs of 504 laid-off teachers, the full thirty-nine-week school year minus one day, and maintenance of benefits and wage increases in the current contract.

The city was forced to drop threats to reduce the 8 percent wage increase scheduled for 1980 to as little as 2 percent, to take away family health coverage, and to increase dental deductions in the medical plan. The city also gave up its proposal to fine strikers.

The union did sustain losses in this round—1,375 laid-off teachers have not been rehired. But the figure would have been greater had the CTU not organized a solid strike. The union leadership's premise that some cuts would have to be accepted weakened its position.

The ranks of the CTU, who were solidly behind the strike, felt that this round is only the beginning. "This is

*Brenda Brdar is a member of the Chicago Teachers Union.*

just the tip of the iceberg. We'll have to be ready to continue to fight," said one.

CTU President Robert Healey threatened a new walkout if the board tried to reopen the contract again.

The banks had demanded that \$60 million be cut now and that \$106 million be cut from next year's school budget.

But the crisis is not one of too little money, but rather who controls the money. The banks will make more than \$80 million in profits from interest on board of education bonds this year. And the schools lost more than \$200 million in uncollected corporate personal property taxes in 1977 and 1978 alone.

The board of education, the banks and corporations, and the Democrats and Republicans want more cutbacks, more school closings, more layoffs. They want to tear up the CTU's contract.

Other battles are looming. Chicago's fire fighters are meeting heavy opposition from city and state governments as they seek to become the first city employees to win a union contract; and the Chicago Transit Authority is refusing, with Mayor Byrne's support, to pay transit workers the cost of living increase guaranteed by their contract.

The CTU and the embattled city unions need to actively seek allies in the powerful industrial unions in Chicago. Only the power of a united labor movement can knock down the take-back offensive.



# Socialist beaten up by Gary, Indiana cop

Bobbie Bagel

GARY, Ind.—A Socialist Workers Party campaign supporter was arrested and beaten by an off-duty Gary police officer while distributing literature at a supermarket here February 2.

Tom Campion, twenty-five, was passing out leaflets on an upcoming meeting in Gary for SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and selling the *Militant* newspaper in front of Tittle's, a local food store. Campion is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1834 at Pullman-Standard Company in Hammond.

He had been leafleting for about fifteen minutes when the manager told him he could not distribute the literature on store property. After a brief discussion, Campion agreed to leave.

As Campion walked away, the store's security guard followed him and threatened, "You'd better start running." Campion protested this abuse. Just as he had reached the edge of the store's parking lot, the guard knocked Campion to his knees, handcuffed him, and took him into the store.

It turns out that the guard, Andrew Jury, is also a police officer in the Gary Police Department.

After waiting in an employees' lunch room for about fifteen minutes, Campion was taken into a small room upstairs in the very back of the store.

An employee who was present was asked to leave. Jury then punched Campion in the stomach, hit him on the head with his fist, knocked him to the ground, and kicked him.

While Jury was filling out the arrest form, he kept up a steady stream of abusive language, referring to Campion as a "communist motherfucker."

When Jury had completed the form, he turned and drew his gun. He pointed the revolver between Campion's eyes, just a few inches from his face, and said, "Next time you run into me, you're going to be facing this."

Campion was then taken to the police station. He was forced to spend the rest of the day and night in jail. The police initially refused to explain the charges against him.

Campion was released the next morning. Bail has been set at \$3,000. Officer Jury has filed three charges against Campion. They are: disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and assault on an officer.

The Socialist Workers Party is demanding that all charges against Campion be dropped, that an investigation into the conduct of the police officer be held, and that Mayor Richard Hatcher guarantee the civil liberties of everyone to freely distribute campaign literature on the streets of Gary.

# No nukes!

Notes from the movement against nuclear weapons and nuclear power



## Support for April 26

Regional meetings to build the April 26 March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World show that there is rapidly growing support for the protest.

Organizations in one state after the next are humming with activity to deliver a massive blow against nuclear power in Washington three months from now.

Particularly successful was the February 10 meeting in Baltimore of the Mid-Atlantic region (Region 11) of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World. Representatives came from Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware and Washington, D.C.

Their organizations included the D.C. Student Coalition Against Nukes, Chesapeake Bay and Potomac Alliances, West Virginians for Safe Energy and Jobs, and Steelworkers Local 2609 of the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point.

John Miller, who is a full-time staff worker at the national coalition office in Washington, stressed the importance of outreach work.

"Local organizations," he said, "should be putting out their own material—leaflets and posters. Be creative!"

The Baltimore meeting also discussed sending car caravans to Harrisburg on March 28, the first anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident. These caravans would originate in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington.

## Albany teach-in

Region 10 (Upstate New York) also met February 10 in Syracuse. Participants came from the SUNY system (State University of New York) in Oneonta, Binghamton, Albany, and Alfred, as well as various state antinuclear organizations.

The Capital District Antinuclear Alliance of Albany has already reserved seven buses for the April 26 demonstration. Region 10 plans statewide press conferences March 24 to announce the April 26 protest.

## New TMI leak

"We are not alarmists. Three Mile Island was not an isolated incident but merely the worst (so far) in a whole chain of near-disasters. We need to organize now. The so-called 'experts' have sold us down the river; we need to educate ourselves and be our own experts."

So declares the brochure of the "Panhandle Alliance" of the West Virginians for Safe Energy and Jobs. West Virginia is a coal-producing state that has so far successfully fought off nuclear plants.

Meanwhile on February 11, it was revealed that Three Mile Island itself sprang a new leak. For ninety minutes that afternoon an estimated 1,000 gallons of water containing radioactive krypton gas leaked from the main building of the crippled nuclear reactor into an auxiliary building.

This was a leak in the primary cooling system, which is supposed to help keep the badly damaged reactor fuel core from overheating and melting down. There were eleven workers present when the leak began.

## Ohio conference

A statewide organizing conference for a non-nuclear Ohio is set for Saturday, March 1, at the Community Center in Wooster, Ohio, 241 South Bever Street. This conference is endorsed by all of the twenty-odd antinuclear alliances in Ohio as well as by United Mine Workers District 6 and Jim Copley of United Auto Workers Local 533.

Other meetings we've heard scheduled include Region 12 (New York City and Long Island) Saturday, February 16, noon, at Harlem Fight Back, 1 East 125th Street; and Region 8 (Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio) in Muncie, Indiana, at Ball State University, Ball Room of the Student Center, February 17 at noon.

Compiled by Dick Roberts



## Buttons, Brochures, T-shirts

T-shirts, buttons, and brochures for April 26-28 are available from Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, 413 8th St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 544-5228. The T-shirts are \$5; buttons 75¢ each; 35¢ for ten or more; 25¢ for 100 or more.

# An open letter to Muhammad Ali

Dear Brother Ali,

In the midst of the racist uproar over Black contacts with the Palestinian Liberation Organization a few months ago, we defended in the *Militant* the rights of Blacks to speak out on foreign policy issues. Little did we know then that we would have to restate our case so soon.

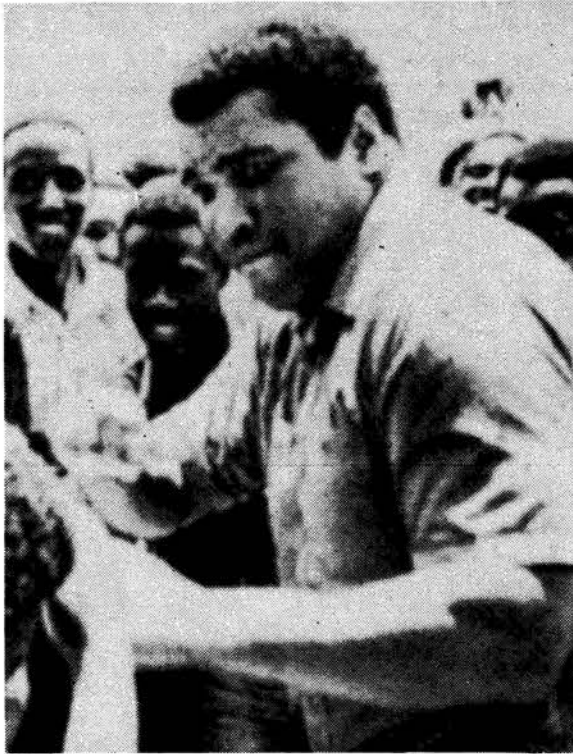
A month ago you urged members of your sports club not to participate in the Moscow Olympics because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. President Carter then chose you to tour Africa to gain support for his call for a boycott of the Moscow games.

During your visit to Tanzania, you encountered brothers and sisters who brought to your attention the racist and colonialist hypocrisy of Washington's foreign policy.

Why did the United States, they asked, refuse to back the demands of twenty-eight African nations for a boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics? (A protest directed against racist South Africa.)

Why has the U.S. refused to give material and political support to the liberation groups fighting in southern Africa?

You're asking us, they said, to penalize the



Ali in Tanzania

## As I see it

Soviet Union when it has been Moscow—not Washington—that has aided our struggles.

In Nairobi, Kenya, you were reported to have said that upon your return to this country you would tell Carter: "You got me on the spot. You get on a big spot and then you send me around the world to take the whipping. You get on a big spot and you send me around the world to handle the criticism. . . . I'm not here to take America's whipping."

When you said this, the racist U.S. news media labelled you unfit and incompetent for diplomatic tasks.

The media, of course, saw it differently when you supported without reservation Carter's line on Afghanistan.

We didn't hear a word from them about your qualifications then, and in fact, your trip was played up as a feather in Carter's cap.

Just as in the case of Black leaders speaking out on the Middle East, the rulers of this country and the media they control don't mind our involvement in foreign policy, as long as we

parrot their line. It's when we exercise any kind of independent thinking in opposition to their views that we quickly become unqualified.

If there is anybody who knows how true this is, it would be you. We remember well how you stood up, in 1967, against their war in Vietnam and refused to be drafted. You recognized that Black people had nothing to gain from fighting the Vietnamese.

We took pride in your defiance. We stood steadfast with you when they took away your World Heavyweight boxing title and denied your right to earn a living because of your religious and political views. And we also reveled in your subsequent vindication.

Therefore, Brother Ali, given your experiences with the rulers of this country, some of us were kind of wondering—what got you on Carter's pro-war train in the first place?

You say because you are a Muslim, and because Afghanistan is a Muslim country, you have to oppose the Soviet's intervention and support the boycott.

Well, there happen to be Muslims on both sides of the conflict in Afghanistan. The question is, which Muslims do you side with?

In April 1978, a revolution was initiated to give the Afghan masses a better way of life through

land reform, improved health care, and increased education opportunities for a population that's 90 percent illiterate.

A minority of Muslims in Afghanistan opposed the revolution. They wanted to return to the "good old days" of feudal land relations, oppression of women and national minorities, and capitalist exploitation. These Muslims are the landlords, capitalists, money lenders, and heroin merchants.

The Soviets have intervened on the side of the forces pushing for progressive change. The U.S. supports the pushers, capitalists, and landlords trying to block the revolution. We ask again, Brother Ali, whose side are you on?

Let's bring it closer to home. Do you really want to support the forces in Afghanistan which include the dope merchants—the people whose products have found their way into the veins of OD'd and crippled Black youth?

Not only as a Muslim, but as a Black person as well, you should recognize that the war sentiment the Carter administration wants to whip up has not an ounce of benefit for Blacks. It will be to the detriment of all working people and Blacks, as has always been true, who will suffer the most. If the draft goes through it threatens the lives of our precious youth. The bloated military budget means more funds taken away from hospitals, schools, and housing in our communities. And the purpose of the war drive is to put down revolutions and liberation struggles of peoples of color struggling against imperialism.

Likewise, the boycott of the Moscow Olympics in no way benefits Blacks. For Black youth—as it was for you in the 1960 Olympics—participation is one of the few opportunities available for escape from the misery of ghetto existence.

Voices in the Black community are beginning to see through Carter's hypocrisy.

As the *Amsterdam News* put it: "arguing that the Olympics has political overtones doesn't sit well with Black Americans who remember that our government once claimed that politics didn't apply to the games. Of course, that was when Blacks and other minorities challenged South Africa's participation because of its inhuman and repressive regime."

I hope, Brother Ali, that you will see that your interests lie with your brothers and sisters at home as well as those people struggling for their freedom around the world. Not with Carter who could care less about Muslims in Afghanistan or Blacks in America.

—August Nimtz

# Canada unions campaign for labor party

By Stu Singer

TORONTO—With federal elections coming up on February 18, Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, is conducting its biggest campaign ever. And the Canadian Labor Congress, Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO, is organizing what it calls the "parallel campaign."

They are drawing virtually every union local in Canada into active support for the NDP.

A week before election day, I visited the Labor Lyceum in Toronto where the parallel campaign is organized. I spoke with Mike Lyons, former United Auto Workers member and a campaign organizer for the Toronto Labor Council.

The walls of the room were covered with charts listing every union local in Toronto, the number of members, the names of contacts in the local, what kind of literature had been distributed, and whether meetings had been held.

The Canadian government operates under the parliamentary system. Each party has a party leader who runs in one of the election districts, called ridings. Whichever party gets a majority of seats or is able to muster a majority of votes in parliament selects its party leader as prime minister. The party leaders campaign around the country somewhat like presidential candidates.

The leaders of the three parties are Joe Clark, the current prime minister,

who heads the Progressive-Conservative Party (or Tories); Pierre Trudeau, prime minister from 1968 to 1979, who heads the Liberal Party; and Ed Broadbent, NDP member of parliament from Oshawa, north of Toronto.

Clark's Conservative government came to power last May. In December it lost a vote in Parliament on the budget, forcing a new election.

Canadian unions are organizing on-the-job campaign discussions by union stewards and volunteers with every worker. A "steward's guide to the on-the-job canvass" published by the CLC includes a sample discussion.

Suppose a worker says, "Well, I don't think unions should be involved in politics."

The suggested response includes, "I used to feel the same way. Hell, when bargaining won less than I thought was fair I blamed the bosses. The fact is there are political bosses as well. . . ."

"We got a fairly good contract last time and we're behind the eight-ball already. I figure that if we stay out of politics, we simply allow the political boss to do the dirty work for the workplace boss. The way I figure it we just have to fight on two fronts. Otherwise we get hosed."

Another sample discussion has a worker who supports the Liberals or Conservatives. The response includes, "Well, I'm going to try real hard not to blame you for the mess we've had the

last seven months (for Tories) or the mess we had from '74 to '79 (for Liberals). The NDP isn't perfect, but think about it."

The NDP is far from perfect. When Carter clamped down on trade with the Soviet Union and stepped up war preparations in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, NDP leader Broadbent joined Tory Prime Minister Clark in giving full support to Carter.

But this met with a quick response from other NDP leaders.

NDP member of Parliament Colleen Jewett said that if Broadbent was backing Carter's stand, then "he is not speaking for me, the caucus [of NDP members of Parliament], or the party. We do not support military action or saber rattling."

The Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, the Canadian sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, is running four candidates in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. They are putting forward a socialist program and urging a vote for the NDP in English Canada.

The RWL/LOR calls for a government based on the NDP and the Quebec unions.

The Canadian unions are bringing the labor party campaign to the attention of every union member. This has produced a great deal of political discussion.

The contrast to union support of the

capitalist Democratic and Republican parties in the United States is striking, especially since the Canadian effort is spearheaded by powerful industrial unions such as the Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, and the rail unions.

The union campaign for the NDP raises the class difference between workers and capitalists, both on the job and in government. It is an important example for U.S. workers to study and discuss.

## USWA vs. war industry

HAMILTON, Ontario—The president of one of the largest United Steelworkers locals in Canada announced February 9 that he was considering raising union opposition to military production as a contract issue.

Cec Taylor, president of USWA Local 1005 at the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) mill in Hamilton, said he opposed the use of steel from that mill for weapons.

"We're not going to make bombs to drop on other countries," he said.

Taylor's announcement received prominent coverage in Hamilton's daily paper, the *Spectator*.

## Steel union lists demands

# Bosses cry poverty as negotiations open

By Stu Singer

The negotiating process between the United Steelworkers of America and the steel industry giants began February 5 in Pittsburgh with the "Steel Industry Sound Off."

The three-year contract covering 357,400 workers at nine companies expires July 31. It will affect the contracts of hundreds of thousands of other USWA members and millions of workers in other industries.

Like other working people, steelworkers face double-digit inflation, sweeping layoffs, plant closings, speed-up, unsafe working conditions, and company takeaway demands—to name just some of the problems that need to be addressed in these negotiations.

Presidents of USWA locals in basic steel, meeting last December in Pittsburgh, adopted a statement of their bargaining demands. It addresses many of these problems. Demands voiced in the statement include:

- a substantial wage increase to make up for ground lost to inflation, plus improved cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) to yield one cent per hour for each 0.2 point rise in the Consumer Price Index;
- big pension increases plus COLA on pensions;
- a shorter workweek with no cut in pay;
- Supplemental Unemployment Benefits to be increased and guaranteed for all members;
- end compulsory overtime;
- the guaranteed right to refuse unsafe work without fear of discipline or penalty;
- workers to be treated as innocent until proven guilty in all disciplinary actions;
- greater union control over scheduling;
- day-care centers provided by the companies;
- pregnancy to be fully covered by company-paid insurance plans;
- increased affirmative-action efforts and increased power of civil rights committees;
- reduced probation period and an end to discrimination and sexual harassment against probationary employees;
- company pledge of neutrality in relation to union organizing efforts at nonunion plants;
- no removal of locals or plants from the basic steel agreement.

### Position weakened

These demands are modest and certainly just. They aim mainly at enabling steelworkers to defend past living standards.

Unfortunately, the union's position in seeking these goals is weakened by the top officialdom's stance of trying to help the companies boost profits. The steel companies resist all the above union proposals—and put forward their own demands for contract takeaways—on the grounds that profits must be raised.

When U.S. Steel, the largest company, announced massive plant closings last November, the USWA international leadership went along with the elimination of 13,000 jobs as economically necessary. It again backed U.S. Steel when the company blackmailed union locals at American Bridge Division into accepting inferior contract terms.

The union position is further weakened by a negotiating procedure that denies the ranks the right to vote on contracts.

And ultimately the union goes into negotiations with its strongest weapon left behind, having given up the right to strike over basic contract issues in 1973. The "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," which set up the current bargaining procedure, governs this



**Workers will have to live under the terms of the contract, but they are denied the right to vote.**

year's talks and will be up for extension to 1983.

USWA President Lloyd McBride is a member of the Carter administration's Pay Advisory Committee, which recently recommended that wage increases be held to between 7.5 and 9.5 percent. This is at least four percentage points less than the annual inflation rate.

A chart distributed at the conference of local presidents last December showed that real wages of steelworkers declined in 1979 for the first time in ten years.

The January issue of *Steelabor*, the

union's monthly paper, features an article entitled "Are Steelworkers Paid Too Much?" It is a good response to antiunion attacks that have appeared in newspapers around the country claiming steel wages are too high. The article quotes USWA President McBride as pointing out that:

"... while the average Steelworker may earn \$20,000 a year, the U.S. Department of Labor reports that 'a family of four requires \$20,923 for a modest standard of living, one with no frills. Most Steelworkers are family breadwinners.'"

But the second part of the article

presents the company argument about how the industry is allegedly being hurt by imports. It goes so far as to blame inflation on the "vast imports into the wide-open U.S. markets." The article names Canada as "the nation's top trading ally."

Although the term "ally" is used, the article clearly implies that imports, including from Canada, have to be restricted even further.

The United Steelworkers prides itself on being an *international* union. It is one of the largest industrial unions in Canada. Should USWA members in Canada fight for fewer exports from their country to help the U.S. balance of trade?

### Imports & inflation

It is absurd to pit U.S. and Canadian members of the same union against each other. It is just as absurd to pit U.S. steelworkers against their brothers and sisters in Japan, France, Germany, and other countries—who face the same problems as workers here.

In Britain, for example, more than 100,000 steelworkers are on strike against the British Steel Corporation. That company has announced plans to eliminate one-third of the jobs of its workers. Are these workers "stealing American jobs" or causing our inflation?

No—the enemy of American steelworkers is right here at home.

The fact is the anti-import drive has not preserved steel jobs in the United States. It has allowed the companies to jack up prices and profits.

The "trigger price" system limiting steel imports cost American consumers an estimated \$1.1 billion in 1978 alone. That came out of the pockets of working people—including steelworkers—in higher prices for all commodities that use steel.

The trigger price system also reduced steel imports by more than 17 percent in 1979 compared to 1978. And imports are expected to fall even more this year since the trigger price is being raised even higher. So whatever problems the steel industry has, it's not too believable to blame them on imports.

### Speedup drive

The company drive to curb imports, increase productivity, and raise profits was apparently a big feature of the "Sound Off" meeting. It was attended by the company negotiators, international union officers, district directors, and many local union presidents.

According to Linus Wampler, director of District 33 from Duluth, Minnesota, "The companies came down tremendously hard. They want ways to increase productivity. They probably want to combine some crafts. I imagine they're talking about coffee breaks and any free time you have."

USWA Vice-president Joe Odorcich pointed out there have been 131 steelworker deaths in the mills since the last contract. But U.S. Steel negotiator J. Bruce Johnston claimed that two-thirds of the lost-time accidents are caused by workers violating rules and instructions.

Anyone who ever worked for a steel company would find it remarkable that Johnston only claims two-thirds are the fault of the workers. The policy of the steel industry is that every accident, no matter what happened, is blamed on the victim.

So negotiations for the basic steel contract begin with the companies crying poverty and the union leadership having already given ground in some key battles.

But the steelworkers themselves have not been heard from yet. They are the ones who face the company assault every day, and they are the ones who will have to live under the new contract. When they find a way to make their voices heard, everyone else is going to have to shut up and listen.

## Public also gouged

The steel industry is directing its blackmail demands not only at union members but also at the general public.

On January 31 the American Iron and Steel Institute, represented by the heads of U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, and National, released a "White Paper" in Washington. They claimed the steel industry is at a crossroads and the future depends on federal policy.

The corporation heads demand that the government tighten import restrictions, relax pollution controls, and drastically change tax laws to the benefit of the steel companies.

USWA officials responded in various ways to the report. According to the February 1 *Hammond*, Indiana, *Times*, Jim Smith, a top aide to Lloyd McBride, backed the industry demands for tax breaks and

import curbs. But on the environment Smith said: "There may be a few areas where regulations are too technical, but generally we oppose any relaxation of environmental or safety and health laws."

The *Hammond Times* also asked USWA District 31 Director Jim Balanoff about the company demands. He responded: "They want us to pay the whole load. Their next demand will be that we fold up the union office."

Balanoff said it is "no coincidence that this proposal comes right after U.S. Steel's plant closings and right before negotiations. . . . If they really want all that government help, then the government should have some control over what they do with it. [USWA Treasurer] Frank McKee thinks we may have to consider nationalizing the industry, and I tend to agree."

By Nancy Cole

In September of last year there were some 500 women working at U.S. Steel's South Works in South Chicago. Now workers there estimate the number of women has dwindled to around 100.

Of the 800 layoffs that have hit South Works, half were women. The work force was only about 8 percent female before the layoffs. Now it's around 2 percent.

The 500 women—a majority of whom were Black or Latina—were not there as a result of any friendly gesture by U.S. Steel. They were steelworkers because Blacks and women over decades had fought to win affirmative action in employment.

In the specific case of U.S. Steel, a 1974 court settlement—known as the consent decree—instructed the company to hire one woman for every four men. (The agreement also set training goals and new transfer rights for Black, Latino, and women workers.)

While U.S. Steel and the other eight steel giants who were part of the agreement tried to sabotage the plan in every way possible, it did result in substantial employment gains for women.

Now those gains are in serious jeopardy.

Workers at South Works are represented by United Steelworkers Local 65. The January 65 *News* quotes Marian Thacher, a member of the local women's committee with one year's seniority at the plant.

"It's really wrong that the company is breaking the contract and doing away with jobs right and left," Thacher says. "This isn't just happening in the blast furnace, but all over. It's especially affecting the women; most of us don't have the seniority to still be working."

"We should fight this thing any way we can."

### Massive layoffs

The layoffs that threaten women's job gains are part of a larger dilemma facing the entire working class. Massive layoffs are afflicting hundreds of thousands of workers in steel, auto, coal, and other basic industries.

City governments are slashing the jobs of teachers, hospital workers, and other municipal employees who provide vital social services.

The most powerful corporate giants are in the midst of a far-reaching assault against the rights and living standards of all working people. Their only aim is to protect and expand their profits. Yet they continue to pound into working people that these sacrifices are necessary.

For the labor movement, the time is overdue to take this on with a united, all-out campaign to demand jobs for all.

Deals—such as the one recently crammed down the throats of Chrysler workers—that trade off wage and job

### MORE ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

• Canadian unions, labor party back right of women to steel jobs. Page 19.

• Swedish women workers lead fight for shorter workweek. Page 20.

concessions for promises of preserving "jobs for some" offer no way forward. These giveaways only encourage the employers and hasten bigger attacks.

Rather, the union movement should be waging a battle for a shorter work week with no cut in pay in order to spread the work around. It is a demand on the minds of many working people, and it can and should be at the top of labor's agenda.

From Chrysler to the Milwaukee Road, labor's answer to the corporate plea of "no money" should be: Open the books of these companies to public inspection! Nationalize the industry and let the workers run it!

Now is no time for "business as

usual." The labor movement needs to close ranks, consolidate its clout, and prepare for battle.

Critical to this fight for survival is ensuring today—right now—that workers who were so long on the outs—women, Blacks, and Latinos—do not once again find themselves with the doors slammed in their faces because of discriminatory layoffs.

In the last decade women have flooded the work force, providing 13 million of all new workers compared with 9 million men. Today 42 million women work, which is 59 percent of all women aged eighteen to sixty-four.

Women have been forced to look for jobs in the battle to try to keep family budgets above water. In addition, women are the sole parent in one out of seven families. The hackneyed charge that women work for "pin money" has been laid to rest.

Yet as the number of women workers has grown, the gap between the pay of men and women has widened. Full-time women workers now take home only three-fifths of what men do.

The reason is that women are segregated into the lowest-paying—predominantly non-unionized—sectors of employment.

That was the meaning of the important, though still modest, gains that women made in breaking into the higher-paying union jobs in basic industry. For the first time, women won a shot at jobs that paid up to three or four times what they had earned in traditionally female occupations.

With the current wave of layoffs in basic industry, employers see their chance to kick women back into their "place"—out.

Local 65's Marian Thacher is certainly not the only woman to feel the injustice of this and to want to fight—"any way we can"—to prevent it from happening.

### Modify seniority

As an immediate step, the unions could move to modify seniority provisions so that layoffs would not reduce the proportion of women (and Black) workers at a given work site.

This could be accomplished with dual seniority lists, for example. Thus at South Works, of 800 workers who were laid off, such a provision would allow for only 85 of them to be women. That would maintain the 8 percent female work force. Unlike under the current setup, women would not suffer disproportionately from the layoffs.

This would show in action that unions are no fair-weather-friends of women's rights, but that they fight for equality during hard times as well as good. It would be another step toward uniting and strengthening the labor movement.

There has been no organized discussion in the labor movement of this answer to the discriminatory effects of layoffs—and one is urgently needed now. Some of the objections raised to it during the 1974-75 recession and in recent informal discussions among union members are:

• This would detract from the fight for jobs for all.

• Seniority is a keystone of the union movement not subject to revision.

• (From some women workers): We don't need favors or special privileges—we can do it on our own.

The answer to all these is tied to the labor movement's famous maxim of solidarity: An injury to one is an injury to all.

That saying was not only popularized out of a sense of justice and equality. But also out of a rich history of struggle that proved time and time again that an attack on part of the labor movement that goes unanswered weakens the entire movement.

Modifying seniority to give equal

# Layoffs threaten job gains of women in industry



Militant/Eric Simpson

**Thousands of unionists marched for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond on January 13. Preventing employers from using discriminatory layoffs to throw women out of industry is a vital part of the equal rights fight.**

protection to women and Black workers is no substitute for the fight for full employment. But it is a necessary step toward strengthening the labor movement—by uniting labor's ranks and appealing to such crucial allies as the Black and women's movements—so labor can fight to win jobs for all.

A narrow definition of seniority is not a principle for labor. In the famous *Weber* case (discussed in more detail below), the Steelworkers union firmly defended its right to modify seniority to give Black and women workers equal opportunity. And virtually the entire labor movement rallied behind the Steelworkers' defense of affirmative action.

So the real question is whether it is in labor's interest to make such an adjustment in order to prevent women from losing the narrow foothold they have gained in industry. Far from being a favor or special privilege to women, this would in fact benefit all workers, male and female.

Employers mercilessly fight to maintain a second-class status for Blacks and women because it contributes directly to their profits. And it's not only because they get away with paying Black and women workers less. Even more important to the corporations who run this country, discrimination saps labor's united strength and drags down the standard of living for all working people.

### No permanent status

The employers have by no means accepted women as a permanent part of the industrial workforce. Companies openly flaunt this by refusing to provide adequate locker and shower facilities for women or smaller-sized boots

and safety clothing and equipment.

Steel companies, coal operators, and other corporations have tried to drive women out of industry any way they can—harassing them into quitting or firing them while still on probation.

The current layoffs have handed the employers their biggest opportunity since they shoved women out of industry after World War II.

There's another related reason why the bosses don't want women in industry. Women have brought a new fighting spirit into the unions. They fought to get these jobs and they are willing to fight to keep them—and a little dignity and equality to boot.

These new industrial working women don't automatically accept as part of life some of the brutal and unsafe working conditions they encounter. They have been among the most ready to fight for safety, against probationary firings of all workers, and for improved conditions.

That kind of gumption can only benefit every one of their union brothers as well.

The industrial unions have begun to take serious note of their new female component. One of the most dramatic examples was the union support for the January 13 Labor for Equal Rights Now demonstration in Richmond, Virginia. Scores of unions and union officials at every level endorsed and joined this march and rally to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"This labor movement cannot be strong, cannot be united, cannot depend upon women becoming active and loyal unless it goes to bat all the way for women's rights and for the ERA," LERN co-chair Jerry Gordon

*Continued on page 22*

*It was thanks in no small part to his efforts that the character of the American labor movement today gives us all a good deal to be thankful for.*

—The Wall Street Journal's  
January 14 eulogy  
for George Meany

## By Frank Lovell

(first of a series)

George Meany's death January 10 at the age of eighty-five prompted a barrage of praise for the "plain-spoken plumber from the Bronx."

The most lavish of this came from the employing class and its propaganda agencies.

He was portrayed as "the man who dominated this country's trade union movement for a quarter of a century," implying that Meany made all the decisions and others carried them out.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In his official capacity as AFL-CIO president, Meany served two masters. He represented and protected the interests of the union bureaucracy. He also served the social and political needs of the employing class.

He sought to adjust union demands to shifting economic and political trends, always careful to avoid confrontation with the employers. He was the convinced advocate and experienced practitioner of class-collaboration under all circumstances and at all cost.

As such, he was retained during the long period of

Frank Morrison as secretary-treasurer.

The wartime use of government-established "tripartite" committees to regulate and control labor/management relations impressed Meany more than anything else. He saw how the War Labor Board worked with representatives from government, management, and labor. It assigned union jurisdiction over newly built war industry plants and fixed wages "at established union rates" for the tens of thousands recruited to the work force.

The fact that these new workers automatically became union members and had their dues checked off by the company payroll department was bound to attract the attention of union bureaucrats. That the War Labor Board broke strikes and held wages far below the inflation rate concerned them little.

Meany was convinced that here at last was the ideal way to resolve all disputes between capital and labor. He never forgot it.

The most important lesson for Meany from his wartime experience was the apparent ease that support of the government's reactionary foreign policy could be traded off for concessions in the form of union recognition, wages, some fringe benefits, and maybe beneficial social legislation.

With the proposal of the anti-union, strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, it became clear that the ruling class was bent on re-establishing the "American Plan" in vogue after World War I. Meany had no desire to return to those times.

Representing the AFL, Meany testified at congressional hearings against the Taft-Hartley bill,

In this speech Meany revealed the plans of the AFL bureaucracy to raid CIO unions under cover of Taft-Hartley. They hoped to have the CIO outlawed as a "communist union," clearing the way for the AFL to demand NLRB certification and a government-imposed dues checkoff.

The AFL's persistent raiding of CIO unions was a factor in the CIO expulsion in 1949 of its "communist-controlled" affiliates representing more than a million members. The loyal "non-communist" CIO unions then began gobbling up those that were expelled, as the AFL had done previously.

AFL President William Green died in 1952. He was eighty years old. For several years Meany had served as the functioning head of the federation. His mentor, Dan Tobin, nominated him for the vacancy and Meany was unanimously elected by the AFL council. At fifty-six, he was one of the few "young" members.

The union movement had not prospered in the years following Taft-Hartley. Few gains were made, economically or politically. In no way had the anticommunist proclamations of the top officials in both the AFL and the CIO strengthened them against the employers and against anti-union investigations and legislation in Congress.

Philip Murray, CIO president, had died of a heart attack only eleven days before Green. Walter Reuther, head of the auto union, became the CIO president.

It is true that Reuther and Meany were vastly different in background. More than ten years younger than Meany, Reuther was a product of the 1930s radicalization and labor upsurge. He had also been an active socialist and was more openly identified with social causes than Meany. He continued to talk about industrial democracy, political reform, and social equality.

But in the daily management of union affairs, the distinction between Meany and Reuther was largely a difference in style. Their goals at the time were the same, and their methods of achieving them not very different.

### AFL-CIO unity

Meany sought unity with the CIO unions from the beginning of his tenure as AFL president. The 1955 unification was largely the result of hostile political pressures upon the union movement. It was a defensive move by both craft unions and the industrial union movement.

The high hopes at the AFL-CIO merger convention of inspiring new confidence and winning new members were not realized. The AFL-CIO began with about 15 million members. Ten years later it had 13.5 million. This loss is accounted for in part by the expulsion of the Teamsters. But the AFL-CIO failed to recruit new workers.

Social unrest over the twenty years from 1955 to 1975 had a profound effect upon the American working class and upon the union movement. During those years the composition of the work force changed drastically, becoming younger, more representative of Blacks and other minorities, and of women.

The union bureaucracy, led by Meany, satisfied that wages for organized workers remained above average and that established union-management relations were institutionalized, seemed oblivious to the social struggles outside the union movement.

Walter Reuther was never happy with the conservative image projected by Meany. After ten years of grousing that Meany ought to clean up his act and appear to be more aggressive against the employers and less dependent on the government, he began to publicly disassociate himself and the auto union from Meany.

"The AFL-CIO suffers from a sense of complacency and adherence to the status quo," said Reuther. He led the United Auto Workers out of the AFL-CIO on July 1, 1968.

Meany's every word and act confirmed Reuther's assessment. In a 1968 Labor Day interview, Meany sounded more like a representative of employers than unions.

Workers are conservatized, he said. "You have people who are making \$8,000 or \$9,000 a year, paying off mortgages with kids going to college, you have an entirely different situation when you think about calling them on strike."

Meany was a strong advocate of the "voluntary no-strike pledge." He said, "We find more and more that strikes really don't settle a thing. Where you have a well-established industry and a well-established union, you are getting more and more to the point where a strike doesn't make sense."

It was all part of Meany's efforts to minimize and reconcile the conflicting interests of management and labor. In tackling this impossible task, one of the biggest disservices Meany did for the labor movement was in the field of foreign policy. That, in particular Meany's ties with the CIA, will be the subject of our next article.

# George Meany

## Bureaucrat's bureaucrat



labor quiescence by the heads of most unions as the executive officer of their federation. In every respect, Meany was the bureaucrat's bureaucrat.

### Different times

Meany started out in different times as a local business agent of the plumbers union in 1922. That was the era of the so-called "American plan," meaning no unions—also known today as "right to work." There was little room for union/management collaboration under that plan, but the building trades unions found cracks in it and survived.

Being in New York City, Meany's dealings with building contractors introduced him to the Democratic Party's corrupt Tammany Hall political machine. These were not the circumstances in which leaders are created, but Meany learned to be a pretty good fixer.

He devised ways to settle jurisdictional disputes among the crafts, and to resolve differences with the bosses through arbitration.

In 1934, Meany connived to become president of the New York State Federation of Labor. That was the year of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, the San Francisco general strike, and the Minneapolis Teamster strikes. These were different from earlier depression-era strikes. They won.

These victories broke anti-union barriers and prepared the way for the great industrial union movement, the CIO.

George Meany understood nothing of this. When the CIO came, he hindered its development for fear that craft privileges would be lost in the new industrial unions.

Meany first came to the attention of top AFL policymakers in 1939. He was picked by Dan Tobin of the Teamsters and "Big Bill" Huteson of the Carpenters to replace the seventy-nine-year-old

and he seemed to be as much opposed to it as the CIO officials were. Both AFL and CIO leaders vowed they would never submit to its dictates.

After the measure became law, most of these union officials in both the AFL and the CIO began to have second thoughts.

One of the Taft-Hartley provisions was the "loyalty oath." This required all officials of any union seeking National Labor Relations Board certification to declare under oath that they were not members of the Communist Party.

This restricted the right of union members to choose their own representatives and allowed the courts, government labor boards, and other employer-dominated agencies to intervene directly in the internal affairs of the unions.

### Groveling bureaucrats

The showdown came at the 1947 AFL convention in San Francisco. It was clear that the AFL executive council members had capitulated.

Mine Workers President John L. Lewis, who had left the CIO to rejoin the AFL in 1943 during a wartime coal strike, now stood alone. His speech at the convention accurately predicted the future: "If you grovel enough in this convention, you will probably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when the Congress and the enemies of labor find out how easy you are, they will give you more to grovel for."

Meany spoke for the craven heads of the other AFL unions—all except the Printers. He proclaimed his anticommunism and accused Lewis of harboring communists in the CIO. He said he was prepared to sign a non-communist affidavit. "I am prepared to go a step further," he said, "and sign that I was never a comrade to the comrades."

# Nicaragua in 1980

Since the Nicaraguan people threw out dictator Somoza in July 1979, the Sandinista-led government has launched health and literacy drives and a program of economic reconstruction. In the following pages, Pedro Camejo, Gloria Najar, and Fred Murphy report

from Nicaragua on the progress that has been made. On page 12 is a photo display—a 'Militant' exclusive—telling the story of protest and repression in neighboring El Salvador.



Militant/Gary Bridges



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez



Militant/Fred Halstead

Government has set ambitious goals for construction and agriculture, as well as a literacy crusade (center poster).

## An economic plan with human needs at top

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Acting in the framework of the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation adopted at the end of December, Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), is continuing to take measures aimed at improving the living standards of working people.

The plan calls for domestic production of 68 percent of the country's four basic food grains—rice, corn, beans, and sorghum—with the rest to be imported.

Industrial output is to be raised by 17 percent over 1979, when production was severely disrupted by the civil war and Somoza's deliberate destruction of many factories. This would mean matching the 1978 levels. An overall increase of 22 percent in the Gross Domestic Product is planned.

As part of the plan the revolutionary government is pressing for cooperation from private capitalists, who still retain control over a substantial portion of Nicaragua's industry and export agriculture. The implicit trade-off is simply that the property of these capitalists will not be seized so long as they keep production up and follow the guidelines of the economic plan. The plan seeks to subordinate the capitalists to the government's overall social goals and investment priorities, calling for the maintenance of a "mixed economy" in 1980. The Sandinistas hope to enforce the subordinate role of the capitalists through taxation and government control over bank credits and foreign exchange.

The government's own budget for 1980 sets aside a whopping 62 percent of expenditures for health, education,

and housing. This is in striking contrast, for example, to the Somoza dictatorship's 1978 budget, which devoted a meager 17 percent to the same categories.

To reduce unemployment—which now stands at 32 percent and is expected to rise further in coming months—the 1980 economic plan calls for the creation of 90,000 new jobs, 15,000 of which will be in construction. A major nationwide literacy campaign has been launched. Six new hospitals, more than 200 primary schools, and 2,500 housing units are to be built this year. Work is to begin on the first all-weather highway connecting the densely populated western part of Nicaragua to the far-less-developed Atlantic coast region.

The rate of inflation topped 60 percent in 1979. This year the government hopes to hold price increases to 19 percent. The plan will increase the minimum wage. But the government will encourage most employed workers to limit their demands for higher pay. The newly appointed minister of planning, Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruiz, explained this policy in a December 30 interview with the FSLN daily *Barricada*:

... we have outlined a policy of maintaining real wages as the most adequate way to avoid the creation of a great mass of currency in the country that would lack a real counterpart in consumer goods. That would provoke an uncontrollable escalation of prices. Inflation only benefits the capitalists and merchants, who speculate by taking goods, hiding them, and waiting for better prices. ...

So real wages means maintaining the market basket or improving it to the extent that the economy permits. But if the economy does not permit this the answer is not

to raise nominal wages. If the working class and the campesinos understand this we will have solved one of 1980's thorniest problems.

Moderate wage levels in nationalized enterprises will also allow more resources to be allocated to job creation for the unemployed and upgrading the "social wage" through food price subsidies and increased spending on housing, education, and health.

Related to this policy is the FSLN's insistence on the need for "austerity" if the 1980 goals are to be met. In Nicaragua today the term "austerity" has quite a different content from the attacks on workers' living standards that it has come to be associated with when used by capitalist governments. Henry Ruiz explained in the *Barricada* interview:

... when we talk of austerity we have to understand who is to get less and who is to get more. Clearly, we are telling the bourgeoisie to consume fewer luxury goods, moderate their way of life ... demand fewer cars, less cosmetics, fewer imported televisions, all those things that have been indispensable to them owing to the abundance in which they have lived. ...

We ask private enterprise to be moderate, to limit itself, to make sacrifices in their manner of living as a demonstration of patriotism and commitment to this revolution. ...

But when speaking of "austerity" to the workers and campesinos, Ruiz continued:

We have to say what this consists of. We can't tell the campesino who has never had anything to consume to stop consuming. Nor are we going to tell the unemployed worker who hasn't even been able to pay for his home and electricity to be austere. ... We can't talk about that kind of austerity.

But rather what we should say is that what one earns should not be spent on secondary items. ...

Further measures to better the living conditions of working people and small proprietors have been taken since the economic plan was adopted. These include:

- A 50 percent cut in mortgage payments on housing financed by the nationalized banks and savings and loan institutions. This complements earlier cuts of up to 60 percent in rents.
- Establishment of childcare centers for working women by the Ministry of Social Welfare.

- A rent limit of 300 córdobas per manzana\* on all cotton-growing land. This will benefit cotton producers at the expense of wealthy landowners who had been collecting up to 2,000 córdobas per manzana. Some 40 percent of all cotton land is rented.

- Steps to halt hoarding and speculation by private food wholesalers. The newly established Ministry of Domestic Commerce is setting up local *comités de abastecimiento* (supply committees) with the collaboration of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Sandinista police, Rural Workers Association (ATC), INRA, and organizations of small merchants. These committees will establish better control over food distribution and detect and punish speculators. The Nicaraguan Enterprise for Basic Foods (ENABAS) is setting up a distribution network that bypasses the exploitative middlemen.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

\*Ten córdobas equals U.S. \$1; one manzana equals .709 hectare or 1.75 acres.

## Putting profits first, capitalists resist revolution

By Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Bourgeois resistance to the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation and to the Sandinista revolution has been mounting steadily during the first weeks of the new year. With large parts of the economy still in the hands of private capitalists, the projections of the Sandinista-led government are continually running up against the capitalists' drive for profits, which puts social needs last.

Some private coffee growers are refusing to complete the final stages of the harvest and are laying off workers.

The Chamber of Commerce has rejected cooperating in the efforts of the Ministry of Domestic Trade to control price speculation, insisting instead that the "law of supply and demand" be allowed to take its course.

Top priority in the 1980 economic plan has been placed on raising the "social wages" of all working people—holding food prices down through government subsidies, expanding health care and educational opportunities, creating jobs, slashing housing rents and mortgage payments, and so on.

But the capitalist market makes itself felt in many ways. Landlords

resort to all kinds of subterfuge to sidestep the rent decree. Private merchants take advantage of shortages of food and other goods to hoard supplies and force prices up. Even government-supplied food has been finding its way into the hands of these speculators.

Meanwhile, imperialist pressure on the Sandinistas is intensifying, and local capitalists continue to drag their feet on putting their industries into full production.

On February 3 big advertisements were taken out in the bourgeois daily *La Prensa* by the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) and the

Union of Agricultural Producers (UP-ANIC), an organization of big landowners. One reiterated COSEP's earlier complaints that the capitalists had been excluded from political power, and the other called on the government to adopt laws enabling expropriated landowners to challenge seizures of their property in the courts. Cotton growers in Chinandega Province have given the government until March 31 to define its pricing, tax, and labor policies in the cotton industry, with an implicit threat not to invest in planting the 1980 crop.

Continued on page 16



# El Salvador: protest and repression

Capitalist order in El Salvador has become increasingly shaky. Workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals have organized ever more powerful protests against the repressive dictatorship; while landlords and capitalists

unwilling to make concessions have instigated and fostered the growth of paramilitary terrorist groups.

A climactic point in the polarization came on January 22, when 200,000

people demonstrated for democratic rights and labor demands (photo, top left). The march, called by a united front of the four main leftist organizations and endorsed by the trade unions, was attacked by police and ultrarightist gun-

fire, leaving scores dead and wounded.

Tens of thousands who sought refuge at the university also came under siege and gunfire from rightists and police (photo, top right).

Photos by Neils Astrup

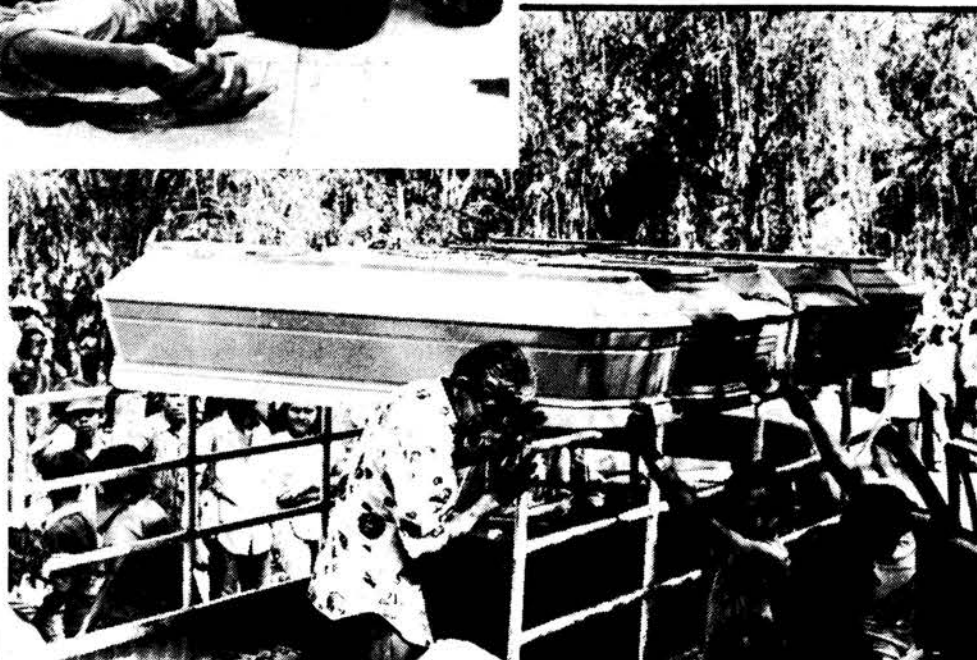
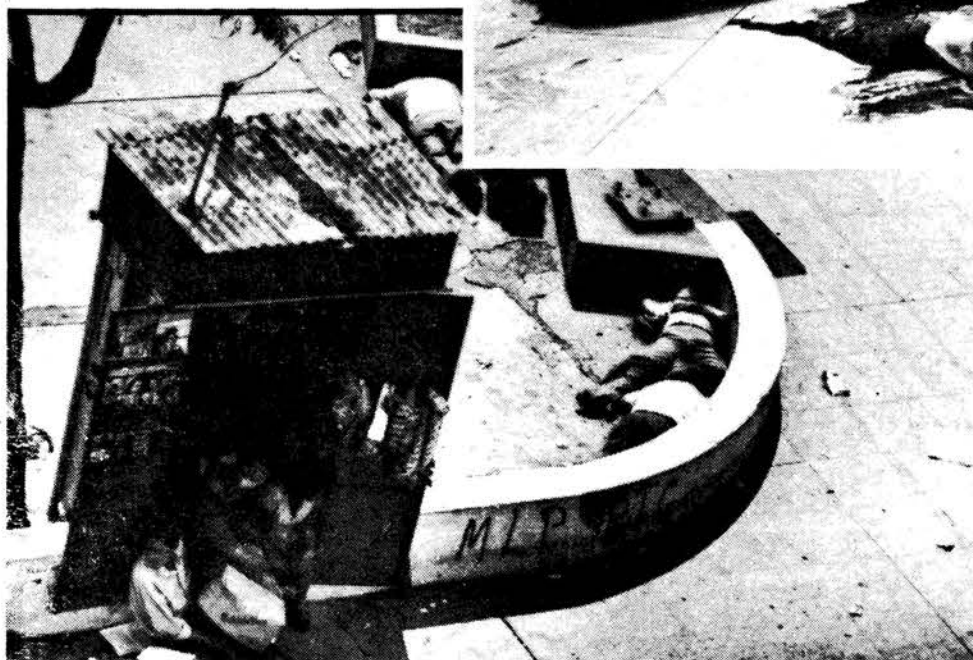


The armored car above was used in the siege of the university (shown in an earlier photo, top right). Below, people take shelter during massacre.



Militant/R. Sylvain

After the massacre supporters of the protest organized three days of nationwide strikes and mourning processions (below) for those slain.





## Solidarity with Nicaragua!

### FSLN representatives to tour

Four representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) are scheduled to tour the United States from February 20 through March 4. They are: Noel González from the FSLN Foreign Relations Secretariat, Zaida Hernández from the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMN), Justino Arceda from the Rural Workers Association (ATC), and Olga Avilez from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). The following is a partial schedule:

#### MILWAUKEE

Wed., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. Justino Arceda, Olga Avilez, Crystal Palace, 1925 W. National Ave. Sponsored by Committee to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy. For more information call (414) 344-7900.

#### PORTLAND, ORE.

Tues., Feb. 26. Zaida Hernández. Noon at Oregon State University in Corvallis. 3:30 p.m. at Council Chambers, Lewis and Clark College in Portland. 7:30 p.m. at Portland State University, 75 Lincoln Hall. Sponsored by Portland Nicaragua Support Committee. For more information call (503) 235-3087.

#### NEW YORK CITY

Fri., Feb. 29, 7:30 p.m. Zaida Hernández. William O'Shea Junior High School, 77th St. between Amsterdam and Columbus. Sponsored by area affiliates of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. For more information call (212) 989-5695 or 254-5252.

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sat., Feb. 23. Zaida Hernández. Luncheon meeting with women's groups. Evening of international culture with FSLN representatives and a speaker from El Salvador. Sponsored by D.C. Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition. For more information, call Maria Estella (202) 667-0417.

The FSLN speakers will also visit Chicago, Dallas, Madison, Miami, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Seattle. For more information contact the National Network, 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 223-2328.

### New Cleveland group plans slide showing

Last month, twenty-seven trade union, church, and community representatives met to organize the Cleveland Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, an affiliate of the National Network. Their first public event is planned for Sunday, February 24, 3 p.m., at St. Patrick's Church, 3610 Bridge Street. One dollar donation will get you in to hear speakers and see the slide show on Nicaragua available from the National Network. For more information call (216) 631-6872.

### 100 hear Chamorro speak in Ann Arbor

One hundred people turned out February 11 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor to hear Sonia de Chamorro, fund-raising director for Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade. The meeting was sponsored by the Ann Arbor Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and endorsed by several campus and church groups. The Literature, Science, and Arts Student Government on campus, one of the event's endorsers, contributed \$200 to the literacy drive. In addition, more than \$300 was raised at the meeting.

Chamorro reported that Nicaragua has raised \$4 million thus far toward the \$20 million needed to teach 900,000 Nicaraguans to read and write. Two million has come from the World Council of Churches and about a quarter of a million from the Swedish Labor Party. Aid has also come from the Dutch and Danish governments, Chamorro said.

### Albany fast and films spotlight Nicaragua

When two groups of students came to an Albany Militant Labor Forum on February 1 to see slides on Nicaragua, they were so inspired they arranged to take the show to their schools. So on February 7, two classes at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute saw the slides. And on February 10, sixteen women from the student government at Emma Willard High School met to see the slides. At both meetings, people signed up to work with the Albany Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

At the State University of New York in Albany, the student group Food and People carried out their yearly fast on the weekend of February 9-10. The idea is that participants line up pledges for each hour without food. Last year it raised \$16,000. This year's tally isn't in, but 25 percent of it will go to Nicaragua's reconstruction.

### Films and forums in D.C. and New York

On Sunday, February 17, at 7:30 p.m., the D.C. Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition will sponsor a forum on El Salvador at All Souls Church at Sixteenth and Harvard Streets N.W. Then on Tuesday, February 19, the coalition is hosting an evening of poetry, music, and an exhibition of Latin American posters beginning at 6 p.m. at the Mt. Pleasant Library, Sixteenth and Lamont Streets N.W.

The New York Committee for Assistance to Nicaragua and the Spanish-language magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, will sponsor a benefit film showing in solidarity with Nicaragua on Wednesday, February 20, at 7:30 p.m. The Cuban film is called *The New School* and will be followed by speakers, including CAN coordinator Luis Espinoza. It will be at the Lehman auditorium, Barnard College, Broadway and 116 Street. The two dollars donation will go to the literacy crusade. For more information call (212) 384-5987.

Compiled by Nancy Cole

## U.S. socialists talk with Nicaraguan workers

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—U.S. Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann and local SWP candidates from seven states arrived here February 6 to begin a week-long fact-finding tour. The socialists are learning more about the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to reconstruct their country's war-shattered economy and begin building a more just and humane society.

Besides Zimmermann, the delegation includes Lee Artz, a steelworker who is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; auto worker Bill Arth, candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan; Victor Nieto, a rail worker running for U.S. Senate from New York; John Powers, an auto worker running for U.S. Senate in Ohio; George Johnson, an auto worker who is a candidate for U.S. Senate from California; Sharon Grant of Newport News, Virginia, who works as a pipefitter and is running for U.S. Congress; and Mohammed Oliver, a steelworker who was recently the SWP candidate for mayor of Birmingham, Alabama.

Also in the delegation is Byron Nelson of Vancouver, Canada, who is a candidate for Parliament from the Revolutionary Workers League, the sister organization of the SWP in Canada. Nelson is a member of the International Woodworkers Union.

Zimmermann and the other candidates have met and talked with representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), government officials, Sandinista People's Army soldiers, activists from the Sandinista Defense Committees, Nicaraguan Women's Association, Rural Workers Association, trade union leaders, and members of the news media. In addition to Managua they have visited the cities of Matagalpa and Masaya, which were major battlegrounds in the insurrectionary war against the Somoza dictatorship and suffered extensive damage.

The socialists have met with staff members of the FSLN daily *Barricada* and with Radio Sandino and Radio Mundial. Zimmermann taped a four-minute interview for broadcast on the Sandinista Television System February 9, and on February 11 the Managua daily *La Prensa* featured on its front page an extensive article on the SWP's election campaign and its support for the Nicaraguan revolution.

One of the highlights of the delegation's visit here was a February 7 meeting with leaders of the Julio Martínez United Workers Union, which encompasses some 600 mechanics, laborers, clerks, and sales personnel employed by Julio Martínez S.A., the largest chain of auto and farm equipment dealerships and repair shops in Nicaragua.

Union General Secretary Sergio Herrera explained how the Julio Martínez workers had tried to organize a union under the dictatorship but have only been able to really do so now "because of the trade union freedom that the revolution has guaranteed."

SWP senatorial candidate Bill Arth of Detroit, who has been laid off along with thousands of other auto workers due to Chrysler's bankruptcy scheme, was especially interested to hear Herrera explain how the Sandinista-led government defends workers' rights. "The government has made it absolutely clear that the bosses must cooperate," Herrera said, adding that new labor laws are being prepared that will guarantee the trade unions access to corporate financial records and direct participation in the administration of both nationalized and private enterprises. (Julio Martínez is still privately owned.)

Herrera noted that Nicaraguan union leaders lack experience and he pointed to their eagerness to learn from American trade unionists.

Arth responded that it seemed to him that "U.S. workers have a lot to learn from you." He and other United Auto Workers members present said they would take back to their union locals their new knowledge of Nicaraguan workers' gains and urge the UAW to step up its solidarity efforts with Nicaragua.

When Matilde Zimmermann asked what U.S. trade unionists could do to help Nicaragua, Herrera responded, "Tell the truth about our struggle to the American workers, to the news media."

Nicaragua's campaign to teach nearly 900,000 people—more than 50 percent of the country's adult population—to read and write in 1980 is what has impressed the socialist delegation the most. Lee Artz from Chicago has repeatedly stressed the stark contrast the Nicaraguan campaign presents to the situation in his city, where the capitalist rulers are closing dozens of schools and laying off more than 1,000 teachers.

"Such a gigantic effort is only possible in a country that has had a revolution," Vice-minister of Education and Literacy Crusade Director Fernando Cardenal told the socialist delegation on February 11. "It is a task that many more developed countries have never carried out."

Cardenal stressed the literacy campaign's \$20 million cost, which Nicaragua hopes to meet mainly from international contributions. Four million dollars has come in so far from many countries, "but no U.S. institutions have sent funds."

The socialists pledged to help step up solidarity efforts for the literacy drive among workers in the United States and Canada.

"Enthusiasm is enormous everywhere," Cardenal said. "We've even had some problems setting up pilot projects in the neighborhoods because everyone wants to participate!" The literacy campaign officially begins March 24.

Zimmermann and the other socialist candidates are to return to the United States on February 13 and immediately begin speaking tours to spread the word about the literacy campaign and the other efforts in which the Nicaraguan workers and peasants need solidarity. Future issues of the *Militant* will carry more extensive coverage of their visit here.

## Join us...

...in campaigning for candidates who stand on the side of working people around the world.

Pulley for President

Zimmermann for Vice-president

- ☐ Send me more information on the Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign.
- ☐ Send me the pamphlet by Andrew Pulley, *How I Became a Socialist*. Also send me buttons of Pulley and Zimmermann. Enclosed is \$1.
- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York N.Y. 10014.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

**By Pedro Camejo and Gloria Najar**

MANAGUA—One hundred and sixty miles northeast of the capital, accessible only by La Nica airlines' two-engine, Vietnam War-surplus, propeller-driven plane (whose engines do not always work) is one of Nicaragua's greatest natural resources—gold.

We visited the area in early December, stopping at three small mining towns, Siuna, Rosita, and Bonanza, which lie in the middle of almost uninhabited jungle.

It's an area where the average yearly rainfall is 120 inches, and the temperature averages 80 degrees year round despite the altitude, which reaches 4,000 feet. For nine months of the year torrential downpours keep the humidity near 100 percent.

The airports in Siuna and Bonanza are just wide spots in the dirt roads, and the towns themselves give the appearance of frontier life. One can even see people panning the rivers for gold with the same equipment and methods used by miners in the California gold rush of 1849.

The Neptune mine in Bonanza is a big one, producing several different metals. In 1976 it produced 25,340 ounces of gold, along with 15,796 tons of zinc, 696 tons of copper, 1,393 tons of lead, and 96,634 ounces of silver.

Neptune had been owned by the big U.S. mining company, ASARCO, until it, along with all other Nicaraguan mines, was nationalized in early November by the revolutionary government.

In the fall 1977 issue of *ASARCO News*, the company claimed to have a "harmonious relationship" with the people of the area, providing them, in exchange for their labor, with social services, a payroll of \$1.5 million in wages, and local purchases of \$2 million.

For the local population, though, the exchange was not fair and square. Wages at Neptune averaged only twenty-eight dollars per week for its 1,022 employees. (The figure for most workers was even lower when one accounts for the high salaries paid to the Canadian and U.S. managers; these range as high as \$45,000 per year.)

### How the miners live

The miners who work below the earth from 6:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. six days a week earn, after thirty years on the job, forty-five cents per hour at most. At Bonanza wages start at thirty-two cents per hour.

But low wages tell only part of the story of extreme exploitation that has been carried out by the North American mining corporations in their effort to drain out every dollar possible from Nicaragua.

Traditionally, only Misquito Indians have been given jobs as miners. In this manner the corporations kept the local population divided between mill workers and miners, always reserving the hardest and lowest-paid jobs for the Misquito.

The local unit of Somoza's national guard was paid for and run by the mining company itself.

Unions never existed in these mines until October 1979, after the triumph of the Sandinista revolution that overthrew Somoza. An organizing effort some twenty-five years ago was crushed. Ernesto Poveda Rodríguez, a leader of the new Revolutionary Min-

ing Workers Union (SOMR—Sindicato de Obreros Mineros Revolucionarios), described to us the conditions miners suffered before the revolution:

"We had no protection, anyone could be fired at any time. If you tried to protest, the national guard, which was paid for by the mining company, would arrest you.

"We had no coffee breaks. No real retirement plan existed. A weak national social security program was started in 1967, which provided for pensions from 140 to 250 córdobas (\$14 to \$25) per month. But often it would not be paid. You needed documents to apply, and many Misquitos have no papers. The company was supposed to give workers at retirement one-half month's pay for each year of work. But this depended on the company's good will. After forty years, many were simply given 2,000 córdobas (\$200).

"If a miner died in an accident, they would give the widow 2,000 córdobas (\$200)—in a pile of small bills to make it look like a lot of money. If you lost an eye, leg, or hand, you got nothing; you were fired."

### Unsafe working conditions

Entering mine shaft 1275 Neptune, we were able to see for ourselves that the mines had no ventilation. Ernesto Poveda told us that ventilation in the mines was one of the union's demands. At present 85 percent of the miners suffer from silicosis, owing to the dust. Deep in the mine we also noticed that the workers had no place to eat, and no light except that from their own battery-driven head lamps.

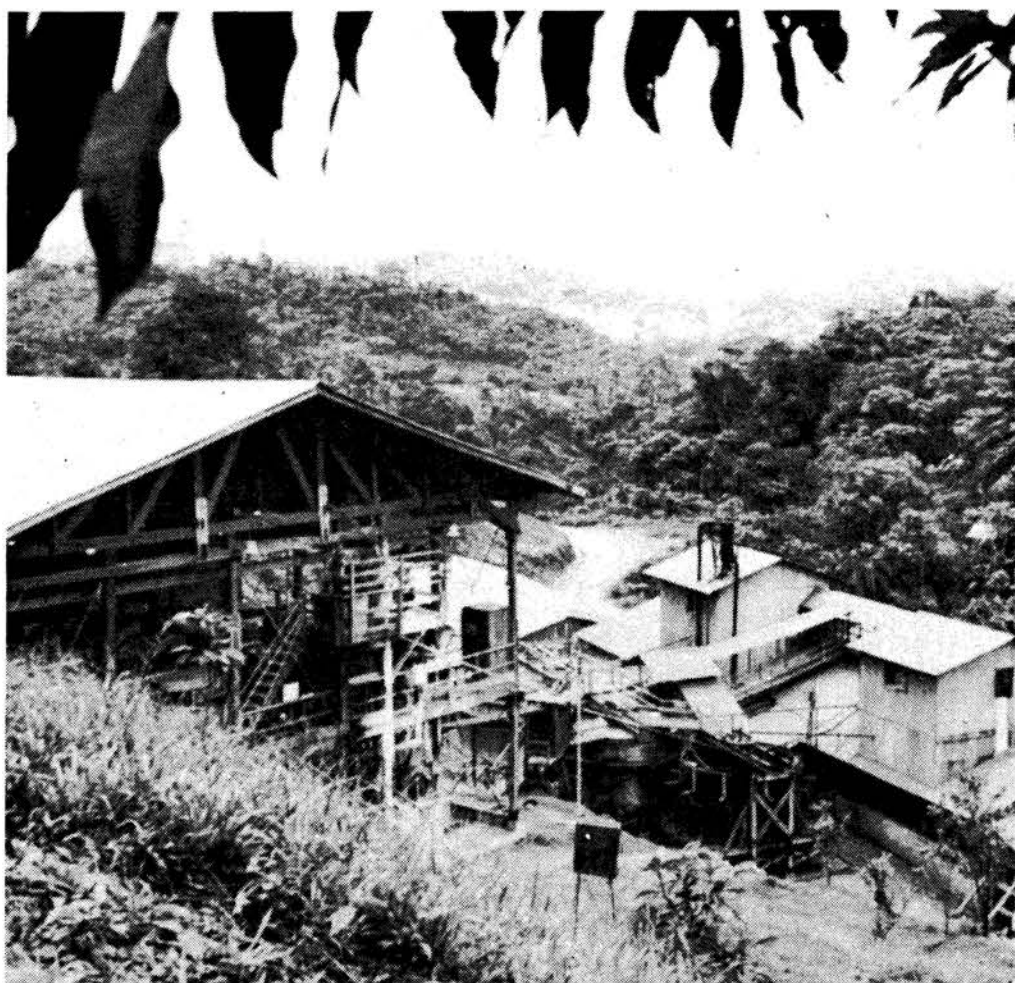
Ernesto was optimistic, sure that things would change due to the revolution. One sign of change already was the very fact that most of our discussions could be held right in the offices of the mine company. This was possible because the mines have been nationalized.

Several other union leaders joined us as we talked, including Catalina Ramírez de Chow, one of the two women members of the union in Bonanza. (No women work inside the mines.)

"The mining company built tiny, miserable shacks for the miners," she told us. "There's only one latrine for every five families. Some families have the parents and eight children sleeping in one room. Most miners have no bed at all and have to sleep on the floor."

"Eighty percent of the miners are illiterate," another miner added. "The companies made no effort to educate the workers. This year, thanks to the revolution, the national literacy campaign will end this situation."

We asked Ernesto what miners in



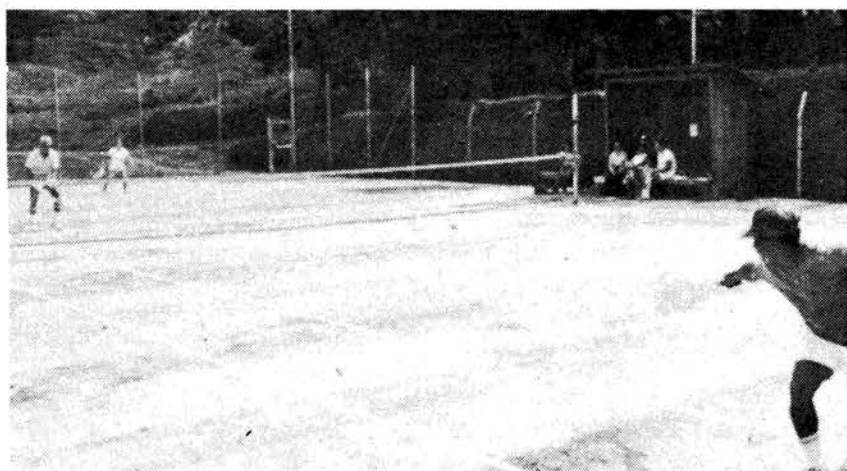
# Nicaragua's m hail nationaliza



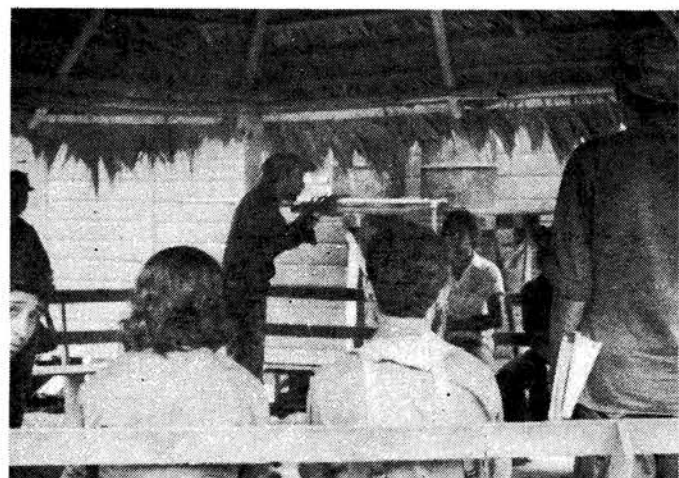
Switchboard operators (left) at Neptune mine complex (top). Gold miner (right) wears safety procedures in mine caused 85 percent of the miners to contract silicosis.



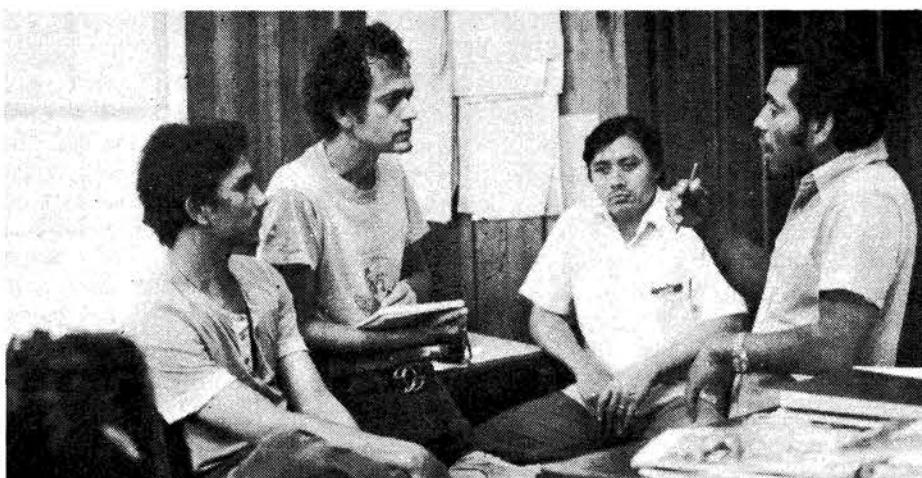
Gold miners at nationalized Neptune mine in the town of Bonanza.



The Asarco company provided its North American managerial staff with workers had a miserable clinic (above right) where an ill, elderly wor



Militant photos by Camejo and Najar



At left, FSLN army political educators explain to other soldiers the purposes of their volunteer work help workers and peasants of the mining area. In photo at second left, leaders of new miners union describe their situation to 'Militant' correspondent Camejo. Photos at right show reconstruction efforts in capital city, Managua.



Asarco News

# iners tions



carf, but lack of ventilation and

the United States could do to help their Nicaraguan compañeros. He pointed to the high accident rate in the mines, especially in the Vesubio mine. For a period there were four to five accidents per week, many caused by dynamite. Safety programs, which began only twelve years ago, did help reduce the accident rate, but it was still a big problem. So Ernesto wondered whether it would be possible to have a safety specialist from the miners union in the United States visit their mines and suggest other safety measures to ask for.

## The new union organizes

The new union is still being organized. Its leadership includes all three racial groups working in the mines and mills: Misquito and Sumo Indians, Blacks, and "Spaniards" (the word used for whites or mestizos). It is affiliated to the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores (CST—Sandinista-led trade union federation).

The union requested of the government that the workers be included by direct participation in the management of the nationalized mines. This was agreed to by Daniel Ortega, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leader and a member of the ruling government junta who had announced the nationalization decision before an enthusiastic, cheering gathering of miners.

With the sharp rise in the price of gold, the mines are of growing importance to Nicaragua's economy. One government projection put 1980 production goals for all three mining towns at 200,000 ounces of gold.

Steps have been taken to begin to improve the miners' wages and job conditions. But the miners also realize that this great wealth must go to better all the people of Nicaragua. The miners themselves also benefit from the overall measures of the new government, such as the literacy campaign, the new medical programs, and price controls on basic foodstuffs.

The government is now studying the situation before deciding what, if any, compensation will be given to the mining companies that were nationalized.

It is strongly suspected that in the past the mining companies did not report all the gold they mined in order to avoid paying taxes. The workers feel sure of this.

## Canadian manager's view

Angus Campell McGowan, the Canadian manager of the Bonanza gold mill who is staying on until June to finish out his contract, assured us—in English—that it was not possible for any

gold to be shipped out without being reported. But even he added that he could only speak for what went on at his mill.

McGowan explained to us that the Bonanza mines produce one-third of an ounce of gold per ton of rock processed, and estimated that at the present high world price of gold the entire mountain around Bonanza could be profitably extracted. But the mining equipment was forty years old. With wages so low, it was obviously more profitable for the company to make as low a capital investment as possible. With new equipment, however, productivity could be multiplied by as much as ten or fifteen times.

After working hours we stopped at McGowan's home and met his Nicaraguan-born wife. Their home was quite nice, if modest by upper-middle-class standards in the United States. Along with rent-free homes, the North American employees also had tennis courts, bowling alleys, swimming pools, and even golf courses.

Polite, and trying to be helpful, McGowan explained that the reason the mining companies had only hired Indians to work below the earth was because "they take to that kind of work." He also assured us the local population was happy.

In Rosita we visited a small clinic built by the company. It was in terrible condition. The mosquito screens were broken. The few beds were old. All the equipment was ancient, half of it non-functional. A pregnant woman was lying on bed springs because there was no mattress for the bed. An ill elderly woman was lying on what happened to be a large ironing board. The two nurses attending the patients expressed in bitter words the anguish they felt for the lack of medicines and facilities.

Less than a hundred yards from the clinic, partially hidden by trees, was a large, carefully attended golf course for the North Americans.

## Medical volunteers

In Siuna, the largest of the mining towns, we spoke to José María Fornells Vallés and María Clara Pujol Ribó, who are working in the Siuna hospital. José is coordinating the medical effort in all three mining towns.

José and María are volunteers from Spain. Like many others, they have come to use their skills in a socially meaningful way. But in Nicaragua conditions are often too difficult for people accustomed to European living standards. Many of those who come do not work out. Only three days before our arrival a volunteer doctor gave up after spending two days in the Rosita clinic.

We sat down to talk to José and María while they ate breakfast at the hospital. "We ran out of antibiotics yesterday," José began, shaking his head, as he described the hopes raised among the poor since the revolution and the terrible shortages of medical supplies they still face.

After we mentioned the doctor who gave up in Rosita, José commented, "If you think this is rough, just think about the peasants who live two days' walking distance from here. The revolution has got to go and teach them to read and write, and how to live more productive and healthy lives.

"Out there," he continued, pointing to the jungle, "there's no electricity or running water, and the volunteers have to sleep on the floor. You know who they send out there? The Cubans. That kind of person I can really respect."

## Defense against sabotage

In each gold mill the Sandinista army has placed soldiers at various spots to make sure nothing is done against the interest of the revolution. Soon after the nationalization of the mines, a mysterious fire broke out at one of the machine-parts storage plants. Several million dollars worth of equipment was destroyed.

We spent a night with several FSLN Army leaders who told us that while the fire may have just been an accident, many thought, at first, that it was sabotage.

These young soldiers spend a large part of their time working to help organize the people here. They explained how they help the new peasant unions in the area, the miners unions, and, in general, how they help bring the population to a higher class consciousness.

They are very young, most in their teens. An FSLN organizer sent to help the miners union, who arrived at the mines the same day we did, was about fifteen years younger than the union leaders.

While we were there, army political educator "Rodrigo" held a discussion with a squad of Sandinista soldiers. Although only twenty years old himself, Rodrigo was probably the oldest. He explained how important it was for the soldiers to read, to educate themselves. He explained why the Sandinista soldiers are without pay, how their purpose is to help the workers and peasants and to keep the imperialists out. He exhorted the ranks to be more disciplined, especially when dealing with the local population.

In this area the Sandinistas had only a few members before the revolution, and in armament they only had one revolver, a .22 caliber rifle, and one automatic rifle. With this meager armament they attacked the local national guard. This kept a unit of the national guard occupied while the FSLN offensive proceeded in the more populated areas. Rene Vivas, who led the assault, is today head of the Sandinista Police nationwide.

For the people of the three mining towns, the revolution is ending a life of exploitation and oppression and opening up a way out of their poverty.

Before we left, the leaders of the union pointed out to us that we were the first non-FSLN journalists to have come to the mines to talk to the miners. We left convinced of the need to tell their story, one of the many to be told about the Nicaraguan revolution.



Asarco News tennis courts (above left) and other pleasant facilities. The man lies on a makeshift bed.



'Militant' correspondent Camejo talks with FSLN volunteer in Bonanza.



Militant/Fred Murphy



Militant/Fred Murphy

# ...capitalists put profits first, resist revolution

Continued from page 11

News commentators on several bourgeois radio stations have become increasingly shrill in their criticisms of the government, while columnists and editorial writers in *La Prensa* have used the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and reports of economic difficulties in Cuba as pretexts for denouncing what they call "totalitarianism."

In Washington, the U.S. Congress has suspended action on a proposed \$75 million loan and aid package for Nicaragua at the same time that the Carter administration has begun pressing for quick approval of millions in aid for the bloodstained junta in El Salvador.

## Sandinista moves

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Sandinista-led Government of National Reconstruction have made several moves in face of this mounting pressure from the forces of the capitalist counterrevolution.

Hoarders and speculators have been warned that they will face prosecution if they do not desist; several have already been arrested. A new law setting price ceilings on ten basic commodities was announced by Planning Minister Henry Ruiz on February 3. These prices will be closely monitored by the Sandinista Defense Committees, trade unions, and other mass organizations.

The first new unit of the People's Militias has been set up at the San Antonio sugar mill. Minister of Interior Tomás Borge has denounced Washington's efforts to place conditions on the \$75 million aid package promised to Nicaragua. "We have told them," Borge said, "that the Sandinistas will not sell out for a few dollars more."

The Union of Nicaraguan Journalists expelled radio commentator Oscar Leonardo Montalván from its ranks on February 2. His broadcasts on the bourgeois station Radio Mil had provided a platform for capitalist figures to attack the revolution. Montalván's news program was cancelled by the station's management the same day.

In this situation, the FSLN has recognized that only by deepening the involvement of the organized and class-conscious workers and campesinos can the revolution move forward. Increasing emphasis is being placed on strengthening the trade unions and broadening the workers' understanding of the key role they themselves must play in achieving the goals of the revolution.

## Series of strikes

The need for this was especially brought home by a series of recent strikes for wage increases, mostly in nationalized workplaces and all led by non-FSLN forces in the unions. The Sandinistas sought to convince the striking workers to forgo pay hikes in the interests of the class as a whole. But the government granted the increases when these efforts failed, usually along with other measures such as the establishment of reduced-price food stores on the worksites.

One strike, in the private sector, involved workers at the San Antonio sugar mill, which is the largest factory in Nicaragua. Sugar from the mill is sold on the international market. Taxes on the sales will produce important revenues for the revolutionary government this year. Thus, the Sandinistas have urged the San Antonio workers—who are among the highest paid in Nicaragua and already earn more than their counterparts in the nationalized sugar mills—to exhaust all other avenues in resolving their disputes with the mill's owners before striking. (Because sugar cane must be processed immediately or it loses its value, any halt in production brings immediate losses.)

Canecutters at San Antonio, who are paid by weight, recently came to

suspect that they were being cheated owing to lack of supervision during the weighing process. Members of Frente Obrero (FO), a small union led by an ultraleft Stalinist grouping, showed up at the mill and urged the workers to immediately go on strike, arguing that the "bourgeois" government would not respond otherwise. The FSLN immediately sent Commander Henry Ruiz to address a crowd of 500 workers about the economic and political situation in the country.

## Sectarians vs. FSLN

According to several accounts, FO members shouted the FSLN leader down and would not let him speak. "We don't want to hear anymore politics," the FO members shouted. Ruiz was forced to leave the platform.

The strike ended after three days. FSLN supporters at the mill then organized a rally on February 3 at which Ruiz was able to explain what he had wanted to say at the earlier meeting. He emphasized to the workers that all aspects of their union's contract with the mill owners would be fully enforced by the government.

Assembled under a blazing sun at the San Antonio Mill's sports stadium, the crowd of canecutters, mill workers, mechanics, and their families heard Ruiz explain in detail the harsh economic reality facing Nicaragua and the efforts of the government to put the needs of the workers and campesinos above all other considerations.

"Now that the honeymoon of victory is ending, we have to look at what we really have," Ruiz said. How many are without homes, without jobs? "We've found that 33 percent of those who were working before the revolution are now unemployed—some 200,000 in all."

Under the 1980 plan, Ruiz went on:

We hope to create 94-96,000 jobs, but if there are strikes, boycotts of production, sabotage in the workplaces and on the farms, in the factories belonging to the state, we won't have those 94,000 jobs this year.

We have won the battle for political freedom, but we have yet to win economic independence.

Ruiz explained the critical need for dollars to pay for imported commodities vital to economic betterment for the masses. Nicaragua needs many things it cannot produce at home—even the pencils and paper required for the literacy campaign.

Near the end of his presentation, Ruiz reminded the workers of the rising struggles elsewhere in Central America, and said that the peoples of those countries would be watching the course of the Nicaraguan revolution. "We have a duty to succeed, so that our example will inspire others to liberate themselves."

Finally, Ruiz took up a theme that he and other FSLN leaders have been emphasizing—that a revolution that does not use its power to defend itself will fail. "The Sandinista revolution will not fail. Fifty thousand did not die for us to stand idle when the revolution is threatened."

## Managua construction union

While Ruiz and other Sandinista leaders were speaking at the sugar mill, Managua construction workers were healing a split that had developed several months ago in their union, the Union of Carpenters, Masons, Laborers, and Related Trades (SCAAS).

Soon after Somoza was overthrown, some SCAAS leaders had tried to affiliate the union immediately to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). The majority of the SCAAS's traditional leadership had opposed this, with the result that two SCAAS's came into existence—one belonging to the CST and one remaining in the Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i), which is controlled by the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN).

The union affiliated with the CGT-i



Militant/Fred Murphy



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

Workers form contingent from Central Sandinista de Trabajadores (Sandinista Workers Federation). CST sign above reads: 'Workers hands in your central!! Your central in good hands.'

had retained the loyalty of most construction workers. This was made clear on January 9 when thousands of SCAAS members marched to the Ministry of Labor to demand recognition of their CGT-i leadership, and again on January 14 when workers on a government-sponsored park project in downtown Managua launched a three-day strike to demand higher wages. That strike was led by the CGT-i and also had the support of the FO.

Part of the strike settlement involved a pledge by the Ministry of Labor to supervise new elections in which all employed SCAAS members could choose between competing slates of CST and CGT-i candidates. In the days preceding the February 3 vote, however, leaders of the CST, CGT-i, and a third union organization, the Confederation of Trade Union Action and Unification (CAUS—led by another pro-Moscow group, the Communist Party of Nicaragua), reached agreement on a series of previously disputed questions and set up the National Inter-Union Commission (CNI). The first fruits of this agreement was the formation of a unitary CST/CGT-i slate of candidates for the SCAAS leadership.

The 3,000 construction workers who met at the España Sports Complex in eastern Managua greeted the announcement of this unity agreement with enthusiasm; more than 90 percent of them voted for the joint slate.

## FSLN position

After the elections, FSLN Commander Tomás Borge addressed the construction workers and stressed the importance of this step by the workers. He began by pointing out that the capitalists in Nicaragua have various organizations of merchants, industrialists, and landlords, and are also united in one leadership body that defends

their common class interests—the COSEP.

"It is logical that they are united," Borge said, "But isn't it also logical that the working class, which has a unity of interests, should also be united?" The SCAAS assembly was historic, Borge declared, "because it is the first step toward unity of the working class."

The unification process must continue, Borge emphasized. "In all workplaces a single trade-union leadership should be put together."

Borge made clear that trade-union unity could not be imposed by the revolutionary government. "We don't want an official or progovernment union organization," he declared, "but a union organization that responds to the interests of the workers."

The working class must have the right to say "no" when that is called for, Borge said. And the unions "must be able to confront . . . the Government of National Reconstruction itself when that is necessary."

An editorial in the FSLN daily *Barricada* on February 4 drove Borge's point home:

Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge pointed to the essential fact that since the sectors that hold an important part of capital in their hands are pressing to materialize their economic power in the political leadership of national reconstruction—which would mean no more nor less than laying the basis for deciding the course of the process—the workers of the cities and countryside have the duty and the necessity to consolidate their force and cohesiveness above all. . . .

[The Sandinista] fist will have to strike against those who at a certain moment will want to impede the advance of the revolutionary transformations and who will utilize more and more violent methods because it is undeniable that to defend their own narrow interests the owners of big capital will resort to all available resources before giving up the battle.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Measures need discussion

# FSLN jails ultralefts, closes paper

By Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Against the background of a sharpening confrontation between the Sandinista-led government and the Nicaraguan capitalists, a series of harsh measures have been taken against an ultraleft sectarian Stalinist current here, the MAP/FO.

On January 23, Sandinista security forces took over the offices of the Frente Obrero's (FO) daily newspaper *El Pueblo* and arrested seven FO leaders. Charges were brought on January 31 against the detainees and two others, including the paper's editor Melvin Wallace, who turned himself in February 4. They are charged with violating Article 4, Section C of the Public Order and Security Law, which prohibits distribution of propaganda "that seeks to damage the popular interests and abolish the conquests achieved by the people."

Junta member Sergio Ramírez Mercado announced January 30 that *El Pueblo*'s printing equipment would be turned over to the Ministry of Education for use in the literacy campaign.

On February 2 vice-minister of the interior and chief of State Security Hugo Torres displayed to reporters a large assortment of firearms that he said were part of an FO arms cache found at a farm on the outskirts of Managua. According to the February 2 *Barricada*, FO leader Isidro Téllez admitted to Sandinista security personnel that he was responsible for the weapons and "that he had a political justification" for possessing them.

The government had called on all citizens not belonging to militia units to turn in their arms last October. The FO had said at that time that its armed unit—the Anti-Somoza People's Militias (MILPAS)—was disbanded after the fall of the dictatorship.

### How FSLN explains moves

Vice-minister Torres also stated that the MILPAS had been involved in several bank robberies and other assaults. On February 6, State Security announced the arrest of four individuals—including the brother of a MILPAS leader killed in the insurrection, for planning to rob Nicaragua's Central Bank.

After shutting down *El Pueblo* and



Sandinistas celebrate victory over Somoza last year. "We emerged from the war into economic tasks," says Commander Henry Ruiz. "That too is a war which we cannot lose."



Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Yáñez

arresting the MAP/FO leaders, the FSLN launched a campaign to explain the reasons for these repressive moves. The main themes have been that the sectarians are either themselves "counterrevolutionaries" or at least are "objectively kind to the counterrevolution"; that by encouraging strikes they have "sabotaged production" and tried to "divide the working class"; and that while the revolution guarantees "freedom of the press," there is no such freedom for those who engage in counterrevolution or practice "destructive criticism."

The Sandinistas have also sought to clarify where the sectarians go wrong politically and to answer their arguments. The January 28 *Barricada* carried an extensive interview with FSLN Organization Secretary Carlos Carrión.

We cannot say that all the members of the Frente Obrero are mal-intentioned individuals with counterrevolutionary instincts. The great majority are confused elements who lack an objective knowledge of reality and only know what their theory tells them.

Historically the strike has been a form of struggle of the organized workers. But the situation of our country calls for strikes to be used only as measures of extreme ur-

gency when all other means of negotiation have failed.

The problem with the FO, Carrión said, is that "they show up at a factory and present to the workers the isolated situation at that workplace and do not relate it to the overall situation of the country."

Several rallies, each involving several thousand persons, were organized by the CDS's, CST, and other FSLN-led mass organizations in Managua and other cities to support the closure of *El Pueblo*. At a rally of some 10,000 here in the capital on January 29, Commander Henry Ruiz took up the sectarian's charge that the FSLN was "betraying" the revolution. He affirmed that the goal of the revolution is "to pass out of the exploitation under which we have lived" and achieve "truly human conditions of equality and justice," Ruiz continued:

But that, compañeros, requires a material base, and thus at certain times the position of the revolution confuses those who want to be confused. . . .

We emerged from the war into economic tasks . . . and we want to say that that too is a war which we cannot lose if we want to think about having a free and sovereign country.

The vanguard [the FSLN] demonstrated that it had the capacity and will to triumph, but we also want to declare that we have sufficient will to remain in power. Let there be no illusions that this revolution is going to betray or that it is not going to make use of the resources it holds in its hands.

The revolution, the vanguard that hesitates to exercise its power is a revolution that dies, and the Sandinista revolution has been born to stay, to triumph, and not to betray.

### Important political issues

The FSLN's actions against the MAP/FO and *El Pueblo* raise important questions for revolutionists to consider. What does it mean to say that an organization is "counterrevolutionary"? Under what circumstances can a revolutionary government use repression to protect itself? What should the revolution's policy be toward the press and organizations inside the workers' movement?

The FSLN is trying to lead the Nicaraguan people forward, to end exploitation and imperialist domination. Growing resistance to the FSLN's course is being put up by those who have a stake in the old system. While some capitalists may cooperate with the revolutionary government for a time, they will do this only in hopes of getting in a better position to resist and smash it further down the line.

Only the workers and their allies, including the poor peasants, represent progressive social forces in semicolonial countries such as Nicaragua. The bourgeoisie—because it is inextricably tied to the private profit system of capitalism and therefore to imperialism—cannot play a progressive role. All revolutionary processes in our epoch either go forward to the elimination of capitalism and the formation of a workers state, as happened in Cuba, or else fall back toward the reestablishment of imperialist domination.

It is out of this struggle between the workers and the capitalists that the forces of revolution and counterrevolution define themselves. There is only one counterrevolution—the one spearheaded by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Suppression of this counterrevolution is the unavoidable task that every revolutionary workers government must accomplish at a certain point if it is to survive and move forward.

The *El Pueblo* case raises a different question, however. What is involved here is a sectarian current in the workers movement that is committing serious errors and acting provocatively and irresponsibly. In explaining its recent moves against MAP/FO, the FSLN has tended to mix together two sets of problems whose solutions involve differing considerations.

Continued on next page

## Who are MAP/FO and 'El Pueblo'?

MANAGUA—The Frente Obrero (FO) is the trade-union arm of a group called the People's Action Movement (MAP), which originated in a split from the FSLN in the early 1970s. The MAP held pro-Peking positions until around 1977, when it moved into the orbit of Enver Hoxha's Stalinist regime in Albania. The MAP/FO now holds that both the Soviet Union and China are "state capitalist" societies, and it considers Cuba to be dominated by "Soviet social-imperialism."

*El Pueblo* echoed the hysterical imperialist propaganda campaign against the Soviet intervention against rightist forces in the Afghan civil war. The MAP/FO's hostility toward the Cuban revolution was grotesquely demonstrated when *El Pueblo*'s final January 23 issue reported as fact the rumor spread by counterrevolutionary Cubans in Venezuela that Fidel and Raul Castro had wounded each other in a shoot-out!

The MAP/FO holds that the FSLN has sold out the revolution to the bourgeoisie. Taking advantage of the objective problems facing the country, the MAP/FO has

sought to blame them on the FSLN—without regard to the massive destruction left by Somoza and the refusal of the imperialists to provide adequate aid.

The FO's organizing efforts have focused on workers employed in nationalized factories and campesinos on the big farms that have been taken over by the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA). These sectarians have totally ignored the FSLN's efforts to move toward workers administration in such workplaces and to raise the consciousness of employed workers about the economic crisis and their responsibilities toward the poor and unemployed. Instead, the FO has tried to get workers to view the revolutionary government simply as the "new boss" and has pressed for work stoppages to demand immediate wage increases.

The sectarian hostility of the MAP/FO toward the Sandinistas has at times led it into opportunist blocs with the counterrevolutionary bourgeois parties. Last September and October, it joined in a campaign, organized by the Chamber

of Commerce, to demand immediate convocation of the Council of State—a legislative body whose original composition would have enabled the bourgeois forces to block the measures being taken by the government junta and the FSLN in the interests of the workers and campesinos.

*El Pueblo* has also featured interviews with politicians and union officials associated with the right-wing, bourgeois Social Christian Party (PSC). The PSC in return lent financial aid to the paper through the purchase of large blocs of advertising.

The general approach of *El Pueblo*'s editors was to go out of their way to distort news and report rumors so as to put the FSLN in as bad a light as possible. An example of their irresponsible approach was publication on their front page last September of a report that troops of the Sandinista People's Army had attacked a Honduran customs post with machine guns and left two civilians dead. The rumor had emanated from a right-wing radio station in the Honduran capital and was quickly shown to have no basis in fact.

# ...FSLN jails ultralefts, closes paper

Continued from preceding page

On the one hand, if the MAP/FO has indeed violated revolutionary legality by hiding arms, or planning or carrying out armed actions or sabotage, then the revolutionary government has the right and duty to take repressive steps to put a stop to this.

But the Sandinistas often argue as though the sectarians' incorrect ideas alone are sufficient grounds for branding them as "counterrevolutionaries" and suppressing them. The formal charges against the FO leaders so far, for example, deal not with the arms but with distribution of propaganda "that seeks to damage the popular interests." *El Pueblo* has been accused of "destructive criticism."

Any serious error committed in the camp of the workers and peasants is, of course, an objective help to the counterrevolution. But that does not mean that those committing the errors are necessarily themselves counterrevolutionaries.

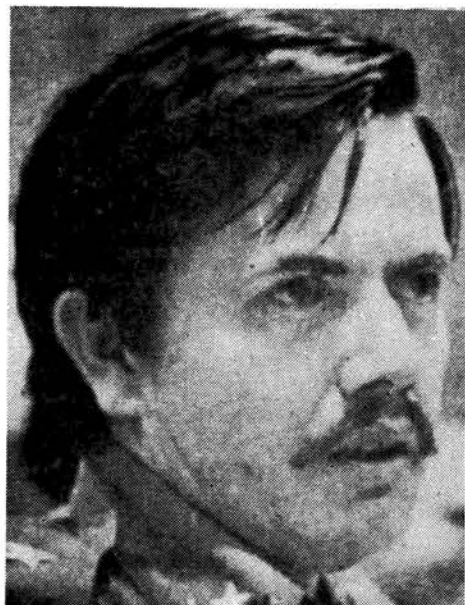
The FSLN's first attempts to deal with the gross political errors and irresponsible actions of the MAP/FO came last October when a public campaign was launched to brand the sectarians as "counterrevolutionaries" and "Somozaists." Several dozen MAP/FO members were jailed at that time but no formal charges were brought. No moves were made to close the paper *El Pueblo* in October.

In responding to the initial campaign against them, the MAP/FO modified its hard anti-FSLN stance somewhat and offered to join in a "dialogue" with the Sandinistas. It also turned away from its earlier bloc with bourgeois forces that were calling for immediate convocation of the Council of State.

The FSLN in turn softened its tone against the sectarians, released the detainees, and opened talks with MAP/FO leaders.

At around the same time, an opposition current arose inside the MAP/FO. Pablo Martínez, a long-time leader of the organization, and other militants argued for dropping the sectarian line and collaborating with the FSLN. According to Martínez, his current was bureaucratically blocked from presenting its view to the membership. He and some thirty other militants eventually left the group and joined the FSLN.

The "dialogue" between the sectarians and the Sandinistas evidently bore little fruit, and by the beginning



Barricada

HENRY RUIZ: 'We hope to create 94-96,000 jobs, but if there are strikes, boycotts, sabotage, we won't have those jobs.'

of January the anti-FSLN tone of *El Pueblo* was becoming increasingly sharp. The paper again opened its pages to bourgeois forces.

## Lenin and the Bolsheviks

When Lenin was leading the Bolshevik Party to power in Russia, he carefully elaborated a set of principles for handling differences that arise both within the vanguard party and within the workers movement as a whole.

Lenin argued for discipline, centralism, and combativity. To secure the necessary commitment of the party's ranks to its centralism, he held that the party must debate and decide its policies democratically, with conflicting and minority views being guaranteed a hearing. The right to tendencies and internal democracy was taken for granted in the Bolshevik Party.

Once decisions were made by majority vote or by the democratically elected leadership, all members were required to carry them out. Lenin himself was on occasion voted down in the Bolsheviks' debates.

Within the broader workers movement, the Bolsheviks fought politically and ideologically against other currents who were against the revolution becoming socialist and the workers taking power. The Bolsheviks defeated such currents by winning the majority of workers to their positions in the unions and other mass organizations.

The soviets (councils) of workers, peasants, and soldiers deputies were constantly the scene of sharp debates between the Bolsheviks and other workers parties, such as the Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and Anarchists.

The Soviet government that came to power in October 1917 had a clear policy toward the rights of political tendencies in the workers movement. So long as they did not go over to the side of the capitalist counterrevolution, they had the full right to organize, publish their newspapers, and present candidates for election to the soviets.

When currents such as the Anarchists, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries did in fact go over to the side of the capitalist armies that were battling to overthrow the soviets, however, they were correctly repressed by the workers state.

## Nicaragua today

The problems the Nicaraguan revolution faces and must immediately cope with are real and cannot be waved aside. It is sometimes necessary for a revolutionary leadership to make tactical concessions to the capitalists to avert economic reverses and premature confrontations.

Sectarian groups such as the MAP/FO are wrong in their tendency to view such necessary concessions as incorrect in principle or betrayals of the revolution. At the same time, these organizations can sometimes reflect, in a distorted way, moods that exist in sections of the masses.

This factor points to the risk that repressive measures against these groups on grounds other than crimes against the revolution may cause some sections of the toilers themselves to begin to feel reluctant to express their viewpoint and their criticisms. As the FSLN has already demonstrated by its own practice, feedback from the workers and peasants is the best barometer for a leadership in gauging the tempo of the process of revolutionary change, spotting turning points, noting problems, and determining what to do next.

In order to effectively lead the masses, the revolutionary vanguard should openly explain its considerations to the workers and peasants when it believes concessions are necessary—as Henry Ruiz did at the San Antonio sugar mill and as other FSLN leaders did to striking Managua construction workers (see preceding article).

An important part of this process of interaction between the masses and their vanguard, the FSLN, is politically confronting the ultraleft sectarians and explaining what is wrong and dangerous about their infantile positions. Repression based solely or mainly on their wrong ideas cuts across this political clarification, and makes it more difficult to win sections of the masses who may look to them for a genuinely revolutionary course.

In addition to its ultraleft stands, the MAP/FO has made opportunist blocs with the bourgeoisie and has championed openly counterrevolutionary positions, such as supporting imperialism's campaign against the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and attempting to whip up opposition to revolutionary Cuba. These rightist campaigns must be vigorously fought and decisively defeated. The best way to do this is through open political struggle and explanation to the broad masses. This is especially important, since the much more powerful bourgeois forces around *La Prensa* are banging away on the same reactionary themes.

All these are important considerations raised by the recent measures against the MAP/FO and *El Pueblo*. As more facts become known about the charges against this sectarian Stalinist current, the factors that are most directly related to this particular case will become clearer.

## Showdown with capitalists

The FSLN has made it clear that it upholds the right to criticism. It is defending the independence of the trade unions and mass organizations from the state. It has opposed any acts of coercion against strikes or demonstrations by workers and peasants.

The fact that the government's charges against the MAP/FO leaders have so far been based on the dissemination of incorrect opinions stands as an exception to the FSLN's overall course, which has been toward a broad expansion of democratic rights for the masses and the development of mass popular organizations. Further steps in this general direction, consolidating workers democracy within the bounds of revolutionary legality and security, will maximize the mobilization and political commitment of the toilers in the coming decisive showdown with the forces of imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Washington escalates threats against Cuba

**THE MILITANT**

For emergency aid to Nicaragua!

Labor should take lead in solidarity drive

Nicaraguans vow to rebuild their devastated country

Canadian labor sends aid to Nicaragua

HAVANA SUMMIT

Nonaligned conference deals blow to U.S. war drive

Special offer to new readers

Subscribe today

## Subscribe to the Militant

Special for new readers:  
ten weeks for \$2.50

- ( ) \$5—four months
- ( ) \$12—six months
- ( ) \$20—one year
- ( ) \$2.50—ten weeks (new subscribers only)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

**THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION**

"We represent the immense majority of humanity."

Fidel Castro at the UN

## From Pathfinder

### The Nicaraguan Revolution

Interviews and speeches by Sandinista leaders and text of Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans.  
80 pages, \$2.25

### Fidel Castro at the UN

Full text of Cuban leader's October 12, 1979, speech to United Nations.  
48 pages, \$1.25

Order by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please enclose \$.75 for postage.)

# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## 'Women Back Into Stelco'

### Canadian labor joins women's fight for jobs

Women's organizations, unions, and the labor party in Canada have joined together to fight the discriminatory hiring practices of the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco).

Stelco is Canada's biggest steel producer. Its central mills in Hamilton, Ontario, employ more than 12,000 workers. Only about 50 are women.

The company argues that women cannot do the work at Stelco. But during World War II many women worked in production jobs there—as they did in basic industry throughout both the United States and Canada.

The Women Back Into Stelco campaign, initiated by women seeking jobs in the mills, can set important precedents for Canadian women workers. The following article reports on some of the broad support this campaign has won in the Canadian labor movement. It is reprinted from the December 24 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a biweekly published in Montreal.

Statements of support from U.S. union locals and women's committees can be sent to the address at the end of the article.

Women Back Into Stelco is sponsoring an International Women's Day rally in Hamilton on March 7. It will highlight the struggles of working women across Canada, with speakers from several current strikes in which women are playing a big role. For more information call (416) 526-0015.

The New Democratic Party (NDP), referred to in the article below, is not a Canadian version of the Democratic Party; it is a labor party based on the unions. The Canadian districts of the United Steelworkers are among the NDP's strongest backers.

\* \* \*

By Samantha Anderson

At least one out of every ten blue collar workers hired at Stelco should be a woman, federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent told reporters December 7 at the United Steelworkers hall in Hamilton.

The news conference was called on behalf of five Hamilton women who have launched a public campaign against the refusal of the city's largest employer, the Steel Company of Canada, to hire them as production workers.

Women in Canada "have not achieved equality by a long shot in the



Above: During World War II, women at Steel Company of Canada did dirty jobs too. Top: Flanked by women seeking Stelco jobs, President Cec Taylor of Steelworkers Local 1005 supported fight for equal opportunity at news conference.

workplace," Broadbent said. Canada has only voluntary affirmative action programs with "no sticks attached."

Broadbent explained the NDP's position, adopted at its federal convention in November, that companies receiving government contracts or subsidies should have mandatory hiring programs for women. The majority of Canadians are ready for such programs, he said.

A similar stance was adopted by the Ontario Federation of Labor at its annual convention last month. Cec Taylor, president of Steelworkers' Local 1005 at Stelco's Hilton Works in Hamilton, told delegates that only one half of one percent of workers at Stelco are women, although the company's own records indicate that 10 percent of the 300,000 job applicants in the last 18 years were women.

Making women 10 percent of the workforce would at least be a start, Taylor said. "If Stelco will not do it voluntarily, they will have to be forced. We have to have affirmative action."

Local 1005 is strongly backing the campaign of the five women.

Kealey Cummings, national secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the country's biggest union, said seniority rules fail to protect women, the last hired and the first to be laid off.

"The labor movement has a poor record on this," Cummings said. "As males, we are going to have to bargain preferential treatment for women. Until rank-and-file males do something, we are perpetuating discrimination, and that is wrong."

The resolution passed by a 90 percent majority.

The NDP and OFL support for preferential hiring of women is an important step forward for the labor movement and the struggle for women's rights. Fighting together with women, the labor movement has the power to force a victory in the vital battle to counteract the centuries of discrimination that have relegated women to the sidelines of production.

In the forefront of this battle today is the Women Back Into Stelco Campaign. A victory against Stelco, Canada's biggest steel producer, would help open the doors of basic industry to women right across the country.

The campaign in Hamilton, covered almost daily by the city's only newspaper, *The Spectator*, is serving as a powerful example for other women.

Pamela McLaren, a Black woman, was furious when she read in *The Spectator* that National Steel Car said no women had applied for work in its plant for more than 10 years. Her job application was turned down by Steel Car last spring, although she had completed a 40-week welding course and had passed the company's test. McLaren filed a complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. She is the sixth person in recent weeks to file a complaint.

"In their heart of hearts, everyone in Hamilton knows that women don't get hired at Stelco," says Jeanette Abbot, chairwoman of the Women Back Into Stelco Campaign. Under pressure from the committee and the Steel union, Stelco was forced to hire two women in early November—but not the five women who started it all.

Messages, funds, and requests for information can be sent to: Women Back Into Stelco Campaign, c/o USWA Local 1005, 1031 Barton St. E., Hamilton.

## 'Big principles at stake' in discriminatory layoffs

The following article is reprinted from the February 4 issue of *'Socialist Voice'*, a bi-weekly published in Montreal.

By Katy LeRougetel

MONTREAL—The campaign to defend three women fired by Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Ltd. on account of their political views is gaining important support from Quebec trade unions.

The Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) voted unanimously January 19 to support the three.

And a meeting of Local 1163 of the United Auto Workers at General Motors' Ste-Thérèse plant voted unanimous support January 27.

The three women—Suzanne Cha-

bot, Katy LeRougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—were "laid off" November 16, shortly before the end of their probationary period.

The company claimed it had a surplus of personnel. Yet Pratt hired more than 800 workers during the last year in a massive expansion. The three women had all received written references saying their work record was highly satisfactory.

The three were well known to their co-workers as feminists who refused to be ghettoized into "women's jobs" in the plant. As members of the Revolutionary Workers League, they are strong supporters of women's efforts across the country to break into higher paying jobs from which women are traditionally excluded—such as the campaign by women in

Hamilton to get production jobs at Steel Co. of Canada.

The three women are backed by their local union, UAW Local 510, in challenging the layoffs as discriminatory. The union has submitted a brief to the Quebec Human Rights Commission. It has also submitted a grievance, and intends to take the case to arbitration.

As one union official says, there are "big principles at stake here."

In addition to supporting the case, the Montreal CSN has sent out its own publicity leaflet to affiliated locals. The CSN women's committee will be sending information to regional heads of union women's committees throughout Quebec.

Other supporters include: André Choquette, leader of the 34 strikers

unjustly fired from Pratt (formerly United Aircraft) during the 1974-75 strike; Michel Chartrand, former president of the Montreal CSN; Simone Chartrand, well-known feminist; and Micheline Sicotte and Yvon Charbonneau, leaders of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ).

*Priorities*, publication of the B.C. NDP Women's Committee, carries an article on the case in its latest issue.

The three women plan to launch a public defense committee based on the substantial support already received. Requests for information or money contributions should be sent to: Committee to Defend the Three Pratt Women, c/o Katy LeRougetel, 4721 Chambord, Montreal. (514) 521-2791 or 522-2889.

By Gunilla Skeppner  
and Kia Mattsson

The international economic crisis has sharply increased unemployment in Sweden. Entire branches of industry that were previously the backbone of the economy are now in crisis. Women, immigrants, and youth—the weakest sectors in society—have been hit first, but the employers are planning increased attacks on the working class as a whole.

Despite the trade-union bureaucracy's efforts to put a lid on protests, ferment is starting to grow on a grass-roots level. The demand for a membership vote on the labor contract is being raised across the country. Women in particular have been in the forefront of struggle for shorter hours of work.

## Shorter workweek

In 1972, the Social Democratic Women's League (SSKF) raised the demand for a thirty-hour week. "With an adequate child-care system," the SSKF said, "we see a future in which it would be possible for all of us to combine care of our children with the economic security having a job of one's own would mean. This is the best insurance for the future."

The Social Democratic Labor Party (SAP) added the demand for a thirty-hour week to its political program in 1975. The trade unions have also made this one of their demands, but only a long-range one. A series of motions on the question were brought up at the congresses of the National Federation of Trade Unions (LO—the main industrial union federation) and the Central Federation of Salaried Employees (TCO—the main union federation of white-collar workers). A committee was established to review the question of working hours but simply let it be "ground" up in the studies "mill."

At the 1978 SSKF national convention a report was presented on "What Has Happened With the Thirty-Hour Week?" The report drew attention to the fact that a shorter workweek for all was still nothing but words on paper. To be sure a few new laws had been passed, increasing the possibility of working part time—a possibility used almost exclusively by women. The new government also established the right to the thirty-hour week for families with infants, but with only thirty hours' pay. Was that really a step forward?

At the SSKF convention one woman after another took the floor to speak for the thirty-hour week with no cut in pay, women's right to work, and the importance of good public child care. They put forward demands far ahead of those advanced by the SAP today.

## Union tops 'realism'

The SSKF wanted to go on fighting for the thirty-hour week and turned to the SAP and LO, demanding that they start to discuss a timetable for the realization of the measure. The LO gave its answer right at the convention through its vice-chairman, Lars Westberg.

To be sure, he said, the LO looks positively toward a general cut in the workweek—that is, in the long run. At the same time, he stressed, it is necessary to be "realistic." A cut in the workweek can only be practical if it is combined with a rise in productivity. In other words, the thirty-hour week can only be won if the capitalists' profits are big enough.

The result of the pressure from the SAP and the LO was that the women's demand for a thirty-hour week was once more put off until later.

## Reformists & bosses

The politicians in the present openly bourgeois government, the Social Democrats, the trade-union leadership, and the employers are unanimous in claiming that we cannot afford a thirty-hour

# Swedish women workers lead fight for 30-hour week



Unemployed youth march for jobs in northern Sweden

week. But the fact is that we could afford it if we used our resources in a different way.

The waste of human and material resources in capitalist Sweden is enormous. Hundreds of thousands of people are unemployed when great needs exist. "Overproduction" has led to factories working at only half capacity. War industry, police, and the military devour huge sums. The guiding principle is production for profit—not for human needs.

Can we afford the thirty-hour week? Our answer is that we cannot go on like we do now. The struggle for the thirty-hour week is an important part of the struggle against the enormous waste of capitalist society. It is also part of the struggle for a planned economy that does not subject working people to a continuous cycle of slumps and booms.

## Lessons of fight

The thirty-hour week can be realized either at the expense of employers or at the expense of workers.

In Sweden a cut in the workweek from forty-eight to forty hours was carried through between 1959 and 1974. This did not mean a lowering of real income, but it did not mean a higher employment rate, a decrease in the discrimination against women in the labor market, or an increase in

political, trade-union, or social activities either. The cut was carried out step by step. This made it possible for the employers to be compensated bit by bit. Rationalization, speedup, and layoffs were some of the methods used.

Those who today advocate a gradual cut in the workweek commit a basic error. They believe that such drastic interference in the employers' power over production can be undertaken within the framework of normal contract negotiations, peacefully and undramatically. According to this view, it could be carried out after a vote in parliament and centralized negotiations.

But to win the thirty-hour week on the *working class's conditions* calls for a gigantic show of strength by the unions—something far greater than is normal in the Swedish class struggle.

Both the Social Democrats and the Communist Party prefer negotiating for a shorter week in return for lowering demands for wage increases.

## German steelworkers

This is not the way the thirty-hour week will be won. It is necessary to mobilize the working class. In West Germany, for example, tens of thousands of steelworkers went out on strike last year for a thirty-five-hour week. They made it clear that their goal was to reduce unemployment, and that they didn't intend to pay for the

reduction in hours of work themselves. This is the right way to fight for a shorter workweek.

Why has the demand for a thirty-hour week in Sweden gotten such wide support from women? During the 1960s women in Sweden went out to work as never before. These were "good times" and women's labor was needed. Married women and mothers of young children went to work in hospitals, offices, day-care centers, schools, and factories.

In 1960, 16 percent of married women had jobs. By 1970, the figure had risen to 57 percent. Most of the jobs women entered were in the business and social-services sector. To a lesser degree they began to get jobs in industry—usually in such traditional "women's" sectors as textiles and food processing. But the greater part went into the expanding public sector—child and old-age care, administration, and education.

The increased number of women working for a living was the foundation of the radicalization of women during the 1970s. It is the basis on which real progress has been made, for example free abortion, increased day-care programs, and some reduction in the tremendous gap between the wages of women and men.

## Women workers driven out

But those "good times" are over. The Swedish economy has been hit hard by the capitalist crisis and employers are trying to solve it by cutting real wages, speeding up the pace of work, shutting plants, and dismissing workers.

The number of women working full time actually *decreased* in the 1970s. In textiles, jobs have been disappearing rapidly for many years.

Key industries in Sweden have also felt the crisis. Shipyards and steel mills have stopped hiring; instead there are warnings about layoffs and plant shutdowns. These were industries where women were offered jobs during "good years." Now voices are being raised to say that it is time to go back to the old way of doing things, that men need jobs more than women.

In fact, some special job-training programs arranged by the national Labor Market Board (AMS) accept only men. Even in the public-service sector, a traditional source of employment for women, it is becoming increasingly common for men to be given the available jobs.

In short, the capitalist crisis represents a growing threat to women's right to work, to economic independence, and consequently to all the progress that has been made toward women's liberation in the last decade. This threat must be beaten back.

## Attempt to divide workers

To accept discrimination against women in employment means accepting a division in the working class. Such divisions are a threat to the strength and unity of the working class. Each time workers accept any group being hit by the crisis, it means that they accept that the crisis should be paid for by working people themselves. It is in the interests of every worker to defend the right of women to work and to fight against the discrimination they suffer in employment.

In the last analysis, what is needed to defend women's right to work is a struggle within the framework of a program of jobs for all. One of the central demands in such a program must be a general shortening of the workweek without any cut in pay, so as to spread available work among all who want jobs.

This is a concrete demand designed to fight unemployment, a demand in solidarity with all those who have been and will be thrown out of work by the economic slump.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# 'March for survival': frame-up of Kampuchea flops

By Fred Feldman

In the face of growing signs that the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea (Cambodia) is consolidating its position, the Carter administration is trying to prevent Kampuchean and Vietnamese forces from mopping up the remaining forces of mass murderer Pol Pot. Pol Pot maintains military encampments on both sides of the Thai border, with the direct help of the Thai army.

Washington's efforts have included hints of possible U.S. military reprisals if Pol Pot's forces are pushed too hard. This has been accompanied by propaganda aimed at whipping up world opinion against the Heng Samrin government.

The latest ploy was the "March for Survival" held at the Thai-Kampuchea border February 6.

About 120 celebrities sat down briefly on the Thai side of the border while Leo Cherne, head of the "International Rescue Committee," shouted demands at Vietnamese and Kampuchean soldiers to open the border and accept "aid" which they were purportedly bringing to Kampuchea.

The soldiers ignored Cherne and the protest ended without clashes.

In addition to Cherne, the march was organized by figures such as Bayard Rustin, a leader of Social Democrats USA; pacifist folksinger Joan Baez; and French "new philosopher" Bernard Henri-Lévy. It also gained support from French historian Jean Lacouture, Norwegian actress Liv Ullmann and others.

Cherne, with Baez, was the key organizer of the march in the United States.

This is not Cherne's first venture into Indochina.

After a visit to Saigon in 1954, Cherne played an important part in the effort to sell the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship in South Vietnam to the American people as a bastion of democracy. His "International Rescue Committee" was a front for this operation, as it has been for many other big lie efforts for Washington.

Cherne supported the U.S. war in Indochina to the bitter end.

There is grim irony in Cherne's turning up as a "relief official" at the Thai-Kampuchea border. If Cherne had his way, B-52 bombers would still



Above: Joan Baez's 'march for survival' was so busy attacking Kampuchea—where famine has been overcome—that it covered up crimes committed by rightists in refugee camps on Thai border. Above right: youth is punished for 'stealing food' in Pol Pot-controlled camp.

be ripping up the Kampuchean countryside.

Cherne and Baez claimed that the "March for Survival" was bringing food to the Kampuchean people. But march organizers refused to cooperate with Pnompenh authorities in delivering and distributing aid.

Instead, they demanded that Kampuchea throw open its border with Thailand. This in the midst of stepped-up fighting with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and growing tension with the Thai regime, which shelters and equips Pol Pot.

Their pretext: the claim that Vietnam and Heng Samrin's government are deliberately starving the people of Kampuchea.

With this lie as a centerpiece, Cherne and Baez looked forward to a confrontation on the border that would "expose" the Heng Samrin government and put Washington's allies in a favorable light.

Unfortunately for the game plan, it became clear to the world in the

months preceding the march that the famine in Kampuchea was being overcome—precisely through the efforts of the Heng Samrin government, its allies, and international relief agencies that cooperated with it.

By January 23, even the State Department admitted that the famine in Kampuchea was over.

"There has been a complete transformation," Tony Hewett, a UNICEF officer, told correspondent Daniel Southerland in the February 7 *Christian Science Monitor*. "There are still cases of light-to-moderate malnutrition, but there's an enormous difference between July and August of last year and now."

The march organizers' blatant hostility to the Kampuchean government drew criticism from "relief workers, who say no extra publicity is needed to get aid into Cambodia, and from the Vietnam-backed Cambodian government, which calls it a provocation," reported the February 6 *Newark Star-Ledger*.



Although the marchers spent some of their time in refugee camps along the Thai border, none of their criticism was directed at the Khmer Rouge or other rightist forces which have been given the run of the camps by the Thai government.

Yet it is universally acknowledged that Pol Pot's soldiers take much of the food that is supposedly destined for refugees near the Thai border. Reporters frequently describe the contrast between the healthy, well-fed Khmer Rouge troops and the skinny, disease-ridden refugees in the camps.

As for the other rightist groups: "Most of these, a senior Thai officer said [to *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm], are 'armed businessmen' more than soldiers, profiting from an extensive trade involving Thai merchandise and international relief goods and the gold obtained from hungry Cambodians" (February 6 *New York Times*).

What a degraded spectacle the movie stars and assorted "beautiful people" who followed Cherne and Baez have made of themselves!

There they squatted at the Kampuchean border, shouting high-toned moral condemnations at Kampuchean and Vietnamese soldiers—while a few hundred yards behind them, Kampuchean refugees are being systematically plundered every day without a squeak of protest from the "March for Survival."

Whatever the delusions of some of the participants, the purpose of the "March for Survival" is as transparent as Leo Cherne's pose as a humanitarian. The demand that Heng Samrin open the border is part of Washington's effort to protect Pol Pot's murder squads as a viable fighting force against Kampuchea.

## Carter arms Moroccan despot

By Jim Atkinson

The Carter administration is rushing to the aid of Morocco's beleaguered monarch, King Hassan II. U.S. arms worth \$232.5 million are to be delivered to the Moroccan armed forces fighting the Polisario freedom fighters in Western Sahara.

The Sahraoui guerrillas, who have been fighting for independence since Morocco invaded their country in 1975, have been striking hard blows against the 50,000 Moroccan troops in the Sahara in recent months.

So to shore up the Moroccan monarchy's war, the Pentagon announced on January 24 that Washington will sell Hassan twelve helicopter gunships worth \$45 million, twenty F5 jets worth \$170 million, and six OV-10 Bronco planes worth \$17.5 million.

The announcement followed a detailed examination of U.S. policy options on the Western Saharan war at a

special meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) on October 16, 1979.

White House spokesmen announced shortly after the NSC meeting that Washington would now supply Morocco with counterinsurgency arms, such as Cobra helicopter gunships and OV-10 Broncos, which had been used extensively in Vietnam and had previously been barred from sale to Morocco.

The spokesmen also let it be known that the Carter administration would no longer require Moroccan compliance with clauses of a 1960 U.S.-Moroccan military agreement that, on paper, prohibit Morocco from using U.S.-supplied arms beyond its recognized borders.

"We believe an outright military victory over Morocco by Morocco's adversaries would constitute a serious setback to major U.S. interests," explained Assistant Secretary of State

Harold Saunders on January 24 at a Congressional hearing on the planned arms sales.

"The U.S. cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that Morocco has historically been a good friend and indeed, in a practical sense, an ally," Saunders went on. "Morocco identifies itself with the U.S. and the West on key East-West issues. Its support for U.S. positions on Iran and Afghanistan in recent weeks has been strong and public."

Hassan, a despotic monarch who has incarcerated hundreds of political prisoners in his jails, had won high marks in the White House by agreeing to rush Moroccan troops to Zaïre in 1977 and 1978 to help suppress uprisings in Shaba province against the ailing Mobutu dictatorship. He also won praise in Washington for his role in helping to initiate the contacts between the Egyptian and Israeli re-

gimes that culminated in President Anwar el-Sadat's sell-out of the Palestinians at Camp David.

The Pentagon is afraid that the U.S. Sixth Fleet's facilities in Moroccan ports might be threatened if a Moroccan defeat in the Sahara undermines the fragile Moroccan monarchy.

The imperialists also fear that a successful struggle for independence by the Sahraoui people could set an inspiring example for oppressed peoples elsewhere.

Now, as the forces of world revolution are again on the rise, the White House is more determined than ever to keep Hassan on his throne. Carter does not want him to go the way of Somoza or the shah of Iran.

The direct victims of this policy are the oppressed Sahraouis, and the Moroccan masses themselves.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# Auto workers oppose forced overtime

By John Studer

MELROSE PARK, Ill.—More than 700 members of United Auto Workers Local 6 demonstrated outside the International Harvester plant here February 7. The demonstrators marched behind a large banner proclaiming "Forced Overtime, Hell No!"

The local's newsletter, the *Union Voice*, explained the reason for the demonstration: "We are rallying to show Harvester that we are not weakening. Far from it. Having stayed out for three months, we are more determined than ever not to go back to work for what we would have settled for in November. We're sure not giving up the forty-hour week. We're not going backward thirty years."

Marching in the snow, strikers carried an effigy of Archie McCardell, chairman of Harvester's board. McCardell has threatened to move production to non-union locations in the South if the strikers are victorious.

At a short rally following the demonstration, Local 6 officers announced a larger demonstration planned for February 21 outside the annual Harvester stockholders' meeting in Chicago.

Union leaders reported that discussions are going on at UAW's international headquarters about broadening the rally into a major action involving

auto workers from all over the Midwest. Already strikers from Harvester plants throughout Illinois are making plans to attend.

Harvester continues to run scab non-union truckers across the picket lines here. Strikers are prevented from effectively meeting these scabs by a court injunction which severely limits the number of pickets.

In Libertyville, Illinois, each morning UAW Local 1643 pickets confront cops in full riot gear who escort scab truckers across the picket lines.

UAW Local 6 President Robert Tinker reported to strikers at a union-sponsored educational meeting that company foremen are calling strikers asking when they're coming back to work.

Tinker read from an unsigned letter to the local paper that accused strikers of polluting the air by burning wood to keep warm. The strikers laughed when he compared this to the pollution the company pours into the atmosphere.

The savings accounts of the 35,000 strikers have been totally depleted during the last 100 days. Strikers with families subsist on benefits of only sixty-five dollars a week. Despite the hardships, workers are talking about the possibility of striking through

March.

A victory for the Harvester strikers would inspire hundreds of thousands of UAW members forced to work fifty, sixty, up to eighty hours a week.

The larger the demonstration on

February 21, the more it will help strengthen the strikers' determination. Solidarity contributions can be sent to: UAW Region 4 Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60644.



Militant/John Studer

UAW members plan more demonstrations like this February 7 march at Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Ill.

## ...oil strike

Continued from back page

down the pike in this country," said Jacobs. Locals 1-5, 1-1978, and 1-326 are preparing to make this solidarity a reality.

LINDEN, N.J.—Workers at Exxon's refinery here, the second-largest Exxon refinery in the country, moved closer to the possibility of a strike as key wage and benefit portions of the contract expired February 8 and no new agree-

ment has been reached.

We are members of Teamsters Local 877, but like OCAW and other organized oil workers, we are covered by the national oil bargaining agreement and our demands are identical.

Workers in the yard have been discussing a strike since OCAW went out January 8. Feelings are mixed. Many workers like the idea of an industry-wide walkout. Most support the push for better medical benefits in addition to a wage increase.

Our union voted January 16 to strengthen the local executive committee's hand in the bargaining by giving

it the authority to call for a strike vote. Then, in solidarity with OCAW, we voted unanimously to donate \$1,000 to the OCAW local in Westville, New Jersey.

Almost half of the 1,000 members came to the union meeting February 9. The union's national bargaining proposal includes:

- 10.5 percent wage increase (55 cents plus 5 percent per hour, with a \$1 minimum),
- company contribution up to \$125 monthly on family health coverage, single coverage fully paid; \$20 paid per month for the dental plan,

- improved vacations after fifteen years, and
- improved medical coverage for retirees.

Exxon, like the rest of the major oil companies, has refused these reasonable demands, but has said that it would meet the final industry pattern (known as the "me too" clause).

Most workers here see the "me too" clause as the company's way to avoid settling some demands and to weaken all bargaining. As one union member put it, the bargaining committee should tell the company to "take their 'me too' clause and shove it."

## ...layoffs

Continued from page 9

told one of the pre-January 13 rallies.

Illinois AFL-CIO President Robert Gibson told another, "There are no second-class citizens in this work force. When anyone is denied their rights, all the labor movement suffers. The cause of ERA is not just a woman's cause, but labor's cause."

That's exactly why the unions can't afford to let women get booted out of industry. What good does it do for the labor movement to march for equal rights if it then turns its back when those rights are on the line with discriminatory layoffs?

Another indication of the union movement's growing recognition of women workers is the attention now being paid to the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

On January 24, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department co-sponsored a conference on women workers with CLUW. It was the first of its kind ever. The focus was on organizing unorganized women workers.

To do this, however, the labor movement needs to be seen by these women as first-line defenders of women's rights. That was the case, for example, in Newport News, Virginia, when the shipyard workers there kicked off a courageous battle to win union recognition for Steelworkers Local 8888 in January 1978.

In the midst of the Newport News battle, the Steelworkers moved to the national spotlight in another rights fight—Brian Weber's challenge to an affirmative-action plan at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana.

What would have been the response

of those workers in Newport News—half of whom are Black, several hundred women—if the USWA and the rest of the union movement had not been willing to defend affirmative action in the Weber case?

At Kaiser, the USWA had negotiated separate seniority lists from which trainees for the skilled jobs were to come: one list for Black and women workers and another list for the rest of the work force.

The union recognized that because Blacks and women had been excluded from the entire work force for years, bidding by strict seniority would simply perpetuate discrimination in the skilled trades. The dual-list system was a way of modifying seniority to further the union goal of equality.

The fact that virtually every major union in the country, and the AFL-CIO, came to the defense of this plan when challenged by white lab technician Brian Weber was a tremendous step forward for affirmative action. And for the union movement.

The 1974 basic steel consent decree preceded and laid the basis for plans like the one at Kaiser. Although the consent decree was an out-of-court settlement of discrimination complaints filed against both the steel companies and the union, the USWA proclaims itself "proud of the progress made under the consent decree."

"It was a dramatic change in the principle of equality in the work place," declared USWA President Lloyd McBride at the union's March 1979 civil rights conference. "And it upset the historic tool used over and over by the steel industry."

And what was that tool?

Narrow seniority.

It was the company's "right" to hire whom it wanted, put them in the job it wanted, and then keep them there

through department-by-department seniority.

"You could go to certain sections of the mills and see nothing but white faces. If you looked over in the coke ovens, the blast furnaces, in the dirtier and heavier jobs, you found in the main Black faces," explained McBride. Women, of course, were absent altogether.

The consent decree's crowning achievement was that it *modified* the seniority system in place at that time—a system that had been used to perpetuate discrimination.

Plantwide seniority allowed Black workers, and later women workers, to bid for jobs in the higher-paying departments without having to start all over on the seniority list.

"Seniority is something the employer doesn't have," said McBride at the civil rights meeting. "It's all ours. Between us, we have all the seniority."

Seniority was fought for and won as a wedge against the bosses firing, or laying off, whomever they wanted—union activists, "troublemakers," and so on.

When a seniority system is used by the bosses to perpetuate discriminatory job patterns, which serve to divide the entire work force, it should be reexamined.

As USWA President McBride says, seniority belongs to the union. It can and should be modified to stop discriminatory layoffs—and in that way strengthen, not weaken, labor's stand against the employers.

## A new Pathfinder pamphlet

Nelson Blackstock  
Workers in the  
Changing South

on class battles  
in the South



Nelson Blackstock, a native southerner, takes a look at the changing South. The fight against Jim Crow segregation. The gains won by the civil rights movement. The growing radicalization of southern workers today.

30 pp., \$95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

# In Review

## Workers' guide to nuclear power threat

What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power. By Fred Halstead. New York, Pathfinder Press. 40 pp. \$95.

In a recent issue *Fortune* magazine author Herman Nickel declares that the nuclear-power industry is scoring some successes in debating antinuclear activists. According to Nickel the industry hired two engineers to follow Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden on their fifty-two city antinuclear speaking tour.

"The young engineers could hardly match the New Left's dazzle duo in fame or notoriety, but they clearly outclassed them as experts on the issue," Nickel believes.

Whatever the truth of Nickel's remarks—and *Fortune* is 100 percent for nuclear power—they still raise two important points. First, the nuclear industry is waging a massive propaganda campaign to turn back the antinuclear sentiment in this country. Second, the outcome will depend on whether antinuclear forces can answer the arguments.

Indeed, this is the central task of the antinuclear movement today: to convince the big majority of the American people that nuclear power is unsafe and that there is no known way to make it safe.

People want to know the facts. A big step in getting the facts out can be taken by reading and spreading far and wide Fred Halstead's new pamphlet: *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*.

This spring antinuclear forces across the country are united in focusing their efforts on two dates:

### Pamphlets

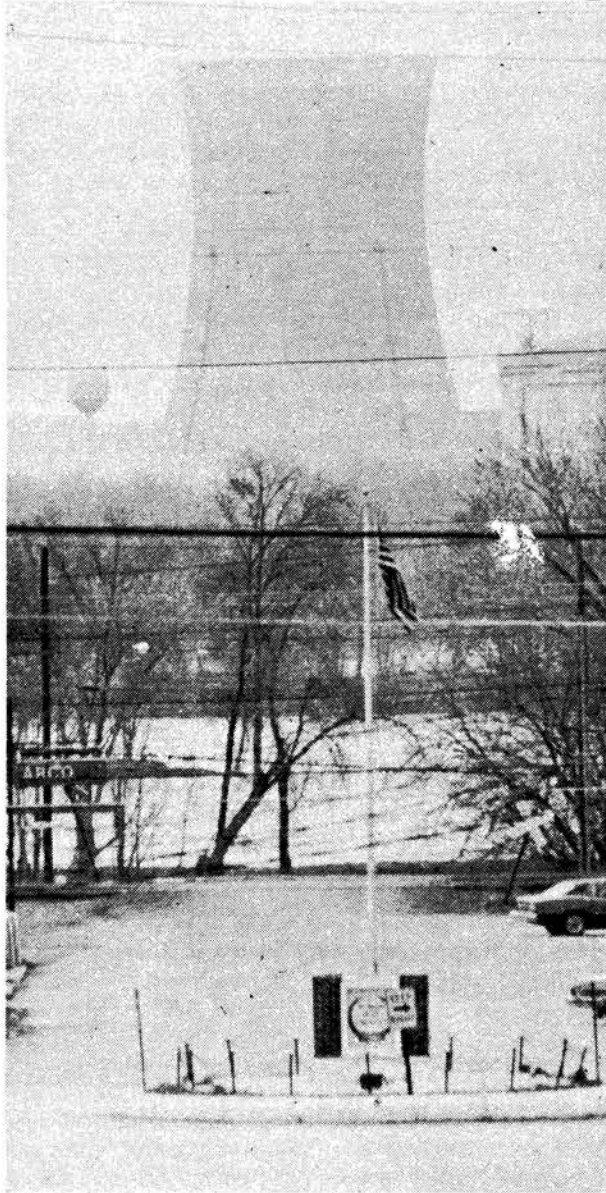
local activities on March 28, the anniversary of Three Mile Island; and the March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World set for April 26. These have the potential to be massive demonstrations, involving new layers of the American people and powerful forces from the labor movement.

Sales of Halstead's pamphlet can be one of the best ways for deepening discussion of the nuclear issue in the factories, neighborhoods, high schools, and college campuses, and for winning people to the antinuclear cause.

Halstead presents clearly and simply—with the aid of illustrations and diagrams—the central facts about the dangers to health, safety, and life caused by nuclear radiation.

The main topics covered are:

- The causes of radiation;
- The specific dangers of each kind of radiation;
- The specific dangers at each stage from the mining, manufacturing, enriching, reprocessing, and disposing of nuclear fuel;
- How nuclear power plants, including breeder



Three Mile Island nuclear plant

reactors work; and

- What really happened in the Three Mile Island near-catastrophe.

Halstead marshals brief and compelling arguments. Against the assertion that there is always radiation in nature anyway and we shouldn't worry about manufactured radiation, for example, Halstead points out: "A single commercial nuclear reactor running for a year or so contains far more dangerous radioactive material than exists on the earth naturally. And there are seventy-two commercial reactors in the U.S. alone, plus roughly two hundred military reactors. So there is something to worry about."

To the argument that we are exposed to radiation in X rays and this doesn't hurt us: "They don't point out that medical X rays are carefully confined

to a particular part of the body—a tooth, or a broken limb, for example. But radiation released from a nuclear plant doses the whole body. The next time you get an X ray, ask the technician if she or he would allow her or his reproductive organs to be repeatedly X-rayed."

Halstead continues, "The maximum exposure allowed by federal standards for nuclear plant workers is five rems . . . in a year. . . . Five rems is the equivalent in gamma ray dosage of about 170 chest X rays. The next time you get an X ray, ask the technician if he or she would submit him or herself to 170 chest X rays in a year."

Halstead argues that as an immediate alternative to nuclear power the United States can use coal, which exists in abundance. He takes up the objection raised by some antinuclear activists that coal mining itself is dangerous and pollutes the atmosphere.

"Coal does not involve the possibility of catastrophic accidents wiping out whole states," Halstead answers. "Coal does not involve the problem of either low-level or high-level radioactive wastes. . . ."

"Moreover, techniques already exist and are in use in many places to remove almost all of the worst pollutants from coal emissions. . . ."

"Nuclear power causes unemployment of miners, and weakens their ability to fight back. The elimination of nuclear power would put miners in a much stronger position to fight for safe conditions."

I talked to a woman who was selling copies of Halstead's pamphlet at the United Mine Workers convention in Denver last December. She said that at first miners passed by because they said they were already against nuclear power.

But when she opened up the pamphlet and showed them the facts and diagrams, many delegates stopped to look it over and purchased it.

The energy industry is spending millions to make it seem like the whole nuclear-power process is shrouded in complexities only the industry and government experts can comprehend.

It is a nuclear smokescreen.

Sales of thousands of copies of Halstead's pamphlet—in auto plants, steel mills, rail yards, and other workplaces; in union halls; among high school and college students; at political gatherings; and the burgeoning meetings and demonstrations against the draft—can help dispel this smokescreen. It can help win many thousands more people to the conclusion that Halstead draws:

"There is only one way to protect people from the cancer and genetic danger caused by nuclear power plants, from the possibility of catastrophic accidents at these plants, and from the continued and growing accumulation of deadly radioactive waste which cannot be stored safely.

"That is to shut down all the nuclear power plants immediately." —Dick Roberts

## Shakespeare and working people

The Old Vic company of London is touring China, putting on Shakespearean performances. This could not have happened during the time of Mao Zedong, when Shakespeare was banned.

Shakespearean drama, with its kings and queens, its lords and ladies, is "feudal," it was alleged, and not fit for workers and peasants. Shakespeare, who was re-read by Marx every year, was not allowed to be performed in order to guard the masses from reactionary influences.

Leon Trotsky, however, had no such fears. "It is childish," he wrote, "to think that bourgeois belles lettres can make a breach in class solidarity." On the contrary, "the worker will be richer" by what he gains from Shakespeare and other literary masters.

Under capitalism, to be sure, Shakespeare is often a means of repression. He is crammed down the throats of high school and college students who find his language, the conventions of his art, and his dramatic universe utterly alien to their experience. Instead of teachers clearing away these initial obstacles, they all too frequently blame the students.

In the high schools Shakespeare is generally given a superficial reading that lauds his universality without explaining how that universality speaks through dramas shaped by the ideas of his time. In the colleges these ideas are generally presented as

without relevance for us today.

We must know the Elizabethan Shakespeare if we are to do justice to him, but knowing the Elizabethan Shakespeare is not to be construed as an exercise in antiquarianism. Through our knowledge of the Elizabethan Shakespeare we can know ourselves and our times better.

Living in an age of transition between feudalism and capitalism, Shakespeare was critical of both the old feudalism and the capitalism which was coming into being.

In his plays he shows the consequences of the feudal conflicts which had to be overcome by Tudor absolutism if England was to progress. But Shakespeare saw the Tudor order as threatened not only by the old nobility but by the most aggressive section of the bourgeoisie. The latter was beginning to challenge the monarchy and to transform his world into one in which what Marx called the "cash nexus" was the only tie between human beings.

In *The Merchant of Venice* and *Timon of Athens* the "cash nexus" is portrayed as working against the sense of humanity.

Shylock's bond is the business contract which takes precedence over human compassion. What is most essential about him is not that he is a Jew but that he is typical of the capitalist who recognizes only the "cash nexus."

Although Shakespeare used the traditional medieval anti-Semitic stereotype, derived from the Jews' position as marginal traders and usurers in feudal society, there is considerable evidence that the contemporary significance Shylock had for Elizabethans was his resemblance to the Puritan usurers in their midst.

Timon's creditors belong to the world of the "cash nexus." The diatribes against gold which Timon delivers illuminate this world. Marx wrote of these passages, "Shakespeare portrays the essence of money excellently."

So too the evil members of the younger generation in *King Lear* are governed by the new capitalist values, making use of business language to express their self-seeking. The words of Edmund, "Let me, if not by birth, have lands by wit," might have served as a motto for the acquisitive bourgeoisie, which was buying up estates from the older landowners.

Shakespeare was not a Marxist living before Marx. His ideal was a hierarchical society governed by a humanistic aristocracy. But by entering into the experience he provides us, we can be more fully conscious of the potentialities of life. These potentialities are thwarted today, as he was presciently aware, by the egoism and alienation characteristic of bourgeois society. —Paul Siegel

## Why 'Call' backs Afghan ultra-rightists

By Fred Feldman

Many radicals—and some liberals—who oppose the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are embarrassed by the ultrareactionary forces that Washington is backing there.

But the proimperialist "rebels" who are fighting to salvage landlordism, the opium trade, and the subjugation of women in Afghanistan found enthusiastic support in the *Call*, the weekly newspaper of the pro-Peking Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

The *Call* supports the reactionaries against the Afghan government and calls on Washington to take a tougher stand against Moscow.

The *Militant* defends social reforms instituted by the Afghan government and the use of Soviet troops to help bar a Chile-style counterrevolution backed by Washington.

For the *Call*'s January 28 issue, Carl Davidson was assigned the task of denouncing the *Militant*'s coverage under the red-baiting headline, "Trotskyites: Moscow's New Cheerleaders."

Davidson suggests that the *Militant* "simply doesn't care whether or not its newspaper coverage of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is believable."

He then proceeds to add to the *Call*'s ever-widening credibility gap.

He implies that the progressive measures instituted since April 1978 in Afghanistan are an invention of the *Militant*: "The *Militant* tries to justify its support for Moscow's series of puppets by describing a series of 'progressive reforms' that had supposedly been 'begun' under these regimes."

### Rightists oppose reforms

No one who reads the piteous complaints of the right-wing insurgents can doubt that reforms were instituted.

They wail about the distribution of land to poor peasants; they beat their breasts about the building of schools and opening them to women; they gnash their teeth about laws barring child marriage and the sale of women as brides; and they tear their hair over allowing women to participate in politics.

Davidson prefers to keep *Call* readers in the dark about all this.

He fakes outrage about the description of rightist leaders as "dispossessed landlords, former military officers, monarchists, usurers, smugglers, opium dealers and corrupt officials and exploiters of every stripe."

Davidson quotes Sayed Ishaq Gailani, a rightist leader, as telling *Call* correspondent David Kline last October, "Have you seen one landlord, one rich man, among all the thousands of villagers here who support us?" (The question was deceptively phrased since most big landlords had been stripped of their holdings.)



Afghan counterrevolutionary murders 'communist' woman schoolteacher. This picture was released by ultra-rightists, who boast of such actions. 'Call' writer Carl Davidson tries to pass off the pro-imperialist forces as guardians of human rights in Afghanistan.

Let's take Sayed Ahmad Gailani, uncle of Sayed Ishaq and head of the rightist group that Kline visited, as a test case. Here is how he was described by Selig S. Harrison, a columnist sympathetic to the rightists, in the January 13 *New York Times*:

"Gailani has had considerable difficulty polishing up his charisma as a religious leader because his major attentions have gone in recent years to the management of his Peugeot dealership in Kabul.

"Until the Communists dispossessed him of his lands and properties after their coup of 1978, Gailani was more of a businessman than a practicing saint, and his two glamorous, jet-setting daughters are better known in Arab circles in London and the Middle East than Kabul."

### 'Rebel' dope dealers

Davidson dismisses the charge that the "rebels" are up to their ears in the opium trade. But the April 30, 1979 issue of the Canadian weekly *McLean's* reported:

"Feudal landlords whose holdings are threatened with confiscation by the Afghan government are bringing the produce from their poppy crops into Pakistan, and use the proceeds to buy

rifles, explosives, and other weapons."

Davidson stresses violations of human rights that occurred in Afghanistan under the Amin and Taraki governments, falsely claiming that the *Militant* ignored them.

But he conceals the release of thousands of political prisoners by the Karmal government.

Davidson tries to convey the impression that the rightist forces will be protective of human rights if they win power. But the evidence shows that they will unleash a bloodbath against all who question the old order in Afghanistan.

The rightists take pride in systematically murdering schoolteachers (an indication also of opposition to the government's literacy campaign).

And an enthusiastic report in the January 23 *Wall Street Journal* said of them: "Even killing party members' children is considered 'fair game' on the assumption that they would only become party members in the future."

Some light is shed on the human rights standard that Davidson seeks for Afghanistan by his support to the ousted Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea (Cambodia).

This government murdered, tortured, and starved to death millions of people, while penning almost the entire population in forced labor camps.

### Why 'Call' lies

Why does Davidson lie about Afghanistan? What attracts the *Call* to creatures like Pol Pot and the Afghan reactionaries?

The answer lies in the *Call*'s support to Peking's foreign policy of allying with U.S. imperialism against revolutions wherever they occur. The bureaucracy that governs the Chinese workers state seeks in this way to stabilize its privileged position, and get more aid and trade from Washington.

Davidson links his position to the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." But his version of our opposing view is made up out of whole cloth.

According to Davidson, Leon Trotsky—coleader with Lenin of the Russian revolution—argued "that, since it was impossible to build socialism in one country . . . the new Soviet power would have to save itself by launching its armies on the rest of Europe." This is a lie.

Trotsky held that socialism could only be achieved through the world socialist revolution, of which the Russian revolution was just the beginning. So did Lenin.

Stalin came to power as the representative of a bureaucratic layer that established dictatorial control over the masses after Lenin died in 1924. He claimed that complete "socialism in one country" could be built in the USSR. Trotsky said this signaled Stalin's readiness to take the side of imperialism against the world revolution in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals. This prediction proved correct.

Peking's policy is another example of Trotsky's point. Trotsky never proposed that the USSR "launch its armies on the rest of Europe," but the policy of supporting the imperialists led Peking to invade Vietnam last year—with Davidson's support.

The *Militant* thinks workers states have a duty to aid revolutions. We defended the entry of Chinese troops into Korea in 1950 to block imperialist conquest; we supported Cuba's use of troops against pro-imperialist forces in Africa; and we support the sending of Soviet troops to help block the Afghan counterrevolutionaries today.

Because it follows Peking's counter-revolutionary line, the *Call*'s coverage of most events is becoming hard to distinguish from the capitalist press—except in the *Call*'s occasionally more strident anticommunism.

Writers for the *Call* are also having trouble telling the difference.

David Kline, who became the *Call*'s expert on Afghanistan after a brief excursion with the pro-imperialist bands, now also writes on Afghanistan for the *Christian Science Monitor*. He wrote a column on the "Soviet threat" for the January 10 *New York Times*.

Kline seems to like this kind of work. Performing for capitalist newspapers allows him to relax, throw off the socialist mask which writing for the *Call* sometimes requires him to put on, and act like a garden-variety reactionary journalist.

Will Davidson follow Kline's logical trajectory?

Advertisement

### POLITICAL TRIALS IN THE US: Instruments of Repression

A series of discussions coordinated by MORTON SOBELL THURSDAYS at 8:00 pm.

February 21  
US Legal Repression and the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement  
ROBERT COHEN, National Lawyers Guild  
Puerto Rico Legal Project, MICHAEL RATNER and JOHN COLON, Center for Constitutional Rights

February 28  
The Civil Right Movement of the 1960s  
ARTHUR KINOY, Constitutional lawyer

March 6  
The Black Panther 21  
SANFORD KATZ, chief counsel at trial

March 13  
The Chicago 7 Conspiracy Trial  
WILLIAM KUNSTLER, chief counsel at trial

March 20  
The Communist 11 Foley Square Trial of 1947  
ABE ISSERMAN, defense counsel at trial

March 27  
The Rosenberg-Sobell Case  
MORTON SOBELL and MARSHALL PERLIN, Counsel from 1951 onward

April 3  
DAVID TRUONG, Vietnamese patriot recently convicted of espionage in classical frame-up

April 10  
The Attica Prison Revolt Trials  
HAYWOOD BURNS, founder of the National Conference of Black Lawyers

April 17  
Perspectives for Defense Work Today

**NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL**  
151 West 19th St., 7th fl., (east of 7th Ave.)  
Single admission: \$2.50  
Tuition entitles unlimited admission to classes and lectures  
For catalog of winter courses and lectures, and tuition information, call: 989-6820

### All the news that fits?

The Pakistani military dictatorship imposed censorship on foreign reporters in Baluchistan province February 9.

The reason: some dispatches revealed the depth of opposition to the brutal regime of Zia ul-Haq and were out of line with the imperialist propaganda campaign on Afghanistan.

According to the February 10 *New York Times*, Central Telegraph officials refused to transmit a dispatch from a London *Daily Telegraph* reporter. The dispatch "quoted well-known Baluchis as having said that they were not terribly upset over the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan and felt the situation there was not much worse than the repression they said they experienced in Paki-

stan."

Telegraph official Munnawar Hussein denounced as "all lies" reports of a Baluchi student demonstration. But "the incident was confirmed two days ago by Rajah Ahmed Khan, chief secretary of the province," according to the *Times*.

The Pakistani regime is fearful of the impact of the Iranian and Afghan revolutions on Baluchis. Millions of Baluchis live in Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The Afghan regime has attempted to win Baluchi support by granting some of their national rights.

"There is no censorship," insisted Pakistan's Hussein, when asked about the clampdown on news coverage. "We cannot send things that are not factual and that are against the Government.

## A Ford worker looks at Pinto trial

This week's column was written by Vivian Sahner, an assembler at the Metuchen Ford Assembly Plant in Edison, New Jersey, and a member of United Auto Workers Local 980.

My plant builds Ford Pintos and Mercury Bobcats and recently we have been working only about one week a month. When the Pinto trial opened up in Winamac, Indiana, last month, some of my friends commented that I *should* be laid off.

They were kidding, of course. They know that assemblers have no say in what we are building.

In the Indiana trial, Ford is charged with three counts of reckless homicide—the first time a major American corporation has faced criminal charges for alleged product defects. Three teenage girls died when the 1973 Pinto in which they were riding burst into flames after it was struck from the rear by a van.

Ford is accused of building the car—along with 1.5 million other 1971-76 Pintos—knowing that its gas tank posed a hazard and then failing to fix them or warn owners about the danger until public outcry forced the federal government to demand a recall in 1978.

The company has hired former Watergate prosecutor James Neal and is reportedly spending \$1 million on its defense. Ford's legal strategy appears to center on keeping hundreds of internal documents on the Pinto—subpoenaed by the prosecution—from being admitted as evidence. The trial judge has agreed to suppress so much evidence that the prosecutor has said he may request a mistrial.

Testimony that Ford was unwilling to spend \$6.65 per car to make the gas tank safer came as no surprise to me or other Ford workers. It's not that Ford's goal is to build a bad car. It's just that if a choice has to be made between building a safe car

or making a larger profit, they go for the money every time.

The management at Metuchen is keenly aware of competition from other car producers. In fact, last April a rented Toyota and Datsun were brought to our plant by management so that we could look them over and fill out a questionnaire on how to improve the quality of the Pinto and increase sales.

This seemed like a good idea. After all, who should know more about Pintos than the assemblers who build them piece by piece? And I think that as a group we came up with some solid ideas.

One big problem for Ford is warranty defects, things that break or work loose while the car is still guaranteed by the company. My co-workers and I told them some ways to reduce this problem. First and foremost, the line speed should be slowed down so that assemblers have time to complete each operation correctly on each car. Second, more durable materials should be used.

Management told us that scheduling production was complicated when many assemblers were out sick or when accidents on the job stop the line. UAW members discuss these matters too. We don't like to be sick or injured on the job. So when that question came up we had some quick answers.

Most important was cutting down the overtime. Last spring we were working fifty to fifty-eight hours per week.

We were later proven right on this. As the economy slowed and our hours were cut to forty a week, sick time and injuries caused by fatigue plummeted. We also suggested putting in better ventilation and lighting, and hiring more workers to maintain the plant.

Under the comments section several of us pointed out that selling cars that explode on impact made Ford look bad and didn't help sales either.

What changes occurred in our plant as a result of this questionnaire? None.

If it costs money, Ford doesn't want to hear about it. The profits-before-safety attitude displayed by Ford in the Pinto trial is symptomatic of their attitude toward employee requests for safer working conditions and better hours.

So where is the solution? It doesn't lie with Ford management. And it certainly doesn't lie with the Democratic and Republican politicians in government. It took from 1971 until May 1978 before Washington issued an "initial determination" that a safety defect existed in the Pinto. This "determination" was issued only after wide public outcry over the issue.

It's the auto workers who have the answers. If production was under our control, we could discuss and implement decisions that would best serve both consumers and employees.

We could slow down the line so each job gets done right. We could insist on using better materials to make cars safer and more durable.

Right now line inspectors are harassed by production foremen to approve cars even if they don't meet inspection standards. Under workers control this practice would stop.

We could press for reducing the workweek to thirty hours—with no reduction in takehome pay. That would open up more jobs, reduce fatigue, and surely improve product quality.

And if UAW members won access to Ford's files, account books, and records of secret meetings, we could expose any decision to produce unsafe cars—before the first one ever came off the line.

As consumers as well as producers, we would strive to produce a car that would last. Only profit-hungry corporation owners benefit from cars that fall apart in a few years—or explode in a deadly fireball.

## What's Going On

### ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

**EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM NICARAGUA.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 1609 5th Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

### ARIZONA PHOENIX

**DO WE NEED NUCLEAR WEAPONS?** Speakers: Joe Callahan, Socialist Workers Party; Loring Wirbel, Mobilization for Survival. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**WHO IS PAYING FOR OIL STRIKE?** A panel of striking members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 1-128: Moose Creighton, publicity committee; Frank Fuoco, oil operator; Mona Mendoza, oil operator. Fri., Feb. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X.** Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO DENVER

**NICARAGUAN SOLIDARITY MEETING.** Speaker:

Harry Nier; Sylvia Zapata; Art Warner; Carlos Able; others. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. Guadalupe Hall, 3610 Lipan St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Nicaraguan Solidarity Week Committee. For more information call (303) 321-0818.

### ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**CAMPAIGN RALLY: 'SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CHICAGO CITY CRISIS.'** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; ran against Jane Byrne in 1979; Lee Artz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, just returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### INDIANA GARY

**CAMPAIGN RECEPTION.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Etta Ettlinger, SWP candidate for Senate. Wed., Feb. 20, reception 7:30 p.m.; program 8 p.m. Gary Sheraton Hotel, 5th and Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### INDIANAPOLIS

**NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION.** Speakers: Curtis Steinmetz, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 285-6149.

### MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**NORTHEAST CONFERENCE ON NICARAGUA.** All-day conference with featured speaker Hilde Sequeira, Nicaraguan consul in Washington, D.C. Sat., Feb. 23, 11 a.m. Boston Univ., College of Basic Studies Auditorium, 871 Commonwealth Ave. Ausp: Boston Univ. Free School and Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee. For more information call (617) 547-3810.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**SEND-OFF COCKTAIL PARTY FOR MAC WARREN.** Warren is one of seven leaders of the Socialist Workers Party attending the five-month SWP Leadership School beginning March 1. Sat., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. (corner of Woodward & Baltimore). Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Leadership School Special Fund. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

**SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE FOR U.S. CONGRESS.** Speakers: Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 8th District; Tom Leonard, SWP National Committee; Warren Simons, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. Miners Memorial Hall, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### ST. PAUL

**CUBA TODAY: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Mimi Pichey, Socialist Workers Party.

Sun., Feb. 24, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### TEXAS DALLAS

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Lea Sherman, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th District in Dallas; Anthony González, SWP candidate for Congress 20th District. San Antonio; Jana Pellusch, striking member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227, Houston. Sun., Feb. 17, 6:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1980 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

### HOUSTON

**CUBA: ITS MEANING FOR AMERICAN WORKERS.** Eyewitness account and slide show presentation. Speakers: Jill Matthews, member, Communications Workers of America Local 1-2222 and Young Socialist Alliance; Ruth Getts, Socialist Workers Party, Southern Pacific Railroad clerk. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 806 Elgin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

### WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

**SAVE NORTH DIVISION HIGH!** Speakers: La Ronda Bearden, North Division High School student; Norbert Francis, MTEA and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Upcoming forums on the draft

### KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**STOP THE DRAFT!** Speakers: Tom Swetland, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main #102. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**THE DRAFT: FIRST STEP TO WAR.** A speak-out and discussion by local antidraft activists about issues of registration and draft affecting women, Blacks, students, and workers. Strategies to organize antidraft action. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

**NO DRAFT: A PANEL DISCUSSION.** Speakers: Kenny Zinn, Coalition Against the Draft; David Rupert, American Civil Liberties Union; representative of NAACP; Greg Relaford, Young Socialist Alliance and member of United Steelworkers Local 1062; Donny Daniels, United Auto Workers Women's Committee; Wale Amusa, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Sun., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**NO TO THE DRAFT!** Speakers: Agnes

Chapa, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Edward Vosseler, Vietnam veteran; Barbara Goldblatt, editor, New Jersey National Organization for Women newsletter; Ricky Smith, Rutgers Univ. student. Sat., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**STOP THE DRAFT! NO MORE VIETNAMSI** Speakers: Michael Stoops, Oregon Coalition Against the Draft; Fred Auger, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; others. Sun., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.



Lou Howort/Militant

## YSA & Woolworth sit-ins

"Boycott Woolworth's" was the banner headline of the April 1960 issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper. The special eight page issue of the monthly publication devoted its entire coverage to the Black student sit-ins in the South and the growing solidarity pickets of students in Northern cities. The newspaper reflected the record of activity in support of Blacks fighting discrimination by founders of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Two months earlier, on February 1, four students from the all-Black North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State College sat down at a "whites only" Woolworth's lunch counter in downtown Greensboro. In a matter of weeks, sit-in actions mushroomed throughout the South.

Their action was the real opening of the mass civil rights movement of the 1960s. Students—from A & T and other Southern Black colleges—became the vanguard of the struggle that eventually spelled the end of legalized segregation in the South.

Shortly after the sit-ins began, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee was formed by students from Black schools. SNCC—an outgrowth of the sit-ins—organized and led many of the marches, boycotts, and freedom rides that characterized the civil rights movement.

The *Young Socialist* continued its coverage of what was becoming a nationwide protest against racism. For months, the paper carried articles on student pickets and boycotts in New York, Boston, Minneapolis, Denver, Los Angeles, and many other Northern cities, as well as reports of Southern actions. A feature article—"Sit-in Demonstrations Flare in 45 Cities in South"—in the April issue was a city-by-city round up of Black student activity.

Beginning with the sit-in movement, supporters of the *Young Socialist* based in Northern cities participated in the various "Youth Committees" that organized demonstrations in front of Woolworth's, Kress, Kresge, and other chains that practiced segregation in their Southern outlets.

During April 15-17, *Young Socialist* supporters—along with other radicalizing youth—launched the Young Socialist Alliance. Most of the delegates at the Philadelphia conference were activists in the Northern sit-in solidarity movement. Delegates discussed the civil rights movement, the sit-in struggle, and how best to involve themselves in those events.

After the YSA conference, Jim Lambrecht, the newly elected National Secretary of the organization, toured the South to interview Black students and get a first hand account of the sit-ins. Subsequent issues of the *Young Socialist*, which became the YSA's newspaper, featured articles by Lambrecht and other YSA members on their experiences.

The YSA conference itself struck a blow to segregated public accommodations in Philadelphia.

As the May *Young Socialist* reported: "A victory for integration was won at the conference itself by the delegates. When it was discovered that the hotel where many of the delegates were staying would not rent a room to a Negro delegate, all delegates threatened to pull out. The management, on learning how much business it might lose, speedily acquiesced to an integrated clientele."

More than any other aspect of the civil rights movement, the Black students—through SNCC—served as the catalyst for the 1960s student and youth radicalization. The sit-ins made the plight of Blacks, the struggle for equality, and the fight against racism more than a "problem peculiar to the South." The sit-ins made segregation an issue to be fought above and below the Mason-Dixon line. Its impact changed the character of American society and spawned other movements for social change.

Many YSA leaders gained their first experience in the mass movement and were inspired by the Black student sit-ins. And many of them are the present leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

—Osborne Hart



Issues of 'Young Socialist' for April and May 1960 publicized first sit-ins and founding of Young Socialist Alliance.



## Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
  - ☐ Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$\_\_\_\_\_.
  - ☐ Please send me more information.
- Name \_\_\_\_\_
- Address \_\_\_\_\_
- City \_\_\_\_\_
- State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## JOIN THE SWP

### Afghanistan

Your recent column "Learning About Socialism" (February 1) should have been entitled "Learning to justify dictatorships." How on earth can any true socialist support the recent invasion of Afghanistan and still claim to be a socialist?

The Soviets' move was outright aggression and results in outright oppression of the people (the working class) by a puppet government.

Ever since Lenin's coup by the minority Bolshevik Party the Soviet Union has been a repressive government that has furthered the goals of a small group instead of representing the masses.

Next time you put such lies and falsehoods under "Learning About Socialism" (and each succeeding time) you are destroying what you have set out to do: further the cause of socialism.

Jeff Martin

Eau Claire, Wisconsin

### 'Good as Gold'

With the notable exception of Paul Siegel, most *Militant* reviewers fail to understand the art they write about because they do not fully understand how art works. Peter Archer's review of Joseph Heller's novel *Good as Gold* is not the worst example, but it is the most recent.

For Archer to say that Heller looks at politics "as a relatively harmless collection of lunatics" and that his characters are "harmless grotesques"—this because the novel lacks "the white heat of Heller's rage"—is to misread the book by overlooking the fact that an author can make serious points through comedy. A writer is not confined to invective and satire, though Heller uses both effectively.

Archer is disappointed that Heller did not portray government officials like Ralph Newsome as evil men. But, as the testimony of the criminals involved in Watergate made

## Conditions in Attica prison

Following are excerpts from a letter received by 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the biweekly Spanish language magazine, from an inmate at New York's Attica Prison.

February 3, 1980

Compañeros:

As you are well aware, the prisons are for the masses of workers who are just trying to survive: for those who rebel against the system, and for those who are victims of frame-up charges. But you have to live in one of them to really know the meaning of this. I'll relate some recent events.

Before entering the cellblock they [the guards] get into formation and march in close to the cells, the sergeant shouting, "halt!" Immediately, four guards are ready to use their new clubs for each prisoner. Two destroy the cell, throwing everything on the floor and stomping on it. But before this, they make you shake your hair, take the bridge out of your mouth, raise your arms, show them the underside of your testicles, open your anus, and, finally, show the soles of your feet. After that you have to cross your arms and not look at anything until you receive the order to turn to the left and enter the destroyed cell. They clutch their clubs as if they were guns during this march.

This shows the power that a director here has, given the Klan. . . .

What we won in 1971 has been lost. The first thing they took from us were the curtains so the bright sun shines in. And we aren't allowed telephone communications with anyone.

Fifteen days we went without visitors, then we were allowed two visits every fifteen days—it used to be every day. They do inspections at 7 a.m. and 5 p.m., and if you're not standing right at the door of the cell, they'll write you up, make a disciplinary report. . . .

They have transferred more

than 250 prisoners out to different prisons. Today at 10:40 a.m. the superintendent announced in an arrogant speech that if we didn't obey his orders it showed that we wanted war, and that he has the men and the weapons to give it to us. . . .

On the thirtieth of the same month [January] at 1:45 p.m. a young Dominican, Lidio Acosta, was pulled out of line when he was coming from the visiting room from seeing his wife. With some other prisoners he was going back to his cellblock, D-37-30.

He was brutally beaten and thrown into the "box" and no one has heard anything about him since.

On February 19 he was going to be deported to the Dominican Republic.

When they saw that I read *Perspectiva Mundial* they got furious and tore up most of them. On the thirtieth during visiting hours all the visitors were thrown out of the visiting room.

The worst repression is directed against Latinos, whom the administration claims are responsible for what is happening. I'm not allowed to have anything made of glass, they just throw out anything in glass containers.

Compañeros, these Klanners are on the march all over the institution as symbols of revenge against us. . . .

In solidarity,  
A prisoner



# Learning About Socialism

## Prisons, crime, and capitalism

clear, evil government officials do not regard themselves as evil. Heller treats Newsome and other characters the way he treated Milo Minderbinder in *Catch-22*: "I gave him a mental and moral simplicity that, to my mind, makes him a horrifyingly dangerous person because he lacks evil intent," (*Playboy* July, 1975, p. 64). Heller does not directly condemn these characters, he reveals them; and in so doing he allows them to condemn themselves. It only requires that the reader see the bite behind the smile.

The day after I read the *Militant* review of *Good as Gold*, an interview with Heller appeared in the Boston *Phoenix*. After noting that the Marxist criticism of capitalism is "apt," Heller says, "I can't see why the people who have nothing are obligated to show any kind of loyalty to the country . . . If there's a new draft, I think the order of classification should be by family income. The richest go first. Only then would I be convinced there's a need." Those are not the opinions of a writer who considers politics "relatively harmless."

Joseph Auciello  
Dorchester, Massachusetts

### Youth & draft

I am a junior at Brookline High School and I am currently working very hard against the draft. More importantly I am working to try and get my peers informed. I'm frightened by how unaware most high school students are of the real issues and the possibility of war. I don't think people realize what's happening and I'm trying to change that.

I think your publications would be very helpful at Brookline High in getting people informed. I think too much emphasis is put on informing and encouraging older people; not enough emphasis is on high school kids. After all, we are the ones who are truly most affected.

How can I go about getting large quantities of your publication to sell at my high school and other high schools around Boston?

Deborah Alper  
Brookline, Massachusetts

The prisoners' rebellion at New Mexico State Penitentiary earlier this month was reported in a typically sensationalist fashion by the capitalist media. The prisoners, mostly Chicano and Black, were portrayed as savages rioting in senseless, bloody fury while the guardians of law and order were presented as evenhandedly just, and acting with civilized restraint.

But as time has gone by, the truth has begun to emerge, proving most of the media's reports false and showing that the New Mexico rebels, like prison rebels throughout the years, were motivated by legitimate grievances, that they wanted to assert their rights and dignity against the daily harassment and violence they suffer at the hands of the police and prison system.

Why is the prison system so brutal and degrading? What alternative do socialists propose? These questions are taken up in the following selections from an article by Mary-Alice Waters that appeared in the *Militant* on October 1, 1971, shortly after the prison rebellion at Attica.

The overwhelmingly Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano population of the prisons; the all-pervading, institutionalized, and brutal racist mentality of the prison authorities; the growing political radicalization within the concrete walls—all these facts have been widely recognized and analyzed.

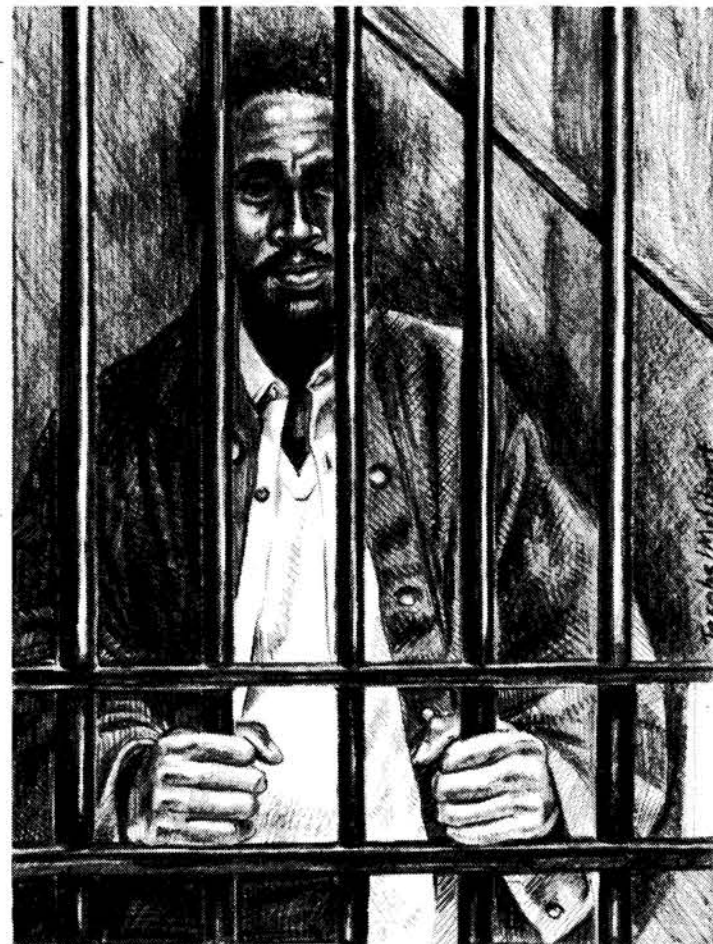
Some observers have also predicted what is obviously on the order of the day—a growing battle for the extension of the civil and human rights of prisoners. While there have been prison revolts since prisons themselves came into existence, along with class society, it is unquestionable that the increasing numbers of politically aware inmates will spearhead a drive for political freedom within those walls. The American prison system can never be quite the same again following Soledad, San Quentin, and Attica.

But it is also true that there will almost certainly be more Atticas.

Those who foresee more revolts and bloody reprisals are usually arguing for faster prison reform measures and fearing—correctly—that they will not come rapidly enough. Such reforms are vitally necessary. Every improvement in the physical surroundings, every victory that gains a few more human and civil rights for society's victims, will help make life just that much more bearable for them. But even the most humane prison is still a prison, and the reason there will be more Atticas is lodged in the very function of prisons in this capitalist society.

Such revolts will recur so long as men and women are put behind bars for disobeying the inhuman laws of this society and struggling against its inequities—that is, as long as capitalism remains intact.

What does this society define as a crime? Almost all "crimes" are acts which violate the sacred right of private property upon which class society rests—the right of the few to control and benefit from wealth that belongs to all. "Crimes" are acts which break rules set up to guarantee the rights of a small handful, their right to condemn the masses of humanity to misery, exploitation, disease, starvation, and death—if it is profitable. The fact that the targets of "criminal" acts are most often the poor themselves only attests to the success of the rulers in setting the victims of class society to prey upon each other. Even murder, rape, and other "crimes of violence" can ultimately be traced, almost without exception, to the social inequities and



distortions of human potential and character that are rooted in capitalist society.

The prisons of this country exist for one reason—to try to terrorize people into accepting an inhuman, irrational social system based on maintaining the "rights" of the few over the majority. Once capitalism is eliminated, once it is replaced by a system which can provide abundantly for the needs of the many rather than the profits of a tiny handful, once we have eradicated all the distortions of human potential which flows from this inhuman system and the institutions that prop it up, there will be no need for prisons. The very social system that has created and defined crime will have been eliminated.

But only a revolutionary upheaval strong enough to take power out of the hands of the Rockefellers and Nixons and place it in the hands of the most oppressed and exploited—the workers, the prisoners, the Black and Brown communities, the women, the draftees—only such a fundamental reorganization of society can bring about the necessary changes. That is the "prison reform" we are ultimately working for.

New York Deputy Commissioner of "Corrections" William Baker told reporters the day of the Attica massacre that prison riots, like proletarian revolutions, occur in a climate of rising expectations. He might have added with even greater insight that the prison revolts merely reflect the growing crisis of the capitalist system in its death agony.

The names of the individuals who struggled and died at Attica and San Quentin and in the other prisons of America will go down in history alongside the names of men like Malcolm X as heroes of the masses in the coming American revolution.

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Tel: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. **East Bay:** SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. **Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3216. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. **Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. **Gary:** SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837.

Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-1629. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. **Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072.

**New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. **New York, Lower Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 928-1676. **New York, Upper Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676.

**New York, City-wide:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA,

13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. **Oberlin:** YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. **State College:** YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. **Seattle:** SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. **Tacoma:** SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

[Bundles of the *Militant* can be ordered for thirty-five cents a copy for bundles of ten or more by writing to our circulation office at 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. We also suggest you get a subscription to the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. A year's subscription to the YS is \$2. You can find out about bundle orders of the February issue, which features the fight against the draft, by writing to the *Young Socialist* at P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

## Oil strikers appeal for solidarity

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—“If there could be a march from the Embarcadero to the Polo Grounds like the one in San Francisco in 1971 during the Vietnam antiwar movement, but this time organized by the labor movement, we wouldn't have so many problems with the oil companies,” said Jake Jacobs, head of the striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5 in Martinez, California.

Jacobs was speaking to a group of union strike supporters and OCAW members on February 6 in Oakland.

I first met Jake Jacobs nine years ago at that antiwar demonstration of 300,000 people. Jake was one of the labor leaders on the speakers platform of the labor contingent rally which preceded that march. His local helped the leadership of the antiwar movement reach out to working people.

Now, the three OCAW locals in the Bay Area, 1-5, 1-1978, and 1-326, are seeking the support of the labor movement and its allies for their strike.

Fernando Guerrero, a member of the negotiating committee of Local 1-1978, addressed an antidraft rally of 4,000 students at U.C. Berkeley February 11 and was greeted with a thunderous applause when he declared: “I'm for drafting the people who are responsible for wars, like the heads of the oil corporations, but not students and working people.”

Dozens of student antidraft activists—who have a slogan, “We won't die for Exxon!”—signed up to support the oil workers strike, and students were urged to come to an OCAW demonstration at the international headquarters of Chevron in San Francisco.

Last week Jacobs attended a meeting of forty-five environmental activists



Striking oil workers from Local 1-326 in Martinez, California.

Militant/Joel Ryan

at U.C. Berkeley. “We have a common cause with the Sierra, Club, Friends of the Earth, the Abalone Alliance, and others,” he said, “because we both have the same enemy.”

Pat Ellington, head of Local 1-1978, the OCAW clerical workers at Chevron in Concord, was the guest speaker at the February 9 meeting of the East Bay Coalition of Labor Union Women, who pledged support to the OCAW strike. OCAW has accepted an invitation to speak at the annual “Day in the Park for Women's Rights,” March 8.

Solidarity is the key word in OCAW's appeal for labor support. “If any union in the Bay Area goes on strike, that should be our fight, and it is our fight,” said Jacobs in support of

the 19,000 striking retail clerks in the Bay Area.

Jacobs explained that OCAW's salary demands and its proposal for adequate company-paid medical coverage and a \$20 a month dental plan would pose no problem to consumers, since wages of oil workers represent less than one cent a gallon of gas.

Yet oil company profits went up by more than 60 percent or even 100 percent last year—according to reports by the companies themselves.

“No one knows the real profits,” Jacobs added. “No one sees the books but the top company executives.” One Texaco official recently reported, according to OCAW, that their profits, officially \$1,759 million, would have been \$850 million higher, except for a

bookkeeping change.

Management operators, assisted by a few scabs at the independent Tosca refinery in Martinez, spilled 30,000 gallons of oil last week, adding to the already polluted waters of San Francisco Bay. In the northern bay area city of Rodeo, 150 striking oil workers marched through the streets of the town warning the public of additional dangers to health and safety, if management and scabs continue to operate the refineries.

Since the beginning of the strike accidents have already been reported in California, Texas, Indiana, Oklahoma, and Wyoming.

“Labor solidarity is the key to our strike and every other strike coming

*Continued on page 22*

## Socialist candidate hails farmers' protest



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, calls for full support to farmers' demonstration in Washington, D.C., February 16.

The following statement was released by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

I fully support the mobilization of farmers in the February 16 “Paritycade” demonstration in Washington, D.C., organized by the American Agriculture Movement.

Farmers, along with workers, are hard hit by inflation, contrived shortages, and unemployment—while big business is making huge profits. In 1979, more than 37,000 farmers were forced off their land. And a 10 to 20 percent loss in farm income is projected for 1980 because of rising fuel, machinery, and production costs.

Farmers across the country are facing even more hardships on the heels of Carter's embargo of grain shipments to the Soviet Union. During the 1976 election campaign, Carter said, “singling out food as a bargaining weapon is something that I would not do.”

But that is exactly what he is doing. And farmers are the front line victims.

The embargo will cost farmers \$7 billion in lost revenues. Already, it has cost farmers an average of 10 to 15 cents a bushel. Hundreds of farmers are confronted with foreclosures on

Farmers Home Administration and bank loans.

Carter promised farmers aid to help absorb the economic loss. But his only offer is to bail out the barons of Cargill, Continental, and other grain merchants.

Carter's increased military budget, and his proposal to reinstitute draft registration, impose further hardships on farmers and workers. These steps toward a new Vietnam are not in our interests nor in the interests of oppressed people around the world.

In Afghanistan, it is the U.S.-backed landlords, not Soviet troops, who threaten the Afghan people. These landlords are trying to turn back reforms aimed at improving the lives of Afghan farmers, such as cancelling their debts and redistributing land and water rights.

I think farmers in Afghanistan and the U.S. deserve a decent living standard. That's why I support the farmers' demand for 100 percent parity—the full return on their costs and labor in producing agricultural goods.

In addition, the government should guarantee a living income; interest-free credit; free medical insurance; and retirement pensions. To finance these guarantees, I propose that the govern-

ment tax the oil companies and food monopolies who are making big profits by exploiting farmers and wage-workers.

Farmers are rightfully outraged by rising fuel costs. Carter and his Democratic and Republican cronies place the blame for high prices on “OPEC Oil.” But it's the Exxons, Texacos, and Gulfs who control the refining and distribution that are responsible for the rise in gas prices.

I say that the energy industry must be nationalized and converted into a public utility. The oil companies financial books and production records must be opened to the public. Management of the nationalized industry should be put into the hands of an elected board that will function under the scrutiny of unions and consumer groups.

The oil barons, agriculture monopolies, and bankers use the Democratic and Republican parties to carry out economic war on us. Working people need our own party.

An independent labor party based on the power of the unions could provide the weapon we need to fight politically for labor's interests and the interests of the majority. It could be a powerful tool in the struggle of farmers today to defend their standard of living.