

# THE MILITANT

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

# FBI shielded KKK bombers

## Gov't 'informer' led Birmingham violence

By Harry Ring

The FBI deliberately blocked prosecution of four Ku Klux Klan members identified as the perpetrators of the infamous 1963 bombing of a Black Birmingham church.

A fifth known suspect in the case was hired by the FBI two months later as an "informer."

Four Black children died in the bombing. Now it is revealed that the FBI had eyewitnesses placing the Klanners at the scene of the murder. Yet it twice refused to prosecute them!

J. Edgar Hoover, then FBI chief, made the fake argument that the case could not be successfully prosecuted. Fourteen years later, one of the four KKKers was convicted of murder in the case on less evidence than Hoover had at the time.

The revelation that the FBI deliberately shielded the church bombers came as the result of a Justice Department report— withheld for the past seven months and now leaked by the *New York Times*—on Gary Rowe, another racist killer on the FBI payroll.

Rowe currently faces charges of murdering Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights activist who was gunned down on an Alabama highway by a carload of Klansmen in 1965.

Rowe revealed himself as a government agent when he testified against three other Klanners who were convicted in the Liuzzo case. Rowe asserted that while he rode



**Four Black children died in 1963 Birmingham church bombing (left). FBI knew identities of KKK bombers and refused to prosecute. What was government's real role in assassinations of Malcolm X and Rev. Martin Luther King?**

in the death car he did not participate in the killing. The three have since sworn Rowe fired the fatal shot.

The Justice Department report also reveals that while employed



by the FBI, Rowe was the go-between in Klan-police collaboration for a brutal attack on civil rights activists at a Birmingham bus depot in 1961.

FBI headquarters was informed

in advance of the planned attack and that the Birmingham police had promised the Klan fifteen to twenty minutes to brutalize the freedom riders seeking to integrate the buses.

The FBI was told that Birmingham's notorious police chief, "Bull" Connor, wanted the freedom riders beaten until "it looked like a bulldog got a hold of them."

The FBI's man, Gary Rowe, was a leader of the Klan pack, wielding a lead-weighted baseball bat.

In the course of his day's activity, Rowe was wounded. The FBI paid his medical bill and gave him a bonus "for services rendered."

The Justice Department report also ties Rowe, indirectly, to the Birmingham church bombing.

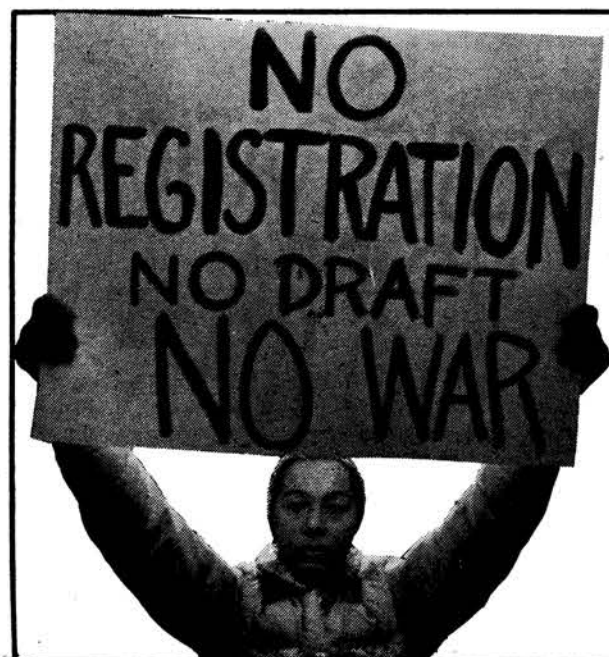
At the time of the bombing, Rowe had veto power within the Birmingham-area Klan on all acts of violence.

This fact was reported to the FBI by John Hall, the suspected participant in the church bombing who was hired by the FBI with full knowledge of the evidence against him.

When the FBI hired Hall, he told them he would not engage in "major acts of violence." But, he also assured his prospective employers, he was not averse to "knocking a nigger on the head."

Both Hall and the FBI obviously had a loose definition of "major violence."

*Continued on page 3*



## All out March 22! Midwest conference backs national antidraft march



## Stakes mount in oil strike

The strike by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) against the oil refining companies entered its sixth week on February 19. The duration of the strike and the mounting evidence that the big oil companies—backed by the Carter administration—intend to continue stonewalling indicate that big stakes are involved, not only for the oil workers, but for all working people.

The 55,000 striking oil workers operate about 70 percent of U.S. oil refining capacity, and the outcome of their settlement will set a pattern for the rest of the industry. More than that, it will set a precedent for the 1.2 million workers with major contracts expiring this year, as well as for the many millions of unorganized workers who have been hardest hit by Carter's wage guidelines.

Last year OCAW was the first major union to be victimized by Carter's guidelines, as oilworkers found their 8 percent raise gobbled up by inflation. Like most workers, they actually suffered a pay cut, in real dollar terms.

This year, with the official inflation rate still running at more than 13 percent, the oil workers are just trying to catch up.

Their demands are reasonable, even modest: an across-the-board wage increase and company-paid health care.

But the oil giants won't budge.

On the contrary, they've been on an aggressive anti-union drive, as *Militant* reporters from all over the country have noted these past weeks.

The oil companies, disregarding the health and safety hazards to the surrounding communities, have continued operating the refineries with salaried and management personnel. They've contracted work out in order to break through the OCAW picket lines. They've threatened militant strikers with disciplinary action when they return to work. They have sought injunctions—and have obtained them from compliant courts—limiting the number of OCAW pickets at their gates. And they've hired goons, often off-duty cops, to beat and menace strikers.

Big Oil raked in mind-boggling profits last year, with increases averaging over 70 percent.

So the companies certainly can't plead that money is tight.

Nor is the price of gasoline a factor. Wages of oil workers account for only one cent per gallon of gas. The huge price hikes for gasoline stem from company greed for profits, not wage increases.

No. The oil bosses, feeling strong and secure in their wealth, are acting as point men for Carter's war on American working people, just as they are the point men for Washington's war-contingency plans abroad.

The battle plan in the homefront war was spelled out as Carter announced his budget for the coming year, with its whopping increase in military spending. To partially offset the resulting inflationary pressure, the administration has proposed:

- Slashing 250,000 public service jobs for the unemployed, and budget cuts all around in health, welfare, housing, and education.

- Guidelines for wage increases set at 7.5-9.5 percent, that is, at least four percent points lower than the annual inflation rate. In real dollar terms, this means a wage cut for all workers, and a particularly big cut for nonunionized workers who can't even obtain the guideline amounts.

- Efforts to reverse what the February 16 *New York Times* called "the economy's stubborn refusal to move into recession. . ."

On February 15, the Federal Reserve Bank raised its discount rate to a record 13 percent, causing banks around the country to raise the interest rate they charge on loans.

All of these steps point to an intensification of the broadside attack on working people by the ruling capitalist class.

Slashes in social spending, cuts in wages, and lengthening unemployment lines—that is what the ruling class has in store for working people.

But they need not get away with it.

If the oil workers can win their wage and benefit demands, if they can stand fast against the oil barons' anti-union attacks, it will be an inspiration to all other workers, including the even more powerful and trend-setting steelworkers, whose contract discussion is now underway.

That's why the oil workers' call for solidarity should ring throughout the land.

We all have a stake in the fight.

## No arms to Afghan rightists!

As Carter pushes ahead with plans to begin registering potential draftees, Washington is shipping arms to Afghan reactionaries by way of Pakistan.

This admission came February 15 in a "leak" from a "senior official" at the National Security Council. Carter was said to have given full approval to this CIA operation.

The day before this revelation, Carter floated a trial balloon about sending a "peacekeeping force espoused by the United Nations" to Afghanistan should Soviet troops withdraw.

Such leaks and hints are intended to test the waters to see if Carter can get away with stepped-up U.S. intervention.

These developments show that Carter lies when he says he opposes all foreign intervention in Afghanistan. He favors an intervention that will place that country firmly under U.S. imperialism's thumb.

He wants an intervention to bring to power the counterrevolutionaries who are fighting to take the land back from poor Afghan farmers and return it to big landlords; to stop the literacy campaign and the building of schools in the countryside; to force women back into conditions bordering on slavery; and to preserve the landlords' lucrative role in the heroin trade.

And Carter wants working people to sacrifice so that his administration can arm this scum!

Carter's moves tell why Washington is in such a hurry to get draft registration back in operation. The ruling rich figure that they must have the ability to send large numbers of U.S. troops into action if that is needed to prop up the shahs, Somozas, Afghan landlords, and similar types.

One good way to put a crimp in Carter's attempts to escalate the conflict in Afghanistan is to help build the March 22 demonstration against the draft in Washington, D.C. The thousands who will gather in Washington will be letting the government know that we don't intend to sacrifice for the U.S. oil companies or the Afghan ultrarightists.

No to registration! No to the draft! No to Carter's war drive!

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### Upsurge in Central America

U.S. socialists on tour in Nicaragua learn of progress and urgent needs there as Carter readies arms and 'advisors' to head off revolution in El Salvador. **Pages 8-9.**

### U.S. socialists visit Cuba

They saw firsthand what a socialist revolution can do to change people's lives for the better. And they came back more determined than ever to campaign against Washington's vindictive economic boycott. **Pages 12-13.**



### New facts on prison rebellion

Former inmates at New Mexico State Penitentiary and other sources shed new light on causes of February 2 prison rebellion. **Page 5.**

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## Greensboro paper reports:

# N.C. cops had agent among Klan killers

By Peter Seidman

GREENSBORO, N.C.—According to the February 20 *Greensboro Daily News*, the police “had an informant among the Klansmen and Nazis” who murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators here November 3.

This revelation poses vital questions.

- Did the police know in advance that the murders would be carried out?
- Is that why cops withdrew from the area just before the killing?
- Did the police “informant” participate in the massacre?
- Is that why nearly half the participants in the Klan death squad have not been indicted?

Public answers to such questions were demanded by Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of North Carolina.

Cooper pointed to the striking similarity between this revelation and the current exposure of FBI ties with KKK killers in the 1960s.

Cooper urged messages to Mayor

Jim Melvin demanding vigorous prosecution of all those involved in the killings, “including any police agents who may have been involved.”

Such messages, the socialist nominee added, should also include a demand that all charges be dropped against Nelson Johnson, Rand Manzella, and Willena Cannon. These three members of the Communist Workers Party, which organized the November 3 anti-Klan action, survived the massacre but now face prison for “resisting arrest” and other trumped-up charges.

Meanwhile, on February 19, county Judge James Long agreed to continue considering a motion to dismiss the charges against the KKK-Nazi killers.

He also agreed that at least 130 hours of defense investigation be paid for from the public treasury.

At the same time, the judge upheld objections by prosecuting attorney Mike Schlosser to a motion by Signe Waller, widow of one of those slain by the Klan. As permitted by state law,

she had asked that attorney William Kunstler be appointed a “private prosecutor” to ensure there will not be a whitewash of the KKK killers.

Schlosser, who is supposed to be prosecuting the Klan, has hired an assistant who recently worked with a lawyer on the Klan-Nazi defense team. And Schlosser’s cousin is an attorney for one of the KKK defendants.

Schlosser claims that the cold-blooded murder of the five—viewed on TV by millions—is “the most complicated case North Carolina has ever had.”

But he apparently sees no problem in pressing the trumped-up case against the three CWP members, whose trial is now slated for March 6.

Demands that charges against them be dropped should be sent to Mayor Jim Melvin, 210 North Greene, Greensboro, North Carolina 27402.

Copies should be sent to: Greensboro Justice Fund, 39 Bowery, Box 404, New York, New York 10002.



Militant/Lou Howort  
Seven thousand demonstrators in Greensboro February 2 demanded prosecution of KKK assassins.

## ...FBI blocked prosecution of racist bombers

Continued from front page

While he was on the agency’s payroll, the FBI felt it necessary to warn the Secret Service to keep Hall under surveillance as a threat to the president.

The FBI also knew that Hall had volunteered to assassinate Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, the civil rights leader then based in Birmingham.

This new confirmation of the sinister alliance between the federal government, local police, and racist killers like the Klan begins to answer some questions about some of the acts of racist violence.

But not all.

What hidden files does the government have on the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King?

Talmadge Hayer, one of the three men convicted of killing Malcolm,

flatly asserts that the other two are innocent. Why does the government refuse to grant them a new trial?

And there are many unanswered questions about the King murder. Anyone who considers the bizarre story of James Earle Ray knows the truth has yet to be told.

Were government agents involved in these assassinations?

The facts now disclosed about Rowe and Hall underline that such agents are not hired by the FBI as “informers.”

They did make information available to the FBI. But as the Birmingham events prove, such information has not been used to stop the racist killers.

The function of these government agents, the Rowe-Hall story confirms, is to lead the racist pack in their murderous work.

Nor did this sinister activity end with the late J. Edgar Hoover. Continuing revelations of FBI Cointelpro “dirty tricks” against civil rights forces and left-wing dissenters substantiate this.

The threat of racist violence is far from eliminated. Just last November a gang of Klanners and Nazis opened fire with shotguns, automatic rifles, and pistols at an anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina. Five anti-Klan protesters were slain.

There, local police collusion with the Klan assassins is apparent (see box on this page).

An officially encouraged media campaign has sought to create the idea that the killers acted in “self-defense.”

And, while reluctantly prosecuting the KKK assassins, Greensboro authorities are trying to railroad Nelson

Johnson and other members of the Communist Workers Party—the victims of the deadly Klan assault—on trumped-up charges.

Does the FBI have a dossier on the Greensboro slayings from one of its “informers” in the Klan like it has on the Birmingham church bombing?

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, responded to the new revelations with a statement demanding that all FBI files be opened to public inspection.

“We need to know what the government has been doing to aid and abet these racist killers,” Pulley declared.

There is overwhelming popular opposition to the Klan, he said, pointing to the February 2 march of 7,000 in Greensboro protesting the Nazi-KKK murders.

Pulley added that North Carolina is today the scene of stepped-up union organizing. That’s the kind of thing the employers are determined to stop by any means necessary, including the use of Klan violence to intimidate and divide Black and white workers.

“We know the politicians—local and national—are all too ready to do the dirty work of the employers,” Pulley observed. “And what’s coming out now shows the lengths they’ll go to in trying to keep Black people down—all working people, really—in their place.”

Pulley urged that the momentum of the powerful Greensboro anti-Klan march be continued with united actions to defend Nelson Johnson and the other CWP frame-up victims, and to demand that the racist killers be brought to justice.

“And more than ever,” Pulley said, “we must put the spotlight on government protection and promotion of racist violence.”

## Birmingham forum on Ku Klux Klan

BIRMINGHAM—The Militant Forum here featured a discussion February 9 of “A Winning Strategy to Fight the Ku Klux Klan.”

Speakers were Franklin Tate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dwight Davis, Communist Workers Party; and Mike Patee, Socialist Workers Party and member of United Steelworkers union.

Tate pointed to the SCLC-endorsed march against Klan violence in Greensboro on February 2 as the beginning of a new civil rights movement in the South. He urged all those opposed to Klan

terror to come together in this fight.

Davis recounted the antilabor history of the Klan and noted that the growing crisis of capitalism fosters its attacks on Blacks and labor.

Patee urged a united defense of the CWP members who face frame-up charges in Greensboro. He called for unity in building a powerful antiracist movement, in which labor should play a leading part, to isolate, demoralize, and eliminate the Klan.

By Jerry Messick  
OKLAHOMA CITY—An anti-

KKK rally was held at the state capitol here February 2 in solidarity with the national anti-Klan demonstration that day in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Even though organized on short notice, seventy-five people participated, including a number of unionists.

David Hill of the Native American Center said he doesn’t fear the KKKers who wear the bedsheets as much as the unregistered ones.

He said: “We need to identify the policemen, prosecuting attorneys, and mayors who are unregistered members of the KKK.”

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## Boost to March 22 action

# Midwest conference backs nat'l antidraft march

By Tony Dutrow

KALAMAZOO, Mich.—More than 200 enthusiastic antidraft activists braved a sudden snow storm February 16 to attend the first Midwest Coalition Against Registration and the Draft conference at Western Michigan University.

The conference voted unanimously to support and mobilize for the March 22 national demonstration against the draft and registration in Washington, D.C., and to hold building actions beginning March 15.

The overwhelming majority attending the conference were students, active in the antidraft protests sweeping the campuses. Participants came from eight midwestern states.

Many present were members of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), to which Mid-CARD, the organizer of the conference, is affiliated.

Other antidraft and political groups present included: Greater Kansas City Committee to Oppose the Draft; WMU Student Coalition Against the Draft; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; War Resisters League; Young Socialist Alliance; Veterans for Peace; Libertarian Students; Revolutionary Student Brigade;



New York protest. March on Washington gives national focus to antidraft upsurge.

Youth Against War and Fascism; and others.

Many students who came to the Kalamazoo conference were like Dan Pickrel, a freshman at Antioch College in Ohio, who told the *Militant* that this was his first political activity. "I don't think the events in Iran and Afghani-

stan are worth going to war over," he said. "That's why I joined CARD, along with members of the Women's Center and antinuke activists on the campus."

The conference agenda included a keynote speech by Barry Lynn, national chairperson of CARD, area reports, discussion on structure and organization of Mid-CARD, and action proposals.

While everyone saw the need for actions to keep the momentum going against the draft, some discussion was held over whether to build a March 22 action in Chicago to coincide with the march on Washington or to mobilize to go to the capital.

Overwhelming sentiment was expressed during the discussion for building the D.C. action as the way to make the greatest impact.

Tom Palmer, national secretary of CARD and a member of the steering committee of the Washington coalition organizing the March 22 action, explained the importance of mobilizing the Midwest for a big turnout at the D.C. action to demonstrate massive opposition to Carter's draft registration. The conference then voted unanimously to support the Washington action.

The conference also supported a resolution to mobilize on May 4 for the tenth anniversary commemoration of the Kent State antiwar martyrs slain by the Ohio National Guard and the

Black students killed at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

In his keynote speech Barry Lynn pointed out how far along antidraft opposition is today as compared to the early movement against the Vietnam war. "Meetings like this today didn't take place in the early 1960s," he said.

Lynn also urged antidraft organizers to get in touch with Black leaders such as Rev. Ben Chavis and others to help mobilize opposition to the draft in the Black and Latino communities and in the labor movement.

Area reports confirmed the scope of activities around the draft and the opportunities to reach out to labor, Blacks, and women.

Activists in Kansas City, Missouri, and the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana mentioned the involvement of women's groups such as the National Organization for Women in their local antidraft coalitions.

Chicago CARD activists reported they are sending mailings to major union locals offering CARD speakers to talk on labor's stake in opposing draft registration.

A highlight of these reports came when high school leaders detailed the

For more information on the March 22 demonstration contact: United States Student Association, 1220 G. Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone: (202) 667-6000.

growing opposition among those youth who have the biggest stake in opposing registration. David Rosenfeld received a big round of applause when he reported the formation of an active CARD chapter at Detroit's Cass Technical High School. The group includes students and teachers.

Royd Buchele, a high school leader of the Washtenaw County, Michigan, CARD chapter, told the *Militant* that his group has activists in every high school in the county.

For activists who came to Kalamazoo, the conference was just what was needed to bring together the many groups and individuals already building antidraft actions and to take this movement the next step forward. The conference gave a big green light for these activists to begin organizing in their local areas for March 22.

## West coast action set

SAN DIEGO—One hundred and twenty-five activists from more than twenty organizations, high schools, colleges, and unions, gathered at the United Auto Workers hall here February 17 to discuss plans for further protest activities against Carter's proposed draft registration.

Discussion centered around building a united march and rally in San Diego on March 22 in solidarity with the national march in Washington.

The meeting was jointly sponsored by San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) and San Diego Students for Peace, a coalition of student organizations based at the University of California-San Diego in La Jolla.

The meeting included a number of labor union members and repre-

sentatives. Among these were: Coalition of Labor Union Women; American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Professors of California; Iron Workers Local 627; and members of the International Association of Machinists from Locals 685, 755, and 1125.

Other organizations participating in the meeting were: Parents Against the Draft; Women Organized to Resist the Draft; Community Energy Action Network; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Communist Workers Party; New American Movement; and others.

For more information about CARD and March 22 activities contact P.O. Box 15195, San Diego, California 92115; (714) 283-6878.

# Student leaders reject Carter's con job on draft

By Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON—President Carter's highly publicized attempt to drum up student support for draft registration turned into an embarrassing flop for the White House.

"At the beginning of today I favored the concept of registration," said Jordan Fox, University of Maryland student government president. "After going through today, the White House succeeded in converting me. I am now opposed to registration."

Fox was one of more than 250 student government leaders who attended a February 15 "briefing" with Carter, national security chief Zbigniew Brzezinski, and other top officials.

Carter told them that acceptance of registration would make it less likely the draft would be instituted. The students were not impressed. "If you are against the death penalty," Fox commented, "you don't go out and order a dozen electric chairs."

Some of the students were screened on the basis of their political views. Doug Tuthill of the University of Florida told the media that "I was called by someone in Carter's reelection campaign to feel me out on my political views. To make sure they were inviting the right type of people."

Tuthill said he had "not expressed a preference in the 1980 elections" and was "skeptical about the draft issue."

Their reply to Tuthill was that they would "call back because they weren't sure that I was appropriate."

Conspicuously absent from the two news conferences organized by students were representatives from major Black college campuses. Asked if any Black campus leaders were invited by Carter, most of the students assumed that they were, but were not sure.

Contacted a couple of days after the Carter meeting, Kali Hill, student government president at Howard University, a major Black campus in Washington, D.C., told the *Militant*, "I didn't get invited."

Hill said he called the White House and was told he was not on the list. He believes his opposition to draft registration excluded him from the White House briefing.

Also not invited was Frank Jackalone, head of United States Student Association. The USSA represents some 300 university student governments and is a central organizer of the March 22 national march on Washington against the draft.

After the White House briefing some thirty students gathered at George

Washington University for a wrap-up news conference and counterbriefing by the USSA and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

"I went in with an open mind," said Pete Aloe of George Washington University. He said questions for Carter and other government representatives had to be written on forms. Aloe concluded, "I'm still firmly opposed to the reinstitution of registration. They did not assure me that Vietnam would not be repeated."

Paul Novack, from the University of Miami, said, "I too was not convinced. I don't think students and youth are ready and willing to fight for Chrysler, Exxon, or Jimmy Carter's reelection."

Carlos Montalvo, president of the student government at the University of California at San Diego, brought 1,500 signatures against the draft to present to Carter.

Opposition to the draft was not unanimous. Scott Bassett said there was "mixed support for and against" registration at the University of Oregon. The student body president of Kansas State University told the *Militant* that the majority of students there supported registration and that there had been no antidraft demonstrations.

But more typical was this comment by Steve Reddy, student government leader at the University of Colorado: "We are not convinced by Carter. Student opposition to draft registration is real and as the message strikes home more and more students are taking to the streets."

And the outcome of the meetings here is likely to help bring even more into the streets. All participants in the counterbriefing by USSA and CARD received packets with information on the March 22 national protest.



USSA President Frank Jackalone



# What Carter's war drive means for Blacks

By August Nimtz

A few days before President Carter called for reinstitution of draft registration he sent Congress his 1981 budget. In the accompanying message, he proposed postponing the timetables for reducing unemployment required by the Humphrey-Hawkins Act of 1978. At the same time he called for an increase in war spending that would amount to 25 percent—at minimum—over five years.

The cynicism behind these proposals has not been lost on the Black community.

On the one hand the Carter administration is saying to Blacks that it cannot be expected to give us jobs. (To add insult to injury, the Humphrey-Hawkins Act never actually created any jobs to begin with.)

On the other hand, Carter is telling Blacks that the only jobs the government will make available to us are those on the front lines of its next war.

Carter's proposals come at a time when the Black community is desperately in need of jobs, more hospitals, schools, and housing.

The National Urban League, in its recently issued report on "The State of Black America—1980," noted that the average Black family income fell from 60 percent of white family income in 1969 to 57 percent in 1979. Unemployment for Black youth is more than 56 percent.

Urban League President Vernon Jordan charged that Carter's economic policies, including his war budget, mean "neglect of racial equality, full employment and urban revitalization and the inevitable result of such a lopsided approach is further deterioration in the living conditions of Black and poor people."

The Congressional Black Caucus called Carter's budget "an unmitigated disaster for the poor, the unemployed and minorities."

Caucus chairperson Rep. Cardiss Collins of Illinois charged that the Carter administration calls spending for jobs "inflationary" while "it massively increases defense spending, the most inflationary and waste-ridden Federal expenditures of all."

Carter's war budget, along with the draft, have a particularly alarming meaning for Blacks. The nightmare of Vietnam is ever present in the Black community in the form of broken men and their



Black antiwar protesters in 1967

families and memories of the dead.

Robert Mullen presents the figures in his book *Blacks in America's Wars* (Pathfinder Press, 1973):

"During the 1960s, proportionally more Blacks (30 percent) than whites (18 percent) from the draft-qualified age group were drafted. . . . In terms of casualties, Blacks suffered nearly 17 percent of all deaths in Vietnam between 1961 and 1967 although the percentage of Black troops in Southeast Asia during those years was around 12 percent. In 1970, while they were 11 percent of the troops in Vietnam, Blacks took 22 percent of the casualties."

Without jobs and adequate schooling, the victims of racism in the 1960s were the prime targets for the draft, for combat duty, and death.

Still the victims of racism, Black youth in the 1980s have been written off by the Carter administration, consigned to perpetual unemployment and/or used as gladiators in White House war games.

It's no surprise that Blacks were among the first sectors of the American working class to oppose the Vietnam war. We understood we had nothing to gain from fighting the Vietnamese. That's why "No Vietnamese ever called me a nigger" became a popular slogan in our communities.

Such antiwar sentiment is reflected today in Black opposition to Carter's Middle East policies and reinstitution of the draft. Blacks are more sympathetic with the Iranian people's demand that the ex-shah be returned to Iran.

This time around, antiwar sentiment is going to be stronger in the Black community. I recently met a Black veteran who had been drafted into combat duty in Vietnam.

"I was eighteen when I went to Vietnam. I wasn't opposed to the draft because I saw it as an opportunity, especially since I didn't have the money to go to college," he told me.

Ten years later, after four wounds and three purple hearts—he refused to accept his fourth medal, for which he was jailed—the former GI has a very different attitude toward the draft.

"I wouldn't want anyone to have to go through what I went through. I'm definitely opposed to it. I went in with a kind of John Wayne mentality, thinking I was fighting for some kind of principles. But it's all economic. That's why we were there—to make somebody rich. That's why the Vietcong won, because they believed in what they were fighting for."

Did you know that . . .

In 1970 Blacks took 22 percent of American casualties in Vietnam although they were only 11 percent of U.S. forces?

Read about this and more in **Blacks in America's Wars** by Robert W. Mullen

A Monad Press book, 96 pages, \$2.45 (include 75¢ for postage). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

## Antidraft protests across country

Protests against registration and the draft continue across the country.

In Detroit, 200 students rallied at Wayne State University on February 7 in a demonstration sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). Speakers included Russell Bellant, president of the Wayne State Student Faculty Council; Jane Slaughter of the Women's Justice Center; Andrew Walden, a leader of Detroit Area CARD and Socialist Workers candidate for Detroit School Board; and others.

Walden attacked Carter's draft and his new war budget. "This plan is for double jeopardy," he said. "Jeopardy of your life and your living standard at home."

On March 14-15 Detroit CARD will

hold a teach-in at Wayne State University.

In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area 500 attended a debate on the draft February 6 at the University of Minnesota.

In Denver two hundred people attended an open forum on the draft sponsored by the student governments of several colleges.

At the University of Washington 125 people attended a speak-out against the draft on February 13. Included on the panel were Lorraine Howell, president of the Seattle chapter of the National Organization of Women; Bill Phipps, of Live without Trident, an antinuclear group; Jim Levitt, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate and member of the International Association of Machinists; and others.

In Olympia, Washington, 500 people gathered downtown February 9 to protest the draft. On February 14, despite snow covered streets, fifty people attended a forum sponsored by the local antidraft committee.

At the University of Missouri in Kansas City fifty people attended a speak-out against the draft on February 7 sponsored by the ACLU, the Greater Kansas City Committee to Oppose the Draft, the Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

There will be an antidraft demonstration in Miami, Florida, February 24 sponsored by Miami CARD.

(This week's draft news was sent in by 'Militant' correspondents Lisa Hickler, Sue Adley, Jim Kendrick, Nan Bailey, Barbara Hennigan, and Ron La Follette.)

## New facts on New Mexico prison rebellion

By Floyd Fowler

ALBUQUERQUE—Facts about the February 2 prison rebellion at the New Mexico State Penitentiary are beginning to come to light despite a constant barrage of media stories about inmate violence and murder that portray the prisoners as mindless, crazed animals capable of nothing else. Prison administrators, guards, and the state legislature are thereby absolved of all blame.

Steve Farber, a local attorney, who is currently representing several prisoners, answered the official version before an overflow crowd at a forum sponsored by the University of New Mexico Law School chapter of the National Lawyers Guild:

"There are people who are to blame for the conditions which exist in the New Mexico penitentiary, the conditions which resulted in the loss of life. It hasn't yet been said, but it is

going to be said today. The blame rests squarely on the legislature of the state of New Mexico which has betrayed the public trust."

Farber spoke of the pen as a place "where human beings are treated without dignity, without respect, where human beings are harassed and not even given the privilege of a decent, dignified visit with their families."

The most compelling indictment of conditions inside the pen came from five former inmates invited to speak at the forum. Clifford Anderson, who spent over ten years inside until his release in November 1979, put it bluntly:

"If you want to see a monster-creating factory, that's what penitentiaries are."

He spoke bitterly of "the system of ignorance and stupidity and hate and fear and greed—all of these things that come into play to create the kind of

thing that happened up here. It happened in Attica, it happened in Watts, and it's going to keep on happening as long as the problems aren't solved."

The February *Albuquerque Journal* cites a letter written to prison authorities in April 1979 by Bob Runyon, a former correction officer who quit his job at the prison when he received no response to calls for improving conditions. Runyon pointed out that guards manipulated prisoners, pitting them against each other by revealing the names of real or supposed informers to other inmates. They also intimidated prisoners with threats and violence into informing on other inmates whom the guards were out to get.

The *Albuquerque Journal* also quotes Merle Alexander, a former director of the federal prison system, who said "the use of informers at the New Mexico state prison was the main

reason for the high death toll."

A frightening picture emerges of the prison administration encouraging violence, suspicion, and hatred among inmates—all in order to keep prisoners divided and pitted against each other.

Attorneys Farber and Joan Friedland are challenging the official investigation of the prison uprising, which is being conducted by the attorney general's office.

Farber asked how the attorney general could really investigate the corrections department, given the close working relationship between them. For example, Mike Francke, a deputy attorney general involved in directing the investigation, represented the prison officials as recently as 1976.

Manny Aragon, a member of the New Mexico Senate Judiciary Committee, has said of the investigation, "It will probably never be accepted by 50 percent of the people."



## Socialist to high school students:

# 'Youth should organize to defeat draft'

By David Rowlands

NORTH SUTTON, New Hampshire—The Kearsarge Regional High School here was the scene of a lively three-day mock convention that included Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

Following the saber-rattling speeches of Republican candidates George Bush, Howard Baker, and John Anderson, Pulley called upon the 325 students present to defend the millions of workers and farmers of Latin America, Asia, and Africa who are struggling to rid their homelands of U.S. corporate domination.

The socialist candidate explained that the aspirations of American "mine workers, steelworkers, teachers, waitresses, students, and the working class in general are the same as the aspirations of working people in other parts of the world: an existence free from war, hunger, and inequality.

"For that reason," Pulley said, "American youth should begin now to organize to defeat the draft and war

preparations aimed at the Middle East."

Judging from the enthusiastic applause, the draft-age student delegates couldn't agree more.

When liberal Republican John Anderson declared his opposition to registration, he also received long applause from the audience. He went on to say that if "our interests" were threatened, he wouldn't hesitate to take the "necessary steps" to defend the country.

Pulley, on the other hand, explained that any U.S. war moves overseas would be in the profit interests of corporations such as Exxon and would be aimed at propping up brutal dictators such as Zia of Pakistan, Pinochet of Chile, and the racists who rule South Africa.

Pulley was the only candidate to remain after the program to meet with the students. While talking with some twenty-five students, an interesting debate was sparked by the presence of a South African white student who disagreed with Pulley's position on the racism in that country.

The South African stated that Blacks in South Africa control their own affairs, that Blacks are separate but equal.

Pulley asked if the fact that whites make twenty times the wages of Blacks is equality. He pointed out that the Ford Motor Company has fired 800 Black workers for trying to organize unions and asked if that was equality.

The students listening responded in agreement to Pulley's points. After a few more rounds of the discussion, the South African abruptly left, and the other students remained to continue talking with Pulley.

The socialist campaign table did a brisk business throughout the day. It was continually surrounded by students discussing the draft, nuclear power, women's rights, and other current issues.

Hundreds of brochures were distributed outlining the positions of the Socialist Workers Party. The Democrats and Republicans, with the exception of the Anderson campaign, didn't bother distributing their literature.

By far the most popular item of the day was the "No Draft" button put out by the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. More than sixty of these buttons were sold, right down to the last one on the lapel of my jacket!

## New YSA chapter in Iowa

Five Pulley campaign supporters in Cedar Falls, Iowa, have joined the Young Socialist Alliance and are forming a YSA chapter there.

For more than a year these new members—who include a rail worker, an auto worker, two college teachers, and a student—had been active in radical politics in Cedar Falls. They also had conducted a study group on socialism and the ideas of the Young Socialist Alliance.

They joined the YSA after attending a symposium on the presidential election at Drake University in Des Moines on February 13. Andrew Pulley was one of the featured speakers.

The five new YSAers have ordered a bundle of *Militants*, are active in the antidraft and antinuclear movements, are building the Pulley/Zimmermann campaign, and hope to meet other young Iowans interested in joining the socialist movement.

## Come hear Andrew Pulley



### GARY, INDIANA

**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.

### 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.

### NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

**NO TO THE DRAFT! RALLY TO LAUNCH CALIF. 1980 SWP BALLOT DRIVE.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., March 1, reception 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin (at Geary), San Francisco. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign, Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call: (415) 824-1992 (San Francisco); (415) 763-3792 (East Bay); (408) 998-4007 (San Jose).



Pittsburgh protest, February 9. Young Socialists are building antidraft rallies across country.

## 2,400 'Young Socialists' sold in two weeks

The growing antidraft movement is spurring sales of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, in factories, mines, and on campuses across the country.

The February issue features articles

on Carter's moves to reinstitute draft registration, and on the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan. Young people are hungry for the truth about these events—and few are willing to take Carter at his word.

"We had set a sales goal of 3,500 copies for February," said *Young Socialist* business manager Rick Reaves, "but as of the middle of the month we had already sold 2,400."

Many of the sales have been to

participants in antidraft demonstrations.

At one demonstration in San José, California, Dick Gregory was a featured speaker. He displayed the *Young Socialist* and the *Militant* and urged opponents of the draft to buy them. Both papers were quickly sold out.

Sixty-five copies of the YS were sold in Los Angeles February 8, as 7,000 protested the draft outside a fundraising dinner for President Carter. And at a rally in New York City's Times Square the following day, eighty-five copies were sold.

The Morgantown, West Virginia, Young Socialist Alliance reported selling sixty papers, twenty of them to coal miners. Young Socialists in the Iron Range chapter in Minnesota sold sixty-nine.

And despite a wind-chill temperature of thirteen below zero in St. Louis, eleven antidraft demonstrators bought the YS February 16 while another twenty bought antidraft buttons issued by the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.

These sales foreshadow growing opportunities for the Young Socialist Alliance as more and more young people come to see through Carter's lies.

## NO DRAFT!

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are fighting for socialism.

Join the fight! Help build support for the socialist campaign!

- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, How to stop the draft—4¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the campaign poster "No draft"—3¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the YSPZ antidraft button—50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more.
- ☐ Send me a one-year subscription to the *Young Socialist* newspaper. Enclosed is \$1.

- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

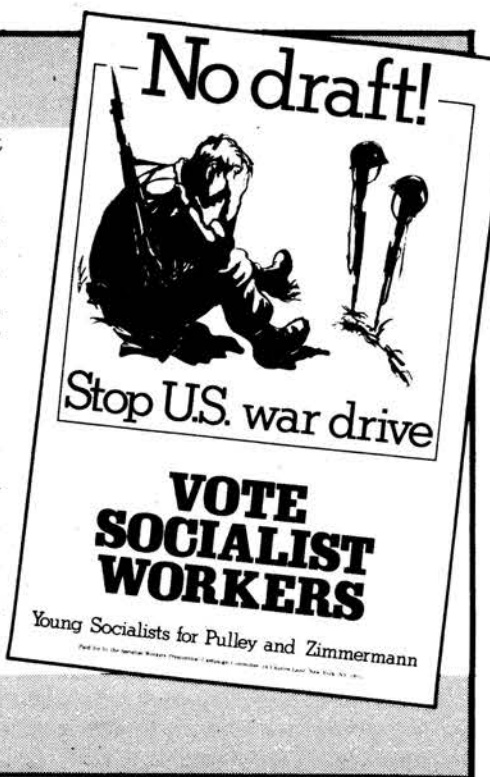
A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

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Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/org. \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

## Join the YSA!





# Capitalist press tangled in lies on Afghanistan

By David Frankel

When you read a newspaper headline that says, "Report 2,000 USSR casualties in Afghan," isn't it natural to assume that there must be some factual basis for the report?

Such headlines have appeared in newspapers throughout the United States. *New York Times* correspondent David Binder reported February 3: "American analysts estimate that the Soviet expeditionary force in Afghanistan has been suffering casualties at a rate of about 500 killed and wounded a week since it invaded the neighboring Asian country five weeks ago."

Five hundred casualties would be comparable to the losses sustained by U.S. forces during the Vietnam War. But Binder gives no indication that the figures given by "American analysts" might be high.

Of course, it is true that the war has been hot and heavy . . . in the newspapers. "Afghan Rebels' Holy War Denies Hills to Soviets"; "Afghans Fight With Stones, Cleavers"; "Battles Reported in Afghanistan"; "Soviet troops, Afghan rebs locked in battle across nation"—these are a few of the headlines that have appeared in recent weeks.

But it is worth noting that on January 27 the *Washington Post* reported: "A Soviet soldier in Kabul has been shot by a sniper in the first incident of violent opposition to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan witnessed by Western reporters." (Emphasis added.)

A substantial part of the international press corps claims to be trooping through Afghanistan, camping out with rebels in the mountains, haunting the Afghan-Pakistan border, looking for just such incidents. Either the reporters are unusually incompetent, or the incidents are not so common.

## 'Not believable'

Nevertheless, an article citing "the latest U.S. intelligence reports from Afghanistan" appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* February 4.

According to the *Journal*, U.S. "analysts painted an almost pathetic picture of the 80,000 Russian troops in Afghanistan. The soldiers face a sullen Afghan population and a mutinous Afghan army; they are forced to steal food from local stores because of inadequate supplies, and they are plagued by hit-and-run insurgent forces that 'block roads, raid camps and slit throats,' the U.S. officials said."

After six paragraphs of such details, and after reporting the 500-casualties-a-week figure, the *Journal* notes that "the catalog of Soviet woes cited in the U.S. intelligence reports probably

## Who Carter wants you to die for

Carter says the sending of Soviet troops to help the Afghan government makes it necessary for American men and women to accept the draft. What does Carter want us to fight for?

A report from Pakistan in the February 9 *New York Times* tells a lot about the "freedom fighters" Carter supports in Afghanistan and why they want to overturn the government there.

Take the former headmaster of an Afghan school—now one of those battling the government. He complained to *Times* reporter James Sterba, "The government imposed various ordinances allowing women freedom to marry anyone they chose without their parents' consent."

"They invited women to meetings," declared a second rightist.

"The Government said our women had to attend meetings and our children had to go to schools," another said. "We had to fight."

Many Afghan villagers don't



Afghan rightists: at war against women's equality

share his outrage, it seems. The "rebels" told Sterba how they raid villages and "bring [Afghans] with us forcefully until they see that our cause is right."

And these reactionaries who oppose the first steps toward freeing women and ending illiteracy are presented to us as "freedom fighters"!

should be discounted, because much of the information appears to come from the insurgent camp. The U.S. analysts conceded that some of the rebel reports—claiming that 10,000 Soviet troops were killed in one week and asserting that the Soviets are using chemical weapons—aren't believable."

This admission, however, did not stop the *Journal* from starting out its lead editorial that same day by saying: "Government officials privately confirm that Soviet forces have used nerve gas known as Soman against Afghan tribesmen."

Four days after the appearance of the *New York Times* article detailing supposed Soviet casualties in Afghanistan, *Times* military analyst Drew Middleton warned the too-trusting reader: "Nothing in the military situation suggests that the Soviet forces are getting bogged down in a long guerrilla war. . . ."

"The assertion by unidentified Washington sources that the Soviet forces had suffered anywhere from 2,000 to 10,000 casualties is questioned by military sources."

Although Middleton politely labels the lies about Afghanistan as coming from "unidentified Washington sources," there is no mystery about the

source. As Bernard Gwertzman explained in the January 26 *New York Times*, the U.S. government has "relaxed" its "accuracy code" around the events in Afghanistan.

In other words, it's lying.

Gwertzman cites the State Department's Hodding Carter as the source of the 500 casualty-a-week figure and as one of those who had contributed to the charges of chemical warfare by the Soviets in Afghanistan.

## Truth about Kerala

The latest sensation broadcast by the capitalist media is the alleged massacre of more than 1,000 Afghans in the village of Kerala in April 1979. (Reports at that time claimed 300 were killed.)

According to a dispatch in the February 4 *Christian Science Monitor*, "The shooting was ordered by a dark-blond, green-eyed Russian officer. . . ."

According to the February 11 issue of *Newsweek*, "The Afghan commander consulted briefly with a senior Soviet adviser, a stocky, green-eyed man with dirty blond hair. The Russian, in turn, spoke by radio to a Soviet helicopter that was hovering overhead. Suddenly the chopper flew off and the Russian barked 'Fire' in Pushtu."

*Newsweek* and the *Monitor* even "quote" the Soviet adviser as taunting

women of the village as the bodies were buried.

As it turns out, the "Soviet helicopter," the "stocky, green-eyed" Soviet adviser, and his malicious taunts were all figments of the imagination.

When Associated Press reporter Barry Schlachter finally reached the village where the incident had taken place, it turned out that a rogue Afghan army unit was responsible. One survivor told Schlachter, "There was a rumor that Russians were coming to take the women away in buses. But there were no Russians."

None of the Afghans Schlachter talked to claimed that Soviet troops or advisers had taken part in the killings, which he now places at 640. On the contrary:

"Among the dead, it was said, were Wazir Mohammad, a local Communist official who was the principal of the girls' school at nearby Chigha Sarai, and Mohammad Yashteen, also a staunch party member, who taught at the local primary school."

To return to the question posed at the beginning of this article: Isn't it natural to assume there must be some factual basis for the reports we read in the capitalist press?

Yes, it's natural. But it's also a mistake.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Appeal for Iranian women prisoners

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are circulating an appeal for the release of two women prisoners in Iran, Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi. Both are members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) and longtime activists in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

Hopes have been raised for the release of the two by news from Iran that all twelve other HKE members in prison have now been freed. The last two to be released—Hormoz Fallahi and Mustafa Seifabadi—left prison in early February.

The release of the twelve men, held on the same charges as Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, strengthens the effort now to free the two women. Their case has evoked strong sympathy in Iran, where they are known as anti-shah militants and supporters of women's equality.

Fallahi is also seriously ill. At the urging of her supporters she has been moved by prison authorities to a hospital in Ahwaz.



MAHSA HASHEMI



FATIMA FALLAHI

U.S. supporters of the Iranian revolution are circulating the following appeal. Telegrams should be sent to President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran; and to Ahmad Janati, Islamic Revolutionary Council, Ahwaz, Iran.

I am a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats against it. I appeal to you for the release of two women prisoners in Iran—Mahsa Hashemi, currently imprisoned in Behbahan Prison, and Fatima Fallahi, who is now hospitalized in Ahwaz.

These two women, members of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), are staunch antishah and anti-imperialist fighters. They are innocent of any crime, as shown by your government's decision to free the twelve other HKE prisoners jailed with them.

I urge you to speed the release of Hashemi and Fallahi, which would strengthen the Iranian revolution in the eyes of the world.

Copies of telegrams should be sent to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.



## U.S. socialists end tour

# Nicaragua workers confident in revolution

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—"In Nicaragua everything is possible," the taxi driver told Matilde Zimmermann when she expressed doubt that she and four other socialist candidates from the United States would fit into his compact cab.

Recapping the story later, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Zimmermann cited "the tremendous confidence that the Nicaraguan people have in their ability to do what has to be done."

Zimmermann headed a delegation of nine U.S. and Canadian socialist candidates who completed a six-day fact-finding tour here on February 13.

They included 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; and John Powers, an auto worker running for U.S. Senate in Ohio.

Also 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.

Byron Nelson, a member of the International Woodworkers Union in Vancouver, Canada, was also part of the delegation. He is a candidate for parliament from the Revolutionary Workers League, the sister organization of the SWP in Canada.

The taxi driver's theme "was repeated over and over again by every official that we talked to," Zimmermann continued. "They would say, 'The strength of our revolution—what made it possible to accomplish the insurrection and overthrow the dictatorship—gives us confidence that no matter what happens we will be able to accomplish these tremendous tasks.'"

In a discussion on February 12 with Health Ministry representative Alejandro González Argeñal, the socialists learned just how overwhelming the tasks facing the Nicaraguan people really are.

"Foreign intervention and domination of Nicaragua has not been only military," González began. "It has also

meant depriving the people of medical care and knowledge about hygiene and health."

Malnutrition, González said, is perhaps Nicaragua's single biggest health problem. "Only 17 percent of infants are born with a normal size and weight," González continued. "Dietetic diseases are endemic among our children, but they can easily be prevented and cured if the proper aid and nutritional education are provided."

Health care was declared free immediately after the revolutionary government came to power last July, "but there just aren't enough resources to provide for all the health needs of the population."

The Health Ministry is now attempting to bring care to remote peasant communities never before visited by physicians.

"Mobilization of the mass organizations—the trade unions, the women's association, the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) based in the neighborhoods, the Rural Workers Association—is the way we will improve health care," González said.

The CDSs have already organized vaccinations against polio for 80 percent of children under five.

"Somoza would use his polio vaccination programs to buy votes for his Liberal Party," González said.

"Nicaragua will be the only country in the world to combine a literacy campaign with a drive to control malaria," González continued. Some 170,000 students, teachers, workers, and housewives will fan out across Nicaragua beginning March 24 to teach more than 50 percent of the adult population how to read and write. They will also be trained to administer medication for the cure and prevention of malaria, which is especially widespread in the countryside.

### Rural workers

"Government decrees alone do not solve problems," explained peasant leader Pablo Roberto Fley when the socialists visited the regional office of the Rural Workers Association (ATC) in the northern city of Matagalpa on February 9. "It takes the ATC's organized pressure to enforce the decrees and press forward the class struggle" against the landlords.

"The bosses argue that they can't



Socialists Arth, Grant, and Johnson (top) saw for themselves what Somoza's bombs had done. Above, Zimmermann and Nieto are interviewed by Nicaraguan journalist.

afford to invest to improve the farm workers' situation," Fley said. "So the workers have to fight for their rights as well as demand more decrees."

Fley also outlined how the ATC is working with the Institute of Agrarian Reform to organize small farmers into cooperatives which make it easier for the farmers to obtain financing, machinery, and agricultural chemicals. Six cooperatives are already functioning in Matagalpa Province, coordinated by an elected farmers' council.

"This will help to build the confidence of the small farmers—they can see that they have an organization that represents their interests," Fley said.

### Defense Committees

Accompanied by a young CDS activist he had met who lived in the United States for several years and spoke fluent English, delegation member Lee Artz of Chicago visited Acahualinca, one of Managua's poorest neighborhoods, on February 12.

"The people live in houses they've managed to throw together out of scrap lumber or old oil drums that have been hammered flat," Artz said.

"Most of them don't have jobs, but nonetheless they identify totally with the revolution and right in the midst of all that poverty is a monument the local CDS has erected to honor Acahualinca's martyr, a fighter from the neighborhood who was killed in the war against Somoza."

Artz described how the CDSs are organized: "Each block elects about seven people and each of these takes charge of specific tasks—food supplies, vigilance, sanitation, and so on."

The CDSs play an especially important role in making the most pressing needs of the population known to the government. A decree has just been passed setting strict levels on food prices. "That's because when the CDSs met around the city last week, the main thing everyone wanted to talk about was the rising cost of food," Artz said he learned in Acahualinca.

"Now the CDSs are responsible for

making sure neighborhood stores observe the limit and for reporting violators to the police and the Ministry of Domestic Trade."

### U.S. working-class struggles

Besides learning about the gains Nicaraguan working people are making through the revolution and the problems the country faces, the socialist delegation was also able to talk to Nicaraguans about the struggles of workers and the oppressed in the United States. "We found that everyone distinguishes very clearly between the U.S. government—which they hate for its longtime support to Somoza—and the American people, whom they admire and look to as allies," said Zimmermann.

An extensive article on the SWP's election campaign was featured on the front page of the Managua daily *La Prensa* on February 11. After describing the many obstacles socialists face in presenting their ideas in the United States, *La Prensa* said that these "have not prevented this group of revolutionists from keeping alive the struggle for socialism. . . . They are proposing concretely that the workers should have their own party and fight not for posts but for a government truly representative of working-class interests."

"In the current presidential campaign they are calling for a radical change in U.S. foreign policy, demanding in the first place an end to the blockade of Cuba and a just recognition of that country. They call for the extradition of the shah and oppose going to war in Iran or in Afghanistan. They also hold that the U.S. government must aid the government of Nicaragua in everything that the Nicaraguan people need. . . ."

The day the *La Prensa* article appeared, SWP senatorial candidate from New York, Victor Nieto, started a conversation with a ten-year-old boy in a restaurant. "I know you," the young Sandinista said, "you're the revolutionary fighters from the United States."

## 'Liberated from illiteracy'

The following is excerpted from a speech given in Canada by Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. After returning from Nicaragua February 13, Zimmermann addressed audiences in Hamilton, Toronto, and Montreal.

Two weeks after the Sandinista victory last July, when there was still sporadic fighting in the streets of Managua, the new government started drawing up plans for a campaign to teach 900,000 people—over 50 percent of the entire population over ten years of age—to read and write.

People explained to us why they rushed into such a gigantic and seemingly impossible task.

A repressive government has no interest in teaching the masses to read and write, they pointed out.

But a revolutionary government has to do it. The workers and peasants cannot rule unless they are literate, cultured, and politically educated.

We couldn't help contrasting this inspiring literacy drive with the big cutbacks in education going on in

the United States and Canada.

Seventy thousand Nicaraguan youth from age thirteen up are being mobilized to go out all over the country in a "Popular Army of Literacy." (This is in addition to 100,000 workers, professionals, and housewives who will stay in the cities at their regular jobs and spend all their free time teaching.)

The youth army of 70,000 is organized into brigades, columns, and squadrons, each named after a Sandinista martyr. The towns and provinces will achieve full literacy one by one the way they were freed from Somoza until a giant banner can be unfurled in Managua that says:

"Nicaragua, territory liberated from illiteracy."

Signs and banners everywhere link today's war against ignorance to yesterday's mobilization against the dictatorship.

We in the North American solidarity movement have a special responsibility to aid this struggle. We can do this by getting out the truth about Nicaragua and by campaigning to raise funds and materials for this inspiring literacy crusade.



## U.S. solidarity

One hundred people heard Sonia de Chamorro, fund-raising director for Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade, in New Orleans February 9. The meeting at Tulane University raised \$300 for the literacy drive.

Cosponsors for the event were the Nicaraguan consul in New Orleans, the New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization, and the Center for Latin America Studies at Tulane.

On February 12, Chamorro spoke in Detroit to an audience of 100. Chamorro brought certificates in denominations of \$10, \$50, and \$100 of the kind being sold in Nicaragua to raise funds for the literacy crusade. *Militant* correspondent Mark Rogers reports they were extremely popular at the meeting with many people buying ten-dollar certificates. This, combined with the sale of posters brought back from Nicaragua by a Detroit activist, raised \$750 for the literacy drive.

More schedule information on the tours by four representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) includes:

**Seattle, Monday, February 25.** Noel González from the FSLN Foreign Relations Secretariat and Zaida Hernández from the Nicaraguan Women's Association will speak at the University of Washington, Kane Hall, at 7:30 p.m. The meeting is sponsored by the Committee of Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, which can be reached at (206) 329-9442, extension 7.

**Philadelphia, Friday, February 29.** González will share the platform with several Philadelphians at Antioch University, 401

solidaridad internacional con NICARAGUA para su

## ALFABETIZACION



nuestro pueblo pide ayuda para su segunda

## LIBERACION

Nicaraguan literacy poster asks international solidarity.

North Broad Street, at 8 p.m. The meeting has been incorporated into Antioch's Black History Week.

**Pittsburgh, Sunday, March 2.** Justino Arceda from the Rural Workers Association and Olga Avilez from the Sandinista Workers Federation will speak at the University of Pittsburgh, Forbes Quadrangle, at 7:30 p.m. The meeting is sponsored by the Pittsburgh Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and the Pittsburgh Campus National Organization for Women. For more information call (412) 782-0376.

For other events in solidarity with Nicaragua, see the "What's Going On" column on page 21.

# Socialists demand: Aid for Nicaragua! No arms to El Salvador!

The following statement was released by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, and seven other SWP candidates who recently made a fact-finding tour of Nicaragua (see story on facing page).

The seven candidates are: Bill Arth (U.S. Senate-Michigan), Lee Artz (U.S. Senate-Illinois), Sharon Grant (U.S. Congress-Virginia), George Johnson (U.S. Senate-California), Victor Nieto (U.S. Senate-New York), John Powers (U.S. Senate-Ohio), and Mohammed Oliver (1979 candidate for mayor of Birmingham, Alabama).

We returned to the United States inspired by the gigantic steps forward the Nicaraguan people have taken since ousting the dictator Somoza, yet moved by the crying need for international material aid to that impoverished and war-ravaged country.

What we found back here, however, were news headlines announcing emergency U.S. aid—not money for the

one member—often a child or teenager—tortured or killed by Somoza's National Guard.

Only half of those over the age of ten can read and write, and the figure is much higher in the rural areas.

The U.S. government is directly responsible for this social and material destruction. For fifty years the Somoza family managed to stay in power because it was backed by Washington on behalf of U.S. big-business interests.

Yet since Somoza fell, the U.S. government has contributed a measly \$28 million to Nicaragua. Congress has stalled for months on a \$75 million aid package, all but \$5 million in loans.

But Carter moved with lightning speed this month to approve the sending of U.S. Army "advisors" and U.S. arms to El Salvador. The contrast unmasks for all Washington's intentions in Central America.

The U.S. government is willing, no matter what it costs, to prop up bloody tyrants to prevent another government from coming to power that puts human needs first, such as the one in Nicaragua.

It's not surprising that the workers and peasants of El Salvador have been encouraged by the gains their brothers and sisters have made in Nicaragua.

Mass trade unions and peasant organizations exist there where none were allowed before.

A massive literacy drive is underway. Health care is reaching areas where no doctors had ever been.

Women have not only won legal equality, but are helping to lead the social and economic transformation of an entire country.

We believe that if other U.S. workers knew the truth about what is happening in Nicaragua, they would be as inspired as we were. They would insist that the U.S. government do whatever is necessary to provide food, medicine, and other material aid to Nicaragua. They would never demand, as the administration and Congress are doing, that Nicaraguans accept limitations on their economic and political sovereignty as the price.

The thousands of youth across the nation protesting Carter's draft registration don't want to fight and die in El Salvador to protect the profits of U.S. corporations that have long drained the resources from Central America and exploited its people.

No arms or "advisors" to El Salvador!

Full, unconditional material aid to Nicaragua!

### NEWS BULLETIN

*The Solidarity Committee with the Salvadoran People has called a March 15 demonstration in front of the White House to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The action was announced at a meeting on El Salvador of 120 people in Washington, D.C., February 17.*

social needs of Nicaragua, but arms and "advisors" for the brutal dictator in neighboring El Salvador.

Nicaragua estimates the material damage done by Somoza before he fled in July 1979 surpasses \$480 million. That figure cannot begin to account for the 35,000 people killed and 100,000 wounded in the war against Somoza. Nor for the educational and cultural deprivations imposed by his despotic rule.

We saw with our own eyes the price the Nicaraguan people paid for the right to run their country in their own interests. Factories, schools, hospitals, and homes were destroyed or crippled by Somoza's bombs.

In some working-class neighborhoods, nearly every street bears a plaque listing residents who died in the civil war. Many families had at least

With information gathered during their week-long tour, the socialist candidates intend to bring the truth about Nicaragua and a plea for material aid to as many North Americans as possible.

An initial schedule of speaking engagements follows. To arrange to have one of them speak before your union, school, or group, call the number listed or write the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee at 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# Socialists speak on Nicaragua

### ALABAMA

**Birmingham, Sat., March 1.** Socialist Campaign rally with Matilde Zimmermann and Mohammed Oliver. 7:30 p.m. reception; 8 p.m. rally. 1609 5th Ave. N. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

### CALIFORNIA

**Oakland, Sat., Feb. 23.** Militant Forum with George Johnson. 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

**San Diego, Sun., Feb. 24.** George Johnson at University of California. 7 p.m. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### GEORGIA

**Atlanta, Sun., March 2.** Socialist campaign rally with Matilde Zimmermann. 7 p.m. reception; 8 p.m. rally. 509 Peachtree St. NE. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

### ILLINOIS

**Chicago, Sat., Feb. 23.** Socialist Campaign rally with Lee Artz and SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, room 700. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

**Chicago, Fri., March 7.** Militant Forum on Revolution and the Caribbean with Lee Artz.

7:30 p.m. Same address and phone as above.

### MICHIGAN

**Detroit, Fri., Feb. 22.** Campaign event with Bill Arth sponsored by Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. 8 p.m. 8404 Woodward Ave. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

**Detroit, Sun., March 2.** Militant Forum with Bill Arth on Revolution in Central America. 7 p.m. Same address and phone as above.

### NEW YORK

**New York City, Sun., March 16.** Socialist campaign rally with Victor Nieto. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

### OHIO

**Toledo, Sat., March 1.** Militant Forum with Bill Arth. 2120 Dorr St. 7 p.m. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

**Cleveland, Sat., March 8.** Militant Forum with John Powers. 7 p.m. 18238 Sherrington. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

### VIRGINIA

**Newport News, Sun., March 2.** Militant Forum with Sharon Grant. 5 p.m. 111 28th St. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

## Carter pledges 'advisers'

The Carter administration has given tentative approval to the sending of U.S. Army advisers and U.S. arms to help shore up the military regime in El Salvador.

According to a report by Karen DeYoung in the February 14 *Washington Post*, "The program calls for at least three 12-man Army mobile training teams (MTTs) to instruct each of El Salvador's three army battalions in logistics, communications and intelligence techniques."

In addition, \$7 million in military aid, in addition to the \$50 million in economic aid already planned, would be provided.

According to DeYoung's sources, "a similar contingent of advisers has also been approved for Honduras but the teams have not yet been sent."

Social conflict in El Salvador is approaching the point of civil war. In the three weeks after January 22—when a demonstration of 200,000 in San Salvador called by

the trade unions and leftist groups was savagely fired on by the military—more than 200 people died.

Rightist death squads and police and military units regularly assassinate working class and peasant militants.

The regime is based on the armed forces. Only the isolated Christian Democratic Party is backing it, and even elements within the Christian Democrats are opposed to any association with the discredited military.

"The government has no friends," one State Department official admitted.

But Washington, fearful of the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution, is determined to block new revolutionary victories in Central America. "The Pentagon's objective ultimately is to get the Marines in there and show that they can win a guerrilla war," one official told DeYoung.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



# Spring circulation drive for Militant, Perspectiva Mundial

By Peter Seidman

Socialists can expect a good hearing for our ideas this spring.

As the 1980 presidential race heats up, working people want answers to big political questions. How can we stop the draft? What's the cause of war? How do we create more jobs and bring down inflation? What about health care, education, the environment?

The Socialist Workers Party candidates, Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president, will be presenting working-class solutions to all these problems as they tour the country. And they'll be in the thick of helping build important protests against the draft, including the March 22 national demonstration in Washington, D.C.; against nuclear power and Klan terror; and for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Socialist campaign activists will be winning co-workers and friends to support the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket from coast to coast.

Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be key tools for winning these new supporters and for helping to organize and publicize the protest actions that will be taking place.

That's why members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance will be carrying out an eight-week drive to sell single copies and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* this spring.

## Spring circulation drive

The drive will begin with the issue of the *Militant* dated March 21 (Number 10). It will end with the issue dated May 9 (Number 17).

The drive also includes issues Number 5 through 8 of *PM*.

Branches of the SWP and YSA chapters will be discussing the goals they want to set for themselves during coming weeks.

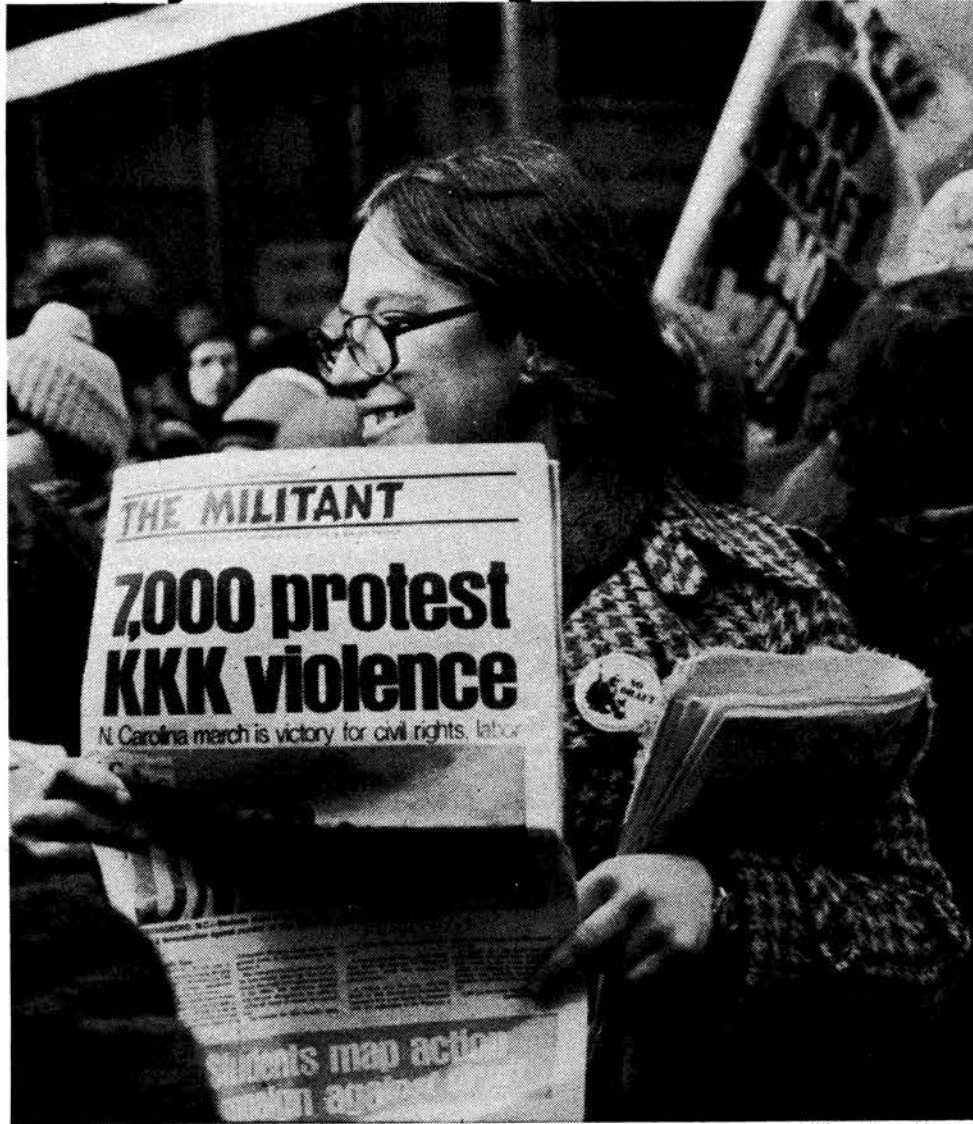
The circulation office is proposing the following guidelines for the spring campaign:

- That areas maintain roughly the same single-copy sales each week as they did during last fall's drive. Nationally, this means selling about 5,700 papers a week.

- That areas carefully consider how many subscriptions they sold during last fall's drive and set lower, more realistic targets for the spring. Our national aim is to surpass 1,500 subs.

These goals take into account a shorter drive than last fall's fourteen-week campaign.

Moreover, this spring almost half the branches and chapters of the SWP and YSA will be heavily involved—for one to three weeks each—with petitioning



Selling at New York City antidraft action. Meetings, rallies, and discussions on the job about the draft offer opportunities for big sales of socialist press.

to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot.

This petitioning, part of our efforts to win ballot status in thirty states, is the top priority for all SWP campaign supporters.

In setting out new goals, we also need to look at the results of the circulation drive last fall.

We wound up achieving 76 percent of our total goal for single copies and subscriptions even after a two-week extension of the drive.

We sold about 2,500 subscriptions, 41 percent of our goal of 6,000 new readers. This was the main reason the drive as a whole fell short. Clearly we overestimated the number of subscriptions we could sell without launching a major door-to-door effort.

## Industrial sales

At the same time, socialist workers made strides forward in circulating our press at plant gates and on the job.

SWP branches reported selling an average of 957 papers per week at

plant gates and on the job. This is an increase of 36 percent above the previous drive.

Altogether, branches reported that 16.6 percent of their total single-copy sales were at plant gates and on the job. This came very close to our goal of doubling the 9.2 percent industrial sales figure from the previous drive.

Of the new subscribers signed up last fall, 21 percent described themselves as members of trade unions. Again, this came very near our goal of 25 percent for this category.

These industrial sales show how socialists are more and more able to use the *Militant* and *PM* as organizers, agitators, and educators in the labor movement. As voices for the interests of the oppressed in the big debates over what working people should do about foreign policy, the economy, and other political issues.

A further indication of this is the success so far of the six-week special subscription campaign launched in mid-December at the urging of steel-

workers in the SWP.

The drive was launched as a way of jumping into discussions in the plants after Iranian students took over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

While full results are still not at hand, branches have already sent in some 776 new subscriptions. Altogether, 21 percent of these new subscribers were members of trade unions—including fifty-five steelworkers, thirty rail workers, and twenty-two auto workers. Twelve percent said they were students.

We'll publish a final scoreboard on this special effort soon.

Given petitioning and a more realistic feel for what we can do this time, a major aim of this spring's circulation campaign is to sustain—and where possible, improve on—the progress we've made increasing our readership among industrial workers.

## 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Another key aim of the spring drive will be to maintain the progress we've made with sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*. During last fall's drive these sales doubled to an average of 707 per week.

We know from this progress that substantial interests exists whenever special *PM* sales teams are organized to go out into Spanish-speaking areas on a regular basis.

Spanish readers are especially eager to get the firsthand reports *PM* carries on the revolutionary developments in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and Washington's escalating moves against Central American freedom struggles.

A new goal in this drive will be to improve the collaboration between the YSA and the SWP in sales of the monthly *Young Socialist*.

We'll want to pay particular attention to getting the *YS* into the hands of young workers and students. The rapid sales of the February issue, which features the draft, show what can be done both in the plants and on the campuses. (For more on the *YS* sales drive, see page 6.)

During our spring drive, we'll be asking areas to report on sales of the *YS* along with those of the *Militant* and *PM* for publication in our weekly scoreboards.

We'll be organizing to make all these circulation goals at the same time we're working very hard to put the SWP candidates on the ballot.

Our victories in both the circulation and ballot drives this spring will lay a strong foundation for taking even bigger steps forward in bringing the ideas of revolutionary socialism to working people during the final lap of the 1980 presidential race next fall.

# Texans protest jailing of Iranian, Arab students

By Tom Dynia

AUSTIN, Tex.—A protest campaign has been launched here to free twenty-seven Iranian and Arab students arrested at the University of Texas. One hundred people marched in their support outside the Travis County Courthouse on February 16, after a week of solidarity rallies at the university.

The twenty-seven were arrested during a January forum at the university for Fereydoon Hoveyda, Iranian ambassador to the United Nations under the shah. Uniformed and plainclothes cops hustled the students out of the meeting room after they objected to Hoveyda being introduced as "a representative of the Iranian people." Al-

though American students also objected, none of them was arrested.

The international students were initially released, but the university announced the next day it was filing criminal charges that could result in \$1,000 fines and six months in jail. In addition it is initiating disciplinary action that could mean the students' expulsion from school and subsequent deportation.

On February 10 a defense committee for the students was formed. It organized rallies on campus all week long, ranging from 200 to 600 people.

The students had been ordered to meet with the dean of students on

February 14 or face expulsion. On their way to meet with the dean that day, fifteen of the students were rearrested and taken off to jail.

Police later rounded up more of the students, bringing the total in jail to twenty-four. The prisoners and many supporters on the outside have announced a hunger strike until they are released.

If this attack on free speech is successful, future political activities on campus will also be open to attack. The university has already announced that plainclothes cops are photographing participants in the defense rallies.

Among the groups backing the ar-

rested students are the American Civil Liberties Union, Austin Transit Union Local 1549, Coalition Against Racism and Intervention in the Middle East, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, New American Movement, Workers World Party, and Students for a Libertarian Society.

Letters and telegrams of protest should be sent to Assistant Dean of Students David McClintock, Student Services Building, P.O. Box 7849, University Station, Austin, Texas 78749; and to County Attorney Jim McNulty, Travis County Courthouse, P.O. Box 1748, Austin, Texas 78767. Send copies to the Committee to Defend the 27, P.O. Box 1044, Austin, Texas 78767.



## Campaign marked by union effort

# Canada labor party scores election success

By Stu Singer

MONTREAL—Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, scored its biggest election success ever in the February 18 federal election. The NDP won thirty-two seats and received 18.6 percent of the vote. This is an increase of five seats from the last Parliament.

The election was won by the Liberal Party, headed by Pierre Trudeau who will be the next prime minister. The Liberals won an absolute majority of seats, 148 of 281.

The NDP vote was largest in the western provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia. The number of seats remained the same in Ontario.

In Québec, where the NDP has been traditionally weak, the party vote went from 5 percent in the last election to just under 10 percent this time.

The NDP campaign had two separate elements. One was the official party campaign featuring party leader Ed Broadbent. Broadbent's speeches focused on opposition to the austerity measures of both the Liberals and the Conservatives and placed a big emphasis on Canadian nationalist rhetoric: more control by both Canadian government and business over the economy.

Key features of the campaign were defense of the nationalized oil company, Petrocan, and defense of the Medicare program.

The other part of the effort for the NDP was the "parallel campaign" organized by the Canadian Labor Congress, the union federation. The entire staff and resources of the CLC were thrown into organizing support for the NDP campaign among union members throughout the country.

This campaign involved training sessions for thousands of union stewards, distribution of millions of pieces of campaign literature on the shop floor, and innumerable organized discussions among workers about the election.

The "Cost-of-Living Calculator," a small leaflet that enabled each worker to compute the effect of inflation on his or her income for the next year, was undoubtedly the most effective piece of literature distributed in this campaign.

There was little news coverage of the CLC effort, but it was the most significant development in English Canada in this election. The Québec unions did not carry out such a parallel campaign.

In Hamilton, the steel-making center an hour's drive southwest of Toronto, I talked to unionists involved in the parallel campaign a few days before the election.

One of them was Larry Wagg, the education director of the CLC who helped organize the effort in Hamilton. The NDP won a seat there as a result of that effort.

Wagg said, "Win, lose, or draw we come out of this stronger. We have an ongoing campaign. We have located people in the unions who are interested in politics and the NDP. Finding these new people will have a significant effect on the leadership of the local unions. There was an assumption in many unions that politics should not be discussed. But we've learned that the membership may be ahead of the leadership."

The most powerful local in Hamilton is Steelworkers Local 1005 at Hilton Works of the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco). The president of the 13,000-member local is Cec Taylor.

I asked Taylor and George Gilks, the head of the local's political action committee, what they would say to American steelworkers about the need for a labor party.

Cec Taylor: "I don't think I'd say anything, to be honest with you. That's up to the Americans. I think they're crazy saying we should put our money into supporting policies of the Democrats. I think that's just nonsense. I think they should have a party of their own."

George Gilks: "We're not going to tell people across the border what they should do, but there's an important lesson to be learned by looking at what has happened here and what they have lost by not doing it there."

Taylor: "What kind of people are they supporting in the U.S.? Like the Liberals and Conservatives here, the Democrats know nothing of the conditions that we've got to work under. I'd like to find out what Jimmy Carter pays his workers."

## RWL/LOR runs candidates



Militant/Stu Singer

The Canadian sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL/LOR), ran four candidates in the February 18 election: two in Montréal, one in Toronto, and one in Vancouver. The RWL/LOR presented socialist answers to the crisis facing Canadian workers; it campaigned for the New Democratic Party in English Canada and called for the formation of a labor party in Québec. Shown above is LOR candidate André Frappier addressing an election eve rally in Montréal. The banner reads, 'For the unions to launch a labor party.'

The strength and appeal of the NDP is that it is based on the unions. The party is financed and directed primarily by the Canadian labor movement. In this, it is qualitatively different from either the Liberals and Conservatives in Canada or the Democrats and Republicans in the United States.

But the NDP campaign this time, as in the past, was weakened by its program. In contradiction to its working-class base, the NDP did not offer solutions for the immense problems facing Canadian workers.

Broadbent joined with Conservative leader Joe Clark and Trudeau in backing Carter's war threats in the Middle East—a stance that drew immense opposition from some other NDP leaders.

Nevertheless, the NDP represents a historic break with capitalist politics by the Canadian working class.

Before the election, the *Financial Post* published a survey of Canadian

business leaders. They were divided in supporting the Liberals and Conservatives but not a single one supported the NDP.

On election night, leaders of the three parties were interviewed on TV. The Liberals and Conservatives were in meeting rooms with generally well-dressed campaign supporters waving the usual campaign signs. It was indistinguishable from similar scenes in the U.S.

Broadbent's meeting was in the United Auto Workers hall in Oshawa, where there is a large General Motors plant. On the wall behind him was a sign, "UAW Local 222 supports the New Democratic Party."

The cameras panned the casually dressed crowd, obviously a majority auto workers.

Broadbent spoke, stressing the big gains for the NDP in the election. He then congratulated Trudeau for his victory. The crowd booed long and hard.

## Solidarity key to national oil workers' strike

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—Nearly 1,000 cheering, chanting, and singing oil refinery workers and their supporters gathered February 13 to express solidarity with the striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union at the Long Beach headquarters of OCAW Local 1-128. Leaders of several area unions spoke.

The solidarity action was one of several large demonstrations here in support of the strike. On February 8, 1,500 OCAW members marched outside the downtown corporate headquarters of the Atlantic Richfield Corporation.

A Los Angeles solidarity march and rally is scheduled for March 1, sponsored by a coalition of area unions that have been subjected to an intensified anti-union drive by the corporations.

"We've been on strike since January 28," said Local 1-128 Secretary-Treasurer Bill Braughton, "and we've had no meaningful negotiations at all."

Other leaders of the OCAW local told the *Militant* of goon squad tactics and other union-busting techniques being used by the oil companies.

Picketing workers are being accused of misconduct and threatened with discipline when they return to work. Union leaders have begun to face

"contempt of injunction" charges in the aftermath of mass picketing.

And to add to the hardships, strike assistance, in the form of fifty dollars per week loans made to members, have come to an end.

Nevertheless, the morale of the striking OCAW workers remains high.

"We bit the bullet last January," said Moose Creighton, a Local 1-128 strike leader, referring to the previous contract that was negotiated in compliance with the Carter guidelines. "We're not buying it this time."

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—Workers at Shell/Norco, where more than 700 members of OCAW Local 4-750 are out on strike, are keenly aware of the strikebreaking role of contracted-out labor.

In 1973, only 17 of the maintenance positions at Shell were contracted out. Today there are almost 400, and since the strike began the number has swelled to about 1,100. Only about 300 of these jobs are union.

About seventy different contractors are involved, none of the workers honoring the OCAW picket line. Building and construction trades members did honor the pickets for the first ten days of the strike. But when Shell threatened to replace their jobs by contract-

ing with Brown and Root, a notorious anti-union outfit, they worked out an agreement with local OCAW officials to return to work.

The situation is further complicated because there are twenty-one gates to the plant, each gate shared by several contractors, and it is difficult to picket them all.

Strikers report that Shell is spending two or three times its normal operating budget to keep the plant running. The company is not concerned with the small cost of a fair settlement, they say, its real goal is to break the union.

Local 4-750 members look to the recent victory of OCAW workers at the nearby American Cyanamid plant for inspiration. Almost four years ago 463 striking OCAW workers there had been locked out by the company; but after a three-and-a-half-year battle, they won back their jobs, their right to union representation, and a \$20 million settlement.

One Shell striker explained: "Their victory proves you can win. If they had lost, Shell would be trying to lock us out."

Shell workers expect a long strike. They and their fellow OCAW strikers here in New Orleans know that they took less than an adequate contract in 1979. They are determined not to accept one this time.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles pickets. Coalition plans solidarity march and rally March 1.



# U.S. socialists visit Cu

By Harry Ring

Fifty people participated in the first Socialist Workers Party Cuba Seminar. They spent five days in Havana and two in Cienfuegos.

A week isn't a long time for visiting a revolution. But fifty socialists, intent on learning all they can, can get a pretty good collective impression.

All agreed it was an inspiring experience to be in a country where the workers have abolished capitalism. A country where there are no bosses, no landlords. Where racism has been uprooted and sexism is being resolutely combatted.

The visitors also got a sense of the difficulties imposed by U.S. imperialism. What it has taken to overcome Wall Street's past plunder of the island, coupled with the hardships imposed by Washington's continuing economic blockade.

The U.S. socialists were eager to tell their co-workers and fellow unionists about the accomplishments that are possible when the working class takes power into its own hands, when society is run for human needs rather than profit. They felt that even a week in revolutionary Cuba had given them material for months of discussions that could win more American workers to socialism.

They also returned more determined than ever to campaign for U.S. recognition of Cuba and for an end to the vindictive U.S. blockade.

## Pulley campaign

Among the visitors was Andrew Pulley, the SWP presidential nominee. His presence evoked much interest among people we met. Afro-Cubans

seemed particularly enthusiastic about the idea of a Black steelworker running for president of the United States. Pulley-for-president buttons quickly became sought-after items.

There was free time built into the tour schedule and the visitors met many Cubans.

Just walking down the street, waiting for a bus or for a table at the Copelia ice cream parlor resulted in countless political discussions.

The visitors were struck by the high level of political awareness among those they met and particularly by the deep sense of internationalism.

Enthusiasm over the revolutionary victory in Nicaragua was expressed in numerous discussions.

We were surprised at the number of Cubans met at random who had recently served in Angola or other African countries, either as soldiers or technicians. One result is a significant consciousness of African liberation struggles among the Cuban people.

Some of the places we visited conveyed the history of the revolution.

The Museum of the Revolution—a grandiose marble edifice, formerly Batista's palace—houses guns, uniforms, printing presses, underground literature and photos of the heroic July 26 fighters who mobilized the Cuban people to topple his bloody dictatorship.

## Garment factory

A visit to a garment factory suggested the changes that come about when the profit system is eliminated.

The Havana shop was well lit and well ventilated. Lively music was piped in.

The factory was built in 1952. Before the revolution, it was explained, there was often only work six months of the year.

Now, if the plant has to shut down for any reason, the workers draw 70 percent of their pay. The same if they become ill. Each worker receives a one-month paid vacation each year.

A group of rail workers on the tour spent an exciting half day at the Havana rail terminal talking with their Cuban counterparts.

The Cubans were interested in learning about conditions in the U.S. railroad industry. They seemed impressed with the women rail workers in the tour group and the particular kinds of work they did.

They were appalled at safety conditions on U.S. railroads. They said they couldn't conceive of doing some of the dangerous things that U.S. rail workers are compelled to do on their jobs.

Many on the tour were particularly inspired by a visit to the literacy museum in Havana.

The museum documents the enormous early accomplishment of the Cuban revolution in a massive 1961 drive against illiteracy. In this *alfabetización* campaign thousands of young students went into the countryside to teach the many illiterate rural people to read and write.

Today Cuba is waging an ongoing campaign to ensure that every citizen will have a minimum equivalent of a sixth grade education.

## Hospital

A particularly gratifying experience was the visit to the celebrated Psychiatric Hospital in Havana.

In 1958, just prior to the revolution, the Cuban magazine *Bohemia* created a national sensation with its exposé of the conditions at the hospital, then the only mental institution in Cuba.

Today that snakepit where human beings were left to rot in agony has been totally transformed.

Walking across its open, spacious grounds, visiting the dormitories and work and recreation areas, we almost forgot we were at a hospital for the psychotic.

With rare exceptions, patients are free to move about the grounds. All except the most ill are actively involved in a range of useful work projects. The recreation, cultural, and sports program is extensive.

It was one more example of what a

socialist government can do to transform the lives of even those with the most acute problems.

The brief visit to the city of Cienfuegos offered a glimpse of Cuba's development. Once principally a resort area for the wealthy, this beautiful port city is now a key industrial center.

A modern complex has been built for the storage, loading, and shipping of Cuba's principal crop, sugar.

There is now a large cement factory in Cienfuegos, as well as Cuba's first major chemical fertilizer plant.

## Sugar mill

We visited a big local sugar mill. It was built more than a century ago, but revolutionary Cuba has modernized it.

A representative of the mill's management committee guided us. He took us to the mill's new, modern control room, with its complex of electronic panels. The centerpiece of the control room was a compact computer unit.

The computer, he proudly explained, had been built by Cubans, in Cuba.

Even those with the barest notion of what it has taken for Cuba to modernize realized how justified his pride was.

A number of workers were on lunch break and were eager to talk.

An Afro-Cuban worker told Andrew Pulley what the plant had been like before the revolution. Wages today are double what they were then and year-round work is assured. Before the revolution jobs were only four or five months a year and you had to survive as best you could for the rest.

He told Pulley how there had been a strike at the mill just before the revolution.

## The tourists

Of the fifty people on the Socialist Workers Party Cuba tour, twenty-nine were union members. Steel and rail workers—eight in each industry—made up the largest group.

Eight were members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Ages ranged from seven tourists over sixty to nine under twenty-five, with the rest averaging around thirty.

# Consumer goods

My trip to Cuba with the SWP seminar was my third visit to the island. I was there for two weeks in 1960, and for three months in 1968.

While this visit was very brief, I was able to make some comparison between the economic situation in 1968 and today.

I found that while there are still serious problems resulting from the U.S. economic blockade, the legacy of colonial exploitation, and the world economic crisis, significant improvements have occurred.

In 1968 there was severe scarcity.

The economic blockade imposed by Washington in 1960 had taken a heavy toll. And, since decades of domination by U.S. corporations had distorted the island's economy, Cuba was still compelled to import a good part of its food as well as other consumer goods.

Today Cuba grows most of its own food and manufactures a large part of its consumer goods.

In 1968, there were two restrictions on foreign photographers. One was on taking pictures of military personnel or installations. The other was store windows.

The windows were so pitifully empty that hostile foreign journalists had been snapping pictures of them to show how the Cuban people were "starving."

Today there's no restriction on photographing shop windows, and there is merchandise to photograph.

In Cienfuegos, a city of 90,000, I walked into a small department store off the central plaza.

Available there were men's and women's clothing, dishware, glassware, cutlery, heavy aluminum pots and pans, cast iron paella pans, tin egg pans, pressure cookers, fluorescent light bulbs, phonograph records, and cassette players.

A bookstore in the area was busy and well stocked. It included political and nonpolitical books and a special section of children's books. (Outside of

college towns, I can't think of a comparable U.S. city I've seen with as big or busy a bookstore.)

Books are impressively inexpensive.

The store had a supply of a nine-volume edition of the writings and speeches of Che Guevara. It sold for two pesos, seventy centavos (\$3.65).

Bookstores in Havana were similarly well stocked and equally busy.

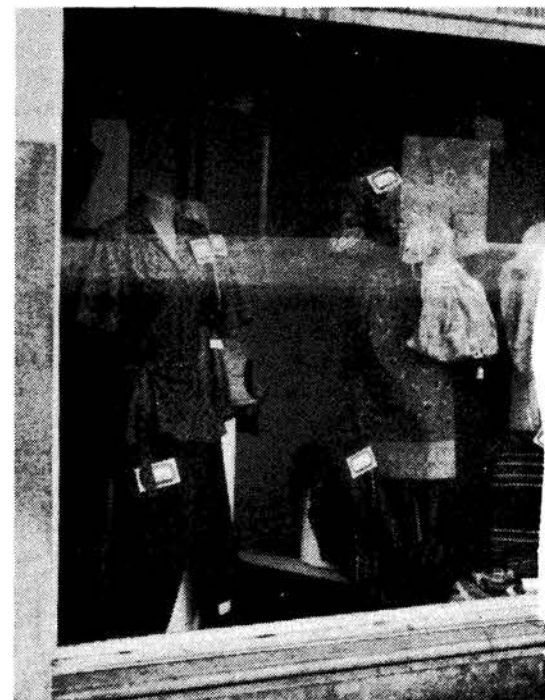
In 1968, because of the paper shortage, even something as important as the works of Che would, of necessity, have been published only in a small edition.

In another big advance, a majority of Cubans—some 70 percent in Havana—now have television.

The large-screen black and white sets are made in the Soviet Union and assembled in Cuba. They cost about \$650.



SWP presidential nominee Andrew Pulley gives greetings to guests, patients, and staff members at Psychiatric Hospital of Havana. He vowed to use his campaign to bring Cuban example before U.S. workers.



During worst of Cuban scarcity, store window in Cienfuegos indicates the in today.



# iba

ie shutdown occurred when a com-  
y guard fired on a Black worker.  
strike was broken when police  
e in and savagely beat the work-

uch a thing, the mill worker as-  
d Pulley, "would not be imaginable  
Cuba today."

## neer camp

efore leaving Cienfuegos we drove  
the countryside to visit the area's  
neer camp.

ie Pioneers are the movement of  
revolution embracing children  
the ages of six to fourteen. Virtu-  
all Cuban children have joined up.

ie camp, one of a number through-  
the country, was situated by a  
h at the foot of the Escambray  
ntains.

ith a capacity of up to 4,000 it has  
ern dormitories, extensive recrea-  
al and sports facilities, and a  
ol complex.

ome children come for a straight  
day vacation. Others come with  
r entire school and spend two  
ks in their classes in these beauti-  
surroundings, with such added  
ures as swimming, boating, and  
ping trips in the mountains.

a the course of a year, some 20,000  
dren are able to spend time at this  
camp. It's all free.

illboards in Cuba proclaim that the  
re of the revolution depends on its  
th. People will tell you, with satisfac-  
tion, that children are the only  
vileged class" in Cuba.

ust seeing that one camp was suffi-  
t to confirm that this is no empty  
oric.

# more plentiful

hat may sound high. But Cubans  
e full employment. Their rent is  
six to ten percent of their income.  
ical care is free, bus transportation  
ckel, and all levels of Cuban educa-  
are totally free. So most Cubans  
put together the price of a TV.

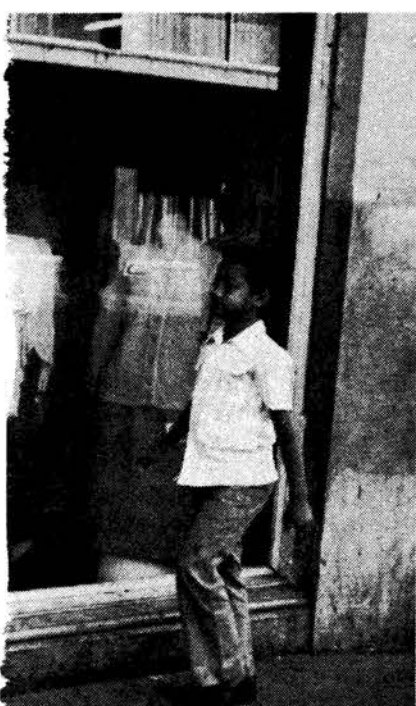
ere are today serious complaints  
at consumer goods. But, in contrast  
968, the complaints are about qual-  
not quantity. Cuba, for example, is  
making its own shoes instead of  
orting them. Many are not as good  
hey should be.

ood rationing is still severe but  
surably improved.

gs are unrationed and generally  
tiful.

ruits and vegetables and fish are  
ationed and available in varying  
ntities.

ach child under seven receives a  
of milk a day, as do old people.



Militant/Harry Ring

vere literally empty. This clothing  
sed availability of consumer goods



Militant/Harry Ring

Retired school teacher Harry Fruit (seated) took breather during Cuba tour and found himself in impromptu math session with Cienfuegos students.

# What a revolution can do

Participants in the Socialist Workers  
Party Cuba tour gained a host of  
impressions from the Cubans they met.

Some of these were recounted in brief  
interviews during the course of the  
tour.

Joey Rothenberg, a Baltimore steel-  
worker, described an experience she  
had at a local Havana office of the  
principal mass Cuban organization,  
the Committees for the Defense of the  
Revolution (CDR), which are organized  
on a block-by-block basis.

She ducked into one to get out of the

rain. In the office was a woman of  
about fifty-five. She was a veteran  
revolutionary. Before the overthrow of  
Batista she had belonged to the old  
Cuban Popular Socialist [Communist]  
Party.

Prior to the revolution, she ex-  
plained, she had been unable to read or  
write. Now she is taking classes as  
part of the "battle for the sixth grade."

Meanwhile, she is working in televi-  
sion, both in direction and acting.

She emphasized that the Cuban peo-  
ple are ready to die for their revolution.

\* \* \*

Mimi Pichey, a Minneapolis auto  
worker, had previously travelled in  
North Africa and found the differences  
with Cuba striking.

In Cuba, she observed, there is not a  
big contrast in physical appearance  
between people in the cities and the  
countryside.

"People seem healthy," she added.  
"You don't see the number of very  
overweight or very thin people you see  
in other underdeveloped countries as a  
result of the malnutrition."

"In Tunisia," she added, "it seemed  
like every other person was maimed—  
missing an arm, a leg. Many people  
you see are on crutches."

"In Cuba," she said, "I haven't seen  
any of that."

\* \* \*

Andrew Pulley, who has visited In-  
dia, seemed especially impressed by  
what he saw of the Cuban countryside.

"You can see from the bus," he said,  
"that most people have TV. That's a  
big thing. It takes people who have  
been isolated and raises their cultural  
level. It makes them more a part of the  
revolution."

"You can really see the changes best  
in the countryside," he continued. "The  
policy of making things like TV, refrig-  
erators, gas stoves, available there  
first."

Recalling his own youth in rural  
Mississippi, Pulley said, "I can tell you  
there's a lot of rural areas of the U.S.  
of A. that haven't caught up with rural  
Cuba."

Pulley noticed a lot about urban  
Cuba as well.

Talking about Havana, he shook his  
head in near disbelief. "There's no filth  
anywhere," he said. "The kids are neat  
and clean, no torn clothes. There's no  
dead animals in the streets, no beg-  
gars, no winos."

"Just compare Havana to New  
York," he said.

\* \* \*

Harry and Ethel Fruit are the par-  
ents of two SWPers, Rachele and Ed-

win. They joined them on the trip.  
Personal mishaps gave them a glimpse  
of Cuba's system of socialized medi-  
cine.

Rachele Fruit twisted her ankle and  
was treated by the hotel doctor.

He gave her good care, she said, and  
they joked about how much that free  
medical service would have set her  
back in New York.

Harry Fruit came down with the flu.  
Because he had chills and fever, he  
was taken to a nearby polyclinic.  
There the doctors prescribed an antibi-  
otic, aspirin, and multivitamins.

Ed Fruit, who accompanied his fa-  
ther, was particularly impressed with  
the prescription for multivitamins. "I  
never heard of a U.S. doctor doing  
that," he said.

It was explained to them that while  
the hospital service was free, they  
would have to pay to have the prescrip-  
tion filled at a drug store. And, they  
were cautioned, it would, unfortu-  
nately, be quite expensive.

"It was two dozen tetracyclin pills,  
twenty multivitamins, and a week's  
supply of aspirin," Fruit recalled. "The  
whole thing cost under five pesos  
[\$6.57]. And that's in a country that  
has to import all these things. It gives  
you an idea of the profit in private  
medicines."

\* \* \*

In Cienfuegos, Martin Koppel, a  
Baltimore steelworker, got into a con-  
versation with three hotel mainte-  
nance workers. He asked them what  
were the biggest changes since the  
revolution. An older Black man replied  
immediately, the elimination of ra-  
cism. Segregation, he said, simply did  
not exist any more.

He added that he had learned to read  
and write since the revolution and  
pointed to Cuba's free educational and  
medical systems.

He had averaged six months work a  
year before the revolution, he said, and  
now he was assured of work the year  
round.

"Even if I get sick for twenty years,"  
he boasted, "I still get 70 percent of my  
pay."

"We consider this," he emphasized,  
"a right of every worker."

\* \* \*

George Sayad, a San Francisco rail  
worker, described a conversation with  
the head of a local CDR.

He was very political, Sayad said,  
and obviously a firm supporter of the  
revolution.

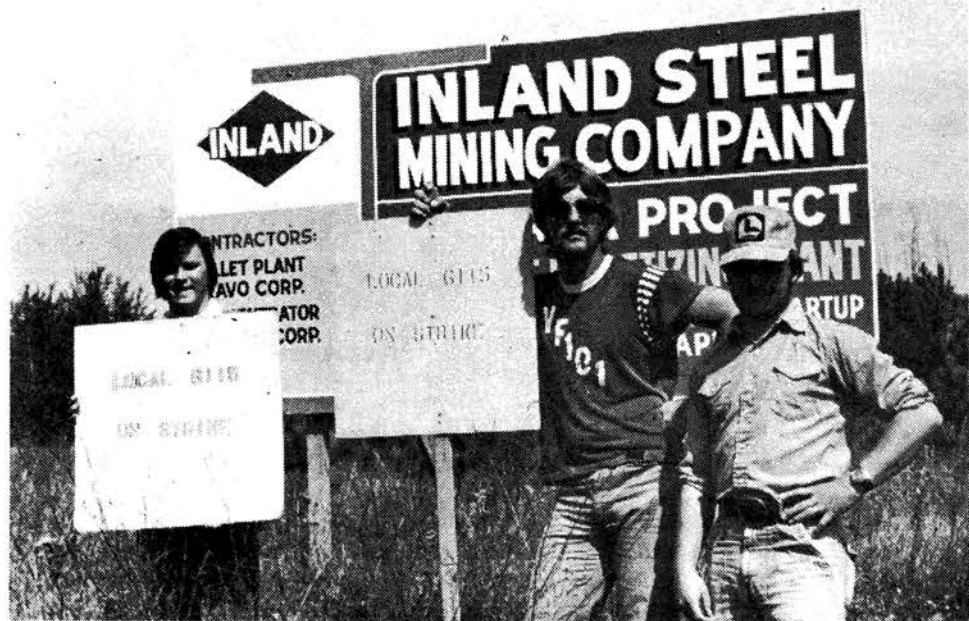
A Black man in his late thirties, the  
CDR leader told Sayad he was an M.D.

At the time the revolution came to  
power, he added, he was in his late  
teens and working in Havana as a  
street sweeper.

—H.R.



# Steel bosses take aim at local issue strikes



Miners on Iron Range in northern Minnesota conducted local issues strike in 1977 to win incentive pay. Now Inland threatens mass layoffs when contract expires.

By Stu Singer

Workplace safety. Schedules. Conditions on the job. Company violations of contract provisions.

These are some of the important problems facing steelworkers that are taken up, in the negotiations for the new basic steel contract, under the category of "local issues." Any one plant may have hundreds of such issues up for bargaining.

*Steellabor*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers union, recently printed a summary of key dates in the 1980 negotiations. The basic steel contract, covering 357,400 union members at nine companies, expires July 31.

Negotiations on the national contract issues—such as wages, cost-of-living provisions, and pensions—are supposed to be resolved by April 14. If not, the disputed issues are submitted to an arbitration panel. Under the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" first signed in 1973, there can be no strike over these national issues. And union members have no vote on the national contract terms.

A new twist, added since 1977, is that March 14 is the "Deadline for submission of local issue definition disputes to co-chairmen of Joint Top Negotiating Committee."

The co-chairmen are USWA President Lloyd McBride and U.S. Steel Vice-president J. Bruce Johnston. If they cannot resolve such disputes, the issues go to an "Impartial Arbitration Panel" by March 24.

This new panel won't settle the local issue; it will rule on *whether it is a local issue*. (The companies often stonewall on discussing important local issues by claiming they are national, not local, in scope.)

If the panel says an issue is local, the local union involved can strike over it after August 1—subject to McBride's approval. In many locals the members vote on local issue settlements, as a package, but this right is not guaranteed.

If the arbitrators say an issue is not local, then it may be settled in the national talks. Or it may not. The issue may just remain in limbo. And without the threat of even a local strike, the company will feel little or no pressure to come to terms.

Why all the red tape over local issues? The answer was indicated at the "sound off" meeting of company and union negotiators February 5-6. According to the February 7 Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, U.S. Steel's Johnston "criticized the union for using local issues to pressure industry-wide negotiations. 'If you play games with

local issues, you will jeopardize what has been a vehicle for very rich contract settlements.'"

The so-called "games" Johnston is unhappy about concern the four-and-a-half-month strike in 1977 by iron ore miners in northern Michigan and northern Minnesota.

The miners are covered under the basic steel agreement but were excluded from incentive pay. This meant lower take-home pay. The strike was conducted as a local issues strike.

The steel companies never expected union locals to get together and actually conduct a united strike. They refused for months to negotiate with the unions and challenged the strike in court as illegal.

But a federal judge in Pittsburgh ruled in favor of the union, at the same time advising the companies to tighten up the Experimental Negotiating Agreement provisions to prevent a future strike of this kind.

Through their strike the iron ore miners won incentive coverage plus many demands they raised concerning health, safety, and conditions. The miners are the only group of steelworkers under the basic steel contract who won significant improvements above the national terms.

The companies were stung. They want to make sure that even the limited right to strike over local issues cannot be used to produce more such union victories.

Another indication of this was Inland Steel's announcement that its Minneca mine in Virginia, Minnesota, will be shut down for two months starting August 3. Some 400 of the 570 employees will be laid off.

The company blames the business slowdown and claims there is a surplus of iron ore pellets.

Linus Wampler, USWA District 33 director, responded: "This is another attempt by the steel barons to weaken negotiations on the new contract. If they're going to shut down, why not now?"

"Evidently the company is trying to put us in a position where if everybody else strikes, we won't. None of the other companies have tried this yet, but they might. What we'll do in that case is we'll ask the international president for authority to delay the strike until, say, the first of December, or something like that."

The miners at Inland stayed out the longest in the 1977 strike. The August shutdown fits right into the steel industry strategy to prevent effective local issues strikes in 1980.

# Ambridge: 'We are fighting for the union'

By Etta Ettlinger

GARY—Last November U.S. Steel gave an ultimatum to workers at its three American Bridge plants: accept a three-year wage freeze, a twenty-five cents a year maximum on cost-of-living raises, and withdraw from the basic steel contract—or else the plants will be shut down.

In mid-November union members at the three plants voted by large majorities to reject the company blackmail.

U.S. Steel then announced it would close both the Ambridge and Schiffler plants near Pittsburgh but leave Gary open.

In late December workers at the Pittsburgh-area plants voted again. Under intense pressure and convinced the company threat was real, they accepted the takebacks.

Management then reversed itself: the Pennsylvania plants would stay open and Gary would be closed.

At a regular union meeting on January 13, United Steelworkers Local 1117 at American Bridge in Gary again rejected the company proposal.

Joseph Palmowski, president of the local, told the *Militant*: "We took a stand and feel we should stick by our guns. The company wants to give us a few crumbs like a bunch of dogs."

Palmowski indicated he only heard one or two nay votes out of 250 at the January 13 meeting.

Bernell Sampson, a welder in the Gary plant, said: "Regardless of which way we vote, they are going to close it down. They had this planned. They didn't decide to do it overnight."

"If we're foolish enough to accept their offer, they are going to phase out our plant anyway. If we don't accept it, they'll say, 'workers had a chance to save their jobs and they didn't, so there is nothing we can do.'"

"They make us the villains. They aren't concerned about our jobs."

Gary workers we talked with expressed some willingness to negotiate with the company. They indicated the wage freeze might be accepted if they could remain under the bargaining protection of the basic steel contract. This was rejected by the company.

American Bridge constructs girders and beams for buildings and bridges. The 600-member local is about half Black with about 75 women members.

The January 14 Gary *Post-Tribune* cited Palmowski as estimating that close to 70 percent of the members of Local 1117 have more than twenty years of service and would be eligible for early pensions if the plant is closed.

This was undoubtedly an important factor in the union refusing to cave in to the company pressure.

Management says that American Bridge workers make \$3.50 to \$5.00 more an hour than other steel fabricating shop employees in the area. People we spoke with were quick to point out that many of the other shops are not unionized.

"This is the beginning of a drive against organized labor across the country," said Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff. "It's the opening shot, there's more to come."

Cornell Smith, Local 1117 vice-president, agreed. "We are fighting for the union here. If U.S. Steel gets away with it here, then they can in other places too."

So far the company has not set a definite time for closing the Gary plant. In fact, local president Palmowski reported the company so far is refusing to discuss the closing date with the union. So the work goes on day to day.

# USWA wins hard-fought election at Hussman

By Marty Anderson

ST. LOUIS—Workers at the Hussman Refrigeration Company plant here voted last month by a margin of more than two-to-one to join the United Steelworkers of America, opening a new chapter in the thirty-one-month-old battle between the union and the company.

"This is a great victory for the whole labor movement in St. Louis," said Buddy Davis, District 34 director for the Steelworkers.

In May 1977 the USWA local at Hussman went on strike demanding higher wages and enforcement of the seniority system in job assignments. The company responded by hiring 1,000 non-union workers, with no contract whatsoever to replace the strikers.

In February 1978 USWA District 34 initiated a drive to reorganize the plant, but it was narrowly defeated in the first round. On December 20, 1978, Hussman workers voted 389 for the Steelworkers union and 376 for no union, but the company-owned "Congress of Independent Unions" got 203 votes, causing a subsequent run-off. On January 12, 1979, the vote went against the Steelworkers 510-464.

For the first time in twenty months, USWA picket lines at Hussman came down, and a national consumer boycott against Pet, Incorporated, Huss-

mann's parent company, was suspended.

But the battle wasn't over. The USWA organizing drive at Hussmann picked up steam during the following year as workers became more and more disillusioned with the "benefits" of being non-union.

"The company sold them a bill of goods a year ago," Davis explained. "They said they'd take care of them, treat them properly. [Workers] were scared about their jobs."

"The company did not do all those great things they promised. They even took away benefits the last three months. The company showed they didn't know how to treat people."

Hussmann workers I talked to explained that without a union they had no rights whatsoever. They were helpless to fight company attacks, and after a while they simply got fed up.

When the final tally came in January 25, it was Steelworkers 726, no union 305.

As one USWA official commented, "We look at this as having made labor history today. It is comparable to the defeat of the 'right-to-work' amendment in Missouri."

But Hussman workers are not resting on their laurels. The battle continues now to force the company to rehire all the former strikers (600 have been rehired so far) and to meet pressing contract demands. This will not be easy.

The entire labor movement in St. Louis needs to close ranks behind the Steelworkers at Hussman to make the victory there complete.

Marty Anderson is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1062 at American Steel Foundries in Granite City, Illinois.



By Frank Lovell

(second of a series)

George Meany was so prominently identified with U.S. foreign policy and the CIA-union connection that it appeared to many that this was his distinguishing feature during nearly three decades as AFL-CIO president.

But Meany was not essentially different from most other top union officials—only more enthusiastic and persistent in his wooing of government spy agencies.

If he had any claim to leadership, it would surely be in this field.

The rewards were prestige, influence, and easy access to the highest government officials. His close association with every U.S. president from Truman to Carter was a result of his working relationship with government spy agencies.

Meany's involvement in covert activities dated from World War II. In 1939 he had been picked to become secretary-treasurer of the AFL. As the most active labor lobbyist in Washington, Meany quickly sensed that the way to win concessions for his AFL constituents was to get in with the war mongers.

He was one of the original "cold warriors" before the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance ended. His biographer, Joseph C. Goulden, describes Meany's "unflinching anticommunism" as the opposite side of trade union loyalty.

"A nation is not free unless its trade unions are free—such is Meany's litmus test, and Communist regimes fail it," wrote Goulden.

There was, of course, another more important dimension to Meany's anticommunism. It was a way of embracing the so-called free enterprise system and demonstrating to the employing class a loyal commitment to labor-management collaboration.

Meany was familiar with and helped influence the outcome of military coups engineered in Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Chile, and other countries.

In 1953, after the Arbenz government of Guatemala announced a land reform program to nationalize vast holdings of the United Fruit Company, Meany decided to "help" the workers of Guatemala by establishing in their country the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala.

This "union" was under the direction of Serafino

Latin American labor movement." In other words, Kennedy was afraid the working class revolution would spread, and sought help from domesticated labor officials in this country to prevent it.

In the eyes of the American ruling class, George Meany embodied "the talents and experience of the U.S. labor movement." So, in addition to being AFL-CIO president, Meany was chosen to be AIFLD president.

The AIFLD is a so-called labor-management partnership . . . under government control. Its board of directors includes J. Peter Grace (with vast holdings in Latin America), the Rockefellers, Charles Binckerhoff of Anaconda Copper, and Juan Trippe of Pan American Airways.

Grace, speaking for the "partnership" in 1965, announced AIFLD's policy of "cooperation between labor and management and an end to the class struggle." He also urged unions "to help increase their company's business . . . prevent communist infiltration, and where it already exists to get rid of it."

After Meany died last month, Grace wrote a letter to the *New York Times* praising the "Latin labors" of the AFL-CIO president and his role in AIFLD. He claims Meany was the "founder" of AIFLD, "which he conceived on a visit to South America in 1962." This is the cover story.

The truth is Meany had little or nothing to do with founding AIFLD. It was conceived and instituted by the Kennedy administration, the CIA, and U.S. investors in Latin America. Meany was in on the scheme from the beginning, but only as a willing tool. He expected to gain political recognition for his services and in this way insure some measure of protection for the union movement in this country.

Meany got political recognition.

The union movement got nothing.

Grace revealed that "in the 18 years since its [AIFLD's] foundation, more than 350,000 labor leaders and union members in Latin America and the Caribbean countries have received training in its classes. More than 3,000 were brought to the United States and given their training as resident students at the institute's facilities in this country."

Many of them graduated right into the CIA.

In Chile, AIFLD-trained people were accomplices in the 1973 military coup that installed the bloody dictator General Augusto Pinochet and destroyed the elected government of Salvador Allende.

During the U.S. war in Vietnam, which Meany unashamedly supported right up to the end, there were frequent reports of "free" unions in South Vietnam. The leader of these so-called unions was a sinister figure named Tran-Quoc Buu, who made several trips to this country for propaganda purposes.

Buu was a great favorite of Meany and had the support of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute.

### Meany and Reuther

In 1955, the old AFL had merged with the CIO, headed by Walter Reuther from the United Auto Workers. But a decade later, Reuther began to publicly disassociate himself and the auto union from Meany's reactionary public stands.

By this time the collaboration between Meany's foreign minister, Jay Lovestone, and the CIA was scandalous. The issues Reuther chose, which led to the UAW walking out of the AFL-CIO in 1968, included CIA involvement and the Vietnam War.

There was little difference on the record between the two top AFL-CIO officials on these issues. But Reuther sought a more progressive image.

In 1966 the UAW convention adopted a foreign policy resolution urging U.S. trade with China and the countries of East Europe. This was contrary to positions taken by Meany and the AFL-CIO executive council.

Victor Reuther, director of the UAW's international affairs department and Walter Reuther's brother, told reporters that "the AFL-CIO and some of its affiliates have permitted themselves to be used by the CIA as cover for clandestine operations abroad."

Victor Reuther later went on a speaking tour to explain how the labor movement, under false AFL-CIO policies, was being used by the CIA.

Meany was not alone in this sinister business. Representatives of nearly every major union had been sent abroad to work with the CIA, disguised as "union advisors" to the workers of other countries.

They helped impose puppet dictatorships in Latin America and Asia, and aided in stamping out all democratic rights—especially the right of workers to organize their own unions.

It is part of a political strategy still very much in vogue that looks to government officials—Democratic and Republican politicians—rather than to union members. Meany as a symbol of subservience to these two parties of big business will be the subject of our next article.

# George Meany

## The CIA connection



In 1940 the war was in full swing in Europe, and Roosevelt's "New Deal" had become the "War Deal."

After Pearl Harbor, at the end of 1941, Meany became the AFL expert on foreign affairs. This meant he ingratiated himself with the State Department and the military establishment.

The AFL served the Office of Strategic Services (later the CIA) and Meany took complete charge of these subversive activities. He established a "foreign affairs" department in the AFL, and at the 1944 convention created a Free Trade Union Committee as the AFL's foreign operations agency. This outfit conspired with government intelligence agents abroad and at home.

### Orders came from CIA

In the field of foreign affairs, Meany did not take his orders from the union bureaucracy; he only made sure that there would be no serious opposition from that quarter.

This does not mean that Meany was making any decisions. He was doing what the ruling class dictated, and his orders came through the State Department or directly from the CIA. When inter-agency tactical differences developed, Meany usually echoed the most chauvinistic, reactionary opinion.

At the end of World War II, he undertook to influence the post-war union movement that was emerging in the countries of war-torn Europe, especially in Italy and France where there were strong Communist parties.

Romualdi, the AFL representative in Latin America. It was financed by the CIA.

The Arbenz government was overthrown in 1954 by a CIA-financed "liberation army" led by Castillo Armas, who promptly established a military dictatorship, banned all unions, and returned all nationalized property to the United Fruit Company.

This was before the merger of the AFL and CIO. Top officials of the CIO also "helped" the workers of Guatemala at that time. But they quickly recognized that the whole venture was a thinly disguised military move by the Eisenhower administration. It was intended "to give aid and comfort to the United Fruit Company," O.A. Knight, then president of the Oil Workers Union, reported to the CIO executive board.

There was never any indication that Meany gave the matter a second thought. He was committed to supporting Washington's foreign policy, and for him that was never in question.

Separate front organizations under AFL-CIO sponsorship were set up for different parts of the colonial world—the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), the African-American Labor Center (AALC), and the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

### 'Danger of Castro'

The AIFLD was founded in 1961, the result of U.S. failure to overthrow the revolutionary Castro government in Cuba. The Kennedy administration was in need of an agency that would guard against "the danger that Castro . . . might undermine the



# Appeals panel hears Marroquin asylum case

By Roger Rudenstein

On February 25 Héctor Marroquín's attorneys will go before the Board of Immigration Appeals to argue his case for political asylum.

Marroquín is appealing the ruling of an immigration judge who ordered him deported to Mexico last April.

"The government is trying to deport Marroquín because he's a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance," said Margaret Winter, one of Marroquín's attorneys. "The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has refused to fairly consider the evidence for asylum because of its hostility to his political views."

Marroquín was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 after police accused him of "terrorism" and "subversion." The INS has ignored voluminous evidence proving that Marroquín was framed up because of his socialist beliefs. They have also ignored expert testimony that Marroquín's life would be in grave danger if he were returned to Mexico.

In his decision, immigration judge James Smith criticized Marroquín's socialist affiliation and hinted that he should seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba."

In papers filed with the appeals board, the INS made it even clearer that Marroquín's views are on trial. They wrote that the immigration service has the right to "exclude" Marroquín because he is "an avowed Marxist."



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

"That's not true," commented Margaret Winter. "The U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech to all—citizens and non-citizens alike. The INS's position is an attack on the rights of trade unionists, Black and Latino activists, women's rights fighters—on anyone who may wish to speak out on public policy."

Winter pointed out that FBI documents, obtained through the SWP and YSA's \$40 million lawsuit against government spying, show that the INS and FBI joined together in a disruption program aimed at deporting SWP

members. Recently, the FBI admitted that it holds 30,000 documents relating to this program.

"But the government is stalling about releasing these documents," Winter said. "They are afraid that the American people will learn the truth about their efforts to punish socialists because of their beliefs."

"We demand that these documents and all other materials about this illegal program be turned over now."

The other side of the government's case against Marroquín—that he faces no danger in Mexico—is false to the core.

Expert witnesses testifying at Marroquín's deportation hearing explained that, despite an amnesty law passed in 1978, the Mexican police continue to use torture to force political prisoners to sign false confessions. Over 700 people have been picked up by a government-run secret police group—the White Brigade—and tortured, held in secret jails, or killed.

Ignoring the evidence, the INS has insisted that Marroquín has nothing to fear since his name appeared on a federal amnesty list.

An article appearing in the leading Mexico City daily *Excelsior* on January 24 exposed this argument as a sham. Written by *Excelsior's* Washington correspondent Fausto Fernández Ponte, the article is headlined, "U.S., at request of Mexico, seeks 352 accused of political crimes." It states that the

U.S. government has agreed to track down fugitives from Mexican "justice" in this country.

The fugitives are described as "elements who belong to subversive groups." Among the 352 on the list is Héctor Marroquín.

This new evidence refutes the INS's argument that Marroquín is out of danger because he was amnestied.

The article shows that Marroquín, although cleared of federal charges, is still wanted by state authorities. It was the state police of Nuevo León who framed Marroquín in the first place and who continued to falsely accuse him of crimes—even while he was living in the United States.

"The amnesty is a complete fake," Margaret Winter stated, "and the INS knows it. They don't have a leg to stand on now when they claim that Marroquín would be safe in Mexico."

"This is further proof that the government's real aim is to persecute him for his socialist beliefs."

Now the government has officially agreed to put Marroquín and other frameup victims into the hands of the Mexican regime's torturers and killers. The Carter administration is aiding and abetting repression in Mexico, and, at the same time, trying to deal a blow to the right of free speech in the United States.

This makes winning asylum for Héctor Marroquín more important than ever.

## Victims testify on repression in Mexico

By Gina March

Héctor Marroquín has good reason to fear for his life should he be deported to Mexico. Testimony by recently released "disappeared" persons exposes the Mexican government's illegal kidnappings, torture, and assassinations of political activists.

"Disappeared" refers to those who are arrested and held incommunicado by the White Brigade, a para-military secret police group directed by the government.

The willingness of these victims to speak out—despite the threat of reprisals—is an indication of the growing opposition to the regime's repressive acts.

"These testimonies are a constant thorn in the side of the government, which stubbornly refuses to admit the existence of at least 700 known 'disap-

peared' prisoners," said Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, a human rights activist in Mexico. "The regime denies its complicity with the murderous secret police, despite documented evidence to the contrary."

Piedra is a leader of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled. She was in New York on February 7 to speak on a panel organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the PEN American Center, a writers group.

Piedra told the *Militant* that seventeen "disappeared" persons have been released by the government since last August—a record. She stressed that "each time the government released the 'disappeared' it was in direct re-

sponse to pressure from the Mexican people."

Last December 10, on International Human Rights Day, 20,000 people rallied in Mexico City to demand the presentation of the "disappeared" and a general amnesty for political prisoners. The action was followed by the formation of a national coalition against repression and for the abolition of torture. The coalition of sixty-seven organizations unites trade union, peasant, and student groups as well as most of the parties on the left.

Piedra released several statements of persons who had been "disappeared" by the government. One was Domingo Estrada Ramírez, who was freed on December 15 after being held for four months.

Estrada tells of his capture, imprisonment in an "underground, clandestine

jail," countless interrogations and tortures. He witnessed similar treatment against other prisoners.

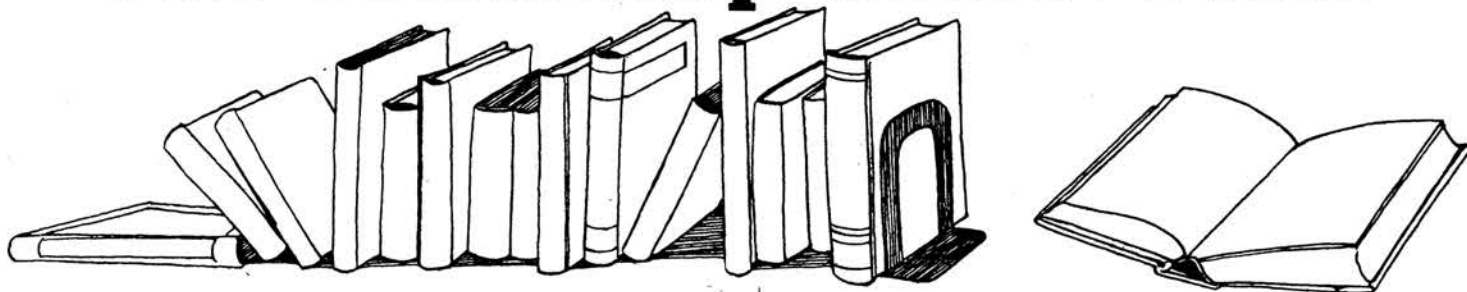
"I was told by the judicial police that 'as long as you refuse to sign a confession we cannot bring you before any officials and you will remain disappeared,'" Estrada wrote.

Estrada and eleven other "disappeared" persons were released three days after the meeting at which the coalition against repression was formed.

"It's no coincidence that this happened," commented Rosario Piedra. "The government feels enormous pressure from the united strength of the people shown by the recent demonstrations."

The coalition plans to organize demonstrations in the spring to keep the pressure growing.

## SWP Leadership School Fund



"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." V.I. Lenin

The Denver branch of the Socialist Workers Party writes: "The first contribution raised in Denver for the Leadership School Fund was \$10 from a prisoner in the Federal Correctional Institution in Englewood, Colorado."

"He is about to be released after four years' imprisonment. He could easily relate to this project, which was first conceived of by imprisoned SWP leaders."

"He himself is an active reader and has been following politics in the *Militant*."

Many revolutionaries have turned prison into a place of study: Trotsky, Eugene Debs, Malcolm

X, Fidel Castro, and others.

The SWP, recognizing the importance of full-time study, has taken the step of setting up the SWP Leadership School. Beginning March 1, it will free SWP leaders from their daily responsibilities for five-month sessions of Marxist study.

The \$50,000 fund to launch the school took a big step forward this week. A fund-raising event in Detroit raised over \$800 in pledges; and in Los Angeles supporters of the school pledged \$3,500. The fund now stands at \$31,600!

The fund drive ends March 31. Please fill out the coupon and contribute all you can.

I want to contribute:

—\$1,000 —\$500 —\$200 —\$100  
—\$50 —\$10 —other \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:

SWP Leadership School Fund

Mail to:

SWP Leadership School Fund,  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

## By Ernest Harsch

The April 27, 1978, insurrection in Kabul, which overthrew the regime of President Mohammad Daud, was a momentous event in Afghan history.

Suddenly, all the social tensions that had been building up within Afghanistan burst through to the surface. A social revolution was set in motion—in one of the most impoverished and economically underdeveloped countries in the world.

Afghanistan on the eve of the revolution was a country beset by severe social problems. Its nearly 20 million inhabitants were burdened with extreme poverty, rampant disease, high unemployment, and glaring inequalities.

The expectations of change that had been aroused among the Afghan masses by Daud's overthrow of the monarchy in 1973 had evaporated.

tanjar, both party members, led the armed uprising against the Daud regime. The tank regiments and air force were quickly brought under their command. Meanwhile, large crowds organized by the PDPA gathered at the central park in Kabul to protest against the regime.

By 5:00 p.m., insurgent tank units reached the central prison where Taraki, Amin, and other leaders had been taken; they knocked down the walls and freed the prisoners.

As the party leaders were taken in an armored car to Radio Afghanistan, now the headquarters of the insurrection, thousands of persons lined the streets to cheer them on.

In cities and garrisons around the country, party members and supporters within the military arrested all the generals and seized control of their areas.

At 7:00 p.m., the PDPA went on the

tatives of those classes were brought into the government.

Since the PDPA had been forced to operate underground during the previous years, many of its leaders were still relatively unknown to the population in general. Its base of support was limited, concentrated in some of the major urban areas. Yet the party's overthrow of Daud was tremendously popular.

In a dispatch from Kabul in the May 6, 1978, *New York Times*, correspondent William Borders reported:

Soldiers who distributed the Government newspaper from army buses were besieged at every corner by crowds of eager buyers. Even people who are illiterate—as nine out of ten Afghans are—seemed eager to study the photographs, which showed the extensive damage done during the coup and scenes of "citizens welcoming the elimination of the despotic sultanate" of President Daud.

and national revolution" led by the PDPA.

He outlined a thirty-point program calling for agrarian reform, the abolition of feudal property relations in the countryside, the granting of national rights to Afghanistan's various national minorities, universal primary education, and equality between men and women.

In the early days of the revolution in particular, Taraki and the other party leaders avoided calling themselves "Communists" or Marxists.<sup>2</sup>

However, in an interview over Cuban television, Deputy Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin, who was also serving as foreign minister at the time, stated that the process under way in Afghanistan was "a revolution that heralds a socialist revolution" (English-language weekly *Granma*, June 4, 1978). Over time, the PDPA was increasingly referred to as "the vanguard of the working class."

Taraki declared repeatedly in speeches and statements, "The goal of our revolution is a total break with our feudal past. We aim for the elimination of poverty, adversity and class exploitation, and the uplifting of the Afghan people."

The opening of the Afghan revolution spread alarm in reactionary circles far and wide. Immediately after the April insurrection, the Iranian and Pakistani regimes closed their borders with Afghanistan and placed their armies on alert.

In the United States, more than 270 top generals, admirals, diplomats, officials, and others hastily gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command in Annapolis, Maryland, in late June to discuss the Afghan upheaval. Their conclusion? Imperialist interests in the region were seriously threatened.

While feelers were put out to possible counterrevolutionary Afghan allies, a propaganda campaign against Afghanistan was launched in the imperialist press. A common theme of that campaign was to portray the April insurrection as a "Soviet-engineered" coup.

Although the leaders of the PDPA had been educated in Stalinist politics and looked to Moscow for support, there is no sign that the Kremlin itself had a hand in Daud's overthrow, approved of it, or even knew about it in advance.

An American State Department official later admitted, "We have no evi-

*Continued on next page*

## How the Afghan Revolution unfolded



After five years of empty promises, stepped-up repression, and growing imperialist dominance, disillusionment with his regime was rife.

### PDPA gains support

Under the influence of this sharpening discontent—and the repressive blows of the Daud regime—the two major factions of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a pro-Moscow Stalinist current, reunited in July 1977. Babrak Karmal's Parcham (Flag) faction, which had previously supported Daud, now joined with Noor Mohammad Taraki's Khalq (Masses) wing to oppose the government and its policies.

The party's influence grew. Its clandestine political work within the armed forces brought it new recruits among troops and officers alike.

The PDPA members within the military had already begun mapping out plans for a possible insurrection as early as 1976. But according to Taraki, the party waited, in order to see if Daud would fulfill his promises to carry through a land reform and other measures. Daud, of course, did nothing of the kind.

Finally, in April 1978, the PDPA leadership's last political illusions in Daud were shattered by a sharp government crackdown aimed at beheading the party.

On April 17, Mir Akbar Khyber, a prominent university professor and former editor of the PDPA's *Parcham* newspaper, was murdered in Kabul.

The news of Khyber's death provoked a popular upheaval. About 15,000 young men and women gathered for his funeral, carrying red flags and shouting antigovernment slogans. Taraki led the procession to the American embassy, where the demonstrators denounced the role of the CIA and the Iranian secret police in Khyber's death. Other demonstrations followed.

### Armed uprising

On April 26, Daud cracked down even harder. Taraki, Karmal, Hafizullah Amin, and several other top PDPA leaders were detained or placed under house arrest. Amin, who was in charge of coordinating the party's work within the military, managed to smuggle out instructions for the insurrection to begin.

The next morning, at 9:00 a.m., Colonels Abdul Qadir and Aslam Wa-

air in Kabul to proclaim the overthrow of the Daud regime. "For the first time in the history of Afghanistan," the radio declared, "the last remnants of monarchy, tyranny, despotism and the power of the dynasty of the tyrant Nader Khan<sup>1</sup> has ended, and all powers of the state are in the hands of the people of Afghanistan."

Daud, however, continued to hold out in the presidential palace, where fighting raged through most of the night. During the final assault by tanks and jet fighters, Daud and his closest advisers and relatives were killed.

### A popular revolution

The victors of April 27 renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and set up a new government. Taraki was named president and prime minister, and Karmal and Amin became deputy prime ministers. All the positions in the twenty-one member cabinet and the thirty-five member Revolutionary Council were held by PDPA figures.

Although the PDPA tried to assure "patriotic merchants" and "national capitalists" that they still had a place in Afghanistan, no political represen-

The paper also carried accounts or photographs of "citizens happily welcoming the revolution" in every other region of the country. . . .

Borders later reported that according to most foreign journalists, "nearly every Afghan they interviewed said he was delighted at the coup."

Daud's former palace was thrown open to the public. Gérard Viratelle reported in the May 13, 1978, *Le Monde* that "hundreds of thousands of turbaned and tanned Afghans" were flocking to the palace, "often coming from the interior of the country," to see for themselves how lavishly Daud had lived—and where he had died.

Rallies, processions, and meetings were held in many towns and villages to hail the overthrow of Daud and express support for the new regime. Soldiers were garlanded with flowers.

On May 1, just a few days after the insurrection, May Day was openly celebrated for the first time as a legal holiday.

### Government states aims

The new government soon began to explain its aims. At a May 6 news conference, Taraki declared, "Our main objective is to secure the welfare of the workers and the peasants. . . ."

Taraki delivered the regime's first major policy speech three days later. He said that the April 27 insurrection was the beginning of a "democratic

1. Nadir Khan came to power in 1929 with the backing of British imperialism, following the overthrow of Amir Amanullah Khan. Nadir Khan's son, Zahir Shah, ruled until 1973, when he was overthrown by his cousin, Mohammad Daud.



Among the most important issues facing new Afghan government were redistribution of land, overcoming illiteracy, and improving lot of women. Left, peasants receiving land, young women students.



Continued from preceding page

dence of any Soviet involvement in the coup."

Despite the enormous objective difficulties and problems of leadership facing the Afghan revolution—including stiff opposition from imperialism and the Afghan exploiting class, as well as sharp factional disputes within the party—the new PDPA government moved swiftly to begin implementing its democratic program. As it adopted more and more measures in the interests of the workers and peasants, the PDPA was able to broaden its base of support.

One of the first acts of the new regime was to wipe out the last vestiges of royal power and influence. The overthrow of Daud (who was himself a cousin of the exiled former king) broke the royal family's hold on political power. A few days after the insurrection, all land and property of the royal family was confiscated, and many of its members lost their citizenship.

Within several months, about 300 to 400 big landowners, many of them part of the old aristocracy, had been stripped of their lands.

Daud's Republican Guard was dissolved. All but one general was dismissed from the armed forces. Thousands of persons were removed from the state apparatus and many senior civil servants and diplomats were replaced by young party supporters.

However, while the top officer corps of the military was purged, the armed forces themselves remained largely intact, as did the police. Rather than dismantling these old repressive bodies and replacing them with a new revolutionary army and militia, the party tried to transform them through a simple change in leadership. This was a serious error that would later hamper the defense of the revolution.

Up to 13,000 prisoners were freed from Daud's jails and the police files on thousands of others were publicly burned. Freedom of religion was reaffirmed, and a number of key Islamic religious figures declared their support for the new regime.

Price controls were imposed on basic necessities in the markets of Kabul. The cost of bread was cut in half. Free emergency medical care was introduced in some areas. Working hours were reduced, and some low-paid categories of workers were given higher wages.

## First unions

Within days of taking power, the PDPA legalized trade unions for the first time in Afghanistan's history. In mid-May, workers at a textile mill in Kabul met and voted to launch the first union.

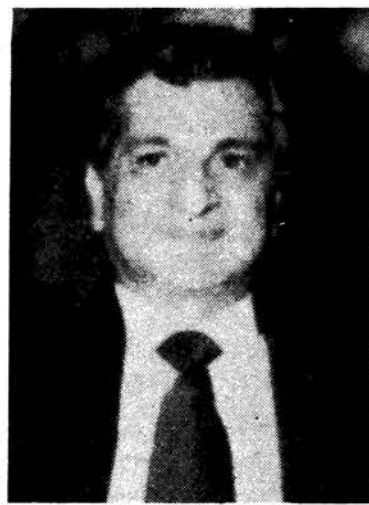
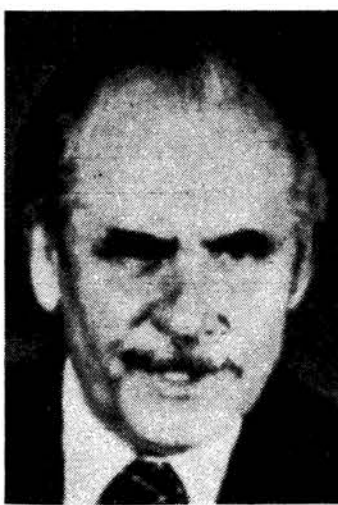
Speaking at an assembly of textile workers, Industries Minister Mohammad Ismail Danesh stressed the importance of labor organization and called the establishment of the textile union the beginning of a "process of forming trade unions nationwide."

Other unions were subsequently set up in Kabul, Helmand, and elsewhere in the country. But they remained relatively weak organizations, in part because of the small size of the working class. There are only about 330,000 industrial workers (in manufacturing, construction, mining, transport, communications, and other sectors) out of a total estimated labor force of 5.6 million.

A mass literacy campaign was initiated, an especially important step in a country where from 90 to 95 percent of the population cannot read or write.

The literacy drive was organized by the National Agency for the Campaign Against Illiteracy. More than 5,000 unemployed university graduates were recruited as teachers. Within a little more than a year, 600 new schools had been built, many of them in rural areas and in smaller towns and villages.

By the end of 1979, up to 500,000



From left to right: Mohammad Daud, leader of repressive regime overthrown by popular revolution in 1978; Noor Mohammad Taraki, first president and prime minister of new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; Hafizullah Amin, became head of government in 1979 after overthrow of Taraki; Babrak Karmal, current head of Afghan government.

adult Afghans were attending basic literacy classes (another 500,000 had enrolled but dropped out).

Higher education was expanded. By November 1979 there were 22,000 students in universities and other higher educational institutions, compared to just 8,000 in 1975-76.

Historically, Afghanistan has been dominated by the Pushtun nationality, which comprises nearly half the population. The Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkomans, Baluchis, Nuristanis, and other national minorities were discriminated against under previous regimes.

Upon coming to power, the PDPA began to grapple with this problem. Primary education, which was previously conducted in Pushtu or Dari (the Afghan dialect of Persian), was altered to include instruction in the various local languages.

Within weeks of the insurrection, radio and television programs were being broadcast in Uzbeki, Baluchi, Turkomeni, and Nuristani. Newspapers in Uzbeki and Turkomeni were established. *Khalq*, a weekly organ of the PDPA, is published in five languages.

Since the leadership of the PDPA is drawn from most of the nationalities, the composition of the government itself was radically altered. Pushtuns, however, continue to play the most prominent role, both because of their numbers and their previously greater access to education.

Women, too, have won important gains.

Under the semifeudal social relations that predominated in much of the country, young women were still being sold into marriage and women were barred from education and almost all sectors of employment outside of the home and field.

Decree No. 7, adopted in 1978, proclaimed the legal equality of the sexes, abolished arranged marriages, and drastically reduced the traditional bride price (from between \$1,000 and \$10,000 to a token \$7). One of its aims, the law stated, was to end "the unjust feudal-patriarchal relationship between husband and wife."

Dr. Anahita Ratebzad, the only woman member of the PDPA Central Committee, was prominent in the early days of the revolution in trying to encourage women to become politically active and to fight for their rights. To provide a vehicle for organizing and mobilizing women, party members set up the Khalqi Organization for Afghan Woman (KOAW), which played a visible role in many of the marches, demonstrations, and rallies in support of the revolution.

## Land to the tiller

Given the dominance of agriculture in the Afghan economy and the survival of semifeudal property relations in the countryside, land reform was the single most important question facing the new authorities in Kabul. Any government serious about developing Afghanistan's economy and improving the social conditions of the population

could not avoid taking on the big landlords.

When the PDPA came to power, agrarian relations were extremely unequal and backward. About 470,000 peasant families owned only one acre of land or less; another 660,000 families owned no land at all. Meanwhile, a bare 4 percent of the landholding population owned 41 percent of all cultivable land.

As a result, some 60 percent of all peasants had been forced to become tenants or sharecroppers on land rented from the big landowners, to whom they had to pay up to four-fifths of their crops and provide labor servi-

land, they took the land." (Interview in *Workers World*, November 23, 1979.)

According to the government, several hundred thousand peasants joined cooperative associations.

In late May 1979, mass meetings and marches of workers and peasants were held in support of the land reform program in Kunduz, Balkh, Ghour, Ghazni, Herat, Kandahar, Fariab, Jawzjan, Baghlan, Neemroze, and other provinces, as well as in Kabul itself.

By June, the government announced that the first phase of the agrarian reform was completed. Altogether, 1.4 million acres of land had been distrib-

**'A social revolution had been set in motion—in one of the most impoverished and economically underdeveloped countries in the world.'**

ces. Many peasants were tied to these farms under conditions of virtual serfdom, through constant indebtedness to the landlords.

The first blow on behalf of the impoverished peasantry came with Decree No. 6, adopted just a few months after Daud's overthrow. The decree cancelled all debts by poor and landless peasants to the landlords, a measure that directly benefitted 3 million peasant families. The cancelled debts amounted to \$750 million.

On November 28, 1978, came Decree No. 8, which promulgated a sweeping land reform. It placed a ceiling of 15 acres (more for land of poorer quality) on all individual landholdings, a provision aimed at the big landlord class. All holdings above that ceiling were to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to poor and landless peasants.

The basic purpose of the land reform, according to the decree, was to eliminate "the feudal and pre-feudal relations from the socio-economic system of the country," to raise agricultural production, and to popularize, consolidate, and deepen "the unity of workers and peasants for the purpose of further strengthening of the unity of the people of Afghanistan for construction of a society void of hostile classes and free of exploitation of man by man."

## Landlords expropriated

The land reform decree came into effect on January 1, 1979. Over the next six months, most of the big landlords who had not already fled the country had their estates expropriated and handed over to the peasants, under the slogan, "Land belongs to those who work on it."

According to Mir Ahmad, a leader of the PDPA's youth group, the land could not be redistributed through proclamation alone. He said that "the peasants also personally took part in this process. Whoever worked with the

uted free to 248,000 peasant families.

Within several months, plans were already being drafted for a second phase of the land reform program, in which greater emphasis was to be laid on steps to increase agricultural production through the introduction of more modern farming techniques, greater use of fertilizers, improved irrigation, stepped-up imports of tractors and other equipment, and the further organization of peasant cooperatives.

Hundreds of thousands of peasant families are still without land, or have too little to subsist on, but the expropriation of the big landlord class was nevertheless a powerful blow on behalf of all the toiling masses.

## Building a mass base

When the PDPA seized power in April 1978, it was not a mass party, nor did it have a substantial and organized base of support. It claimed to have 50,000 members, but according to Fred Halliday its real membership was most likely under 10,000.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of them were concentrated in the major cities.

To mobilize broader support for the revolution—and to help initiate and carry through its social program—the PDPA appealed to the masses, particularly in the cities. Rallies, meetings, and marches were frequently organized in Kabul and other towns and villages in support of the government and its various measures and in opposition to the terrorist actions of the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionaries.

On October 23, 1978, the government

3. Fred Halliday, "Revolution in Afghanistan," *New Left Review*, No. 112, (November-December 1978). This is a useful article, giving some of the most important historical and social background to Afghanistan, as well as the development of the Afghan revolution during its first year.



changed the country's flag, adopting a predominantly red one. A subsequent dispatch in the January 16, 1979, *Wall Street Journal* reported that in Kabul alone "more than 150,000 persons . . . marched to honor the new flag on the day it was unfurled. Similar demonstrations of support occurred in other cities. The marches were organized, but witnesses say the participants appeared genuinely enthusiastic."

Correspondent Jonathan Randal reported from Kabul, "From the looks of banners and slogans all over town, Afghan loyalty to the government can scarcely be questioned" (*Washington Post*, June 11, 1979).

In a study of the PDPA regime in the July-August 1979 *Problems of Communism*, a U.S. government publication, Louis Dupree took note of "the demonstrations staged daily in Kabul in support of the government. . . ."

To help consolidate this base of support, the PDPA likewise sought to initiate greater organization, almost entirely under party control. Party cells and committees were launched throughout the country, even in some of the remotest parts.

In addition to the trade unions and the women's organization, KOAW, party members helped set up the Khalqi Organisation for Afghan Youth to mobilize the support of students and other young people.

### Committees defend revolution

Shortly after April 1978, committees began to be established around the country to help fight against the counterrevolution. Known as Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, these bodies were composed largely of workers and peasants, many of them armed. By late 1979, the government was claiming that 70,000 persons had joined them.

The defense committees served more than just a military function. They were also intended to help advance political mobilization. Committee members, in interviews in the Afghan press, linked their activities to the implementation and defense of their social gains, especially the land reform.

Foreign Minister Shah Wali, in an interview in the November 12, 1979, *Kabul Times*, explained, "The idea behind the organisation of these [committees] was to struggle against the anti-revolutionary elements and rally the toiling people behind the revolutionary programmes. Further, they are meant to encourage the working people to participate in the building of a new society and take part in the affairs of the khalqi government. These committees will help and guide the people to construct roads and bridges and implement their health programmes. . . . They will encourage the people to enroll in literacy courses."

With the overthrow of the increasingly proimperialist Daud, close relations between Kabul and Moscow were soon reestablished.

Soviet ties with Afghanistan were not new, however. Even before the coming to power of the PDPA, the Soviet Union was Afghanistan's main trade partner and the greatest source of its foreign aid. The Afghan military was armed with Soviet equipment and many officers received training in the Soviet Union.

To Moscow, these ties were important, no matter what the regime in Kabul. The two countries share a 1,000-mile border. A number of Afghanistan's nationalities—such as the Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkomans—live on both sides of it. For decades, Afghanistan served as a military "buffer" state on the Soviet Union's southern border, at a time when American imperialism was strengthening its military position in Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. Afghanistan did not join the U.S.-dominated Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

The conservative bureaucracy in the Kremlin did not want to see a revolution unleashed in Afghanistan. The Stalinists fear the impact that the world revolution can have on the Soviet workers themselves, undermining the privileged caste's parasitic hold on political power. They would have preferred the status quo in Afghanistan, since social upheavals like the one that has begun there upset the Kremlin's class-collaborationist dealings with imperialism.

But like it or not, the revolution in Afghanistan broke out. The Kremlin could not ignore it. Its strategic interests in Afghanistan remained, and the appeals of the new government for Soviet assistance put added political pressure on Moscow to step up its support.

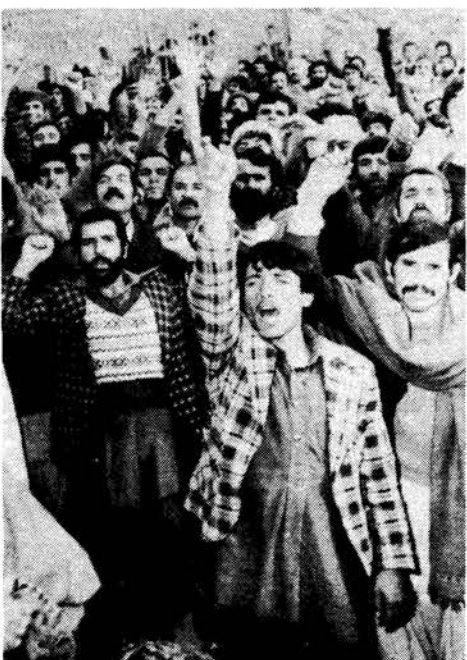
Within about a half year of the beginning of the revolution, some forty new economic aid agreements between the two countries were signed. In December 1978, a treaty of "friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation" was concluded, providing for extensive collaboration in industrial development, transport, communications, agriculture, energy, exploitation of Afghanistan's natural resources, military defense, and other fields.

In 1979, Moscow agreed to build a large copper mining and smelting project in Logar province. The draft of the Afghan regime's first five-year economic development plan, which was released the same year, was predicated on the receipt of substantial Soviet assistance.

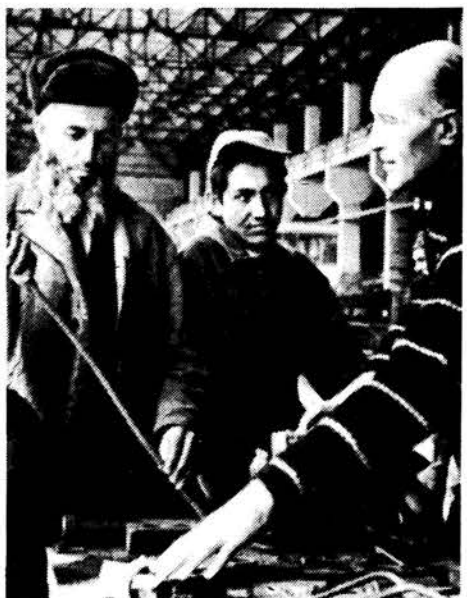
As the American-backed counterrevolution became an increasingly serious threat to Kabul, Moscow was impelled to move in even more heavily—culminating in the dispatch of Soviet combat troops in December 1979



March in Kabul, May, 1979 in support of revolution. Women in foreground carry pictures of Taraki.



Supporters of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan rally in Kabul in January 1980.



Soviet adviser meets with workers in Afghan factory in May of 1979.

to help beat back the reactionary bands.

When Taraki, Amin, Karmal, and the other PDPA leaders seized power in April 1978, their aim was not to initiate a socialist revolution in Afghanistan. They insisted, repeatedly, that their basic goal was limited to abolishing the country's feudal system and carrying through a "national democratic revolution." Like Stalinists elsewhere, they held that the working class could come to power and begin the construction of a socialist society only at a later stage.

Immediately after the insurrection, Taraki sought to reassure the handful of capitalists in Afghanistan that they had little to worry about. He claimed that the PDPA represented the interests not only of the workers, peasants, and petty-bourgeoisie, but also of the small-scale capitalists. (There are almost no big capitalists in Afghanistan, since all banks and large industry have been government-owned for years.)

Hafizullah Amin, who came to power in September 1979 after Taraki was overthrown and killed, continued with these overtures. In a speech outlining the regime's economic policies, he promised to "help develop the private sector and assist the activities of patriotic merchants and national capitalists" (*Kabul Times*, October 25, 1979).

Such gestures notwithstanding, Afghanistan's propertied classes, including the capitalists and merchants, placed little confidence in the new regime.

### Capitalists oppose revolution

They chafed at the profit controls that had been imposed on their businesses. They viewed with concern the establishment of the country's first trade unions. They dreaded the implementation of the regime's draft five-year economic plan, which called for the establishment of state control over foreign trade and the nationalization of 51 percent of every large industrial concern not already in government hands.

Those who were tied to the landlord class were directly hit by the agrarian reform. All of them feared that the revolution would continue to deepen, threatening the maintenance of capitalist property relations and their own class survival.

Less than three months after the beginning of the revolution, an Afghan businessman in Kabul remarked to a foreign journalist that "the rich are cutting their losses and leaving the country in droves."

A report from Kabul in the November 8, 1978, *Los Angeles Times* noted that there was "panic in the old bourgeois circles in Kabul. . . ." In addition, "Merchants are moving their stock out of the country, fearing the government will step into commerce."

Although there are still merchants and capitalists operating in Kabul and other areas, many have gone over to the counterrevolution. One of them, Sayed Ahmad Gailani, a former owner of the Peugeot auto dealership in Kabul, now heads the Afghanistan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Council, one of the more significant counterrevolutionary organizations fighting against the regime.

The imperialists, too, placed no confidence in the new Afghan regime. As they do throughout the colonial and semicolonial world, they opposed the PDPA's efforts to carry through land reform, achieve greater national independence, and implement other democratic tasks. They were alarmed that the revolution could deepen and provide an example to oppressed peoples elsewhere.

With Washington in the lead, the imperialists moved in behind the counterrevolutionary bands. Their goal was nothing less than to strangle the Afghan revolution.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Sayed Ahmad Gailani (right), former landlord and businessman, is typical of imperialist backed counterrevolutionaries. Left, members of his Afghan Islamic and Nationalist Revolutionary Council.





## Black doctor's story on the fight for abortion

Confessions of a Pro-Life Abortionist. Ed Keemer, M.D. Vinco Press (1553 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48226) 1980, 240 pages, \$14.95 (add \$1.05 for postage and handling).

Edgar B. Keemer is a doctor, not a professional writer, but he played an important role in an important social struggle—the fight to legalize abortion—and his autobiography is a fascinating book about that and other aspects of his life.

The son of two Black teachers, he grew up in Washington, D.C., and the South hating Jim Crowism and developing rebellious attitudes toward religion, hypocrisy, and conventional notions. But it was not until he was in his mid-20s, shortly before World War II, that he began to question and reject the prevailing social and medical practices relating to abortion for women who, whatever their reasons, did not want to give birth.

Keemer dedicates the book to the memory of a young woman in Indiana who committed suicide



Sketch of Edgar Keemer from 1940s, when he was a regular columnist for the *Militant* under the name 'Charles Jackson.'

### Books

after he refused her request for an abortion. He never refused such an appeal for help again. As he learned more about abortion technique and safety, abortion gradually became the center of his medical practice after he moved to Detroit.

He estimates that he did more than 30,000 abortions before abortion was legalized in 1973 and 20,000 since then. He never turned away a woman because she was poor and unable to pay the fee; in fact, most of his patients came from the working class.

Since abortion was illegal, it could be performed on such a scale only by paying off the Detroit authorities. It is a mark of Keemer's exceptional honesty that he candidly describes the rationalizations he employed to justify these payments, and that he recognizes he was motivated not only by his dedication to principle but also by the money he was making from abortions. (In general, he tells a number of things about his personal life for which nobody would praise him.)

The payoffs could not cover everyone, and in 1956 some ambitious politicians raided Keemer's clinic and arrested him for performing illegal operations. The trial in 1958 was a mockery of justice, relying

heavily on sexist and racist innuendos. The sentence was two and a half to five years in prison and the loss of Keemer's medical license. After more than a year in confinement, he won a parole, and after several years of effort recovered his license.

In 1972 there was a referendum in Michigan on a law to legalize abortion, which polls showed a majority of the voters supported. Keemer was one of the chief fighters for this law. Ten days before the elections his clinic was raided again to a sensationalist hue and cry in the press, and the law was defeated at the polls.

But a few weeks later the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that abortion was legal and invalidated the state laws prohibiting it. This marked a real turn in Keemer's life, and growing recognition of his courage and dedication. In 1975 a Detroit judge ruled that the Michigan anti-abortion law was unconstitutional not only when the Supreme Court said so,

but before then, at the time of Keemer's conviction, and he ordered the conviction expunged from the record.

Keemer ends the book by calling for a struggle to retain the right to abortion, once again under attack from reactionary corners. Two other episodes in the book will be of special interest to readers of the *Militant*.

When the U.S. entered World War II at the end of 1941, Keemer at first thought it was a war worth supporting. When he was offered a commission and the choice of his branch of service, he volunteered for the Navy. But the Navy at that time was not accepting Blacks for anything but kitchen personnel, and he was rejected because of his color when he showed up for induction. Later his draft board called him up for service as an enlisted man in the Army. He refused to go because of the discrimination he had suffered from the Navy, and was arrested as a draft dodger. (By this time he was also beginning to question the nature of a "war for democracy" that had to be fought with completely segregated armed forces.)

Keemer was subjected to all kinds of pressure from inside the Black community to accept some kind of compromise, and thus avoid a possible ten-year prison term and \$10,000 fine. But he stood fast and in the end the government dropped the case and he was never conscripted.

One of the few groups that came to Keemer's support in this case was the Socialist Workers Party, and the only national paper that backed his fight was the *Militant*. Before long, Keemer was reading the SWP's literature. He became a party member and a regular columnist for the *Militant* under the pen name "Charles Jackson." In fact, for the next four years Keemer's revolutionary activity became the center of his existence.

He resigned from the SWP in 1947 because he got discouraged about the capacity of the workers to build a revolutionary party in the stronghold of capitalism, but he says that he still believes in and sympathizes with international socialism.

By coincidence, just as Dr. Keemer's book was published, Pathfinder Press is preparing for publication a book of articles from World War II documenting the fight against racism at that time.

A prominent part of this book will be several articles and a pamphlet by Keemer that appeared in the *Militant* in 1944 and 1945.

—Frank Lovell

## Howard Hughes: symbol of greed, corruption

Empire: The Life, Legend, and Madness of Howard Hughes. By Donald L. Bartlett and James B. Steel. New York: W.W. Norton, 1979. 687 pages. \$15.95.

Everyone has some knowledge of Howard Hughes as a so-called eccentric billionaire recluse. This book, however, the product of four years of research by two journalists, tells in copious documented detail the story of his life, revealing much that was hitherto unknown.

It makes clear that for the last eighteen years of his life Hughes's behavior was what, if it were that of anyone else but a man of his wealth, would have been called insane. Yet in the first twelve years of

dictating precise instructions to his aides. Typical was a three-page, single-spaced memorandum explaining how a can of fruit was to be opened without contaminating it.

As the authors say, Hughes constructed his own asylum, of which he was the sole patient and for a long time the unquestioned superintendent.

This was the man who told his chief lieutenant, Robert Maheu, who never in his sixteen years of employment saw his boss, the two communicating by telephone and memorandum, "You just remember that every man—I can buy—I, Howard Hughes, can buy any man in the world, or I can destroy him."

Maheu, incidentally, before being hired by Hughes, was the CIA agent who contracted with gangsters to have Fidel Castro killed. He had his own experience in buying or destroying men.

Hughes's boast to Maheu was not an idle one. General Eddleman, the acting army chief of staff, ordered a military board which had rejected a Hughes helicopter in making a preliminary decision on the awarding of a contract to meet again to reconsider its decision. The board met once more and after a "careful review" in a meeting that lasted about ten minutes decided in favor of including Hughes in the competition. And he won the contract.

The explanation for Eddleman's order would seem not unrelated to his having had Hughes's chief lobbyist as a house guest during the board's meeting and to his retiring next year to be added to the payroll of the Hughes company, one of scores of retired high officers so employed.

Hughes also did pretty well with the IRS. He had

set up the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, of which he was the sole trustee, so that in its first year 84 percent of its income went to himself as interest on a loan while 1 percent of its income (\$43,000) went to medical research. When the IRS declared that this "charity" was "merely a device for siphoning off otherwise taxable income to an exempt organization, and accumulating that income," Hughes appealed.

The IRS reversed itself less than a month after Hughes lent Donald Nixon, the then vice-president's brother, \$205,000 on the collateral of a vacant lot worth no more than \$52,000. And so the Medical Institute continued on its profitable way. Between 1953 and 1970 it spent only 0.2 to 0.3 percent of its assets on medical research while paying its founder \$2.5 million for every \$1 million it gave to research.

Hughes gave freely to both Republican and Democratic politicians.

In his corruption, his greed, his lack of concern for other human beings, Hughes was representative of his class. His madness was merely the carrying out to the full of the desire of the capitalist to be in total command of everything about him and his estrangement from ordinary humanity.

Indeed, the Hughes empire is symbolic of the entire crazy system, in which political flunkies unquestioningly obey, as Hughes's aides obeyed him, the dictates of a social class which spends billions on armaments while millions lack the necessities of life, and which for the sake of profit poisons the earth, air, and water of the planet where all of us live.

—Paul Siegel

### Books

this period, before his aides were able to take advantage of his utter mental deterioration, he continued to run his business empire, directing his agents in the effecting of "shadowy alliances, intricate deals, quiet understandings, secret political contributions."

Hughes never left his tightly sealed room, was naked most of the time, was filthy, and stank. He habituated himself to massive amounts of codeine and valium and spent his days in a hospital bed, whose sheets were unchanged for months, and in a reclining chair. Between his calls to his business agents, he would watch Grade B movies constantly, sometimes seeing the same movie as frequently as ten times a month.

Obsessed by a fear of germs, Hughes developed an elaborate routine to insulate himself from them,





**Economic-analysis dep't**—"Layoffs push up jobless rate"—Headline in the Newport News, Va., *Times-Herald*.

**How progressive can you get?**—A *Miami Herald* background article on the anti-KKK march in Greensboro, North Carolina, advised that the city has a long-standing reputation for "progressive" race relations. In addition to having the first lunch-counter sit-ins of the 1960s, in 1954, immediately after the Supreme Court decision, the city voted to desegregate its schools, "although the process then took seventeen years."

**Small is beautiful, too**—Amerada Hess is only the sixteenth largest oil refiner in the country. But it "earned" \$507.1 million last year. Sales were up

45 percent over the previous year, while profits increased 367 percent.

**Carter's problem**—The January issue of *Money* magazine reported that the 1979 best seller for the toy industry was Star Wars replicas. The "loser" it adds, was "GI Joe, a soldier doll, mortally wounded by the Vietnam war. The antimilitary mood of the country caused sales of the once popular toy to plummet. Hasbro stopped making Joe in 1978."

**Saltahol?**—Shell Oil is suing unnamed parties in South Africa for \$57.5 million, claiming a cargo of oil was drained and replaced with sea water. The culprits then allegedly sunk the tanker to cover their tracks. If they hadn't, do you think Shell might have been offering high sodium gas?

**Bon apétit!**—While Treasury Secretary William Miller was chairman of Textron, the company destroyed records detailing how \$490,000 was spent entertaining Pentagon staffers. Miller said the entertainment, generally meals, was "normal courtesy and hospitality" and no one tab exceeded \$100. If so, that would be a minimum of 4,900 acts of "courtesy and hospitality."

**Making do**—It just reached us, via the December 31 *Newsweek*, that the ex-shah and ex-shabanou are bearing up well in Panama. Their host, Gabriel Lewis, a former ambassador to the United States, "was struck by the way the shabanou pitched in on the household chores with only a cook, a maid and a butler for help. 'She is running the house like any other housewife. . .'"

## Union Talk

### Safeway leads attack on Bay Area clerks

This week's column is by Andy Hunt, a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 428.

**SAN JOSE, Calif.**—More than a month into the strike, Bay Area retail clerks, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, are standing up to a drive by the Food Employers Council to smash the union.

The strike began January 20 against Safeway (the largest food retailer in the United States). But on January 23 the other members of the food bosses' cartel—including some twenty-eight chains and 500 stores—locked out their clerks. Spokesmen for the Food Employers Council declared, "A strike against one is a strike against all."

About 17,000 retail workers are now on strike or locked out. The striking and locked out workers are represented by seven locals of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

According to Vic Robison, a picket captain at Safeway Number 699 in Santa Clara, "The employers want to make it possible to fire a person for 'cash register irregularities' on a same-day basis.

They don't want to have to give out warnings. No matter what the 'irregularity' is—for example, if your till is two dollars short, and the boss doesn't like you, he'll say 'That's it, you're fired.' Minority and women workers could be victimized by racist and sexist managers."

Also under attack is seniority. "The employers are demanding to be able to control seniority. They want to be able to change people's shifts regardless of seniority. If you refuse, they would put you on the bottom of the list. This would discriminate not only against experienced journeymen clerks, it would also hurt single women with children. If they can't get child care, they would lose hours or get fired.

"They also want to end apprentice/journeymen ratios. Then they could flood their stores with apprentices and take work from journeymen and more experienced apprentices. And if they can fire people whenever they want, no apprentice would ever make more than four or five dollars an hour.

"The employers also want to reduce bidding for full-time work by part-time workers to once a year. Under previous contracts, there were three chances

a year to bid for full time—and that was based on seniority," said Robison.

They also want to eliminate pregnancy like a common cold or the flu, he added.

At the UFCW Local 428 business meeting February 6, Claude Fernandez, secretary-treasurer, told the members that "this was a struggle that could not be avoided. We should be on the lookout for the employers' divisive tactics. They have spent \$250-\$300,000 on newspaper advertising alone." The union has replied with an advertisement that was printed in every major Bay Area paper but one.

At the strike briefing that followed the local meeting, George Soares, vice-president of Local 428, told strikers that Safeway admitted at a news conference that it had lost 60 percent of its regular business due to the strike. Safeway has laid off 850 workers—more than half the work force—at its central Richmond warehouse.

Solidarity with the strike is growing. UFCW locals from as far away as New York and New Jersey sent telegrams to strike headquarters in Oakland in support of the strikers as well as contributions to the strike fund, reported Soares.

## What's Going On

### ARIZONA PHOENIX

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Rob Roper, SWP candidate for Congress, District 1; representative of Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores de Mexico. Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**WHO PAYS FOR THE OIL STRIKE?** Speakers: Moose Creighton, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128, publicity committee and member of ARCO negotiating committee; Frank Fuoco, member OCAW Local 1-128, Union Oil Refinery. Fri., Feb. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

**MEETING FOR LITERACY CAMPAIGN.** Speakers: Blaise Bonpane, prof., California State, North Ridge; music by Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles; others. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. United Teachers of L.A., 2511 W. 3rd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. For more information call (213) 224-2878.

### FLORIDA MIAMI

**EYEWITNESS REPORT ON CUBA WITH SLIDESHOW.** Speaker: Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March

8, 8 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

### GEORGIA ATLANTA

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Janice Prescott, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1295; Tom Fiske, SWP candidate for Congress, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Sun., March 2, 8 p.m., reception 7

### MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

**NICARAGUA: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.** Speakers: Antonio Vindell, Nicaraguan student, former writer for Nicaragua daily *La Prensa*; Daniel Hellinger, asst. prof. of political science, Webster College; Joan Levitt, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW YORK ALBANY

**REBELLION IN EL SALVADOR.** Speaker: Kate Skelton, Socialist Workers Party and International Union of Electrical Workers Local 301. Fri., Feb. 29, 7:30 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**THE STRUGGLE TO UNIONIZE J.P.**

**STEVENS.** Speakers: Artha Adair, Northwest Regional Coordinator of J.P. Stevens boycott. Film: "Testimony." Sun., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**HANDS OFF EL SALVADOR!** Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 1, 4 p.m. 5811 N. Broad. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## Upcoming forums on the draft

### FLORIDA MIAMI

**NO TO THE DRAFT!** Speakers: Darren Crown, Young Socialist Alliance; Janet Warren, American Friends Service Committee. Sat., March 1, 8 p.m. 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

### INDIANA GARY

**NO DRAFT!** A panel discussion. Fri., Feb. 29, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**NO DRAFT! NO WAR!** Speakers: Tony Van Der Meer, Boston coordinator, National Black Stu-

dent Association; Brian Mooney, Vietnam Veterans Against the War representative at 1970 Paris Peace Talks; Maida Sunley, poet and antidraft activist; Dan Geary, Young Socialist Alliance; David Mayberry, an organizer of Feb. 2 antidraft rally in Boston. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**NO REGISTRATION! NO DRAFT! NO WAR!** Speakers: Retha Hill, coordinator, Detroit Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft; Al Duncan, Vietnam War veteran & member, United Auto Workers Local 600; Andrew Walden, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit School Board. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

**NO TO THE DRAFT!** A panel discussion. Speakers: Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, member International Association of Machinists Local 1525; Dave Brown, veteran; Dr. Ricardo Sanchez, Chicano poet; others. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON TACOMA

**NO DRAFT! ANOTHER VIETNAM? FOR WHOM?** Speakers: Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, member of Young Socialist Alliance and Boilermakers Local 568. Sun., March 2, 8 p.m. 7 p.m. reception. 1306 S. K St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (206) 627-0432.



## 'The ballot or the bullet'



Malcolm X speaking at a 1964 Militant Labor Forum in New York City.

February 21 marks the fifteenth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. The following are excerpts from one of his most famous speeches, "The Ballot or the Bullet," given in Cleveland on April 3, 1964. In it Malcolm addressed many issues of vital importance to Blacks today—the draft, war spending, elections and the Democratic Party, racist violence. His angry remarks on the government's refusal to act against racist bombings in Birmingham take on added significance with recent revelations that the FBI shielded these Ku Klux Klan murderers.

If we don't do something real soon [about racist oppression], I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. . . .

It's the year when all of the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro community jiving you and me for some votes. The year when all of the white political crooks will be right back in your and my community with their false promises, building up our hopes for a letdown, with their trickery and their treachery, with their false promises which they don't intend to keep.

As they nourish these dissatisfactions, it can only lead to one thing, an explosion; and now we have the type of black man on the scene in America today . . . who just doesn't intend to turn the other cheek any longer.

Don't let anybody tell you anything about the odds are against you. If they draft you, they send you to Korea and make you face 800 million Chinese. If you can be brave over there, you can be brave right here. These odds aren't as great as those odds. And if you fight here, you will at least know what you're fighting for. . . .

Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it? . . .

They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans, we'll get to them in a minute. But it is true—you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last. . . .

Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment. Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return—I mean without a dime in return. . . .

Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less.

Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough." . . .

Now, who is it that opposes you in carrying out the law? The police department itself. With police dogs and clubs. Whenever you demonstrate against segregation, whether it is segregated education, segregated housing, or anything else, the law is on your side, and anyone who stands in the way is not the law any longer. They are breaking the law, they are not representatives of the law. . . .

If he's not going to do his job in running the government and providing you and me with the protection that our taxes are supposed to be for, since he spends all those billions for his defense budget, he certainly can't begrudge you and me spending \$12 or \$15 for a single-shot, or double-action. I hope you understand.

Don't go out shooting people, but . . . any time you and I sit around and read where they bomb a church and murder in cold blood, not some grownups, but four little girls while they were praying to the same god the white man taught them to pray to, and you and I see the government go down and can't find who did it.

Why, this man—he can find Eichmann hiding down in Argentina somewhere. Let two or three American soldiers, who are minding somebody else's business way over in South Vietnam, get killed, and he'll send battleships, sticking his nose in their business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have what he calls free elections—this old cracker who doesn't have free elections in his own country.

No, if you never see me another time in your life, if I die in the morning, I'll die saying one thing: the ballot or the bullet, the ballot or the bullet.

### Union women meet

I thought *Militant* readers would be interested in some highlights of a conference of the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council held in Atlantic City recently.

About 300 unionists, mainly women, participated in workshops and plenary sessions. They discussed organizing the unorganized, how to get elected to union office, women in politics, the campaign to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, and many other topics.

The conference keynote speaker Frank Mont, civil rights director of the United Steelworkers union, gave a talk about his union's campaign to defeat the attack on affirmative action by the Brian Weber case.

Mont also defended the unions' support for the ERA. He explained that when baited by anti-ERA foes who asked, "Do you want them to draft your daughter?" his answer was, "Frankly, I don't even want them to draft my son." The enthusiastic applause that greeted this remark reflected a widespread antidraft feeling among the conferees.

Archer Cole, a vice-president of the Industrial Union Council (which includes such unions as the United Auto Workers, Communications Workers, Electrical Workers, Hospital Workers, and many others), told the Labor Awards Banquet that New Jersey labor was very proud of the work done by the unions to fill the buses to Virginia January 13 for the ERA march.

In fact, the need for labor to continue its efforts to

organize for ERA was a theme that ran throughout the conference and its workshops.

Heidi Rose  
Jersey City, New Jersey

### More on Grenada

I would like to know more about what is going on in Grenada. As a Black American, I (and some of my friends) would like to know what we could do to support the revolution in Grenada just as many people are supporting the literacy campaign in Nicaragua.

Are there any films on Grenada and the New Jewel Movement? Who do we contact to get a speaker who represents the government? What financial assistance does the government need for such things as a literacy campaign or whatever?

Many Blacks I talk to here in Columbus didn't even know that a revolution had taken place in Grenada. I would bet that outside of the East Coast and the West Coast (and such places as Chicago and Detroit) most "inland" Blacks don't know what is going on.

Cheryl Fischer  
Columbus, Ohio

[For information from Grenada, contact the Grenadan Mission to the United Nations, 141 East Forty-fourth Street, New York, New York 10017. Also for background on the revolution in Grenada, a series of articles by Ernest Harsch appeared in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* dealing with the revolutionary process there. They are: "How the Geary Regime Was Overthrown," December 3, 1979; "Masses Mobilize to Advance Revolution," December 10, 1979; and "Flashpoint of

## Death of a pioneer

I was saddened to read of the death of Koral Watters, probably the first woman brakeperson to lose her life at work on the railroad. She was only twenty-four years old and six months on the job.

Watters was on a Burlington Northern (BN) freight train that derailed near Ridgefield, Washington, January 14. Four locomotives and eight of nineteen cars were reportedly pushed off the tracks by a mudslide. One was a ruptured liquid-ammonia tanker.

It was the deadly fumes released from this car that killed Koral, that damaged her lungs so severely that she was never able to breathe again on her own after struggling ten days on a respirator.

Watters began working for the Burlington Northern last July 29 as a switchperson trainee and became a brakeperson about two months ago, said a railroad spokesperson.

Two days before Koral's death, the BN reported it had a 149 percent increase in consolidated net income during the final quarter of 1979. The strong year-end results brought profits for 1979 to \$175.6 million, an increase of 53 percent over 1978.

Norman Lorentzen, BN president, said its profitability margin was still "far

from satisfactory." He said a goal for the 1980s is to bring rail earnings up to levels allowing the company to realize a reasonable return on railroad assets, including the \$1.7 billion that has been invested in capital expenditures during the past ten months.

If only a small portion of that \$1.7 billion had gone to the purchase and installation of oxygen masks on every engine and caboose, Koral Watters would probably be alive today.

Railroad workers know that the BN and other profitable railroads have the money to protect us from most of the risks we now take with our lives every day. We know that while safety is supposed to be the Number 1 rule, in practice it comes after speed and profit.

Railroad women are proud to be pioneers in one of the oldest of all-male professions. But the death of a sister hits home that equal opportunity to die is as much a part of the bargain as equal pay.

We'll have to lead the fight within our unions to get better working conditions for all and to get something done about the problem of hazardous materials on the railroad.

Marlene Schmitz  
Brakeperson  
San Francisco, California



the Caribbean," December 17, 1979. Copies of these back issues may be ordered from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 at \$1 an issue.]

### Protest death penalty

Four states have instituted capital punishment by intravenous drug injection. More states plan to follow suit claiming it is "more humane." They "hope that the new method will encourage more juries to vote the death penalty."

In response, doctors at the Harvard Medical School have protested the death penalty and any doctor involvement as unethical in a quasi-editorial in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, probably the nation's most widely read medical journal.

M.S.  
Berkeley, California.

### INS raid

On February 6 immigration agents raided the English Oaks Apartments at Gessner and Long Point Road in Houston, taking with them three busloads of illegal aliens.

These undocumented workers, whose apartments were the only ones searched in this fourteen-hundred-unit complex, lost to their landlord their month's rents, which they had just paid, their deposits, furniture—everything that they could not carry in their hands.

A young security guard who was present at the time remarked afterwards of his employers that "they sure made a killing tonight."  
J.A. Fanning  
Houston, Texas

### 'Militant' gets around

We recently updated our mailing list for the *Militant* Forum series by asking those on the list to return a coupon if they wanted to continue to receive information on the forums. We also encouraged them to subscribe or renew their subscriptions to the *Militant*.

One coupon came back with a fifteen dollars contribution and the following message on the back:

"I renewed my subscription from the national office. Without the *Militant* I would certainly be lacking crucial information on the situation in Afghanistan, to say nothing of domestic events of any importance. With the rising tide of strident militarism, we need you even more. Keep up the good work, I hope someday to get out and be more help!"  
Here in Utah, as elsewhere, the *Militant* gets around.  
Pam Burchett  
Salt Lake City, Utah

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.

# Learning About Socialism

## Workers control in a revolution

For workers to take political control from the ruling rich is a decisive step toward establishing a rationally organized society based on human needs. But political or governmental power is not enough when the capitalists maintain their economic stranglehold. To establish a workers state requires the complete transformation of a country's economy.

Such a transformation cannot simply be decreed by a revolutionary government, as Lenin explains in the following excerpts written November 5, 1917, and June 28, 1918. It takes the continued mobilization of the working masses accompanied by growth in their confidence that they can control production.

An example of this process is occurring today in Nicaragua where a workers and farmers government faces many problems similar to those faced by the revolutionary government in Russia.

Lenin's remarks come from the period shortly after the Bolsheviks led the workers' and peasants' councils (soviets) to political power in October 1917, but before the nationalizations had reached the point of abolishing capitalist ownership of industry.

Much more on how a workers and peasants government fosters workers control, and the role that workers control plays in putting an end to capitalism, appears in 'On Workers' Control and the Nationalization of Industry,' a collection of Lenin's writings available for \$2.50 from Pathfinder Press and the bookstores listed below.

It is perfectly understandable that the landowners and capitalists, and the *top groups* of office employees and civil servants closely linked with the bourgeoisie, in a word, all the wealthy and those supporting them, react to the new revolution with hostility, resist its victory, threaten to close the banks, disrupt or bring to a standstill the work of the different establishments, and hamper the revolution in every way, openly or covertly. . . .

Comrades, working people! Remember that now *you yourselves* are at the helm of state. No one will help you if you yourselves do not unite and take into *your hands all affairs* of the state. Your Soviets are from now on the organs of state authority, legislative bodies with full powers.

Rally around your Soviets. Strengthen them. Get on with the job yourselves. . . . Establish the strictest revolutionary law and order. . . . Be watchful and guard like the apple of your eye your land, grain, factories, equipment, products, transport—all that from now onwards will be *entirely* your property, public property. Gradually, with the consent and approval of the majority of the peasants, in keeping with their *practical* experience and that of the workers, we shall go forward firmly and unswervingly to the victory of socialism—a victory that will be sealed by the advanced workers of the most civilized countries, bring the peoples lasting peace and liberate them from all oppression and exploitation.

November 5, 1917

I am asked: "Why is not a monopoly introduced on manufactured goods, which are as necessary as grain?" My reply is: "The Soviet government is adopting all measures to this end."

You know that there is a tendency to organize, to amalgamate the textile factories, the textile industry. You know that the majority of the people in the leading bodies of this organization are workers, you know that the Soviet government is preparing to nationalise all branches of industry; you know that the difficulties that confront us in this matter are enormous, and that much effort will be required to do all this in an organized manner.

We are not setting to work on this task in the way governments which rely on bureaucrats do. It is quite easy to manage affairs in that way: let one man receive 400 rubles per month; let another get more, a thousand rubles per month—our business is to give orders and the others must obey. That is how all bourgeois countries were administered; they hire officials at high salaries, they hire the sons of the bourgeoisie and entrust the administration to them.

The Soviet Republic cannot be administered in this way. We have no officials to manage and guide the work of amalgamating all the textile factories, of registering all their property and stocks, of introducing a monopoly of all articles of primary necessity, and of properly distributing them. We call upon the workers to do this work; we call upon the representatives of the Textile Workers' Union and say to them:

"You must form the majority on the collegium of the Central Textile Board, and you are the majority on it, in the same way as you are the majority on the collegiums of the Supreme Economic Council. Comrades, workers, take up this very important state task yourselves. We know that it is more difficult than appointing efficient officials, but we know also that there is no other way of doing it."

Power must be placed in the hands of the working class, and the advanced workers must, in spite of all difficulties, learn by their own bitter experience, by their own efforts, by the work of their own hands, how all articles, all textile goods, should be distributed in the interests of the toilers. (Applause.)

Hence, the Soviet government is doing all it possibly can in the present circumstances to introduce a state monopoly and to fix prices. . . .

This is a difficult road, but, I repeat, we cannot avoid difficulties in the task of getting the workers to adopt a new position, workers who have been accustomed and have been trained by the bourgeoisie for hundreds of years merely to carry out its orders slavishly, to work like convicts, of making them feel that they are the government.

We are the owners of industry, we are the owners of the grain, we are the owners of all the wealth of the country. Only when this has deeply penetrated the minds of the working class, when, by their own experience, by their own efforts, they increase their forces tenfold, will all the difficulties of the socialist revolution be overcome.

June 28, 1918

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

**CALIFORNIA:** 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) 225-3126. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. **Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149. **Gary:** SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

**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, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. **New York, Brooklyn:** SWP, YSA, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. **New York, Lower Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. **New York, Upper Manhattan:** SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA,

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.



# THE MILITANT

## Abortion rights victory Socialists urge renewed fight against Hyde Amendment

The following statement was issued February 20 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice president.

The Supreme Court decision February 19 ordering the federal government to begin paying for abortions is a victory for women's fight for equality and a victory for all working people. It reflects the deep majority sentiment in this country that safe, legal abortion is every woman's right.

Since 1976 women have been denied federally funded abortions by the Hyde Amendment. Prior to it about 300,000 abortions yearly were paid for by Medicaid. Since the amendment only 2,000 a year have been financed.

And the rest of the women who were turned away? They had to seek back-alley abortions, try to abort themselves with quinine or coat hangers, or bear an unwanted child.

Medicaid funding has now been temporarily resumed, but the fight is not over. The federal government is fighting to take away the funds once again.

The Supreme Court is expected to begin hearings on the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment in April and make a decision by June.

The resumption of funding of Medicaid abortions can be a turning point in the struggle to overturn the Hyde Amendment. It should be a signal to the National Organization for Women, other women's rights groups, and the



Militant/Jon Hillson

labor movement to join forces to ensure the defeat of this law.

Under the Hyde Amendment low-paid women workers, unemployed women on welfare, and teenage women are denied equal rights—access to a vital medical procedure—simply because they cannot pay.

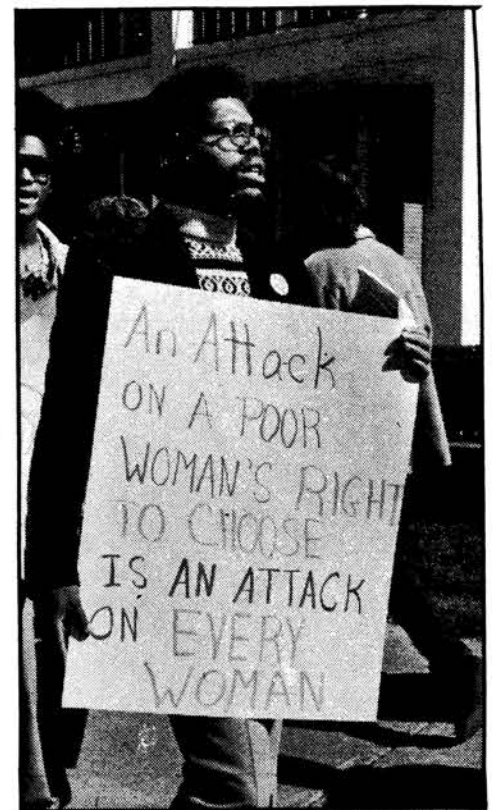
Black women and Latinas—the lowest paid workers in this sexist, racist society—bear the brunt of this law.

Unions have already begun to speak out for affirmative action, pregnancy disability benefits, and the Equal Rights Amendment. Abortion rights

for all should be added to this list of issues fundamental to the interests of the labor movement.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which has a long standing history of support to abortion rights and opposition to the Hyde Amendment, should take the lead along with other women's organizations in winning labor support for abortion rights.

Just as the unions are educating their members on ERA and affirmative action, they should educate on abortion and the Hyde Amendment. And just as the unions have begun to come



Militant/Pat Hayes

to the forefront in the struggle for ERA, adding their tremendous power to this fight, they should also take up the abortion rights battle.

In the next crucial months the voice of the majority must be heard, so we can deal a final death blow to the Hyde Amendment and consign it to the dust bin of history.

## Chicago fire fighters resist union busting

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO, Feb. 18—The first fire-fighters' strike in Chicago's history remains 97 percent effective in the face of a vicious union-busting effort led by Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne. More than 4,300 fire fighters are on strike.

The Chicago Fire Fighters Union Local 2 wants a union contract instead of the "handshake agreements" they have had to work under in the past.

### AS WE GO TO PRESS

Chicago fire fighters reportedly reached a tentative agreement February 20 that forbids reprisals by the city against strikers. The agreement, which has not yet been ratified by the union, calls for fire fighters to return to work while round-the-clock negotiations seek a settlement within twenty-four hours.

Byrne promised a contract during her 1979 campaign for mayor. Once elected she reneged on her promise.

The fire fighters strike is the latest battle front to open up in the Chicago city crisis. The politicians and employers are working hand in hand to slash social services, force down public workers' living standards, and break city

unions—all so the banks and big corporations can take more for themselves through interest payments on loans, tax evasion, and loopholes.

This drive has met resistance from the city's working people. The Chicago Teachers Union forced the board of education to set aside some of its take-back demands through a strike that ended February 11.

So Byrne is trying to make an example of the fire fighters.

In addition to the basic demand for a union contract, the fire fighters are in conflict with Byrne over specific contract demands.

- Safety: the union wants five fire fighters on engines and six on ladder trucks instead of the current four-person crews.

- Right to strike: the union wants the right to strike after its contract expires. The city wants a perpetual no-strike agreement.

- Contract coverage: the union wants all but the commissioner and his deputies covered. The city wants all officers exempt from the union.

- Arbitration methods: the union wants one arbitrator, the city wants three.

The courts are aiding Byrne's strike-breaking. A judge issued a back-to-work order on the first day of the strike, February 14. This temporary restraining order was later upgraded to

a preliminary injunction barring the strike and picketing.

A group of fire fighters' wives responded by saying they would picket in place of their husbands.

When the union refused to bow to the back-to-work order, Local 2 and its leaders were slapped with fines of \$40,000 a day.

Frank Muscare, president of Local 2, spoke at a strike rally of 2,500 at Chicago's McCormick Inn on the fourth day of the strike. "I don't know where I'm going to get the money," he said referring to the fines. "What should we do?" he asked the strikers.

"Out!" they roared back.

Byrne responded to the union members' determination by hiring 400 people as strikebreakers from the fire department's eligibility list. They began training February 18. Byrne met with them, promising that their jobs would be more than temporary and threatening to fire all strikers.

When a local radio station asked Byrne if she was willing to negotiate with the union or federal mediators, she replied, "No, I am not. I will never again sit down with Mr. Muscare nor his men—not again, not ever."

The media have been on a vicious campaign against the fire fighters. But solidarity is growing in the city's union movement. Members of United Steelworkers' Local 15271 at Danly

Machine corporation voted to support the fire fighters strike.

Local President Joe Romano said, "I marched with the teachers. The Transit Authority workers went on strike to defend their basic contract. Now the fire fighters need our support. These unions affect all of us. We must support the need for workers all over to have a contract."

On February 18, Chicago Federation of Labor President William Lee called on Byrne to return to the negotiating table with the fire fighters.

Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois and a member of USWA Local 15271, issued a statement in support of the fire fighters strike.

He said, "Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne has shown she does not respect the rights of city workers or honor her campaign promises to labor and the Black and Latino communities of this city. She forced the transit workers out on strike to win a pay raise that was due them under the old contract. She forced the Chicago Teachers Union out on strike to keep their contract. It is clear that a contract without a no-strike clause is necessary so fire fighters can defend themselves.

"I urge the Chicago labor movement to organize a campaign in support of the fire fighters' strike."