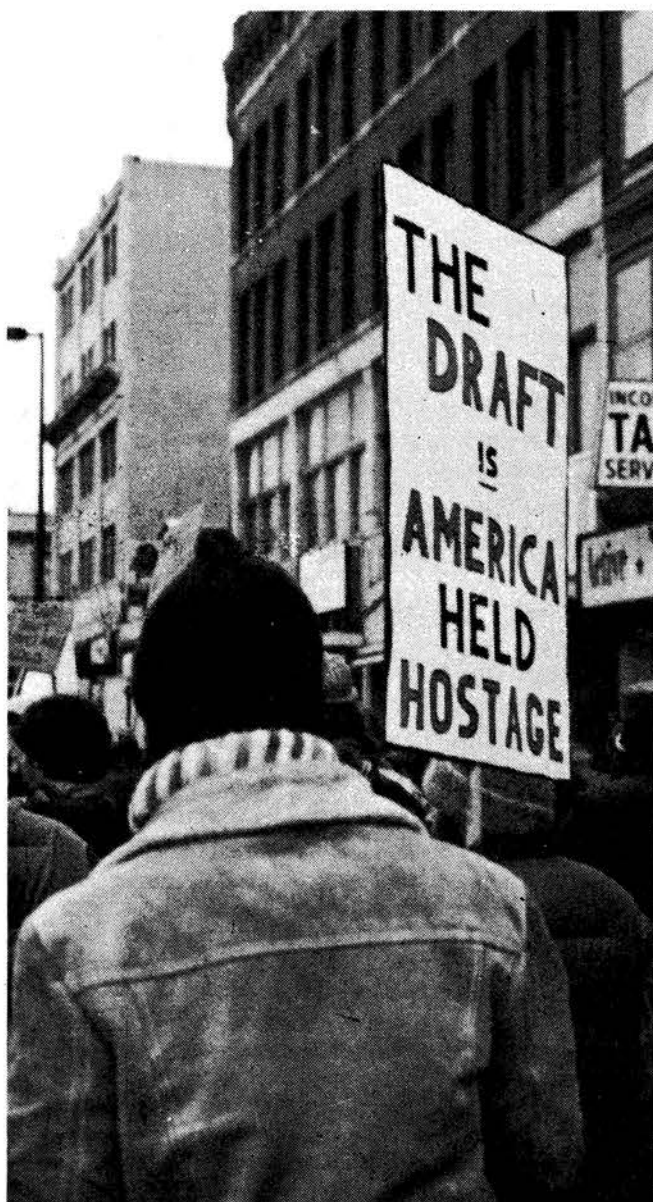


# THE MILITANT

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

## Antidraft protests spur march on D.C.

New forces back March 22 action



Militant

New Hampshire antidraft rally February 23 drew participants from across New England. From Los Angeles to Chicago, from Portland to Miami, activists are preparing for massive show of opposition to Carter's draft registration plan on March 22. Pages 3-4.

## Women & the Draft

## Cuban Leadership Fights Bureaucracy



FIDEL & RAUL

Speeches by Raul Castro

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT  
International  
Socialist  
INSIDE (COVER)



## AFL-CIO & the draft

The executive council of the AFL-CIO issued a statement February 25 supporting President Carter's draft registration plan "as an appropriate response that will demonstrate this nation's commitment to defense preparedness."

To compound the offense, the all-male body added: "We support the registration of women as consistent with our belief in equal rights."

The heirs of Vietnam warhawk George Meany could be expected to fall right in line with Carter. Worth noting, however, are the dissenting votes recorded by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, and George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union.

Among the reasons for Winpisinger's vote, his Washington office told the *Militant*, was the conviction that registration would inevitably lead to full-scale military conscription.

During the Vietnam war it took several years before any of the AFL-CIO leaders dared object to the official pro-war line. It is significant that this time voices have been heard at the outset.

When top union officials speak up it is to be warmly welcomed. It is a sure sign, moreover, that the union ranks are way out ahead. Winpisinger, who warned that the AFL-CIO risks alienating another generation of American youth, said as much.

The official AFL-CIO position on the draft is even more out of touch with the feelings of workers today than the AFL-CIO's pro-Vietnam-war stand a few years ago.

Every report from the grass roots level in the factories confirms that young workers, men and women, strongly object to the draft. More and more are aware that what is involved is just what the antidraft marchers say: "Hell, no; we won't go; we won't die for Texaco!" "One, two, three, four; we won't fight in Exxon's war!"

With this kind of feeling so strong, young workers will be looking for ways to act. They will more readily do so as dissenting voices are raised in the union movement.

The antidraft movement has a responsibility—and a historic opportunity—to seek out those voices and build labor support for the March 22 demonstration against registration and the draft.

## Inflation fightback

The official inflation rate in January was over 18 percent.

Last year the government price index rose 14 percent, hourly earnings less than 8 percent. Consumer purchasing power falls each month.

Carter tells workers to hold wage increases below 9.5 percent. Meanwhile he decontrols oil prices, increases inflationary war spending, and cuts unemployment pay.

One of Kennedy's advisers is a vice-president of Mobil Oil, but Kennedy does not advise Mobil to meet the demands of striking oil workers. Kennedy's most prominent supporter, Mayor Jane Byrne of Chicago, is trying to break the city unions.

Kennedy is now calling for wage controls like Nixon's in 1971. He knows controls always mean the same thing: wages are held down by the government and bosses, nobody holds down prices. Carter points out he is accomplishing the same thing without the formality of controls.

What can workers do?

The front line of the struggle is on the picket lines—with the oil workers, the International Harvester strikers, and the Chicago fire fighters. They need solidarity from the entire labor movement. Their success or failure in combating the austerity drive will affect the living standard of every working person.

And there is an alternative in the election. The Socialist Workers campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann is on the side of working people against the united attack by the bosses and their political mouthpieces.

The Democrats and Republicans want to limit wages. The socialists call for full cost-of-living escalators to protect all workers' wages, pensions, and other benefits from inflation.

The Democrats and Republicans are increasing the military budget. The socialists are for eliminating it.

The two capitalist parties support oil company profits. The socialists stand with the oil workers on the picket lines.

The capitalist politicians are decontrolling oil prices. The socialists call for nationalization of the energy industry.

The capitalists call for austerity for us while they get richer. The socialists point to the working people of Cuba and Nicaragua who are improving their lives, expanding social services. Why not in the United States?

## Carter's Iran fiasco

Carter administration officials feigned astonishment when the Iranian government called again for the return of the shah and declared support to the students occupying the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

Carter hinted that the opening of hearings by a United Nations Commission of the crimes of the shah, and on Washington's role in installing his regime, would be accompanied by the immediate release of the hostages in the embassy.

Carter presents the commission as a slick maneuver to get the hostages released and build up his prestige.

But armless, legless, and blind people who come in busloads to Tehran and wait in the snow to testify about the shah's torture have another view.

Carter refuses to admit that the Iranian demands are just. "There's no way the Panamanians are going to turn the shah over," a White House aide arrogantly stated.

But if Carter hasn't changed his position, the Iranian people haven't changed their minds, either.

On February 11, the first anniversary of the insurrection in Iran, millions marched to denounce U.S. imperialism. On February 20 Khomeini called on the Iranian people to fight until the shah and the wealth he stole are returned to Iran.

Despite press speculation that he is cracking down on the students, President Bani-Sadr stood on top of the embassy wall February 25 to address thousands at a mass anti-imperialist rally. He called the students "young patriots" and praised their action.

Iranians see Carter's refusal to turn over the shah as a threat of U.S. intervention. They know that the CIA moved in during a previous revolution to put the shah back on the throne in 1953.

From day one of the embassy occupation, Carter could have assured the safe release of the hostages by simply returning the shah to stand trial for his crimes.

But Carter is no more concerned about the hostages than he is about the rights of the Iranians. The delay in the Americans' release lies on his shoulders.

Send back the shah!

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### A coal miner for governor

West Virginia socialist Tom Moriarty is first declared candidate against incumbent John D. Rockefeller IV. Page 8.

### Peru left runs Hugo Blanco for president

A united left-wing slate in Peru's May national elections is winning broad support among workers and farmers. Page 23.



### Chicago labor's showdown with Byrne

Chicago's powerful industrial unions are rallying to defend striking firefighters from union-busting assault by Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne. Page 6.



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# Antidraft protests across country build momentum for march on Washington

Bella Abzug, Dave Dellinger, and Michael Harrington are among the initial speakers obtained for the March 22 National Mobilization Against the Draft in Washington, D.C. The march organizers also plan to invite union leaders and members of Congress who have endorsed the march.

The parade route is not yet certain, but initial plans call for assembling at the Ellipse at noon; from there the march will step off, past the White House and on to the Capitol for the rally.

Buttons, posters, and other materials that can be used to publicize the demonstration will be available March 1. Write: March 22 National Mobilization Against the Draft, c/o United States Student Association, 1220 G Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone: (202) 667-6000.

The committee is producing placards and banners with its slogan: "No registration, no draft, no cold war!" But it also strongly urges local groups to bring their own signs and banners.

## Union support

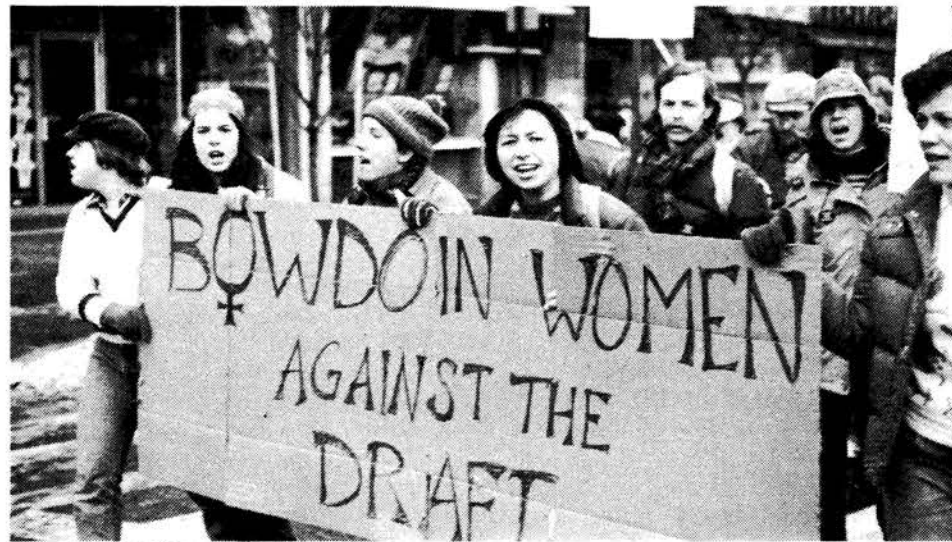
The New York delegate assembly of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees adopted a resolution February 26 stating "that all efforts to reinstitute military registration and the draft be rejected and opposed by this union."

To back up its stand, the meeting also voted to endorse the March 22 antidraft demonstration and to send buses to Washington. District Council 37, representing 97,000 workers, is the largest union in New York City.

## Portland march

More than 1,500 people, mostly men and women of high school and college age, marched in Portland February 16 to protest Carter's plan to reinstate the draft.

The highly spirited demonstration featured such slogans as "Employment, Not Deployment!", "ERA Yes, Draft No!", and "1-2-3-4, We Won't



New Hampshire antidraft protest

## Fight in Exxon's War!

A speaker from Reed College Students Against the Draft (SAD) received loud cheers and applause when he scored the U.S. government for trying to force young people to shed their blood to protect corporate profits.

The march was sponsored by local chapters of SAD and the Oregon Coalition Against the Draft.

## '15,000 calls & letters'

Jon Landau, a staff attorney for the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia, reported February 8 "the largest outpouring of opposition to conscription ever experienced at the CCCO."

"Since the President's [State of the Union] message," Landau continued, "the old antiwar spirit has revived on the campuses and schools."

Larry Spears, director of the CCCO's conscientious-objector campaign estimated that "15,000 calls and letters have come in from every state in the country, and for the first time virtually all the mail and calls strongly oppose the return of registration."

## Albany students

About 350 people chanted spirited

antidraft slogans as they marched from the Navy recruiting center to downtown Albany on February 10.

The march, organized by the newly formed Albany Peace Coalition, included many students; about half the participants were women.

Ember Ragusa captured the feeling of many when she said, "If they want to fight a war, then old, rich, white men should fight it."

Few Blacks took part, but the march received a friendly response when it passed through the heart of the Black community.

"Antidraft sentiment is burgeoning," reports *Militant* correspondent Mark Chalkley.

## West Coast & Midwest actions

Southern California antidraft activists who can't make it to Washington, D.C. on March 22 can rally instead at MacArthur Park in Los Angeles. The antidraft rally was decided upon by a February 23-24 membership conference of the Southern California Alliance for Survival.

Northern Californians will march and rally in San Francisco on March 22. The demonstration, decided upon

by the West Coast Mobilization Against the Draft, will demand, "No registration, no to the draft, no war!"

And Chicagoans have their choice. Buses to Washington are being organized by the Chicago Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Those who can't make the journey are urged to come to the sendoff rally, March 21 at 4:00 p.m. in Daley Plaza. Buses will leave right afterwards.

Chicago CARD has also set up a subcommittee charged with obtaining labor support for March 22. They plan to appeal to over 100 area unions.

## Miami rally

About 160 antidraft protesters rallied in downtown Miami February 24 in a demonstration sponsored by CARD and the American Friends Service Committee.

Roy Fauntroy of SCLC told the crowd that Blacks have "a battle to fight right here, not in some other country."

Brad Stocker of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee said that the recent events in Iran and Afghanistan are being used by the government to whip up a war hysteria, much like the Gulf of Tonkin incident before the Vietnam war. He warned that Nicaragua might be a target of future U.S. intervention.

## Ann Arbor boycott

The student government at the College of Literature, Science and Arts of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor has called for a university-wide boycott of classes March 20 to build support for the March 22 antidraft demonstration. The college, with 15,000 students, is the largest in the university complex.

Also scheduled at the University of Michigan March 13-15 is a teach-in, being organized by CARD and other groups.

(This week's draft news was sent in by *'Militant'* correspondents Ray Markey, Jim Callahan, Betsy Cummings, Mark Chalkley, and Darren Crown. Compiled by Gus Horowitz.)

# SCLC leader speaks out against the draft

By August Nimtz

NEWARK, N.J.—Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, declared on February 21 his unequivocal opposition to President Carter's attempts to bring back the draft.

"Let them draft the rich old men who are always making decisions to send poor young men to die," he said at a meeting of 150 people here.

Lowery explained that the U.S. Army is now 33 percent Black, and that Blacks make up 47 percent of the combat divisions. "Now who's going to die in a war?" he asked the virtually all-Black audience.

Lowery, who spoke on the topic

"Blacks as International Citizens," criticized those who say that Blacks have no need to be concerned with foreign policy matters. The same forces that make this false claim, he said, were some of the "sharpest critics" of Martin Luther King when he spoke out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Blacks, Lowery said, must realize that "whenever defense spending increases, [government] spending in the ghetto decreases."

"We must recognize that the same multinational corporations that exist here in Newark are also in South Africa."

If Blacks had been making foreign policy, he went on, the U.S. would not

be in the trouble it is in Iran. "The shah couldn't have fooled us."

Referring to the CIA-backed coup in 1953 that put the shah in power, Lowery said that the American hostages were taken in Tehran because "U.S. foreign policy reinstituted the reign of a corrupt despot" over the Iranian people.

Rebuking some Black leaders who were critical of the Iranians for releasing the Black and women hostages in December, Lowery declared, "I said hallelujah!" They were released, he said, because Khomeini and the Iranian people "wanted to identify with the oppressed—and Blacks and women are certainly oppressed."



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# What do New Hampshire primaries show?

By Fred Feldman

Elections in the United States provide a distorted image, at best, of the thinking of American working people.

This is especially true of primaries, where only a small minority of people—mostly from better-off and older sectors of the population—even bother to cast ballots.

Competition in the primaries typically hinges on which candidate can present the most attractively packaged personality. The real issues get shunted to the side.

Capitalist politicians like that kind of campaigning, since it gives them flexibility after the elections to carry out whatever policies are needed by the banks and corporations.

The New Hampshire primary February 26 was no exception to this norm. But the Democratic Party results did give a few indications of changes in American politics.

President Carter got just under 50 percent of the vote, slightly more than the combined vote of Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy and California Gov. Jerry Brown.

For the most part, the capitalist media have been campaigning for Carter, portraying him as a firm leader who is guiding the country through difficult international crises. They have been picturing Kennedy as a man who always says the wrong thing.

This image-making has an impact. But it represents a turnabout.

Some months ago Carter was being presented as a bumbling incompetent, while Kennedy was described as a dynamic leader who might pull the country together.

Neither candidate experienced any big personality changes in the intervening time, however.

What changed was the estimate of who could best impose austerity on

working people and reverse the "Vietnam syndrome" (the capitalist media's way of describing the persistence of antiwar feeling among most working people).

Events in Iran and Afghanistan led the millionaire "opinion molders" to try to rally support for the president, as he proposed major increases in the arms budget and moved to institute draft registration.

The media claimed there was overwhelming support for Carter's proposals.

Carter was thus the beneficiary of the massive propaganda campaign against the Iranian and Afghan revolutions, and against the Soviet Union.

Trying to keep his campaign going, Kennedy shifted his tack. As the supposed front-runner last fall, he had been presenting himself as an advocate of austerity and a "man of the center." Now he has turned toward the left.

Since the media were not going to help him manufacture a more pleasing image, Kennedy decided to bid for support by challenging Carter on some of the issues.

He denounced the shah of Iran and blamed Washington for provoking the crisis with Iran by allowing the royal torturer into this country.

He opposed moves to reinstitute draft registration, and hinted at opposition to Carter's war threats in the Persian Gulf.

He said he would defend the deteriorating standard of living of working people.

Most recently, he shifted his stance on nuclear power, adopting one more appealing to the millions of working people who oppose nuclear power plants.

Gov. Brown, whose campaign had begun to flounder even earlier, made a

similar leftward shift months ago.

Hedrick Smith reported in the February 27 *New York Times*, that most Kennedy voters favored "more domestic spending, opposed building more nuclear power plants, and were less inclined to back sending American troops to the Middle East to protect Western oil supplies. . . .

"Mr. Kennedy also did better among voters who disapproved of President Carter's handling of the economy and even more strikingly among the one-third of the voters who believed that their family financial situations had grown worse in the last years." Kennedy narrowed the gap, as he began to pick up support on these issues.

The vote indicated that these sentiments went much deeper than the ruling rich would like.

Carter won the primary, but Kennedy and Brown won enough votes to stay in the race. They will use this as a basis for shoving Carter aside if he falters—or if big business changes its preference again.

Working people and students who backed Kennedy and Brown were trying to find a way to show their opposition to war and austerity. But they are making a mistake.

Neither Kennedy nor Brown has any intention of carrying out promises to block the draft or stop building nuclear power plants. Neither would decide any policies at all from the standpoint of working people. Both are just trying to get nominated and then elected.

Their election pitches as underdogs today aren't much different from the ones Carter made from the same position four years ago.

The ruling rich may not like everything that Kennedy or Brown says in the scramble for votes, but they are glad that these candidates are helping

to keep opposition to Carter's policies bottled up in the capitalist parties.

Once in office, the billionaires know that Kennedy or Brown would be just as subservient as Carter has been.



Hear the  
Socialist  
Workers  
candidates



## ATLANTA SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY

Speaker:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president  
Sunday, March 2, 8 p.m.  
509 Peachtree Street, NE.  
Donation: \$2  
For more information call  
(404) 872-7229

## SAN DIEGO SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY

Speaker:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president  
Sunday, March 9, 6 p.m.  
Buffet dinner and rally: \$2.50  
Casa Real, Aztec Center  
San Diego State University  
For more information call  
(714) 234-4630

## Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Feb 29-

March 21	Bay Area
March 6-16	Los Angeles
March 10-11	San Diego
March 23-26	Portland

## Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Feb. 29-

March 1	Birmingham
March 2-4	Atlanta
March 9-11	Newport News, Va.
March 16-17	Baltimore
March 21-22	Washington, D.C.

For more information, call the SWP branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

# Zimmermann joins N.H. protests against draft on eve of primaries

By David Marshall

MANCHESTER, N.H.—Three days before the nation's first primary, 300 New England antidraft activists marched through downtown Manchester to tell the government and the candidates, "Stop registration, stop the draft!"

Chanting, "Hell, no, we won't go; we won't die for Texaco!" the enthusiastic crowd marched past headquarters of Democratic and Republican hopefuls who have centered their campaigns on this state in recent weeks.

Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann was the only candidate who participated in the march.

Many protesters were attending their first demonstration. "The draft is a first step towards war," said Beth Brewster, a student at New England College. "I think we can stop registration before it starts."

Others had once protested against the Vietnam War. "I have three draft-age sons," explained Rudy Taster, a teacher from Wellesley, Massachusetts. "We're headed for another war, and I'm here today taking action to make sure that doesn't happen."

The two-mile march, which was sponsored by the New Hampshire Committee Against Registration and the Draft and the New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union, ended in a spirited outdoor rally. Speakers included Nobel biologist George Wald, Bruce Byer of Boston Alliance Against Racism and the Draft, David Landau of New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union, and antinuke advocate Tom Hayden.

Stu Steinberg, formerly of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, reminded the demonstrators that "the children of the ruling class will always find a way out of the draft," while working-class youth would run all the risks.



Matilde Zimmermann, SWP vice-presidential candidate, told New Hampshire antiwar protesters that draft has nothing to do with women's rights.

University of New Hampshire student Cindy Katz spoke for millions of draft-age women when she said that "drafting us to fight and kill for oil is unacceptable. . . . We will not be drafted to give Carter the power to enter into new military adventures."

A few speakers prefaced their talks by denouncing Soviet moves in Afghanistan, but these remarks got no applause.

Matilde Zimmermann's speech was interrupted several times with loud applause. "I was mad when I heard that Carter wanted to reinstate the draft," she said. "But what made me the maddest was when I heard Carter, who has never done anything for women's rights, presenting the registration of women as an achievement for women's rights. The draft has nothing to do with equality for anybody."

The crowd cheered when Zimmermann recalled that many young people whom she had met on her recent tour of Nicaragua were excited to hear of the antidraft movement in the U.S. "They see antidraft demonstrators here as their sisters and brothers in the fight against U.S. imperialism," she explained.

Zimmermann pointed out that all of the Democratic and Republican candidates favor a pro-war foreign policy. "That is why I'm running as a socialist," she said. "That's why working people need their own party based on the labor unions. We can never end the draft by relying on the two capitalist war parties."

Zimmermann ended her speech by telling the demonstrators that regardless of their view of the candidates, the only way to stop the draft is by building demonstrations like this one and like the March 22 and April 26 actions in Washington.



# Birmingham reopens church bombing case

By Lee Smith

BIRMINGHAM—The Birmingham police and the county district attorney's office have reopened the investigation of the 1963 bombing of a church here in which four Black girls died.

The officials acted two days after the *New York Times* reported on a Justice Department document that reveals the FBI blocked prosecution of four Ku Klux Klan members identified as the perpetrators of the bombing.

A week after officials here announced they were reopening the investigation, District Attorney Earl Morgan's office told the *Militant* they still had not received a copy of the Justice Department report!

The Justice Department report on the FBI's shielding of the KKK killers was completed seven months ago. It remained secret until the *Times* obtained a copy and reported on it February 17.

The reluctance of the Carter administration to make the report available to Birmingham authorities indicates continuing efforts to cover up that racist crime.

The Rev. Abraham Woods, pastor of

St. Joseph's Baptist Church and a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, told the *Militant* February 26 he was "deeply distressed" by newspaper accounts of the Justice Department report.

Woods said SCLC would "do whatever we can to move this case forward and bring these arch-villains to justice. Justice in this case is long overdue."

Woods's sentiments were echoed by the Rev. Franklin Tate, another SCLC leader. Tate said he was gratified that the case has been opened but it still remained to be seen whether justice will be done.

Paul Carruba, president of the North Side Community, told an SCLC meeting at St. Joseph's February 25 that he remembered the heavy police surveillance in 1963 of the KKK target, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Carruba said he found it "impossible to believe" the bombs could have been planted without police collusion.

"The people of my community are fed up" with the delay in justice in this case, Carruba said. He urged that all



Removal of bodies of four young girls killed in bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. FBI still withholds evidence on KKK perpetrators.

the relevant police and government files be opened to speed conclusion of the case.

Mohammed Oliver, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Birmingham mayor last fall, told the *Militant* he agreed with Carruba.

"The Justice Department report,

along with all the FBI files on which it is based, needs to be made public," Oliver said. "Let the truth come out! The Black community and all the working people of Birmingham need the facts so we can force the government to stop protecting these racist murderers and bring them to justice."

## Pulley tours for upcoming Mass. ballot drive

By John Rees

Capping a two-day visit to Massachusetts, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley appeared at an SWP campaign rally February 16 in Boston. Pulley's tour was aimed at winning support for the big drive coming up to get the socialist ticket on the ballot in Massachusetts.

The importance of the ballot effort was a theme as Pulley talked to workers at the gate of the General Electric plant in Lynn; to students at a meeting organized by the Politics Club of the Roxbury Community College; and appeared on the popular television program, "The Good Day Show."

Pulley also spoke to 400 high-school

students during a three-day mock convention at Kearsage Regional High School in New Hampshire. Campaign supporters sold sixty antidraft buttons, and one hundred other campaign buttons to the students.

Braving the first snowstorm of the year, about seventy people attended the Saturday night rally. They heard Marc Schneider, a laid-off Amtrak worker who is SWP candidate for congress from the ninth district, describe the effort needed to win a place on the November ballot for Pulley, Zimmermann, Schneider, and Nelson Gonzalez (a General Electric worker who is the SWP candidate for congress from the fifth district).

"The state requires us to get 39,245 signatures on nomination petitions to get Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot. The undemocratic nature of this requirement is obvious. Massachusetts is equal in population to North Carolina, but it takes four times as many signatures to get parties other than the Republicans and Democrats on the ballot in this supposedly more progressive state than it does in North Carolina.

"In addition, the time during which petitioning must be done has been moved from late to early spring—when weather conditions can deal heavy blows to petitioning efforts.

"The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party plans a four week petitioning

campaign beginning in late March. The drive will include four massive weekend petitioning efforts, in addition to regular daily petitioning.

"Socialist Workers will use the petitioning drive to take the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign to all the major population centers in the state. The campaign committee intends to go well over the 40,000 target set by the state officials."

Schneider urged everyone present to help with petitioning. *Militant* readers who want to lend a hand should contact the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 510 Commonwealth Avenue. (617) 262-4621.

## Socialist Workers Campaign sets \$50,000 goal

By L. Paltrineri

In protest demonstrations and teach-ins all across the United States, growing numbers of working people and youth are expressing opposition to Carter's proposed draft registration.

These actions indicate deep-going discontent with the war drive being pressed by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president

and vice-president, are giving that discontent a voice in the 1980 elections. They stand opposed to the austerity and war-mongering policies of Carter, Connally, Reagan, Bush, Brown, Kennedy, and the like.

As Pulley and Zimmermann tour the country in the coming weeks, they will be winning support for the March 22 antidraft march in Washington, D.C.

At rallies and teach-ins, on campuses and at plant gates, they will provide socialist answers to the draft, inflation, Klan terrorism, discrimination against women, and other injustices of capitalism.

In order to take full advantage of these opportunities, the Socialist Workers presidential campaign has launched a \$50,000 fund drive to run from March 1 to June 15. Funds will come primarily from contributions made at meetings for the candidates and from donations by *Militant* readers and others who want this campaign to be heard. We hope you will help in this effort.

What will \$50,000 mean for the socialist campaign this spring? The biggest challenge is the drive to get the socialist ticket on the ballot in thirty states.

Because the capitalist parties do everything they can to stack the electoral process against working people, this isn't going to be easy. It requires collecting more than half a million signatures, paying filing and other fees, and being prepared to meet official attempts to deny Pulley and Zimmermann their right to a place on the ballot.

But it can be done. In the coming months socialist campaign supporters will take to the streets, petitioning and talking to hundreds of thousands of people about the socialist alternative. And more people than ever before will want

to hear what socialists have to say.

The SWP ballot drive got off to a tremendous start by obtaining more than 18,000 signatures on petitions in North Carolina—nearly twice what the state law required.

One of the next ballot efforts will take place in Massachusetts, where socialist campaign supporters aim to get well over the 39,000 signatures on petitions required by state law.

Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy tries to pass himself off as a friend of working people by posing as a foe of the draft and nuclear power—just like Carter did in 1976. Getting on the ballot in Massachusetts will enable socialists to challenge this con game right on Kennedy's home turf.

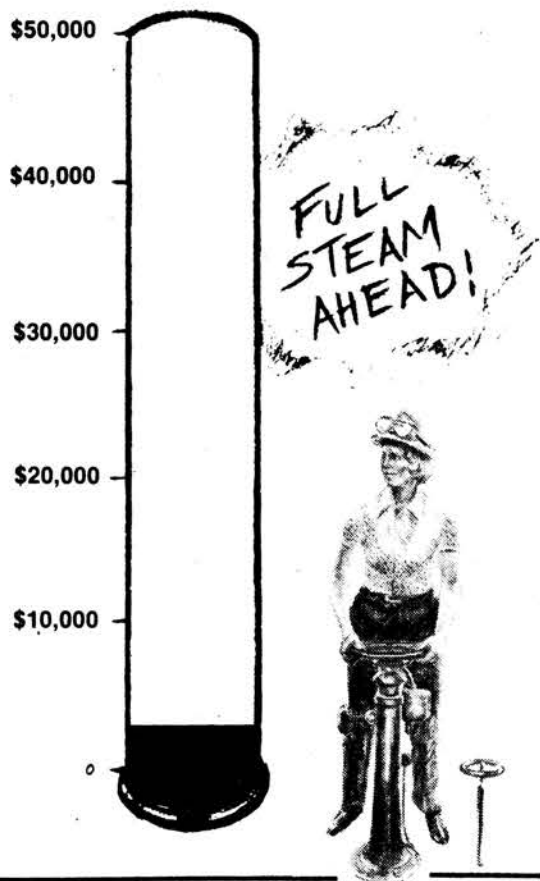
Your contribution is important. It will help assure success for the SWP's ballot efforts in 1980, and that means candidates representing the interests of the working class will reach millions of people in 1980.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union/School/Org. \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:  
Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee,  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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





# Steelworkers back Chicago fire fighters

By Lee Artz

CHICAGO—Four thousand people rallied here February 23 to express solidarity with the city's striking fire fighters.

They roared approval when Fire Fighters representative Michael Lass declared "No contract, no work!"

Throughout the militant rally, speakers were interrupted with the chant, "Free Frank Muscare!" Muscare, president of the local Fire Fighters Union, has been sentenced to five months in jail for defying a court antistrike order.

A broad array of unions endorsed and joined the rally, including the

Steelworkers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Chicago Teachers Union; Typographical Workers; and Service Employees.

James Balanoff, director of Steelworkers District 31, said that "the steelworkers gathered in this district pledge moral, financial, and physical support if necessary—physical support by staffing the picket lines."

Balanoff had earlier attended a meeting of Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel, a local of 18,000 members, and urged them to support

the fire fighters strike and attend the rally.

A statement was issued to the press by Balanoff; Ed Sadlowski, sub-district director; and Alice Peurala, president of Steelworkers Local 65, condemning the union-busting activities of the city.

The rally was a beginning step in mobilizing the area's powerful industrial unions in the showdown between Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne's administration and the city's public employee unions.

A tentative agreement between the city and the fire fighters, reported on February 20, broke down when the city barred some fire fighters from returning to work. Muscare was then jailed.

At *Militant* press time the city re-

fuses to negotiate with the strikers.

The fire fighters are pressing for negotiations that include Muscare; they reject any compromise that calls for a return to work without a contract.

The news media have mounted a hysterical campaign to blame the fire fighters for deaths that have occurred since the strike began. The facts, however, belie these claims.

On February 22, for instance, two children died in a fire. The fire was finally brought under control by striking fire fighters themselves. The children might have been saved. But police, acting under orders from Mayor Byrne, prevented the strikers from taking fire fighting equipment from a firehouse one block away.

## W. Virginia miners on strike

MORGANTOWN, W. Va., Feb. 27—Nearly 6,000 coal miners were away from their jobs today in sympathy with United Mine Workers members at a Consolidation mine in Four States, West Virginia. The miners at Consol's Number 20 mine walked out February 21.

The strike has closed all Consol mines in north-central West Virginia, one of the nation's highest coal-producing regions. In a powerful show of solidarity, miners working for Eastern, Republic, Bethlehem, Southern Ohio, and Badger companies also refused to go to work. It is the most significant job action since the end of the 110-day contract strike in March 1978.

Consol officials at the Four States mine provoked the walkout when

they suspended, "subject to discharge," Local 4060 President Mike Zemonick and two members of the mine committee. The trumped-up charges were "insubordination, acting irresponsibly, and instigating a work stoppage."

One of the picketing miners here told the *Militant* that Consol had framed the mine committee. "If they're allowed to get away with firing the mine committee then there will not be a committeeman or union officer's job that is safe at any of the mines in this district," he said.

"This is another step to take away control of the miner's life, just as they did in the early part of the century. We need to stand together to put a stop to Consol's effort to break the backbone of our union."



Over 4,000 rallied February 23 to defend fire fighters from union-busting by Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne.

## 'Silent muggers'—oil workers expose companies

By Jana Pellusch

Anthony Mazzocchi, director of health and safety for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, charged the oil companies with endangering the health and safety of the surrounding communities by operating refineries during the strike with inexperienced managers and non-union salaried employees.

"The community as a whole is being silently mugged," he said on February 11 at a union-sponsored meeting held at the University of Houston. "During a strike, the area around a refinery becomes one big toxic dump. The regu-

latory agencies are not doing their job."

David Arnold, an operator at Crown refinery in Houston, and one of several striking oil workers who have firsthand accounts of the danger, reported witnessing the release of catalytic dust from the fluid catalytic cracking units. This dust, comprised mainly of silica, causes scarring of lung tissue when inhaled.

Ralph Loupe, an operator at the Arco refinery in Houston, reported a gasoline spill in a water-ditch extending along the public road. A similar spill inside the plant several years ago resulted in two deaths from a fire that was ignited by a passing motorist's cigarette.

A member of local 4-228 in Port Neches recounted an incident in which the driver of a tank truck loaded with liquified petroleum gas noticed a stream of vapors coming out of the relief valve on top of the truck.

He had to drive outside the city limits, escorted by the local sheriff, so that fire fighters could spray the truck with water to bring the pressure down and close the valve.

If the driver hadn't noticed the vapors, a serious tragedy could have occurred. The truck had been loaded at the refinery by a computer programmer acting as a strikebreaker.

Leo Reidel, president of local 4-449 in Texas City, blasted "the 'big lie' being put out by the oil industry: that those who taught the workers are now the operators of the plants," and that the plants are easily run because they are highly automated. Reidel explained the training program for an operator: four to six weeks of general orientation, followed by work alongside an experienced union operator.

"The jet plane is highly automated," he added "but would you fly across the country in one piloted by a ticket agent?"

Dr. Sharon Itaya, Occupation Health Specialist for OCAW District 4, reported that union members were being told by local pollution control offices

that standards had been suspended for plants where the workers are on strike.

She exposed a pro-company loophole in the Texas Clean Air Act that permits the violation of public safety standards in cases caused by "an act of God, war, strike, riot, or other catastrophe."

During the discussion period representatives of the National Petroleum Refiners' Association and the Texas Air Control Board rose to defend themselves, but the audience had clearly been convinced by the arguments of the union speakers, and couldn't be turned around.

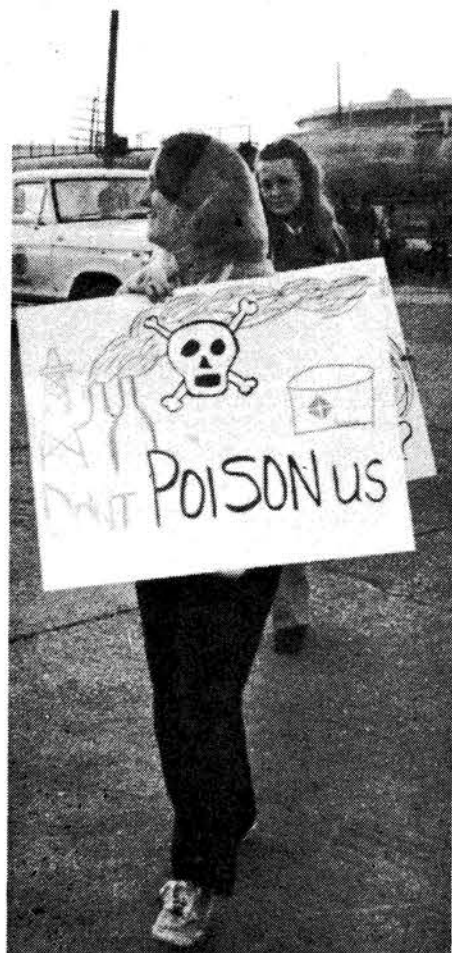
Mazzocchi also pointed out company responsibility for long-term health hazards in the oil industry. OCAW, he said, working with the National Cancer Institute, has documented the high cancer risk in Texas counties

where the petrochemical plants are located. OCAW is also studying the connection between work exposure to hazardous substances and subsequent birth defects.

"The fact that our union is the first and the only body to do such research is an indictment of the oil industry and the federal regulatory agencies," he said. "Only through worker perception and worker disclosure will we and the public know about the dangers posed to us by the oil industry."

Mazzocchi called for joint committees of union and community representatives to demand public disclosure of vital information related to health that the oil companies are keeping secret.

"Let the scientific community and the public at large be the judge," he said.



Militant/Andrea Lubrano

Oil worker spouses protest non-union plant operators.

## Calif. labor plans strike support

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—Forty-one top officers of the California labor movement, including John F. Henning, the Executive Secretary Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, and the heads of the Central Labor Councils in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Mateo counties, issued an appeal February 21 for solidarity with the striking oil workers. Auto, steel, longshore and machinists union leaders also signed the appeal.

In a letter sent to mobilize support from 800 unionists and labor organizations in the Bay Area, the labor officials explain that "the leaders and members of OCAW are digging in for a long, hard battle. We want to help the OCAW members now, during these crucial days when they need such help, in order that the involved companies will well understand that no union

or union member in the San Francisco Bay Area need ever walk alone."

The appeal was warmly welcomed by the striking oil workers. Jake Jacobs, executive secretary of OCAW Local 1-5, reported the news to a meeting of 200 strikers in Martinez, California, saying that the labor movement in the Bay Area was going "to serve notice on the employers that we're not going to fight in the conventional manner."

"When the employers see labor getting together, when they see us beginning to mobilize our allies, when we reach out to the women fighting for the ERA and to the environmentalists, and when we go into the streets and explain our ideas in mass meetings, then you'll begin to see a crack in their armor."

The first meeting to plan Bay Area labor solidarity actions was set for February 28.



## Britain:

# Steel strike vs. Tories

By Gus Horowitz

The British steel strike, now almost two months old, is shaping up into a major test of strength between the British workers and the Conservative Party (Tory) government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The strike by 100,000 workers at the government-owned British Steel Corporation (BSC), which produces more than 85 percent of the country's output, is the first national strike by steelworkers since the 1926 general strike by all workers in Britain.

Key issues in the strike are jobs and wages.

The workers, organized mainly by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, are demanding a wage raise of 20 percent to keep up with the 17.5 percent rate of inflation. The maximum that the BSC has offered is 8 percent (originally only 2 percent!), with an additional 4 percent linked to productivity increases.

The issue of jobs, however, is even more crucial for the steelworkers. The BSC is pressing to eliminate 52,000 jobs, a third of the total work force. With only 152,000 jobs now existing in steel, a decline from the 1965 total of 317,000, this looms as a stunning blow.

Reaction to the proposed job cuts has been sharpest in Wales, where the Wales Trades Union Congress estimates that 15-16,000 jobs would be lost in the coal industry in addition to the 20-21,000 in steel. As many as 81,000 Welsh workers, in all, could be affected.

This frightening prospect led to a solidarity strike by 200,000 Welsh workers on January 28. So militant was the mood that even moderate union leaders were carried away and began talking in terms of a general strike. But it remains to be seen what support there will be for the call, issued by the South Wales National Union of Miners, for an indefinite job action

beginning March 10.

The capitalist class had backed away from a confrontation with the miners last year, conceding them a 21 percent wage increase (breaking the proposed government ceiling of 15 percent). The bosses were counting on the union leaders in steel to be a soft touch.

But steelworker militancy, reflected in the popular slogans, "Not less than 20 percent!" and "No strings!" (no linking of wage increases to productivity), has dealt the Tory plans a blow.

On February 14, workers in eleven small steel unions rejected, by a two-to-one margin, an agreement that the union tops had negotiated.

The same day steelworkers went out on strike at Hadfield's, a private company, ringing the plant with 1,000 pickets.

This was a blow to the Tories, who had been counting on an earlier court injunction by Lord Denning to prevent the extension of the strike to the private companies. Such an extension, Denning had ruled, would turn the strike into a political conflict between the steel unions and the government.

It has been clear from the beginning, however, that the strike was eminently political, a defensive battle caused by the Tory antilabor offensive on wages and jobs.

Moreover, the outcome of the strike will affect millions of other British workers. This explains the hard-line stance by the Tory government, which has encouraged police, court, and legislative crackdowns on the steelworkers.

The strike has also had international repercussions. Elsewhere in West Europe, recent cutbacks have affected 200,000 steel jobs. Big strikes and protest marches by steelworkers have occurred in Germany and France over the past two years. Feelings of solidarity with the British steelworkers run high.

## Newport News:

# Contract talks stalled

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Newport News Shipyard made its negotiating stance with United Steelworkers Local 8888 public on February 14. It was anything but a Valentine.

In a news conference and at a meeting of area business executives, shipyard President Edward Campbell made it clear that the contract the Steelworkers seek won't come easy.

Campbell also took dead aim at USWA Local 8417, the embattled union representing shipyard marine designers.

Forcing a decertification election to oust the local had been "taken on as a cause" by the employers, he said.

The shipyard president then attacked labor's rights to safety on the job. The company would sue the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) over any fines leveled for shipyard safety violations, Campbell said.

Campbell reported that the shipyard increased profits last year to \$32 million, a jump of more than 228 percent despite the union's eighty-five-day strike for union recognition.

But, Campbell said, "we've got a long way to go on profits." Tenneco, the oil-rich owner of the yard, has assets of nearly \$14 billion. Its 1979 net profits showed a 24 percent increase over 1978.

The last general wage increase for shipyard workers here was 6.9 percent in November 1978, a bone tossed to head off Local 8888's battle for recognition.

The need for a serious wage increase

was the talk of the yard the morning of February 15. Members of Local 8888's negotiating committee explained to unionists going to work that the shipyard's economic package was totally unacceptable.

Tenneco had insisted on a recess on February 1 that lasted until the reopening of economic talks on February 13. This prompted anger at company stalling and discussion of the possible need for a strike.

"Everyone in my shop was talking," a young pipefitter told the *Militant*. "We heard Tenneco offered a 7 percent raise. Everyone was ready to walk if we didn't get enough to keep up with inflation."

"I need at the bottom line \$1.50 an hour up front to catch up with last year," a welding repairman told the *Militant*.

"Tenneco doesn't give a damn about working people," he said, "but we haven't gotten organized to go home with nothing."

On February 23, USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher told the media, "We today view negotiations with the shipyard as being at an impasse."

With no bargaining session slated, he added that "details will be thoroughly discussed at a Local 8888 membership meeting March 7."

Many union members are enthusiastic about the March 7 meeting.

A shipfitter put it this way: "We've been fighting for almost four years. Tenneco thinks it can do to us what it did to the designers. But they're wrong. This is our most important meeting ever."

## Zimbabwe elections:

# Racists fear results

Will Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) emerge at the head of a black-ruled Zimbabwe? The British imperialists and white settlers who ran Rhodesia until now are clearly worried that the answer is yes.

Upon his return from exile, Mugabe was welcomed at Salisbury by a throng estimated at 250,000 by *New York Times* correspondent John Burns. With the election scheduled for February 27-29, Burns notes that "Mr. Mugabe enters the final stage of the campaign as the clear front-runner."

Mugabe's opponents have responded with two assassination attempts. On February 6 a hand grenade was thrown at his house. On February 10, an eighty-pound bomb narrowly missed destroying his car as he drove away from a campaign rally.

"The attack on my life," Mugabe declared, "was just one of many incidents in a strategy mounted by the British, the South Africans and the Rhodesians to disable my party."

Mugabe has not been the only target. There have been at least twelve attacks on ZANU officials, including a grenade attack in the town of Chipinga February 9 in which two of Mugabe's supporters were killed.

Lord Soames, who has dictatorial powers as British colonial governor until the installation of a new government, responded to the assassination

attempts against Mugabe by charging *Mugabe and ZANU* with using intimidation against their opponents! Soames banned Enos Nkala, a key ZANU candidate, from playing any further role in the election campaign, and on February 12 he threatened to cancel the voting in three areas where nearly half the Black voters live and where Mugabe is expected to do well.

In addition to such maneuvers, aimed at preventing a Mugabe victory by disenfranchising much of the Black population, there have been threats of a military coup if Mugabe should win the vote.

The imperialists are fearful that a clear-cut victory for Mugabe at the polls would inspire the masses of workers and peasants to push forward their demands for economic and social changes in their interests. On the other hand, lack of a clear majority by any one group—including the other main liberation organization, the Zimbabwe African People's Union led by Joshua Nkomo—would give the imperialists greater room to maneuver and play off one group against another.

However, as Mugabe pointed out earlier this month: "We are the party that started the war, and we are the party that brought the peace. Let no one believe that we cannot go back to war again if we are denied a legitimate victory by peaceful means."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Mugabe greets supporters

## U.S. team sees intimidation

The following statement was released February 20 by George Houser and Tilden LeMelle, members of a team of four Americans in Zimbabwe to observe the upcoming elections. Houser is executive director of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), and LeMelle is a professor at Hunter College in New York City and ACOA treasurer.

Free and fair elections in usual sense are impossible in Rhodesia now. The best that can be said is that if results are accepted without a complete breakdown, a tolerable peace may be realized.

Guns are everywhere—the Rhodesian army; the so-called auxiliaries, some 22,000 representing politically the muscle for [Bishop Abel] Muzorewa; some guerrilla groups still at large outside the assembly points; and individual whites carrying rifles and revolvers as they travel around.

In the countryside the people are certainly intimidated. In our experience so far we have seen how this intimidation works against ZANU (PF) [Robert Mugabe's group] and favors Muzorewa.

In two tribal trust lands south of Salisbury some sixty miles, we have seen how the auxiliaries use their guns to intimidate people favorable to ZANU (PF)—by beatings and threats aimed at keeping people from attending ZANU rallies.

We ourselves were surrounded by regular Rhodesian security forces at gunpoint with threats of killing our ZANU companions as "terrorists." We were interrogated at the army base in Chiota reserve, then by the Special Branch at police headquarters at Marandellas.

Intimidation? We felt it.

Virtually all whites here are for Muzorewa. The white landowners will threaten their workers with loss of job if they don't vote for UANC [United African National Council—Muzorewa's group]. . . .

The white press is completely biased—blaming all violence on "terrorists" meaning ZANLA and ZIPRA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army—the military wings of the Patriotic Front]. No blame on security forces or auxiliaries.

Our observations will be broadened in the days to come through visits to other areas of the country.





Tom Moriarty

# Coal miner runs for governor

## W.Va. race against oil-rich Rockefeller

By Pat O'Brien

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—West Virginia, home of one third of the United Mine Workers' membership, has always been governed by loyal friends of the coal industry.

The current governor, millionaire John D. Rockefeller IV, is more than a friend. As heir to the Rockefeller oil fortune, he owns substantial interests in coal.

But when he makes his election pilgrimage to the mines to ask for votes in 1980, it'll be different than his run-of-the-mill contest with Republican Arch Moore in 1976. This time, a coal miner is in the race for governor.

Tom Moriarty, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1949 in Fairmont, West Virginia, became the first declared candidate for governor at a news conference in Charleston February 13.

### HELP US CAMPAIGN

For more information on the Socialist Workers Party's West Virginia election campaign or to find out what you can do to help, contact the SWP campaign committee at 957 S. University Ave., Morgantown 26505. (304) 296-0055.

Other news conferences to announce his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket followed in Morgantown and Wheeling.

The fact that a coal miner is challenging an oil magnate—in the midst of an energy crisis that has victimized every working person in this state—was news across West Virginia.

"The oil companies have no right to squeeze huge profits out of American workers who are absolutely dependent on them for gasoline and home heat," a front-page story in Fairmont's *Times West Virginian* quoted Moriarty. "They have no right to absolute control over such a vital natural resource."

The *Clarksburg Exponent* explained in its front-page story that Moriarty "indicated he would nationalize the energy industry, stop nuclear power, say no to the draft, and cut the work week to 30 hours at the same rate of pay."

Associated Press and United Press International dispatches on the socialist's candidacy were picked up by papers in such West Virginia cities as Beckley, Keyser, Huntington, Elkins, Logan, and Williamson.

There was local TV and radio coverage of the campaign announcement as well.

### '500 control economy'

Traveling back home after the news conference in Charleston, Moriarty stopped for gas at an Exxon station in Amma. A sign posted in the window said:

"Did you know around 500 people

control the U.S. economy? Due to government giving into big business this station has no gas till first of month when it will reopen with less of a percentage of gas than before interstate opened."

Moriarty introduced himself and explained his party's stand on energy. Gas station operator Bob West taped up the socialist campaign leaflet by his hand-made sign, and said, "Any way we can, we'll help you out."

One of the most important issues in the gubernatorial race will be coal itself. As West Virginia's most plentiful and valuable resource, coal and its future deeply affect the lives of thousands here.

"West Virginia had record coal production in 1979—at the cost of miners' lives and jobs," says Moriarty. "Mine fatalities were the highest in six years and more than 10,000 West Virginia miners are out of work."

After the 110-day coal strike in 1978, President Carter appointed John D. Rockefeller IV to head the President's Coal Commission. The panel was to study coalfield "unrest" and come up with solutions that would expand coal production.

"So far the commission's deadline has been extended twice and the only thing it has done is to endorse Carter's energy policies," says Moriarty.

These policies supposedly include stepped-up use of coal—at some point in the future. Meanwhile Carter's specific actions have included decontrolling gas prices and expanding nuclear power.

Carter's plan, apparently, is to have the coal boom come only when it is most profitable to the companies—when the miners' union is "tamed" and environmental and safety regulations are gutted.

### Nationalize energy

The Socialist Workers campaign calls for nationalizing the energy industry. As a genuine public utility,

every aspect of the energy industry—financial books, meetings, all decision-making processes—should be opened to scrutiny.

"I don't mean having them open to 'inspection' by some government bureaucrat who's already in the back pocket of the oil industry," says Moriarty. "I'm talking about a nationalized energy industry managed by an elected board that is closely watched by unions and consumer groups."

The socialist coal miner also calls for the immediate shutdown of all nuclear power and weapons plants. "It's a threat to all of us and to future generations—it's got to be stopped now," he says.

"Replacing the 13 percent of our electricity nationwide that comes from nuclear power with coal power would put thousands of miners back to work and would also provide many new jobs for rail workers who would transport the coal."

Moriarty points out that "for all his pro-coal rhetoric, Rockefeller refuses to take a stand against nuclear energy. But this is not surprising since the Rockefeller family has investments to protect in the nuclear power industry."

Rockefeller's stand on safety in the mines is none too good either. He has consistently called for expanding the power of the state Coal Mine Health and Safety Board, which is dominated by coal operator interests. The UMWA has had to fight a constant battle in the last few years against the board's attempt to "interpret" away safety legislation.

Moriarty supports full union control of safety conditions on the job. He also calls for strengthening the health and safety laws, including stiff penalties for violators, instead of slap-on-the-wrist fines.

### Attack on all workers

Working people from coast to coast face problems similar to those of West Virginians, the socialist candidate points out. "Chrysler workers were

forced to take less than their brothers and sisters at Ford and General Motors. Massive layoffs have hit both the steel and auto industries. Pushed by fuel price hikes, the official inflation rate jumped the highest in January since 1973!

"And Carter is trying to reinstitute the draft as the first step toward dragging us into another war to defend the profits and worldwide investments of U.S. corporations.

"In Vietnam, young men from Appalachia suffered casualties and deaths in greater proportion than their numbers in the American population as a whole. West Virginians have every reason to say, 'No more sacrifices for Exxon's wars! No more young lives destroyed to protect Rockefeller's profits!'"

Moriarty calls for abolishing the inflationary \$142 billion military budget, and using the money instead to meet human needs here at home, such as health care and housing.

The hardest hit in the economic crisis are the lowest paid and the last hired. That happens to be Black and Latino workers, women workers, and the youth, he says.

Moriarty is campaigning in support of the Equal Rights Amendment for women and favors protecting and expanding the affirmative-action gains that have won Black and women workers a chance at jobs previously denied them.

And he calls for the full prosecution of Ku Klux Klan murderers who gunned down five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, last November.

"The KKK is and has always been an antiunion outfit, and the labor movement has a big stake in the fight against Klan violence and terror," he says.

### Labor party

On all these issues, Moriarty explains, the Democrats and Republicans share a common program, with only an occasional difference on how to present it.

"No matter which Democratic or Republican candidate gets the most votes on election day, the corporations always win. Working people need our own party—a labor party based on the unions.

"In West Virginia, a labor party could be based on the fighting capacity of the UMWA. We've proven we can fight and win—so let's do it in politics as well as on the picket line."

A labor party could fight for a thirty-hour workweek with no cut in pay, for free health care, for the Equal Rights Amendment, and for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It would be a political voice of the labor movement and would allow the unions to bring their power to bear.

"We've had enough of our fair-weather friends in the Democratic and Republican parties," says Moriarty. "Nowadays, the economic crisis is precipitating more and more storms during which the big-business politicians always turn their backs on labor. It's time we had a party that stuck with us in the bad times too."

## John D. IV: richest governor in state's history

John D. Rockefeller IV is the richest governor in West Virginia's history.

You name it, he owns stock in it, from Coca Cola to Sears and Roebuck.

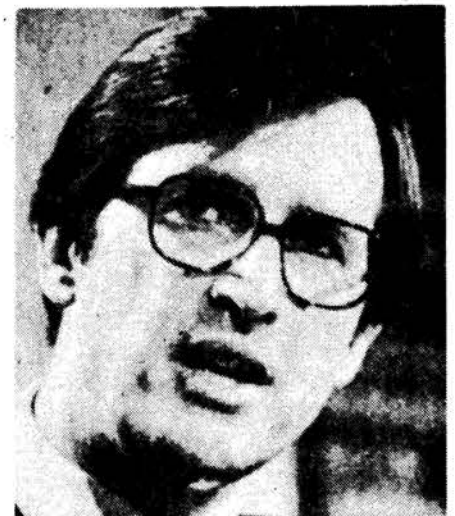
But his biggest holdings are in Exxon and Standard Oil of New Jersey. He also owns substantial interest in General Electric, Anheuser Busch, General Motors, Johnson and Johnson, and Xerox.

And he holds a lot of bonds sold by municipalities and states from Baltimore to California. (Those same bonds that our tax dollars go to pay interest on at the expense of social services.)

Rockefeller disclosed this information to his West Virginia constituents in the fall of 1977 just before his wife was required to do it to get a federal appointment. At that time his personal wealth was estimated at \$19.7 million (including nearly \$2 million in homes alone).

Not to worry, he assured voters, his principal assets were in blind trusts administered by trustees. Such action, he said, "left me absolutely detached from and independent of my assets. The people of West Virginia are completely protected."

Like those chickens guarded by the fox.

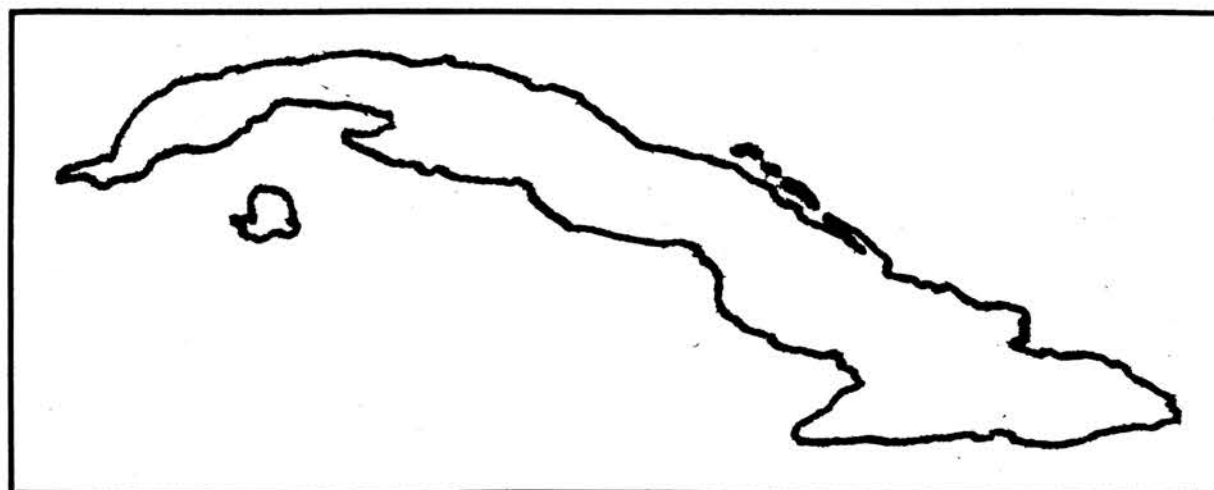
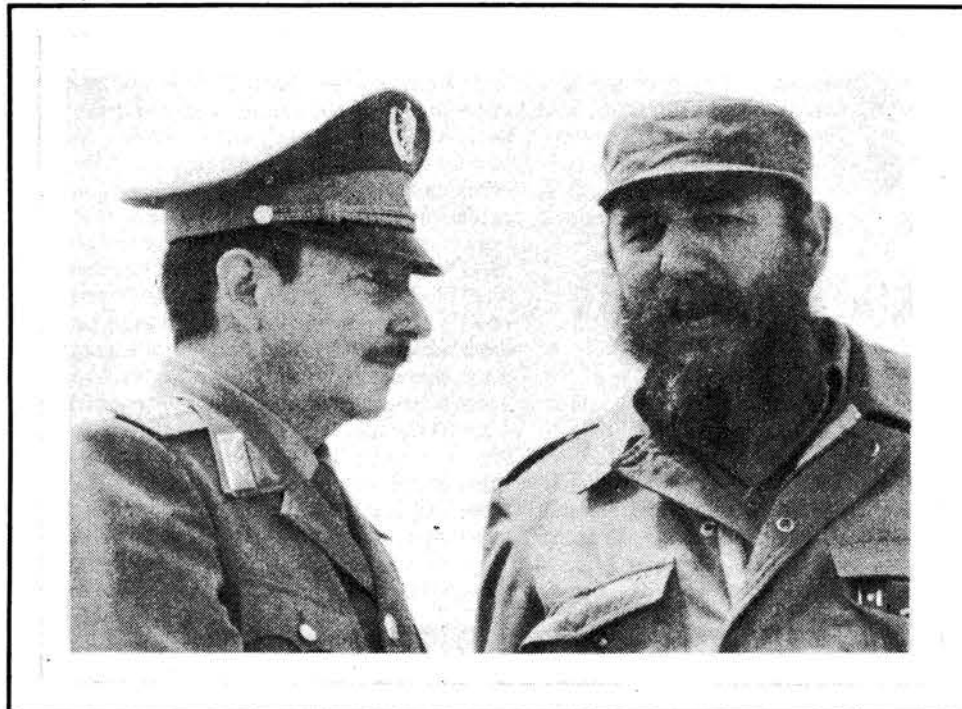


John D. Rockefeller IV



# **international socialist review**

## **Cuban Leaders Combat Bureaucratism**



**Excerpts from the Speeches of Raul Castro**

**Women and the Draft**



# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Women & the draft

President Carter is pushing to reinstitute draft registration and extend it to women. Carter says that his move to include women comes from concern for women's equality.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Drafting women and men would in no way mark a gain for women's rights. It would be a defeat for all working people.

The reactionary character of Carter's proposal is recognized by thousands of youth who have taken to the streets to oppose drafting anyone. Many women have participated in these demonstrations. They see through Carter's misuse of their struggle for equality.

Women's fight for equality is a struggle against discrimination, for an end to the second-class status so long imposed on women because of their sex. It is a fight for *equal rights* in education, jobs, and every aspect of society.

Being conscripted to fight and die for Exxon is not a "right." That's why thousands chant at marches and rallies: "ERA, yes! Draft, no!"

Ending discrimination against women means a better deal for working people of both sexes. Equality doesn't mean that women should submit to new attacks on the rights of working people—and that's what the draft is.

The GIs who went to Vietnam were railroaded against their will to be used as cannon fodder in Washington's war against the Vietnamese workers and farmers. The lives of a generation of working-class youth were disrupted by that war, and 57,000 of them were killed.

To make a new draft more acceptable, Carter now tries to pass off the army as an equal opportunity employer, and even as a liberating force for women in society.

But plenty of Black and Latino GIs learned from bitter experience that being sent to Vietnam in the "new action Army" didn't make the military machine or U.S. capitalist society any less racist.

Women's ability to fight is not the issue in the draft debate. History has shown that women are just as capable as men of fighting and risking their lives for a just cause. In the United States, this has been shown by the front-line role of women as fighters in the labor and Black liberation movements—not to mention in the fight for women's rights.

The liberation struggles in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran provided powerful examples of women taking up arms to fight for freedom.

But what does Carter want working men

and women to fight and die for?

Carter wants to be able to send U.S. troops to places like Afghanistan, where Washington is backing ultra-right-wing forces. Nothing exposes Carter's pretense of concern for women's rights as much as his support to these Afghan reactionaries. The CIA-backed guerrillas are trying to topple the Kabul government because it gave the land of some rich landlords to poor peasants—and because it began to teach women to read and write, and eliminated the sale of female children as brides.

Carter wants to be able to use young working women and men to prop up dictators like the shah and Somoza. He couldn't save those arch-criminals, but he hopes to do better in salvaging the bloody military junta in El Salvador. The administration recently announced plans to send 500 U.S. military "advisers" to that country to prevent "another Nicaragua." Vietnam started with the sending of "advisers" too.

Women have nothing whatsoever to gain by being drafted to serve Washington's plans for new Vietnams.

The U.S. government backs forces like the shahs, Somozas, and Afghan landlords because they protect the profits of the oil companies, the banks, and other giant U.S. corporations.

But the deep antiwar sentiment that took root among the American people during Vietnam, and which forced abolition of the draft in 1973, is a big obstacle to Washington's plans for using U.S. troops to police the world.

Carter's current drive to reinstate the draft aims to reverse that antiwar sentiment and make new Vietnams possible.

Why did Carter propose also registering women for the draft?

In addition to passing off the draft as a step toward women's rights, he is also trying to divert the debate over the draft into a debate over drafting women.

This has succeeded in sowing confusion among some foes of the draft. For instance, the American Civil Liberties Union says it opposes the draft as a violation of democratic rights. But it threatens to sue the government unless women are included, thus falling into the strange logic of demanding that everyone's democratic rights be violated—"equally!" This reactionary stand completely undermines the ACLU's antidraft position.

Another reason Carter included women in his draft proposal is to torpedo the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment by identifying it with war and the drafting of women, which he knows are opposed and feared by working people.

Right-wingers such as Phyllis Schlafly eagerly seized on Carter's signal by blaming the ERA for the proposal to register women. Virginia legislators used the draft as an excuse for defeating the ERA. In Missouri, ERA backers, claiming they had lost support in the legislature because of Carter's draft proposal, withdrew the bill before it came to a vote.

But Schlafly and these legislators are perpetuating a fraud. Not only will passing the ERA not lead to drafting women, but defeating ERA would give women no protection whatever against being drafted. After all, the Carter administration proposes that women be registered *now*—even though the ERA has not been voted into law.

The same forces opposed to ERA are behind the effort to reinstate the draft. It's no coincidence that Carter moves to bring back the draft and kill ERA at the same time. Washington's foreign and domestic policies are two sides of the same coin: protecting the interests of big corporations here and abroad.

Big business opposes equal rights for women because it reaps profits from paying women fifty-nine cents to every dollar earned by men, from women's unpaid labor in the home, and from using women's underpaid labor to hold down the living standards of all workers.

The interests of working women and men lie in fighting to ratify the ERA and defeat the draft. Any concession to Carter's claim that equal rights means drafting women undermines both struggles.

In the coming months there will be many opportunities to build the kind of movement that can stay the hands of the warmakers.

The national antidraft march on Washington on March 22 offers an opportunity for students, Blacks, women, and all working people to show what they think of Carter's proposal.

ERA supporters should be encouraged to participate and speak at this and other antidraft actions and teach-ins.

ERA, yes! Draft, no!

## Note on the ISR

As was noted in this space last month, the editorial board of the *International Socialist Review* has been dissolved and George Novack has taken the post of contributing editor.

The former editorial board was established in December 1977. Since then, several board members moved to other cities to help build branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Still others are being relieved of daily political responsibility to attend the SWP Leadership School beginning March 1.

This posed the question of whether to establish a new board.

The decision not to do so was based on the deepening integration of the production of the *ISR* into the *Militant*, and the increasing role of the *Militant* staff in both editing and contributing to it.

For instance Fred Feldman, the editor of the *ISR* since December 1977, joined the *Militant* staff at the end of 1978. He collaborates closely with the *Militant* editors in putting out the *ISR*. *Militant* staff members are contributing more articles as well.

Under the circumstances, a separate *ISR* editorial board no longer served its original purpose.

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Editor: Fred Feldman  
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Militant/Harry Ring

# The Castro Leadership's Drive Against Bureaucracy in Cuba



Militant/Joseph Hansen



Militant/Harry Ring

Top, a new housing project constructed in 1968 amidst peasant huts. Eventually peasants moved from huts to the new housing. Bottom left, Cuban family at new home; center, Cuban students at school; right, Cuban workers at sugar refinery.

## Introduction by Harry Ring

In this issue, we present extracts from three major speeches by Raúl Castro. In these speeches, he discusses the problem of bureaucratism in Cuba, and proposes a fight against it.

The Cuban revolution has more than demonstrated the worth of a planned economy and a socialist government that puts human needs before profits.

In the face of a cruel, twenty-year blockade by U.S. imperialism, the revolution has transformed the life of the Cuban people.

### Effects of U.S. Blockade

Unemployment, illiteracy, and bad housing have been virtually eliminated. Medical care is provided for all and average life expectancy has increased by twenty years. Racism has been uprooted and sexism is being combatted.

It's been a hard, uphill fight all the way. The U.S. economic blockade has not succeeded in its aim of strangling the revolution, but it has made economic progress much more difficult.

It has limited the availability of consumer goods and impeded vitally needed development projects.

And by intensifying economic scarcity in Cuba, imperialism has been responsible for a problem that goes hand-in-hand with scarcity—the problem of privilege-seeking bureaucrats.

Also, as Raúl Castro explains, the present deepening economic crisis of world capitalism has intensified Cuba's economic problems. And it has added to the problem of bureaucratism.

Escalating world inflation has hit Cuba partic-

ularly hard. Cuba's principal export is sugar. And while the prices of the commodities Cuba imports have gone sky-high, the price of sugar has remained relatively low.

This means, Castro explains, that projected economic development plans will have to be modified and imports generally tightened. Consequently, improvements in Cuban living standards will not proceed at the same pace as they have since the early 1970s.

Raúl Castro points to another profoundly important problem. As the crisis of imperialism deepens, so does its grim determination to roll back the world revolutionary forces.

### The Faint-hearted

Because of Cuba's acts of solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces, Washington has increased its military threats against Cuba and intensified its economic reprisals.

This added pressure on Cuba, Raúl explains, bears down on the politically "faint-hearted."

And, he adds, the faint-hearted are particularly to be found among those concerned with protecting their bureaucratic privileges.

Recalling the experiences of the pre-1959 guerrilla struggle in Cuba, Raúl speaks of the vacillations and defections that occurred within the revolutionary ranks.

These did not necessarily stem from a fear of death, he observed, "but rather [from] being overwhelmed by the difficulties and losing faith in victory."

It was, he comments, "when the enemy seemed stronger than it really was" that "the faint of heart began to reveal themselves."

And, he adds, he sees in present-day Cuba, "signs of that same weakness, of the poverty of spirit and timid psychology of the faint-hearted which flourishes in time of trouble."

Where are such elements to be found in Cuba today? Raúl points directly.

"It comes as no surprise that among those inclined to fall prey to defeatism are those who avoid facing up to problems because they are more concerned about retaining the positions they hold than about the needs of the people they are supposed to serve."

This is a valuable observation about the political nature of bureaucrats within the workers movement.

Those in positions of leadership who become primarily concerned with preserving their posts and privileges lose their capacity for revolutionary struggle. They become partisans of the status quo.

### Bureaucracy in USSR

A good example of this is the bureaucracy that developed in the USSR, and which came to political power under Stalin. Its concern for preserving the status quo is embodied in a reformist concept of collaboration with the imperialist powers.

What they are seeking is a status-quo deal with imperialism that can be achieved only at the expense of the world revolutionary struggle.

They seek not simply coexistence between states, but collaboration and peace between enemy classes.

Such collaboration with the capitalist class can be achieved only at the expense of the world working class.

Moscow's policy toward Vietnam has provided glaring examples.

The Soviet rulers aided Vietnam, but not enough to decisively deter the brutal attacks of U.S. imperialism on that heroic people. And Brezhnev used the flow of aid to pressure Hanoi into accepting less-than-satisfactory settlements.

The Soviet rulers, as bureaucrats, viewed the Vietnamese revolution as little more than a bargaining chip in their search for an all-round

Harry Ring is a long time staff writer for the 'Militant'. He visited Cuba in 1960, 1968, and again in January 1980.



deal with Washington.

Peking's policy followed the same principle. When first Nixon and then Carter showed an interest in forging diplomatic and economic ties, the Peking bureaucrats responded with outright support of imperialism against Vietnam—culminating in last year's invasion of Vietnam by Peking's troops.

Cuba's revolutionary government always differentiated itself from the course followed by Moscow and Peking toward Vietnam. It has always urged that the Soviet government (and the governments of all other workers states) give top priority to aiding Vietnam, and Cubans have always stood ready to shed their blood for the Vietnamese revolution.

### Bureaucrats and Work Discipline

Bureaucratism has another important aspect. Revolutionaries who suffer a loss of nerve, who become pessimistic about the prospects for victory, inevitably become cynical about the revolutionary program. And cynics are invariably the most open to bureaucratic corruption.

Raúl discusses the problem of bureaucracy in its various expressions.

There is the issue of maintaining vitally needed discipline and productivity norms among the Cuban workers. Bureaucrats, Raúl observes, hardly set an example in this sphere. And, he adds, those concerned with their posts are not too

in terms of deteriorated public services.

This issue was brought to the fore by Fidel Castro at a July 4 meeting of the National Assembly of People's Power. There he spoke sharply of serious problems in transportation, the medical system, and other areas of public service. He insisted that the leadership lead in dealing with this problem.

The fact that such problems exist in Cuba, and that the central leadership is putting the spotlight on them, may come as a surprise to some partisans of the Cuban revolution.

Washington's long-time ban on travel to Cuba, coupled with the absence of objective reporting in the U.S. media, hasn't helped in obtaining a balanced picture of Cuban reality.

And there are those who prefer to close their eyes to the realities of a revolution struggling to survive and advance under savage imperialist pressure.

The Cuban people, and their leadership, cannot afford to close their eyes to the reality of their problems.

Of necessity, the need to deal with bureaucratic tendencies has been with the revolution since the earliest days.

### The Escalante Case

The first major attack on bureaucratism came back in 1962. It was at the time the Cuban leadership was uniting the principal groupings



Bureaucrats place their jobs and privileges first, and this leads them to seek collaboration with imperialism. Above, Joseph Stalin (left); Leonid Brezhnev (center); Deng Xiao-p'ing.

likely to meet the problem of shirkers head on.

At first reading, working people in the United States, or other capitalist countries, may have a negative reaction to complaints that workers are not doing their jobs properly, not putting in enough time and effort, and even finding ways to goof off.

But the problem is not the same in a workers state as in a capitalist state. Under capitalism, the demand for more work discipline, for more production, is simply a demand for more profits. The workers have every reason and every right to resist this.

But in Cuba things are produced to meet society's needs, not for private profit. The benefits of increased productivity flow to the workers and peasants as a whole, and not into the coffers of millionaires and corporations. Working people have a very direct stake in what they produce. Work discipline, then, becomes a different matter—particularly in a country trying to cope with serious shortages.

Raúl explains well the problem of workers in a workers state who get their share of what is produced, but don't hold up their end in the productive process.

And he gets at the heart of the problem when he declares that the main ones to blame for this alienation among the workers are the "managers and functionaries . . . using and abusing the prerogatives that go with their posts . . . to solve problems of their own and their friends. They have no standing when it comes to being demanding of others."

He hammers the point home in blunt language: "The authority administrators have come[s] from a job done well . . . from living a modest life in keeping with their means. . . . It's a question of not abusing the prerogatives that go with the job and the position. . . . What is under their control is to be used for work and the social good, not for their own or their families' comfort."

### Effect on Public Services

Inability to promote morale and responsibility among the workers also has an important impact

within the revolution into a united party.

The unity involved the July 26 Movement, led by Fidel; the Revolutionary Directorate, a student organization; and the old Cuban Communist Party, called the Popular Socialist Party. Together they established the present-day united Communist Party of Cuba.

The initial stage of the unification brought an explosive situation.

An old-time Stalinist hack, Anibal Escalante, became secretary of the initial united grouping. In that post, he proceeded to build a bureaucratic apparatus staffed by his cronies.

Their conservative outlook and sectarian bureaucratic practices, including efforts to freeze out tested fighters of the July 26 Movement, provoked widespread anger in the population.

On March 26, 1962, in a nationwide TV appearance, Fidel delivered a blistering attack on Escalante and the members of his machine. Escalante departed for Czechoslovakia and there was a major housecleaning of the party apparatus.

With the continuing economic difficulties, problems of bureaucracy persisted.

Later Escalante returned to Cuba and was given a farm managerial position. In late 1967, he was arrested.

It was charged that he had met with representatives of the USSR and several East European countries in order to have political and economic pressure mounted by these countries to force a change in Cuba's revolutionary foreign policy.

Escalante and others who had joined in a grouping with him were convicted February 1, 1968. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

The Escalante case provided an instructive example of the interrelationship between case-hardened bureaucratism and a lack of stomach for a revolutionary perspective.

At the same time, Escalante faced a second charge, that he and his grouping had formed a "microfacción" (microfaction) which sought to promote positions in opposition to the line of the party.

These efforts included such things as reproducing and circulating attacks on the Cuban line by

the leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Stalinists had condemned the Cubans for promoting a line of armed struggle in Latin America.

The *Militant* said at the time that the Cuban government was justified to jail Escalante for appealing to powerful states to bring economic pressure on Cuba. (Raúl Castro charged at the time that the Escalante grouping had met with the second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Havana.)

But we did not think it was correct to press criminal charges for organizing a political faction, no matter how wrong the line of that faction might be.

We believed it would have been much better to have a full, open debate with those who favored holding back the Latin American struggle in hopes of forming a bloc with so-called "progressive" sectors of the ruling classes of Latin America. Such a debate could only contribute to political clarity and thereby strengthen the revolution.

### A Cuban Analysis

In 1967, the problem of bureaucratism was focused on again with a major two-part editorial in the party paper, *Granma*, entitled, "The struggle against bureaucracy: A decisive task."

The editorial began with the premise that in political terms the problem of bureaucracy is the expression of "a petty bourgeois mentality." A particular feature of the middle-class mentality is the drive for individual gain. The problem being that those intent on "making it" as individuals invariably do so at the expense of others.

Utilizing the materialist method of Marxism, the editorial explained that so long as class distinctions, the state, and, therefore, middle-class outlooks exist, so too will the danger that "a special stratum of citizens will form in the heart of the bureaucratic apparatus . . . which can convert bureaucratic posts into comfortable, stagnant or privileged positions."

This analysis represented a gain in terms of theoretical comprehension of the material and class forces that generate bureaucratic tendencies.

What remained unfinished, in our view, was the development of a conception, and corresponding course of action, on effectively combatting such bureaucratic manifestations.

Who will provide the troops in the fight against bureaucratism? Those who have a material and political stake in doing so—the masses of the working people. As Raúl emphasizes, the workers must take up the cudgels against all manifestations of bureaucracy and privilege-seeking.

To the extent that the masses of workers are actively involved in the political process—in the political debate and the decision making—they will prove the great immunizing force against bureaucracy.

To the extent that such involvement of the workers is realized, all aspects of political and economic life will benefit.

The problem of work discipline will be resolved not only to the extent that the leadership sets an example, but, equally, to the extent that the workers feel they have a meaningful voice in the functioning of industry.

To the degree that the workers are convinced that they have a direct stake in the productive process, the problem of alienation is reduced to a minimum.

Moreover, assuring that the workers have a full voice in decision making will bring increased effectiveness in broad economic planning.

### The 10 Million Tons

To illustrate this particular point: Back in 1970, revolutionary Cuba suffered a harsh setback. To cope with its mounting trade indebtedness to the Soviet Union and to continue its level of imports, Cuba undertook the giant task of trying to harvest 10 million tons of sugar, which would have been the biggest amount ever.

Enormous effort was poured into the project. Important development projects in other areas had to be postponed. All resources had to be funneled into the drive for the 10 million tons.

The task proved impossible. Cuba did harvest a record 8.5 million tons of sugar that year. But in terms of the resources put in, as well as the resulting neglect of other economic needs, it was a defeat.

In several speeches, Fidel offered a thorough explanation of what happened. He explained why the 10 million tons had been decided on and



what had gone wrong. It was not a problem of cutting the cane, but of underestimating the technical resources and personnel needed for refining the sugar after the cane was cut.

And, in assessing the failure of the plan, Fidel emphasized that responsibility rested squarely with the leadership, not the masses.

"The administrative apparatus and the leadership of the revolution," Fidel declared, "are the ones who lost the battle . . . we must say this as a matter of elementary justice, because it is the plain truth."

It's worth going back to that experience of a decade ago, because there is an important issue involved that remains very relevant today.

In the July 31, 1970, *Militant*, we reported Fidel's analysis on the failure of the 10 million tons campaign and offered our view.

We noted that when the drive for the ten million was being developed, qualified people in Cuba had expressed reservations about the realizability of the goal. And, we added, if there had been at the time an established arena for a full public discussion of such a momentous project, it was possible that those who saw the problems and difficulties more clearly might have had greater influence in shaping the plan.

Moreover, we added, such a broad public discussion would have deepened the understanding of the entire Cuban population of the problems involved in the gigantic task and this too would have been beneficial.

### People's Power

In the decade since that setback, Cuba has moved forward in terms of involving broader layers of the people in the governmental process. One such advance has been in the development of the National Assemblies of People's Power.

On both a local and national level, reports indicate, these elected assemblies have assumed responsibility for a growing number of public services—schools, housing, others. They also play a role in formulating economic development plans for their areas.

The Assemblies of People's Power help to slow down or reduce tendencies toward the growth of bureaucratism in Cuba, and they open the door to greater elements of workers democracy that will be needed to deepen the battle against bureaucratic manifestations.

The assemblies were not intended as a step toward democratic councils of workers and peasants such as existed in the early years in the Soviet Union. But they express the Castro leadership's reliance on the conscious and mobilized support of the workers and peasants.

But something else is needed.

### Workers Against the Faint-hearts

Raúl's explanation of how at a time of sharpened class struggle, the pressures bear down hardest on the "faint-hearted" is particularly relevant.

As Washington has escalated its efforts to roll back liberation struggles on a world scale, tiny Cuba has provided a remarkable demonstration of revolutionary solidarity with anti-imperialist fighters. The role of Cuba—its soldiers, doctors, teachers, and technicians—in Africa has surely been inspiring.

And Cuba's support to the Nicaraguan revolution has been equally exemplary.

Citing Camilo Cienfuegos's early declaration that "all those who fight, no matter where, are our brothers and sisters," Raúl declares that

Camilo would today "be a defender of the revolution's foreign policy."

And, on the basis of Camilo's record, Raúl could have added that he would have been in the forefront of the fight against those who "vacillate" in the face of the imperialist pressure.

It is wrong, Raúl declares, to "underestimate these symptoms, much less to live with them or limit our reaction to moral condemnation."

To ensure that the political faint-hearts will be isolated and the bureaucrats dealt with demands the fullest political participation of the masses.

### Debate in Press and Party

It requires, in our view, the fullest public discussion and debate of the key issues of domestic and foreign policy.

What better way to inoculate the vanguard of the Cuban working class against the faint-hearted than to make the assemblies—and the Cuban Communist Party—arenas for debate on these questions?

Rich political discussions are always going on in Cuba, at all levels. But couldn't their educa-



Camilo Cienfuegos, one of the commanders of the July 26 movement, died in an airplane accident in 1959.

tional benefit be increased if they were reflected in mass circulation publications such as the daily *Granma* and the weekly *Bohemia*? We are convinced it would.

With the deepened political understanding that would result, the Cuban masses would be even more firm in their support to the nation's revolutionary foreign policy. And they would be more ready for any necessary domestic housecleaning.

Some may ask why it is that twenty-one years after the revolution, Cuba should be facing these kinds of problems. But even brief consideration of the extraordinary difficulties imposed by imperialism should indicate both how well the revolution is actually doing and the ultimate source of its problems.

Moreover, it is impressive and encouraging to see how the Cuban leadership is responding to this problem of bureaucratism. After two decades of unrelenting pressures, its response is revolutionary. They don't try to sweep the issue under the rug. Or whip up a demagogic witch-hunt against some "gang of four" scapegoats. Instead, they openly explain the issues at stake and turn to the working masses as the force to deal with the faint-hearts and privilege-seekers.

A final point in this regard. When you read Raúl's and Fidel's blistering attacks on those

responsible for poor public services, ask yourself this question: When was the last time, in capitalist America, that a major politician expressed genuine concern because the people weren't getting the services they should on their buses, trains, and in neighborhood clinics? Much less do something about it.

The following are extracts from three speeches given by General of the Army Raúl Castro. Raúl Castro is second secretary of the Central Committee of Cuba's Communist Party.

The speeches were delivered August 5, October 28, and November 30, 1979. They appeared in the August 19, November 11, and December 9 issues of the weekly edition of *'Granma.'*

The August 5 speech marked the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Army of Working Youth, a force that has contributed substantially to the accomplishment of agricultural and construction projects in Cuba.

The October 28 speech was a tribute to Camilo Cienfuegos on the Twentieth anniversary of his disappearance in a plane accident. Camilo was a young guerrilla fighter who emerged as a central revolutionary figure.

The November 30 speech marked the anniversary of a major 1956 uprising in Santiago de Cuba against the Batista tyranny. The speech pays tribute to Frank País, an outstanding young leader of the July 26 Movement slain by Batista forces.

### From speech delivered August 5:

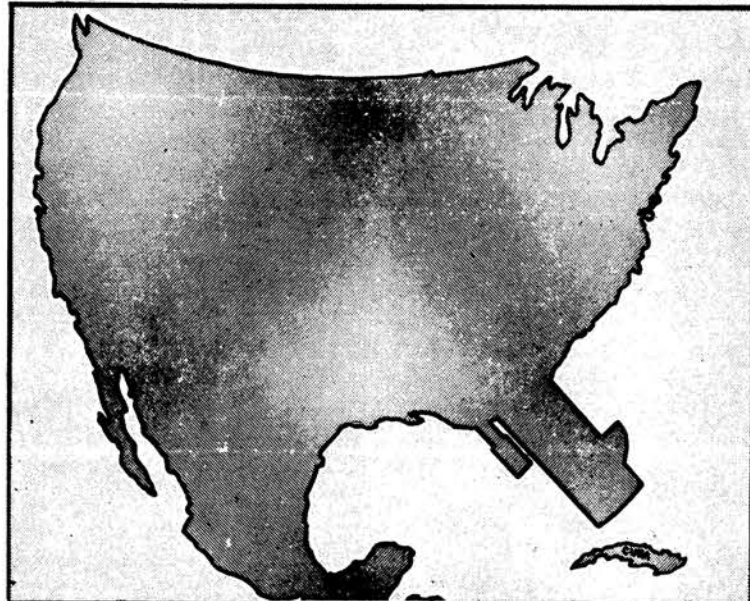
Work discipline is the expression of the values that make the working class the most revolutionary class. Without it work collectives turn into a chaotic sum of individuals that, lacking cohesion, are incapable of thinking and performing like detachments of the social force that exercises political power. Working-class discipline, and the political consciousness which is the expression of this discipline, are essential factors in the building of socialism.

This process is in part linked to the weakening of authority and the lack of a demanding attitude as underlined in the Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee and denounced by its first secretary, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro (APPLAUSE) in his recent speech before the National Assembly. This is a negative, extremely pernicious phenomenon that covers all spheres of our society, and which we must begin to eradicate with the same urgency with which one fights the worst plagues. To do this, the Party relies, first of all, on the energy, combativeness and determination of the workers who must fight against all signs of indiscipline, against the widespread practice of letting people get away with things, against giving special treatment to friends, against weak management and some tamed trade union leaders, against the workers themselves who come late or skip work and against all signs of individualism and misuse of social property.

The Political Bureau, taking into account the results of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee and the issues raised by Fidel before the National Assembly, adopted a resolution which urges the Party's grass-roots organizations to engage in a profound discussion and analysis of these problems. This resolution and the measures that will be subsequently adopted are indicative of the Party's desire to use all its influence and all its mobilizing capacity to eradicate these deviations that represent a real risk to our further economic, social, political and ideological development.

Along with Fidel, we repeat that the order of the day is to be DEMANDING, but to be demanding in a calm and mature way and, above all, to settle accounts, regardless of hierar-

Despite Carter's outcry against Soviet soldiers in Cuba, only foreign occupiers of island are U.S. forces at Guantánamo.



U.S. economic blockade of Cuba is the reason why U.S. autos from the 1950s and earlier are still a common sight.



chies, with those who violate work discipline, cover up wrongdoings, behave in an arbitrary fashion and have a petty-bourgeois concept of criticism and self-criticism. That is, the type of people who agree with the need for criticism and defend it openly at all times, as long as the criticism is of others.

Within the general context of popular support for the statements of the Party and Comrade Fidel, there will be those who timidly call for prudence and warn against imaginary excesses. They themselves are not the most calm and cautious people, but the same cowards who are forever doubting the Party's ability to act in a firm and thoughtful way.

It is not a question of initiating a campaign. There will be no excesses or improvised measures. The Party will not act rashly or with fleeting vigor. But neither will we listen to those voices that try to neutralize this process, a process aimed at putting certain things straight and recuperating some values that have been seriously compromised. The only voice that will be listened to is that of the people, who constantly call for efficient and far-reaching solutions. (APPLAUSE)

The workers and the entire people are the beneficiaries and owners of the socialist economy, but they are so as a whole and over the totality of goods and services. The distribution of the social wealth takes place directly through wages and indirectly through funds of social consumption. No one has the right to divert any amount of any resources from its original destination, and anyone who does so acts against the general interests of the society, against the working class and, we might add, place themselves outside the bounds of socialist legality.

We could also add that everyone of us, at some time, somewhere in Cuba, has come across a "generous" person. In Cuba we have many "generous" people, especially as far as other people's property is concerned, and in particular social property, but stingy enough when it comes to their own belongings.

And the fight against this will not take the form of a transitory campaign, or improvised measures, but measures that have been carefully studied and discussed with the working masses. And we will prepare ourselves for the fight against these vices that I have briefly alluded to, a fight that will last not one year, nor ten years, but decades.

#### From speech delivered October 28:

None who knew Camilo doubts that he would have contributed greatly to advancing the Revolution, that he would have worked to make it advance, to consolidate it and defend it, because this was and still is his Revolution.

Today, when all our people are doing their utmost to build socialism and wipe out the deformities that have been engendered in our society, Camilo would be a champion of discipline, an exemplary defender of principles, a front-line fighter for efficiency and a defender of the Revolution's foreign policy. He summed up the nature of that policy even before he had joined the *Granma* expedition, when he said, "All those who fight, no matter where, are our brothers and sisters."

Comrades, it is impossible to conceive of a nationwide tribute to Camilo Cienfuegos on this, the 20th anniversary of his disappearance, without linking him to our present activities, achievements and problems.

Such a connection is altogether logical, because what gave meaning to Camilo's life and provided him with the opportunity to materialize his one great desire—a passionate and at the same time well-thought-out desire—to be useful to his class, to serve his people, to protect and do honor to his homeland was precisely this Revolution—the Revolution he helped to create and which he was working tirelessly to consolidate, with absolute disregard for personal risk, when we were so abruptly deprived of his exceptional contribution.

#### Battle with Imperialism

When we lost Camilo, we were already in confrontation with the imperialist government of the United States, and future developments were clearly outlined. It was the beginning of "the Cuban Revolution's original sin" when we decided to put an end to neocolonial domination and develop as a free and independent nation.

Now, 20 years later, it seems as if those who do not resign themselves to respecting or coexisting with that sovereign decision are the dominant

ones among our neighbors to the north. This is the elementary conclusion that can be drawn from the provocative and hostile actions of the present Washington administration.

We are all familiar with the artificial problems that were prefabricated in high U.S. Government circles, to have them coincide with the opening of the 6th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Cuba. Our viewpoints on this were publicly expressed by Comrade Fidel.

Now we can see the results of that adventure: the unfounded and dangerous U.S. military escalation in the Caribbean, the stepped-up U.S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean, the brazen "authorization" for spy flights all over the world, particularly over Cuban air space, in what constitutes a typical act of imperialist arrogance; all this accompanied by a torrent of speeches couched in the poorest electoral rhetoric.

After displaying a series of bogeymen whose clothing, curiously enough, was "made in USA," and having raised a tremendous rumpus with obvious electoral aims, the U.S. administration set up a general headquarters in Key West as



Fidel and Raúl Castro have always found Cuba's industrial workers, agricultural workers, and youth to be the best fighters against U.S. imperialism abroad and bureaucratism at home.



command post for its so-called mixed forces, a corps aimed directly at the growing desire for social progress and democracy that exists in the Caribbean and Central America. They legalized and are speeding up some quick-landing force composed of more than 100,000 soldiers, a project they have been working on for many years now and which is tailor-made for military interventions in the Persian Gulf. The project is now one of the series of measures Carter announced on October 1st; they invaded Caribbean waters with a fleet of 25 warships, their idea being intimidation. And, lastly, they gave one more demonstration of their scorn for the sovereignty of the nations of this hemisphere with the recent landing of marines in the Guantánamo naval base.

We will not be perturbed in the face of new provocations and threats that serve as the setting for the coming elections in the USA; we will go on with our combat and political training programs and we will make sure that all the means and measures necessary to guarantee the effective defense of our national territory and the achievements of the Revolution are adopted. (APPLAUSE)

Moreover, as everybody knows, we, the leaders of the Party and government are well acquainted with our internal difficulties; we have detailed information regarding the various problems that exist in the economy and the services, and we know of multiple cases of deficiencies of various kinds.

#### Well-founded Irritation

But there's something even more important, which is that we, as well as the people, believe that the time has come to delay no longer in carrying out concrete measures and to be decisive in solving problems that are hampering develop-



ment, obstructing the normal development of society and causing well-founded irritation in neighborhoods, work centers, hospitals, schools, everywhere (APPLAUSE) there has been an outbreak of irresponsibility, disorganization and a very undemanding attitude toward oneself and others. There can be no putting this off any more.

And so, considering the general complaints about errors, weaknesses and deficiencies, we wonder if there can be any specific collectives or any particular managers or political leaders who on hearing such criticism will consider that it is being directed at others and that they are immune to the errors that are being pointed out; if there are any who consider it unnecessary, and even go so far as to refuse to undertake a systematic, in-depth, critical and self-critical analysis of the job they have been entrusted with.

The interests of our working class and all our people in general constitute the highest value of our homeland, the very *raison d'être* of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE) Those who do not respect this principle, in terms of meeting the responsibility that has been assigned to them, must be punished. And if those who are in charge of maintaining discipline are incapable of doing so, then they should step down and make room for more resolute, more capable cadres. (APPLAUSE)

Some of our most pressing difficulties and problems are well known. First, through the resolution of the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and immediately after through the speech given by Comrade Fidel in the last session of the National Assembly of People's Power, where he made a critical denunciation of the proliferation of breaches of labor

discipline, the undemanding attitude on the part of managers as subjective factors that, along with other types of difficulties which we can in no way be blamed for—such as the low prices on the international sugar market, as opposed to the higher and higher prices of goods we inevitably have to purchase in the capitalist world.

And as we take a firm stand regarding what is not being done well, so we should also take a firm stand regarding present-day difficulties and objective unknowns. Some of these stem from the world capitalist crisis which inevitably has a bearing on our economy; and there are other climatic and natural phenomena that have recently adversely affected crop yields and have considerably reduced the quantity of cane available for the next sugar harvest, all of which will inevitably be reflected negatively in 1980 and even in 1981.

### No Easy Victories

"Difficult situations differentiate those who have their feet firmly on the ground. We are absolutely convinced that, as throughout our history, those who vacillate and are faint of heart will weaken, but our people will grow in the face of adversity and again take on the stature of Camilo. (APPLAUSE)

More than 20 years ago now, Comrade Fidel arrived in Havana and gave a speech in which he warned, "I believe that this is the decisive moment in our history. The tyranny has been overthrown. Our happiness is immense. And yet, a great deal still remains to be done. Let us not deceive ourselves into believing that from now on everything will be easy; it may well be more difficult."

He added: "The first duty of a revolutionary is to tell the truth. To deceive the people, to delude them with false illusions can only result in the worst consequences, and I believe the people should be warned not to be overoptimistic."

Today we can safely say that Comrade Fidel and the revolutionary leadership he heads have remained true to that principle. We have never had any illusions about the price imperialism would make us pay for opening up an era of genuine independence, sovereignty, progress and well-being for the masses in the Americas, an era marked by the end of exploitation, discrimination and oppression. (APPLAUSE)

We never even insinuated that the challenge would be an easy one; we never hid from the working class, the revolutionary peasantry and our working people as a whole the fact that there would be severe trials, enormous difficulties and titanic efforts, mass heroism, willingness to sacrifice, firmness, courage, patriotism and class consciousness required in order to meet the historic need and fulfill our commitment to continue the work of the founders of our country and the pioneers of the Revolution, building in Cuba, alongside the most powerful imperialist nation on the face of the earth, the first socialist state in the western hemisphere. (APPLAUSE)

Perhaps this is one of the great truths the enemies of our people have historically ignored, or not taken into account; perhaps this is one of the things that the Pentagon strategists, the State Department planners and the sinister brains in the CIA have ignored. And this has led them to repeated errors of judgment in their criminal drive to destroy the Cuban Revolution, from cutting the sugar quota to the threat of atomic extermination, efforts to assassinate Comrade Fidel, sabotage and attacks of all kinds, the mercenary invasion at Playa Girón, banditry, political encirclement and economic blockade.

Twenty years later these seeds have borne fruit and are now part of our country's priceless legacy, one of the staunch pillars of the Cuban Revolution: the faith, trust and confidence the mass of our people have in Comrade Fidel, in our Party (APPLAUSE) and in the future of our

socialist homeland.

We will never betray that faith; that trust and confidence will never be called into question! (APPLAUSE)

### Cause of Faint-heartedness

However, we would not be telling the truth if we were to say that our bitterest class enemies are the only ones unable to understand the staunch loyalty of the working masses to their Revolution.

During our war of liberation, I was able to see how, along with the collective heroism of the fighters of the Rebel Army and the mass of peasants and agricultural workers who supported us, there were isolated cases of vacillations, desertions and even costly betrayals among people whose conduct until then was such that they had been considered honest fighters against the dictatorship.

At the time I concluded that these cases did not necessarily come from fearing death, but rather from being overwhelmed by difficulties and losing faith in victory. We noticed that for those who only looked at the surface of things or approached the problem unilaterally, over the months the position of the incipient guerrilla forces got worse and not better and the prospects for a quick and easy victory seemed more and more distant.

It was under these circumstances, when persecution and harassment were stepped up and isolation set in, when the humid forest was our only home and the hard ground our only bed, when we were chilled to the bone by constant rains and weakened by hunger, when the enemy seemed stronger than it really was and some felt we would never be able to overcome our weakness of the moment; it was under such adverse, we might say insurmountable, conditions that the faint of heart began to reveal themselves, lose faith and renounce their clearly fragile convictions. And since demoralization and cowardice are best endured in the company of others, they tried to seek allies, exaggerating the difficulties, sowing doubt and defeatism. From that moment on we learned to view those who became demoralized as sure-fire deserters and those who deserted, overwhelmed by the problems which they did not have the spirit of sacrifice, determination or willpower to cope with, as likely traitors. Having lost all hope for quick and easy victory, they exposed themselves to a risk worse than death, that of living with the stigma of having abandoned the cause of the people. They would live, but inside of them they were dead! (APPLAUSE)

Over and above the differences, without artificially forcing a comparison and taking into account the fact that we will never again face that sort of situation, I note in the conduct and expression of certain disperse elements of our present-day society signs of that same weakness, of the poverty of spirit and timid psychology of the faint-hearted which flourishes in times of trouble. (APPLAUSE)

### Distortions Not Inevitable

We are no longer a besieged fortress; we have overcome the political isolation and survived the economic blockade; the solid and growing prestige of our country in the socialist community, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and among the countries of the so-called Third World has been clearly demonstrated; and in general we have the recognition and respect of the international community. And yet, while our people have been the protagonist of the Revolution and also been capable of upholding and implementing the principles of internationalism and solidarity, this does not mean we should underestimate these symptoms, much less learn to live with them or limit our reaction to them to one of moral condemnation.

We Cuban revolutionaries who have rightfully earned for ourselves the fierce hatred of imperialism and world reaction and who are building socialism on the doorstep of the center of world imperialism cannot indulge in viewing such distortions as inevitable. For this could only lead to inertia and encourage indolence; in short, it is incompatible with the moral standards and principles which have been embraced by the great majority of our people and on whose behalf extraordinary men like Camilo Cienfuegos, Che Guevara and countless other sons and daughters of our working class gave their lives. (APPLAUSE)

It would be completely inconsistent on our part to on the one hand call on the people to face up to



**'The only voice that will be heeded is the voice of the people demanding effective, long term solutions.'**

**Raúl Castro**





the severe difficulties and complex problems which lie ahead, to redouble their efforts and consciously take on the sacrifices that are inevitable if we are to develop the nation's economy and promote the well-being of all, and on the other hand to stand idly by in the face of problems of this sort.

We have enough evidence to safely say that some Party and state cadres are shying away from coming to grips with those who have made a habit of lack of labor discipline, lack of discipline vis-à-vis society, lack of respect for social property and lack of respect for socialist norms of conduct; (APPLAUSE) we know of Party members who do not battle against those who have interpreted freedom from exploitation as freedom from work, against those who live like parasites off the back of others. (APPLAUSE)

Socialist legality involves drawing up, implementing, enforcing and obeying the laws of the socialist state, so we must not allow a few turncoats to come up with their subterfuges to use that legality as a cover for violating it with impunity. (APPLAUSE)

We know that there are those who seek to enjoy the benefits of socialism without contributing anything, or setting things up so as to contribute as little as possible, to the common good.

It comes as no surprise that among those inclined to fall prey to defeatism are those who avoid facing up to problems because they are more concerned about retaining the positions they hold than about the needs of the people they are supposed to serve. (APPLAUSE)

We are convinced that our society has every

ability of the party to act in a firm and thoughtful manner.

It is not a case of undertaking a campaign; there will be no excesses or improvised measures. The Party will not be motivated by temporary zeal or vehemence, but neither will those who try to divert this process be heeded; for this process is aimed at setting things aright and restoring certain values which have been seriously undermined. The only voice that will be heeded is the voice of the people demanding effective, long-term solutions. (APPLAUSE)

On the other hand, we often notice a certain rigidity in the cadres of our administrative apparatus and in the political and mass organizations. We should ask ourselves if, after 20 years of revolutionary power and in spite of our vast experiences in the affairs of politics and government, after structural improvement with the process of institutionalization, we are still not able to see to it that every worker and peasant, student or soldier, and even every minister or state and Party leader, know exactly what their powers, obligations and tasks are? (APPLAUSE)

And if we answer the question in the affirmative, then why do many pull back when they face problems and limit themselves to telling those nearest at hand that "things are rough" rather than immediately assuming responsibilities, be they those of a simple worker or those of an official or leader at any level? (APPLAUSE)

After 20 years of Revolution are we going to continue the widespread practice of waiting for somebody to push us to do our duty? Or to be quite clear: How long are we to go on allowing

From speech delivered November 30:

At this moment the most important question is for us to become fully conscious that we are facing serious objective problems caused by the world economic crisis generated by the capitalist system, which has been hit by runaway inflation. It is an undeniable fact that this accounts for daily rises in the cost of the products we must purchase from the capitalist area, while at the same time the price of our sugar has remained very low. All the above, through a process of accumulated effects, has harmed our economy to a greater degree than was the case over the last few years.

### Economic Pressures

In addition, we have faced and are now facing natural difficulties that have reduced even more our leeway. An example of this is the appearance of the blue mold that affected one fourth of our tobacco plantations during the last season and that now is beginning to reappear in some places where planting is going on. Our most recent natural difficulty is the sugarcane smut plague that, together with other negative factors, will substantially affect sugar production levels in the season that just started.

What's more, sugar prices—notwithstanding momentary rises over the last few weeks—are still below average world production costs and do not compensate for the enormous price rises in manufactured goods and, generally, in all the items that we must import, plus freight charges in the capitalist area. All of this has inevitably reduced our financial resources and lessened our country's purchasing power.

Given the existing situation, the freely convertible currency we obtain for our exports and other activities that earn us foreign exchange won't enable us to keep up the pace of development of the last few years and compel us to redirect our resources and increase the degree of selectivity when making investments in new construction projects. We will try to maintain the levels reached in certain areas of social consumption but are forced for the time being not to continue increasing these levels at the rate originally planned. In order to maintain such levels, we must concentrate our efforts and resources so as to meet as best as possible all the vital necessities of our people in whatever areas are most deficient.

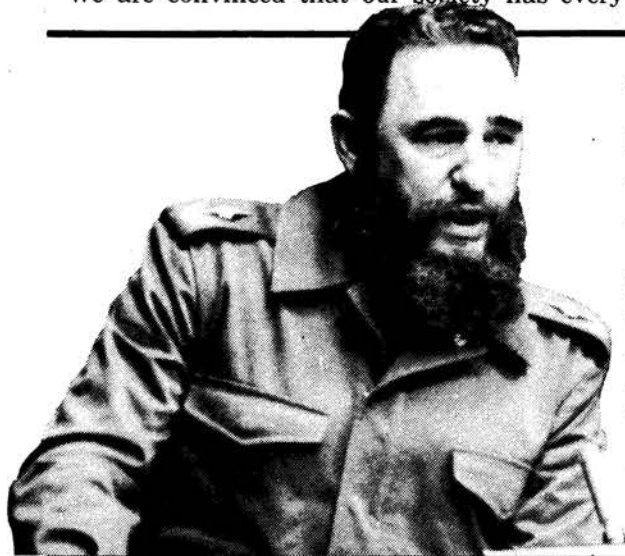
Comrade Fidel has explained that it is only because of the existence of a socialist regime here and our close economic relations with the socialist world, particularly with the Soviet Union, that the effects of the present world economic crisis have not led us into economic disaster and bankruptcy, with its sequel of starving people and hundreds of thousands of unemployed.

It is precisely the socialist regime that permits us to unite the efforts of all and overcome the present unfavorable situation that our economy and the world economy are going through.

With this objective in mind, we must make an exhaustive analysis of all our expenditures to cut them down to a minimum and, above all, we must make a careful selection of our purchases from capitalist markets according to the particular economic and social priorities of our social system. We must then use our available resources according to a plan that best responds to our needs.

Thus, resources will be used, first of all, to maintain the population's food supply, making an effort to increase as much as possible the supply of vegetables and tubers; assure an adequate supply of medicines; improve deficient services such as transportation and, with minimal investment, improve repair services of domestic appliances such as televisions. We must substantially increase maintenance and repair of streets, highways, schools and other buildings for social use, and housing, by various means, including selling more construction materials to the population during the coming year.

But this situation should by no means be used as a convenient crutch to lean on to explain all our problems as has been done on more than one occasion where the truly negative consequences of the economic blockade imposed on us by Yankee imperialism as well as by other external or natural factors have been used as pretexts to hide our deficiencies and inefficiencies. Let's not have sugarcane smut be used to hide those difficulties which are the product of subjective factors that are exclusively our responsibility and which we must openly and relentlessly fight against.



**'The first duty of a revolutionary is to tell the truth. To deceive the people, to delude them with false illusions can only result in the worst consequences, and I believe the people should be warned not to be over-optimistic.'**

**Fidel Castro**

right to call to account those who fill the minds of their children with frivolous desires for the superfluous shoddy goods turned out by capitalist consumer societies, (APPLAUSE) encouraging them to illegally leave the country to become new victims in the paradise of drugs, violence and moral decadence.

Nor are we unaware of certain gatherings at which the allegedly well-informed, who have no firsthand experience of the misery of capitalism, take on the role of prosecutors and strategists, coming up with instant solutions for every possible problem. It would be better for those wise men to apply their talents in a more adequate and timely manner; but I would like to repeat—as I pointed out on August 5 in Camagüey—that the Party has first of all the energy, militancy and intransigence of the workers who must do battle against all forms of lack of discipline, against the widespread practice of tolerance, buddyism, weak administrations and certain tame trade union leaderships who must confront workers who are not punctual or frequently absent from work and resolutely battle against all forms of individualism and dishonesty in the administering of social property.

### Heeding Only One Voice

We repeated then what Fidel said, that the order of the day is to be demanding. (APPLAUSE) But we must be demanding in a calm and mature way and especially settle accounts, regardless of hierarchy, and those who violate labor discipline, tolerate wrongdoing, are arbitrary and have a petty-bourgeois view of criticism and self-criticism. And we might add that people of this sort accept and defend criticism as long as the criticism is directed at somebody else. (APPLAUSE)

Allow me to recall, as we pointed out then, in the overall context of the mass support for the views expressed by the Party and Comrade Fidel, there are some who timidly advocate prudence and warn against supposed excess. These are not exactly the calmest and most levelheaded of people; they are the faint-hearted who doubt the

unsolved problems to reach crisis point and then ask Comrade Fidel to take over the situation and pull our chestnuts out of the fire? (APPLAUSE)

### Many Camilos and Ches

Today we see many Camilos and Ches, in the centers of production and educational institutions named after them, and we are comforted to see how all our people honor them each year, more and more aware of their historical significance, and with increasing admiration and deeper affection.

In these times in which we are living, our tribute to Camilo Cienfuegos will prove lasting and fruitful if each of us takes to heart what Fidel said following Camilo's death: "All that we ask of our people is that whenever the country faces a difficult situation, they should remember Camilo. . . . (APPLAUSE) Whenever the people face difficult moments, whenever young people, peasants, workers, students one day believe that the road ahead is long and the path difficult, they should remember what he did, and how he never lost faith even in those difficult times," said Fidel.

We address ourselves to the mass of workers tonight. As Fidel pointed out on one unforgettable occasion, they were the ones who gave rise to our struggles, they are the true protagonists of our Revolution.

To the millions of ordinary Cubans who make up our wonderful people, from among whose ranks have come men like Camilo Cienfuegos, we issue on behalf of our Party a call to battle: to constantly strengthen our combat readiness in the face of imperialist threats; to overcome our shortcomings and solve the problems which depend on us; to face the difficulties and trials that lie ahead with the spirit of the Moncada, Granma and Rebel Army, of the fighters in the underground, of those who fought against the counterrevolutionary bandits, at Playa Girón and on heroic internationalist missions, clearing the way for the socialist future of the country by routing the weak, the cowardly and the indolent. (APPLAUSE)



To the objective factors we've described we must add the presence of indiscipline, lack of control, irresponsibility, complacency, negligence, and buddyism which, in addition to aggravating many problems, prevent others from being solved and generate justified irritation on the part of broad sectors of the population, being the principal cause for the notorious lack of efficiency in important areas of our economy. Furthermore, these problems divert the attention of the Party and the people and prevent us from fully dedicating ourselves to solving the fundamental problems that slow down and thwart the socioeconomic development of the country.

As the people already know, the Party leadership is presently involved in implementing, in the quickest and most efficient way possible, measures aimed at finding true, long-term solutions. In keeping with Comrade Fidel's statements on the need to be more demanding, the 9th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party that took place on November 28 dedicated a great deal of time to examining these questions and making decisions—many of them definitive—to deal with them.

When we speak of applying definitive measures, we realize the need to make a detailed analysis of the factors involved and their complex interaction in order to make sure that they will lead to real, concrete, global solutions and not simply promote superficial, transitory campaigns that don't solve anything and create the appearance of making spectacular, demagogic attempts to mitigate the population's irritation, (APPLAUSE) something which is completely foreign to socialist society and the Marxist-Leninist principles that shape the ideology of real Communists.

Our desire to solve these problems as soon as possible should not lead us to improvise, especially since we have learned that no isolated measure, no matter how just or effective it seems, can lead to the true, radical solutions we are aiming for. We must understand above all that the only way to tackle systematically the problems of our economic development and overcome our weaknesses is by dealing with the situation in its entirety and following the laws of the construction of socialism; that no administrative or propaganda measures are capable, in themselves, of automatically eliminating vices that have become habits.

### No Witch-hunts

On the other hand, experience has shown that in such circumstances it is necessary to avoid unilateral judgments, avoid excessive zeal and, now, also watch out for those who are too demanding, the demagogic "champions," the petty bourgeois extremists who tend to crop up in such situations in order to divert the attention from their own faults and weaknesses (APPLAUSE) and pretend to be demanding when they are really opportunists trying to avoid being called on to account for themselves. With this aim in mind, some people can go as far as perpetrating injustices, using their positions to punish comrades who are perhaps less liable than they themselves. We must demand to the utmost, but we must also watch out for those "super-demanders." We must be firm but just in our demands; we must avoid witch hunts, which are foreign to our methods, our principles and the character of our people. (APPLAUSE)

The comrades in charges of the mass media have an important role to play in this process, for at such a time it is essential to keep the masses well informed.

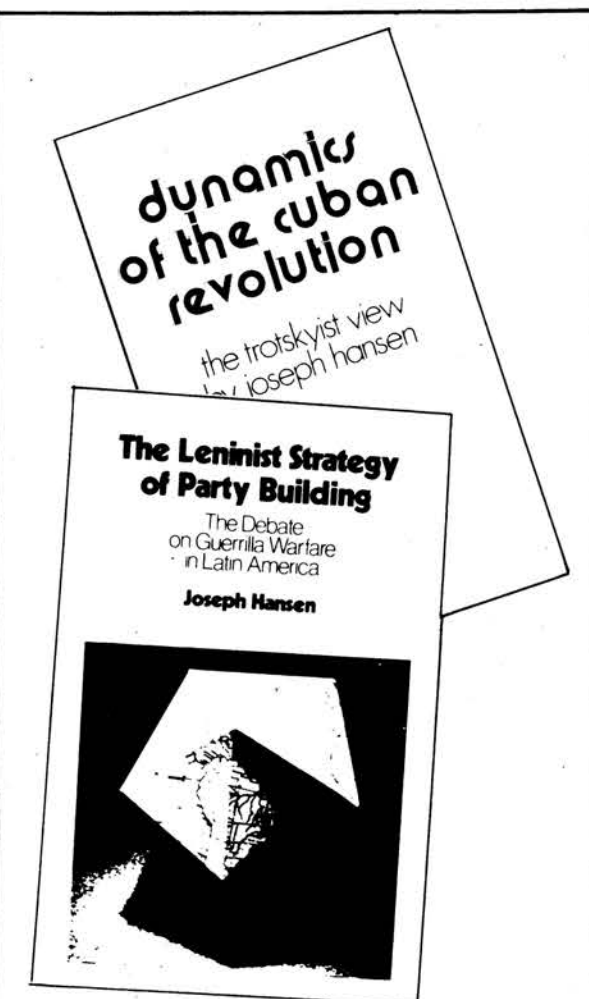
I have seen and heard various interpretations of the opinions I gave on behalf of the Party leadership on October 28. This is even more unfortunate in light of the fact that in certain cases the interpretations were made by comrades who are supposed to have a certain maturity and have shown themselves on occasion to be capable of making thorough analysis. It is not a question of simplifying the criticism, making it seem that all workers are irresponsible and all administrators and administrative officials are complacent; it is not a question of joking about issues that, rather, should be food for thought.

### Who is to Blame?

Sometimes the criticisms are expressed in such a way that one cannot tell whether they are denouncing something that was done, condemning a practice or simply making fun of those involved. Discipline must be restored at all costs and in all spheres, and to do this we must start at



Top, Cuban soldier relaxes with Angolan co-fighters; middle, Cuban billboard reads "Vietnam Will Win"; bottom, Sandinista leaders in Havana present Fidel with rifle as gift after fall of Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.



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home and start from the top. (APPLAUSE) It is not exactly the workers who are to be blamed. In the present situation, the Revolution will show that the thing about the rope always breaking at the weakest point—of which we still haven't rid ourselves completely in reality—will once and for all be something of the capitalist past.

The fact is that there are many instances of lack of work discipline, unjustified absences from work, deliberate go slows so as not to surpass the norms, which are already low and poorly applied in practice, so that they won't be changed because they are being more than met. In contrast to capitalism, when people in the countryside worked from sunup to sundown, that is, an exhausting 12-hour working day and more, there are a good many instances today, especially in agriculture, of people one way or another pulling one trick or another, pulling the wool over their own eyes and harming themselves in the process, and working no more than four or six hours, with the exception of cancutters and possibly a few other kinds of work. We know that in many cases heads of brigades and foremen make a deal with the workers under them to meet the norm in half a day and then go off and work for the other half for some nearby small farmer; or to go slow and meet the norm in seven or eight hours; or do two or three norms in a day and report them over other days, too, days on which they don't go to work, either just to do nothing at all or to do something else that brings in some more money; or to surpass the norm in eight hours but report having worked for ten or 12 hours so as not to have the norm upped.

There are times when the complicity goes even further and brigade chiefs or foremen who have their own work to do and their own norm to meet simulate having done it by reporting a fraudulent norm met by chalking up work done over and above the norm by those working under them. All this is detrimental to production, the costs of the enterprise and the produce that should be meeting the needs of the people. And all these "tricks of the trade" in agriculture are also to be found in industry, transportation services, repair shops and many other places where there's rampant buddyism, cases of "you do me a favor and I'll do you one" and pilfering on the side.

### The Managers and Functionaries

But the main ones to blame for all these weaknesses and the lack of work discipline are not the workers but the managers and functionaries of enterprises who, we know, fiddle the statistics, reporting land ready or planted when it's not, production that hasn't been done, using and abusing the prerogatives that go with their post and the resources of their enterprise to solve the problems of their own and of their friends. They have no standing when it comes to being demanding of others. (APPLAUSE)

The weaknesses and negligence are the responsibility of managers and of all of us who have not set up the most adequate work and salary mechanism and have not known how to organize things and create a certain sense of political and work responsibility on the part of the workers. This is something the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers is at present working on, to come up with a new salary system whereby salaries correspond more effectively with the quantity and quality of work done and the end product of that work; operate more as a means of stimulating increases in output and production, increased efficiency, goods for export, and economizing on resources, all on the basis of a substantial improvement in work organization and norms.

We are working hard to round off economic mechanisms for boosting production, especially agricultural production. We are also working to modify labor legislation within the framework of the economic management system. When fully operational, this should spur on the productive forces which are at present verging on stagnation, idleness and subutilization as a result of excessively rigid procedures being applied.

Management administers the economic policy outlined by the Party and the higher state and governmental bodies. The Party needs it to be strong, prestigious and firm. Nobody wants to berate our functionaries; nobody wants to make them pay for what they haven't done. On the contrary, measures will be introduced to increase their powers and responsibilities. Enterprise heads and managers should have the powers to take action where workers who do not meet their social duty are concerned, because the managers



represent the interests of the people and in defense of those interests should have the ways and means of confronting indolent workers who are out to get as much as possible from society while putting as little as possible in. But the Party and government leadership cannot tolerate some functionaries losing prestige by not going about their duty. We must not hesitate to call to account all those who prove to be inept, lazy and weak-spirited; we must demand they be held materially and administratively responsible.

### Living a Modest Life

The authority administrators have come from a job done well, a life given over to work, a work style that is far removed from fraudulent boudism and warping tolerance, and from living a modest life in keeping with their means.

To be modest means knowing how to relate to one's work collective, being open to criticism, working hard and being demanding of others and oneself, cultivating friendships on a principled basis, being close to the people and above all living according to the remuneration received for one's contribution to society. (APPLAUSE)

It isn't a question of petty bourgeois egalitarianism and demagoguery, which would be in contradiction with the functional efficiency of leaders were they not paid in keeping with the responsibility they take upon themselves and the qualifications needed to hold one post or another. All our people understand that functionaries and cadres at a certain level need certain minimum conditions for their work, which in many cases involves the use of a car, say, as an essential work tool. It's a question of not abusing those prerogatives that go with the job and the position, not using them as if they owned what the people have created and paid for with their sweat and toil. (APPLAUSE) What is under their control

and administration is to be used for work and the social good, not for their own or their family's comfort. (APPLAUSE)

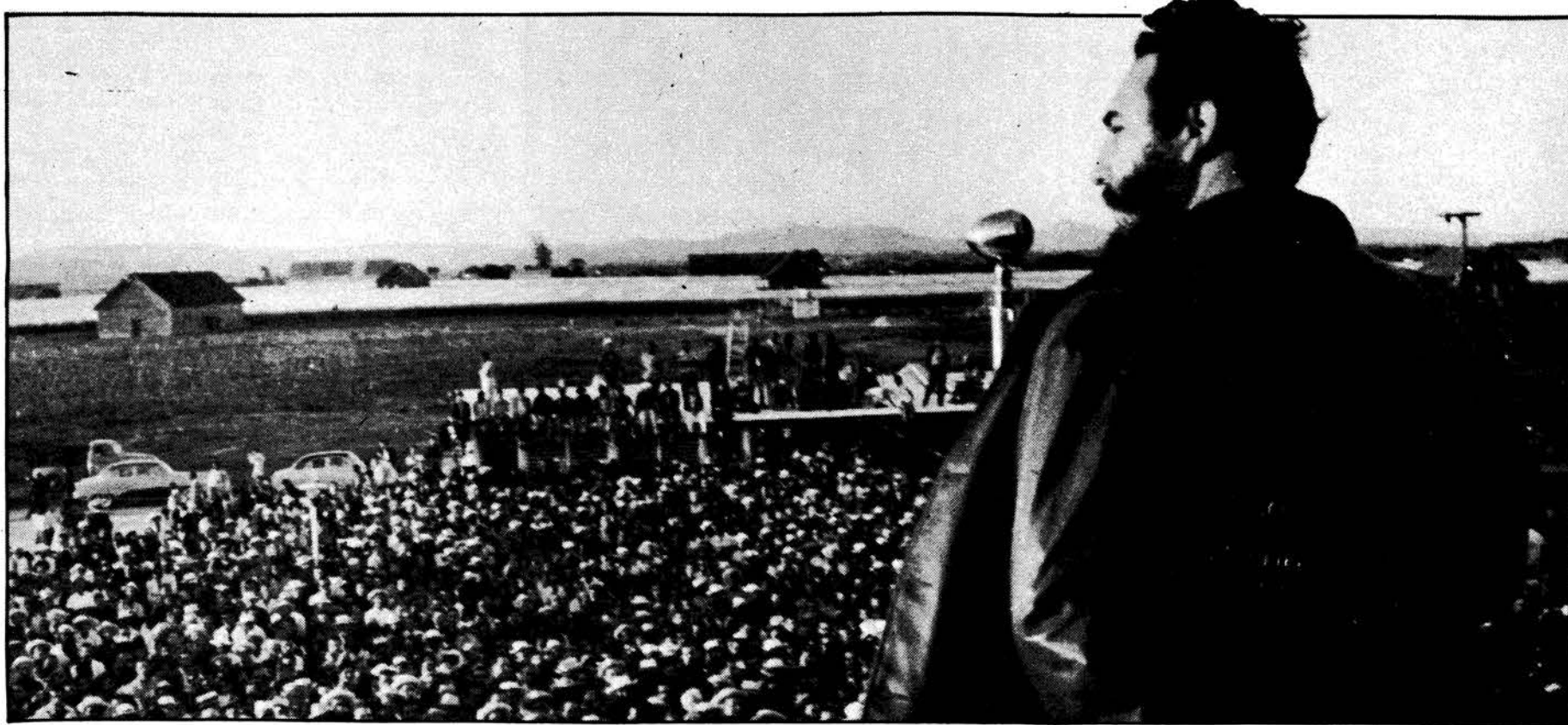
To the memory immortal of our glorious heroes, in the name of Fidel and the Party, we call on the people of the land of the Maceos and on all our people to wage this battle. (APPLAUSE) It's up to Santiago people, their Party and their mass organizations to speak up. It's up to all our people, our Party members, and members of the Young Communist League and all mass organizations. Let dignity and decorum, courage and manliness, spirit and revolutionary honesty take the floor. (APPLAUSE) Let criticism of defects be a constant and be directed at all alike. We are referring to correct criticism, well-founded, healthy, constructive criticism at the right time and place and formulated in the right way. (APPLAUSE) We make a clear distinction between criticism formulated by revolutionaries and ill-intentioned, insidious and slanderous attacks made by the enemy or which play into the hands of the enemy. We must be firm in countering attacks passing for criticism, wherever they are made manifest, as in the high points of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE) Everybody in the country has a place and means for correctly expressing criticism; if they are Party or Young Communist League members, in their respective organizations; if they are simple workers, through their union and in production meetings, in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, in the Federation of Cuban Women, in the National Association of Small Farmers, and always with a view to strengthening the Revolution, not weakening it.

We should not brake the revolutionary criticism of the masses; we should stimulate it. (APPLAUSE) It is sometimes argued that we should not publicize our defects and our errors

because in doing so we are helping the enemy. This idea is completely false. To not be open and frank in facing up to our errors and shortcomings in a courageous, resolute way is what makes us weak and helps our enemies. (APPLAUSE) The constant fight against our defects and weaknesses is, in fact, a fight against our enemies; and we must always be on the ready. The Party, the Young Communist League, the unions and the other mass organizations bear a large part of the responsibility in this, and we call on them to wage this battle along with our people.

Let us fight with the same energy and firmness of spirit against our defects and remnants of counterrevolution that hope to raise their ugly heads! (APPLAUSE) Let us wipe out all our shortcomings and show revolutionary intransigence in putting the detractors and the faint-hearted in their place! (APPLAUSE) That workers give their all and cadres make their lives and work examples of dedication and industry!

Before you, protagonists of the heroic November 30 uprising, before the memory of our unforgettable comrades who fell in the attempt to take this same Moncada fortress, before the memory of all the fallen comrades the country over, before the brave people here in the east who never let difficulties get the better of them and before all the sons and daughters of our magnificent people who made a contribution no matter how modest to the liberation of the country, we recall that nobody fought for honors, that there is no better monument to the heroes of the people than the work of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE) On this anniversary of the November 30 uprising it is yet again evidenced that "when it comes to taking part in work of historical magnitude such as the Revolution, for time to come, nothing and nobody is forgotten." (APPLAUSE)



The national elected body in Cuba is the National Assembly of People's Power. During its meeting this past July 4, a report was given on problems in the nation's passenger transport system.

During the discussion, Fidel Castro took the floor, insisting that the report did not offer any basic solution to the problems presented. The following are excerpts from his contribution to the discussion, which was published in the July 15 issue of the weekly edition of 'Granma.' 'Granma' is the central organ of the Cuban Communist Party.

I don't think we are getting to the heart of the matter, because this report reflects something we must all be aware of: the shortcomings of our system; of our socialism. In all this I think there is also a problem of consciousness: consciousness on the part of our cadres, leaders, administrators and workers.

Because if we look at the problems of our restaurant services, for example, all this will emerge. If we look at our educational services, perhaps not to such a high degree, but there are the problems of the cook who didn't do what he had to, the teacher who didn't show up for work, the driver who was speeding and the director

who was not as demanding as he should have been.

Last year we already undertook a battle against the shortcomings in our medical services: inadequate attention in polyclinics and hospitals and neglect of all kinds.

If we look at transportation in City of Havana, we'll find five times as many complaints: the empty bus that didn't stop to pick up passengers and all those other things that are published in the paper, the buses that took a long time in coming, dirty buses and those without adequate upkeep.

If we look at the taxi service then you can just imagine the problems that will come to light: bad service, ill-treatment of the public, drivers who tamper with the taximeter, others who bribe the mechanic, another who bought a spare part somebody stole from the workshop.

If we look at the services in general we will find complaints of this kind everywhere.

But who rides the train? It's the same person who works, say, in a polyclinic or drives a bus in Havana, who is going to visit his relatives in Oriente. The same person. Or it's someone who works in a restaurant and doesn't give proper services. It's a case of services provided by workers for other workers.

I think we must draw conclusions, go deeper into the issue and ask ourselves to what extent there is political, revolutionary and social consciousness. It exists for some things that are incredible, admirable, marvelous. If one day we tell everybody to make such and such sacrifice, they do so that day, that specific day. The same goes for a voluntary work mobilization or a mobilization to fulfill some difficult internationalist mission. Hundreds of thousands turn up who are willing to go to Ethiopia, Angola or any other place. In other words, our revolutionary political consciousness is reflected in some things. But in others, where it is required on a daily basis, it is not reflected.

The main cadres of the Party, the mass organizations and the state agencies are present here. We must become aware of the need to be much more demanding and wage a much harder battle against all these problems because, if not, today it is the railroads, tomorrow it will be the cinemas, then the beaches, then the day-care centers, then the schools, and so on.

We must get to the heart of the issue. We must put an end to the tendency to shirk problems, to favored treatment for friends, to tolerant attitudes towards indiscipline. All this must stop!



# ...Lukacs

Continued from page ISR/12

who had latched onto the rejection of the dialectics of nature and the accusations against Engels put forward by the early Lukács. The older and wiser Lukács explicitly denied Sartre's contention that dialectics is located only in society, a view which the latter wrongly—and wrong-headedly—attributed to Marx. Lukács writes: Since for Marx dialectics is not only the principle of knowledge but a law governing all of reality, this sort of dialectic can neither exist nor function in society without having had an adequate ontological 'prehistory' in inorganic and organic nature. An ontologically conceived dialectic makes no sense if it is not universal."

Lukács thereby ratified the classical Marxist conception that the three great modes of being cannot in reality be disjoined from one another. Such a separation is the source of the error that

"historical and dialectical truth applies only to social Being and not—changing what has to be changed—to the totality of Being." That was the mistake involved, he goes on to say, in "one of my first books, *History and Class Consciousness*—or in the present position of Sartre on the dialectical method."

There are numerous other valuable insights into philosophical problems in this essay, especially on the role of labor as the primordial factor in the making of humanity and as the essential link between society and nature.

Lukács points out how even the fictitious representations of religion, the ideology most distant from practical affairs, have been patterned after labor. To believe the Old Testament, God created the world in six days but rested on the seventh in accord with the customary work-week.

We shall have to wait for the complete translation of the last writings of Lukács into English before offering a rounded evaluation of his ripest contributions to the treasury of Marxist thought.

For example, contrary to Marx and Engels, he does not consider negation or the law of the negation of the negation to be ontological categories; they pertain only to logical thought.

But there can no longer be any ambiguity regarding his position on the validity of the dialectics of nature. After careful and prolonged consideration he came to the same affirmative conclusion as such eminent followers of Marx and Engels and advocates of dialectical materialism as Plekhanov, Lenin, Trotsky, and Rosa Luxemburg. On this important question he reverted to the central tradition and principles of Marxist philosophy.

The change of mind experienced by Lukács is unlikely to shake the prejudices of the more hardened adherents to the anti-Engels brigade. But it should be seriously considered by students eager to learn the truth about dialectical materialism who are miseducated in the academic institutions which specialize in misrepresenting the teachings of Marxism and muddling the minds of young people.

## LETTERS

### Einstein

Cliff Conner's article on Einstein and science (ISR, December 1979) ends on a note of uncertainty: Does causation in the microworld and in our larger world take a "statistical, probabilistic form," or rather "the direct, dynamical cause-effect form we are familiar with"?

We are unable to determine the paths of elementary particles, because the very observance would require measures changing the trajectory. For that reason physicists abstract from the individual events and use statistics and probability to describe and predict behavior.

Our inability to observe trajectories without changing them does not itself in any way require calling into question the existence of individual trajectories, however.

Whether or not trajectories are involved, it is hard to see how laws of statistics and probability could be enough to account for behavior and causality in individual events. These *mathematical* laws merely describe and foresee, on the basis of data on *multiple* events, where individual observation and prediction are impractical.

While we can rely on statistics to predict the overall outcome of a day's play at the roulette wheel, no scientist would try to tell in advance the exact path and endpoint of one roll of the ball. The ball is like an electron in that one respect.

But we do not conclude that the causality itself is "probabilistic" or "statistical" here. Each bounce of the ball follows known deterministic laws.

If a particle moves in accordance with formulas and tables of numbers but not in response to material forces acting on it, then it moves due to no cause. From this it follows that a "form of causality" that was statistical and probabilistic, but did not determine the motion of a specific particle, would be no form of causality at all.

Therefore, the uncertainty at the end of Cliff Conner's article seems to be over whether individual particles behave in a *causal* way or not.

Since the behavior at all levels is regular, being summarizable by statistics and predictable through probability theory, it might be reasonable to assume for lack of contrary evidence that it is individually causal. That would help resolve our uncertainty about causality for the time being.

David Keil  
New York, New York

The motion of larger entities, like billiard balls and planets, is *determinate*. That is, if you know where these objects are now, and which way they're heading and how fast, you can predict (or *determine*) to a high degree of certainty where they will be at any time in the future. (Likewise, you can calculate backwards and determine where they were at any time in the past.)



Cliff Conner replies

The question of indeterminacy is among the most fundamental philosophical problems that modern science has posed. What is at issue here is the nature of subatomic entities such as electrons, neutrons, and protons—the components of atoms.

Is the same true of electrons and other microentities? If I shoot a bullet directly at a target, I can be sure the bullet will hit the target if nothing gets in the way, but is that true of electrons?

Experiments have shown that it is not true. If you aim an electron at a target, it might hit it and it might

miss to the left or right or above or below. Everyone is agreed that at present electron motion cannot be strictly predicted. But that leads to the key question: Is the motion of an electron unpredictable because of the *nature of the electron itself*, or is the problem merely that we haven't yet *learned* how to predict its motion? In other words, is electron motion *indeterminate in principle* or not?

The reason I didn't answer this question is that science has not yet arrived at an answer. Einstein believed that the answer would someday turn out to be that electron motion is strictly determinate. (That would be in accord with David Keil's position.) Most physicists today (regardless of their philosophical outlook) hold the opposite position—that electron motion will eventually prove to be indeterminate. Nobody, however, can claim to have arrived at an unequivocal answer that meets the criteria of scientific knowledge.

The roulette wheel analogy that David Keil uses doesn't fit. Electrons have been shown to possess both the properties of particles and the properties of waves. These sets of properties are mutually exclusive, since waves are continuous and particles are discrete. There is a fundamental contradiction at this level of the material world that can only be comprehended by dialectical logic.

What this means is that any deductions beginning with the proposition that an electron is like a roulette ball are doomed to failure. The wave-particle duality cannot be ignored.

The nature of reality cannot be deduced from abstract propositions. This is as true for the path of the electron as it is for any other aspect of science.

The attempt to deduce the reality of the microworld from such propositions is not an altogether useless endeavor—theory is an indispensable guide to experimentation and general practice. But the deductions alone cannot provide answers. They must be confirmed or refuted by experiment.

The point I was trying to make in the Einstein article was that indeterminacy does not refute materialism, as many mystics and other religious and idealist philosophers have been asserting for several decades.



# Engels, Lukacs, and the Dialectics of Nature

By George Novack

A bizarre book, entitled *The Tragic Deception: Marx Contra Engels*, was published in 1975. The author, Norman Levine, spun out the thesis that, despite forty years of the closest collaboration, the two creators of dialectical materialism were separated by major differences, above all in philosophy.

Engels, he declared, was "the first revisionist to distort and misrepresent the ideas of Marx. That tradition of Marxism which became mechanistic materialism, social positivism, instrumental rationality and the morality of the Puritan work ethic and self-denial in the dress of socialist productivity, found its point of origination, its genesis, with Engels."

Afterwards, "there was a clear and steady evolution from Engels to Lenin to Stalin." The dogmatism and rigid materialism of Engels led inexorably to political authoritarianism and ideological conformity.



GEORG LUKACS

The assertion that Engels falsified the teachings of his partner is of course contrary to fact and absurd from its cardinal premise to its farthest-fetched conclusion that he should be held responsible for Stalinist totalitarianism. In judicial terms this would be regarded as a frame-up.

It is also a slander against Marx to insinuate that he kept silent during his lifetime about the distortions because he leaned upon Engels for financial support.

Nonetheless, the author's monomania on the subject has one useful aspect. In counterposing "Engelsism" to Marxism as antithetical traditions of Marxist thought he draws out in systematic fashion the same kind of reasoning that a swarm of other critics has directed against Engels. Not least among those who have charged him with misrepresenting Marx's real positions are the partisans of the "praxis" school. They hold that Marxism is confined to the explanation of social phenomena and has nothing special to say about the world of nature. It is not a universal philosophy but exclusively a sociology or theory of historical development.

Levine recognized his own affinity with their line of thought in the foreword where he writes: "I arrived at this conclusion independently yet I note that a creative generation of Marxist scholars perceived the contradiction between Marx's materialism and Engel's mechanistic materialism during the 1920s. The published works of

George Novack is a contributing editor of the ISR. The essay on Georg Lukács referred to in this article appears in Novack's *'Polemics in Marxist Philosophy,'* published by Pathfinder Press. Novack is also the author of *'Pragmatism vs. Marxism,'* *'Democracy and Revolution,'* and other books.

Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch, and Antonio Gramsci reveal that these men were aware that Engels distorted Marxism by applying the dialectic to nature. They all recognized that the dialectic was a methodology, not a law of nature, that history was a record of human activities within given social conditions and not a verification of positivist laws."

He was justified in assigning precedence to the early Lukács in launching the anti-Engels crusade which has since been energetically promoted by so many others within "Western Marxism." This was done through his influential work *History and Class Consciousness*, published in 1923.

Lukács subsequently repudiated and corrected the most serious of the errors in that book which "outHegeled Hegel," as he said, in its departure from materialism. His self-criticism was set forth in the preface to the new edition of *History and Class Consciousness* issued in 1967.

By that time Lukács, because of his international prestige, was able to express his philosophical convictions freely without fear of punitive measures by the Kadar government in Hungary, or by the Soviet Stalinists.

In his 1967 preface Lukács pointed out that a better acquaintance with Lenin's theoretical writings and his discovery of Marx's early manuscripts convinced him that the general approach and many of the principal propositions in his apprentice work were mistaken. He derived a very different lesson from Marx's productions of the early 1840s than the praxis interpreters. His reading of these led him toward, and not away from, the materialist foundations of Marxism.

The understanding that "objectivity was the primary material attribute of all things and relations" shattered his previous "idealistic prejudices," he said. On this basis he was eventually to undertake a major treatise on "an ontology of social being" which inquired into the philosophical connections between economics and dialectics.

The errors of eminent theoreticians often have a life of their own. They are embraced by others who have an intellectual, political, or social stake in repeating them. This persistence has plagued *History and Class Consciousness*.

Lukács ruefully commented: "It is precisely those parts of the book that I regard as theoretically false that have been the most influential." Most widely disseminated are those that "strike at the very roots of Marxian ontology. I refer to the tendency to view Marxism exclusively as a theory of society, as social philosophy, and hence to ignore or repudiate it as a theory of nature."

In an essay on Lukács in my book, *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*, which commended the correction of his errors of method in *History and Class Consciousness* and his later rapprochement with materialism, I reproved the Hungarian Marxist for failing to make perfectly plain his position in regard to the dialectics of nature as an integral and inseparable element of the Marxist world-view and its method of thought.

Such a clarification seemed all the more in order because he had so unjustly and severely polemicized against Engels for affirming that the processes of nature have a dialectical character. Because of Lukács's philosophical prestige this disparagement of Engels and amputation of the

1. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) was the last great figure in the German idealist school of philosophy. He sought to resolve the traditional philosophical split between mind and matter by postulating a unified reality in which matter is the "alienated" expression of its own inner organizing force: reason or the absolute idea. While reason or mind was predominant in Hegel's system, it viewed reality as undergoing progressive evolution through the process of dialectical change. While they rejected his idealism in favor of materialism, Hegel's dialectical method was adopted and enriched by Marx and Engels.

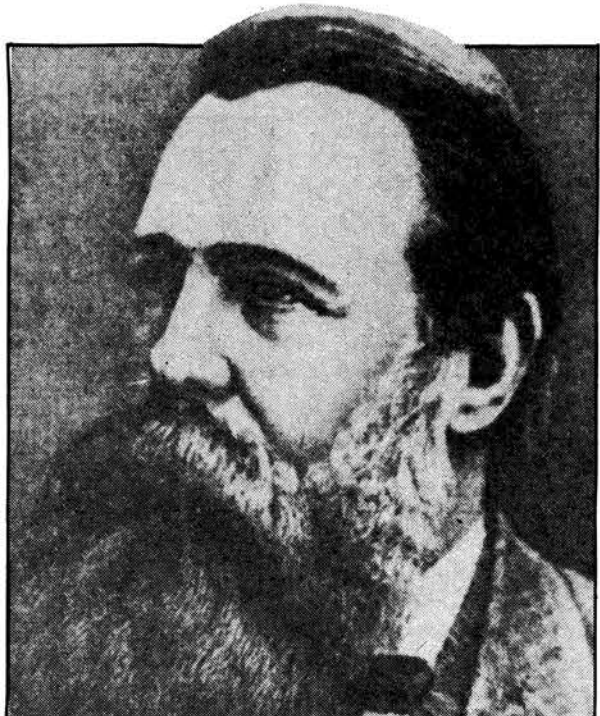
2. Ontology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the study of real being or existence. The current represented by the early Lukács and the "praxis" school generally argue that Marxism should not take a position on ontology. This means that Marxists should not attempt to decide whether nature and matter exist independently of and prior to human will and activity.

Marxist system is commonly taken as an authoritative judgement from which no appeal can be made, even though Lukács himself no longer maintained that opinion.

Recently his most mature reflections on these controversial questions have come to light. They are presented in the last volume of a trilogy on aesthetics, ethics, and epistemology<sup>3</sup> he finished before his death in 1971 at the age of eighty-six, a posthumously published work entitled *Contribution to the Ontology of Social Being*.

Although this is not yet available in English, excerpts from the text have appeared in a special issue, number 206, July-August 1979, of *La Pensée*, the bimonthly organ of scholars and scientists aligned with the French Communist Party. It is devoted to Lukács.

There Ferenc Tokei, professor at the University of Budapest, tells that Lukács elaborated a new version of the Marxist theory of knowledge and then, having felt its inadequacy, set about at the advanced age of 77 to underpin it with a Marxist theory of being. His conception was summarized



FRIEDRICH ENGELS

in "Prolegomenas to the Ontology of Social Being."

The most striking feature of this essay are his revised views on the dialectics of nature. They are the diametric opposite of the subjectivist position on this point in *History and Class Consciousness*. There is an unbreakable connection, he says, between the subjective dialectic (logic) and the objective dialectic operative in nature. "The Marxist theory of knowledge is the principle of the subjective dialectic but it always presupposes ontology, or more precisely the principle of the objective dialectic which is manifested in reality."

Consequently, it is impossible to determine the essence and peculiarity of social existence "without taking into account the general problems of existence, or more precisely the three great forms of Being (inorganic and organic nature, society) in their interconnections and differences." The ontology of society has as its precondition a general or natural ontology. There is no possible being that is not existentially rooted in one way or another in inorganic nature.

This runs counter to the position held by the Left Existentialists headed by Jean-Paul Sartre,<sup>4</sup>

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3. Epistemology is the theory of knowledge. In particular, it is the study of the sources, development, limits and validity of human knowledge.

4. Jean-Paul Sartre (1905- ), French philosopher, novelist, and playwright, is the best-known advocate of nonreligious existentialism in our time. Sartre proposed a doctrine of personal responsibility for human action in a world without purpose. His most famous philosophical work on this theme is *Being and Nothingness*. In *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960), he vainly tried to reconcile this view with Marxism.



# Bankers debate Chrysler bailout plan

By Frank Lovell

Debate over the generous use of public funds to subsidize private business losses, prompted by the \$1.5 billion government bail-out of Chrysler Corporation, has not ended. Every indication now is that the debate will continue for the next several years, as more and larger corporate structures begin to collapse.

In the case of Chrysler, most business executives at first said they were opposed to government help. A poll conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* in September 1979 found that every corporate executive interviewed had reservations.

Despite all the professed misgivings of the "business community," the pressure of Chrysler's heavy bank debts forced the U.S. Congress to underwrite further loans.

This proved that the ruling class is united on the basic proposition that capital investments and profits from those investments must be protected under all circumstances and at all costs, especially when the working class can be forced to carry the costs.

Under the legislation enacted by Congress and signed by Carter, the Chrysler gift carries with it certain provisos and restrictions. One is that in order to qualify for the government guarantees, Chrysler must first find private bankers who are willing to advance \$400 million.

Chrysler executives have said that this will not be difficult, but bankers like to keep full control over investments and always try to avoid the possibility of government supervision and public disclosure.

In a recent statement, banker Felix Rohatyn submitted what he calls "a better way to bail out Chrysler." He has been mentioned as a possible "public representative" to help oversee the Chrysler recovery operation as mandated by Congress.

Rohatyn became publicly prominent in the 1975 financial rehabilitation of New York City as chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation.

He says the decision by Congress to bail out Chrysler has resolved the question of whether it is "in the public interest to avoid large bankruptcies or should the market place take its toll, come what may?"

There is nothing new in this decision. The capitalist politicians have traditionally subsidized private enterprise, beginning with huge grants of public lands to the railroads in the nineteenth century.

What is new about the Chrysler bailout is the form of government supervision. The Chrysler loan bill established a three-member government board, made up of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board's chairman, and the Comptroller of the Currency to monitor the loan guarantee program. The Secretary of Labor and the Secre-

## Auto workers rally against plant closing



SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Auto workers gathered at the state capitol February 19 to protest the closing of Ford's Pico Rivera plant. Among the 125 present were laid-off workers from several auto plants. United Auto Workers members are demanding that the state government take action against the closing and ensure unemployment benefits.

tary of Transportation will be nonvoting members. This is what the bankers don't like.

Rohatyn argues that publicity defeats the purpose of public financial assistance to private business.

He says handing over public funds to capitalist profiteers is "a delicate exercise." It requires "timeliness," "expertise in capital structures," "central authority," and "the ability to negotiate privately and away from political pressures."

This is the bankers' dream: Complete control of the economy, free of social and political consequences.

Rohatyn says, "We are now entering what may be our most dangerous economic climate since the early 1930s and our most dangerous international climate since the Cuban missile crisis." He therefore proposes a special government agency, free of democratic controls, set up along the lines of the Reconstruction Finance Committee that was established during the 1930s for the express purpose of subsidizing Big Business.

This agency "would be managed by paid professionals with its own board of directors."

Rohatyn continues, "If Chrysler ultimately fails it will not prove that government should not have tried the cure; it will prove that the right medicine was not applied at the right time."

Some financial analysts are predicting that Ford Motor Company, second largest U.S. auto corporation, with a \$1 billion loss in its North American car

operation last year and a similar loss anticipated this year, will soon follow Chrysler to the public trough, seeking federal relief.

The Rohatyn plan anticipates such contingencies. It is the bankers' ideal plan for a takeover at Ford, at public expense.

Their plan is closely connected with what the union movement does, or fails to do. It is designed to place further government controls upon the unions and impose new "sacrifices" on the workers in the form of lower wages. And to elevate the bankers to a legally authorized position of power beyond the control of the government and above the economic needs of society.

This debate may appear to be only a matter of discussion among bankers and capitalist politicians, having nothing to do with the union movement and the vast majority of people in this country. But it is the vast majority—including the organized workers—who will suffer if this and similar plans succeed.

It is a warning to the union movement that those leaders who profess to represent the working class are sadly behind in their plans for the future.

Instead of seeking ways to "save" capital investments, the union movement ought to be considering the need to nationalize the basic industries of this country. What is badly needed for the protection and future development of the union movement is a plan to operate nationalized industry under workers control.

# Harvester strike firm against forced overtime

The United Auto Workers union begins the fifth month on strike against International Harvester with no sign of an agreement.

Harvester is determined to eliminate the contract guarantee prohibiting mandatory overtime. But 35,000 auto workers remain steadfast.

At a recent meeting in Chicago, Archie McCardell, Harvester chairman, assured stockholders regular quarterly dividends despite claims of a strike-caused loss of \$222.2 million.

McCardell explained, "We consider

company's international headquarters. The following is an account of an action by two Harvester locals.

\* \* \*

By Kevin Dwire

INDIANAPOLIS—Three hundred workers on strike against International Harvester demonstrated here January 28 to show they are willing to stay out as long as it takes to fight the takeback demands of the company.

The strikers here are members of United Auto Workers locals 98 and 226.

Local 98 President Jack McDaniels told the *Militant* that Harvester "put demands on us that no other company involved in the current round of negotiations put on people. These are demands we haven't heard for twenty to twenty-five years."

Harvester, a giant truck and farm implement manufacturer whose profits were up 95.4 percent last year, is demanding compulsory overtime and attacking benefits that Harvester workers won during the 1950s.

The company is demanding fourteen mandatory Saturdays a year and a limit on the number of job transfers per worker each year.

It also demands that the new contract return to the policy of forcing

employees to work the days before and after a holiday to be paid for the holiday. In the last contract, workers were required to work only two days in any week in which a holiday fell to get holiday pay.

Despite the fact that the strike has lasted so long and put somewhat of a damper on unionists' holidays, their spirit remains high. "I believe we're stronger now than we were when we went out," said McDaniels.

"I'm willing to stay out as long as it takes to get what we want," said one striker. "We don't want to lose anything."

"They're just holding our wages and benefits hostage," complained another striker after the demonstration. Another pointed out that "the company is trying to starve us out during the cold weather and the holidays."

McDaniels said that while the strike has seen no violence in Indianapolis, the company has prepared a pamphlet on how to use the police to intimidate strikers. In fact, the January 28 demonstration ended as several police patrol cars pulled up to the scene.

In order to avoid any sort of confrontation, the strikers moved into the Local 98 hall. Their overall sentiment was that the company had called out the cops.

## Strikers hear antinuke report

Members of the Paddlewheel Alliance in Indianapolis presented a program on the dangers of nuclear power to about 400 striking International Harvester workers on February 7 and 8.

The slide show was presented to the weekly strike classes organized by UAW locals 98 and 226.

The education committees of locals 98 and 226 invited the antinuclear activists to the classes after a similar program was presented to the February meeting of the Marion County UAW-CAP council, at which an official of the United Mineworkers also spoke.

A lively question-and-answer session followed the slide show with UAW members raising the need for political action to fight nukes, and pointing out the power of the utility lobby in Congress. Literature was distributed on the April 26 march on Washington for a non-nuclear world.

—K.D.

Contributions and solidarity messages can be sent to: UAW Region 4, Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

the cost of the strike as an investment in the future."

In the wake of 1979's record profits, Harvester is demanding contract give backs from the UAW to improve the company's lot.

McCardell stated, "During the recent three-year contract we earned about \$370 million in profits. But had we had then what we are asking for now, we would have earned about \$2 billion."

During the course of the strike, auto workers have organized spirited demonstrations at plant gates and the



## U.S. arms in El Salvador 'will sharpen repression'

The Carter administration is intent on sending military "advisers" and \$7 million in arms to El Salvador to prevent "at all costs another Nicaragua," concluded the *New York Times* February 23.

This is despite a plea from San Salvador's Catholic archbishop, Oscar Romero. "The contribution of your government, instead of favoring greater justice and peace in El Salvador, undoubtedly will sharpen the repression," Romero said in a letter to President Carter February 18.

Romero charged that U.S. shipment of \$200,000 worth of tear gas, gas masks, and bulletproof vests last November, as well as a U.S. military training team for Salvadoran police, has already led to an increase in bloodshed. Several hundred people have been murdered by police and rightists just since the beginning of the year.

"The security forces, with better

personal protection and effectiveness, have repressed the people even more violently, using deadly weapons," Archbishop Romero said.

Meanwhile, the U.S. House of Representatives, for only the third time in 150 years, held a secret session February 25 to hear CIA reports on "communist influence" in Nicaragua. Members of Congress were sworn to secrecy in the effort to kill the already inadequate \$75 million aid package to war-devastated Nicaragua.

One amendment adopted would instruct the president to terminate the aid if Nicaragua "violated labor union rights." The opponents of aid didn't mention that only since the Sandinista-led government took power have Nicaraguans had any labor union rights at all.

Opponents of the aid bill say they will offer at least thirteen other amendments.

## 225 attend Northeast Nicaragua conference

By Gary Cohen

BOSTON—Some 225 people attended a Northeast Regional Conference on Nicaragua at Boston University February 23.

Besides Boston, individuals and representatives of solidarity groups came from western Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania.

Donations and sales of posters and literacy coupons from Nicaragua brought \$800 for the country's National Literacy Crusade.

The keynote speaker was Hilde Sequeira, Nicaraguan consul in Washington, D.C. She described her country's literacy campaign and the drive there to step up production to get Nicaragua's economy back on its feet.

Sequeira criticized Carter's plan to reinstitute the draft here, adding that "Nicaragua has no plans to invade the United States."

In response to a question on aid from the U.S. government, Sequeira answered, "Yes we need U.S. aid, but we refuse aid with strings attached. They're holding up the aid because Congress is waiting for CIA testimony about our involvement with the Cubans."

"We're proud of our relationship with

the Cuban government. Whether or not individual Nicaraguans support other revolutionary movements in South America is our business. It should have nothing to do with the granting of aid."

Afternoon workshops at the conference discussed U.S. foreign policy in Nicaragua, the upsurge of struggles in Central America, and the literacy campaign and building the solidarity movement.

Participants in the workshops included Larry Simon, associate director of Oxfam-America; Louise Popkin of Amnesty International; Prof. Howard Zinn; and Prof. Carmen Deere, an expert on agrarian economy who just returned from Nicaragua.

The conference followed a tour stop here by Sonia de Chamorro, fundraising director for the National Literacy Crusade. She spoke to 100 people at Harvard University. The meeting raised \$300.

The Boston Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, sponsor of these events, had set a goal of raising \$3,000 for Nicaragua. That goal has already been met.

One committee fundraiser has been film showings every other week at Boston University. Two showings of *Burn* on February 15 netted \$1,200.

## BPR leader kidnapped

As we go to press, the *Militant* has learned that Juan Chacón, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), one of the main revolutionary groups in El Salvador, was kidnapped by government security forces on February 25. Chacón was riding in San Salvador with his wife, María Elena Vanegas de Chacón, and their three-month-old daughter when their taxi was stopped by the National Police. All three were "arrested" and have not been heard from since.

This is the latest in the military regime's escalating repression against the people of El Salvador. We urge our readers to protest this attack and demand the immediate release of the Chacón family.

Send letters and telegrams to:

Ministerio de Defensa	Junta Cívico Militar
Palacio Nacional	Palacio Presidencial
San Salvador, El Salvador	San Salvador, El Salvador

Also, send copies or separate protest telegrams to President Carter at the White House. Send copies of all messages to the Solidarity Committee with the Salvadoran People, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

The committee is moving ahead with its previously planned March 15 demonstration at the White House to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The march will assemble at 11 a.m. at Dupont Circle.



## Solidarity with Nicaragua!

### New York film showing raises \$250

On February 20, 175 people turned out at Barnard College in New York City for a meeting in solidarity with Nicaragua's literacy campaign. The event was jointly sponsored by the Committee for Assistance to Nicaragua and *Perspectiva Mundial* and included remarks by CAN coordinator Luis Espinoza and a showing of the film, *The New School*.

More than \$250 was raised for the literacy drive during a fund pitch, which included the auctioning of posters donated by Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann, who just returned from a fact-finding visit to Nicaragua.

### Solidarity events in Miami, Ann Arbor, Dallas

Alejandro Bendaña, a member of the Nicaraguan Permanent Mission to the United Nations, spoke to 130 people at Florida International University in Miami February 22. The meeting was sponsored by the Miami Nicaragua Solidarity Committee and the Center for Caribbean and Latin American Studies at the university. Four hundred dollars was collected, including a \$100 donation from the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young Cubans in the United States.

The Ann Arbor Nicaragua Solidarity Committee finished up its series of solidarity activities with a Latin American dance at the University of Michigan February 23. More than \$300 was raised for the literacy crusade. Several days before, the committee held a two-day sale of books donated by professors, which brought in \$313. Since November the committee has raised \$1,400.

On February 23 the Metroplex Citizens for Aid to Nicaragua sponsored a fiesta in Dallas, Texas. The event included talks by Gene Lantz and Elbio Fernandez and a showing of the slide show available from the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

## Farmers protest Carter's economic policies

By Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON—Farmers of the American Agriculture Movement from twenty-one states arrived here February 17 to protest Carter's farm and economic policies and participate in their first national convention.

AAM members plan to remain for at least two weeks to press for their demands.

President Carter's grain embargo, proposals for a new farm bill, and a projected loss in 1980 farm income prompted farmers to come to D.C. and demand government action. This is the third year—every year since AAM was founded—that the organization has brought farmers to demonstrate in Washington.

Last year, several thousand farmers demonstrated with tractors in the streets and on the Capitol Mall.

But city officials and police succeeded in preventing a repeat of last year's action. No more than twelve tractors were allowed in the city. And cops were stationed on the mall to

enforce the ruling as farmers drove in pick-ups to the Capitol area.

Activities began the day before with a rally of 300 farmers in Warrenton, Virginia. Today some sixty farmers set up stills and other devices for a "Alcohol Fuel Demonstration" on the Capitol Mall.

Producing alcohol from grains for fuel is an alternative that the AAM is proposing to combat the energy crisis.

Nearly 400 farmers gathered at the

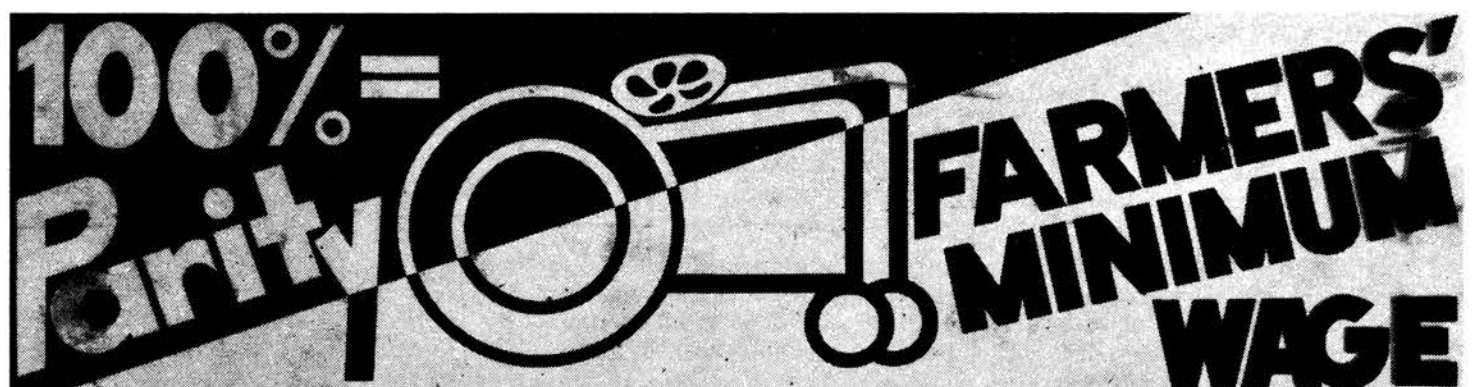
Commerce Department auditorium February 19 for the opening day of the AAM's "First Annual Grassroots Convention." Farmers discussed resolutions, the grain embargo, and energy alternatives during the two-day convention. Farmers also visited members of Congress.

In his opening remarks to the convention, Marvin Meek, AAM national chairperson, outlined the plight of U.S. farmers in the current economic crisis.

Meek said, "One hundred percent parity is our goal."

Meek was referring to the farmers' demand for adequate income in return for the agricultural commodities they produce.

Roy Johnson, a Minnesota farmer, explained parity as "equality." As a bumper sticker put it, "100 percent parity equals farmers' minimum wage."



Farmers' bumper sticker



## Hugo Blanco is presidential candidate

# Peru's left runs united slate for elections

By Priscilla Schenk

Under the pressure of growing struggles by workers and peasants and widespread opposition to continued military rule, the Peruvian government has scheduled national elections for May 18.

Their aim is to get a government in office that will be better able to impose economic sacrifices on Peru's working people, in the interests of imperialist banks and corporations.

But Peru's workers and poor farmers have a choice in this election campaign. Hugo Blanco is running for president on the slate of the Revolutionary Left Alliance (ARI). This alliance includes nearly all the left groups in Peru as well as many other organizations of workers and poor farmers. Blanco's party, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, is part of the ARI.

In the early 1960s, Blanco led a massive struggle by poor Quechua-speaking farmers for land and human rights. Although he has spent most of the last eighteen years in prison or exile, his opposition to oppression and exploitation made him a symbol of the aspirations of the Peruvian masses.

As a result his campaign is winning wide support.

On January 18, Blanco was greeted in the capital city of Lima by an enthusiastic crowd of several thousand people from factories, the university, and the Pueblo Jóvenes, an organization of shantytown dwellers. Gathering in front of the National Election Court, they chanted, "For a government without generals or bosses." They came to show support for the ARI as it filed papers to assure Blanco a place on the May ballot.

Committees to support the ARI have been forming spontaneously in the poverty-stricken shantytowns around Lima. One recent poll showed that nearly a quarter of the residents of these slums intended to vote for Blanco.

The formation of the ARI and Blanco's campaign represent a big step forward for the workers and all the exploited of Peru.

Unity behind the ARI slate took shape in a climate of growing radicalization and opposition to the repressive military government. Last July Peru's unions staged a successful one-day general strike to protest the price hikes in food and fuel and to demand higher wages. At the dictate of the International Monetary Fund, the government has implemented a savage austerity program to pay the debts of the Peruvian capitalist class to foreign banks. Although setbacks have been suf-



Part of crowd of tens of thousands in Cuzco who came to hear Hugo Blanco with demand 'for a workers government.'

fered—such as the 118-day teachers' strike which ended in partial defeat—the militancy of working people remains high. One expression of this is the popular demand for unity against the exploiters and their government.

The formation of the ARI builds on the unity established in the 1978 elections for Constituent Assembly. In these elections Blanco ran as a candidate of a broad alliance of left groups called FOCEP.\* The Democratic People's Union (UDP), a bloc of some Maoist and centrist groups, also ran a slate.

Blanco's campaign concentrated on defending and deepening the mass struggles that were going on. Despite the undemocratic character of the election, including the deportation of Blanco just prior to the election, FOCEP won nearly 12 percent of the vote, and the UDP a little over 4 percent. Blanco was elected to the Constituent Assembly with the highest vote of any left candidate.

This made a deep impression on the

workers and farmers movements as was shown by the continued massive turnouts for FOCEP meetings.

Several months ago, however, FOCEP suffered a split by some who favored a bloc with "nationalist" sectors of the military command. The splitters were headed by one of the best-known figures of FOCEP, Genaro Ledesma.

Together with a small group calling itself FOCEP-Independiente, Ledesma began negotiations to form an electoral slate with the Communist Party (*Unidad*) and the bourgeois-nationalist PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party). The resulting alliance nominated Ledesma for president. The class-collaborationist bloc proposed only a few reforms within the framework of maintaining capitalism in Peru.

Faced with this situation, Blanco and the PRT launched a campaign on January 13 to set up the broadest possible working-class electoral front for the coming elections.

The PRT argued that the differences among the various groups in the workers and farmers movements should not interfere with a unified slate for the elections. Each group within the alliance would be allowed to put forward its whole range of positions. The front itself, however, would be based on an action program that responds to the immediate needs of the working masses.

The PRT insisted that the front exclude all capitalist parties and groupings, since their participation would stand in the way of a campaign defending the interests of working people.

The PRT's proposals were based on demands being raised by the masses themselves. This was graphically demonstrated in November and December when the PRT, along with the UDP, organized speaking tours in Huancayo, Cuzco, and Arequipa, which attracted tens of thousands.

In Cuzco and Arequipa the central plazas were totally jammed with supporters of a united left ticket. The Peruvian weekly *Marka* noted that these were "the most spectacular meetings that have taken place in recent times in these cities."

At each stop along the tour the crowds broke into chants in favor of "left unity for a workers government without generals or bosses," and calling for Hugo Blanco for president.

At the UDP national general assembly, where the proposal for a united slate was being discussed, participants carried Blanco through the hall on

their shoulders when he arrived.

Finally, on January 17, the day before the deadline for legally registering slates for the elections, the PRT and UDP agreed to form the ARI. The UDP agreed to the PRT's stand barring capitalist forces from the alliance.

Hugo Blanco was endorsed as the presidential candidate. The agreement is based on a draft platform worked out by the PRT and the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), one of the main groups in the UDP.

Other Maoist and centrist currents joined in agreement without asking for any changes in the platform or the candidates of the ARI. The POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party), a Trotskyist organization affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, also ratified the agreement and is now part of the ARI.

The only organization on the left that refused to participate in the ARI was the PST (Socialist Workers Party), a group that supports the Bolshevik Faction which recently split from the Fourth International.

This unity among revolutionary groups and its popularity among workers and farmers represents a threat to the ruling dictatorship. Its response has been to sabotage the campaign in every way it can. The state-controlled radio and television launched a campaign of slander against Blanco's party, the PRT. The government has declared that the PRT is illegal as "an international operation of Trotskyism and the Fourth International."

The government slander campaign is also aimed at spreading doubts about the right of Blanco to run as a legal candidate on the ARI slate. According to Peruvian election laws only legally recognized parties have the right to present candidates.

Despite these undemocratic moves by the government, Blanco and the ARI continue to make headway.

These gains are furthered not only by the discredit of the military rulers, but by the declining appeal of the Revolutionary Alliance of the People of the Americas (APRA). Anti-imperialist rhetoric once won this capitalist party a wide following, but years of servility before Washington and the Peruvian rich have eroded its prestige.

The ARI represents a direct challenge to the Peruvian dictatorship, and to the imperialist-imposed austerity drive. As a step toward political independence of the workers and their allies, it is a valuable example of class-struggle politics for the working masses of Latin America—and for those of the United States, too.

## Left groups win ballot status

In a victory for the Peruvian working class, all the left-wing parties that make up the ARI have succeeded in winning ballot status after it was initially denied them.

Hugo Blanco began a hunger strike and sit-in February 4 at the headquarters of the National Elections Court in Lima. Blanco was demanding an end to the regime's slanders against the PRT; legalization of the PRT and the POMR, both of which had fulfilled all the military government's requirements for ballot status but had still been denied a place; and recognition of all political and voting rights of illiterates.

The PRT and POMR had each collected some 60,000 signatures (40,000 were required). But the court ruled that their signatures included too many illiterates. Illiterates, who represent 35 percent of the population, were granted the

right to vote by the Constituent Assembly last year.

Following popular pressure, the National Elections Court then gave all parties six more days to collect additional signatures. Despite the short period, the PRT turned in 31,153 new signatures and the POMR submitted about 15,000. Three other groups in ARI also submitted additional signatures.

As the Peruvian weekly *Marka* noted, "the struggle against the fraud, primarily led by the revolutionary left, has received the solid backing of the people. This has made it possible to collect the signatures rapidly. In this way the short campaign turned into another demonstration of the rejection of the military dictatorship's antidemocratic policy."

Once the court accepted the additional signatures, Blanco ended his hunger strike.



## What 'March for Survival' didn't protest

# Kampuchean refugees held captive by rightists

By Fred Feldman

Starvation, bloody shootouts, robbery, and prostitution—that's what Kampuchean refugees find in the camps maintained by reactionary gangs, with the direct support of the Thai government, on both sides of the Thailand-Kampuchea border.

The real situation is quite different from the picture painted by Joan Baez, Leo Cherne, and other organizers of the "March for Survival." Visiting a refugee camp on the Thai side of the border in early February, they presented it as a relatively secure haven in contrast to Kampuchea. They falsely portray the Heng Samrin government as deliberately starving and exterminating the Kampuchean people.

Many thousands of Kampucheans took advantage of the fall of Pol Pot in January to flee the country while tens of thousands of others were forcibly brought to the borders by Pol Pot's troops. Still others fled the fighting and economic disruption that followed.

The refugees, their needs ignored, became pawns in a drive engineered by Washington and Bangkok against the Heng Samrin government.

The Thai military dictatorship and the rightists foster the flow of refugees in hopes of creating a permanent base for rightist operations against Kampuchea.

### Food stations closed

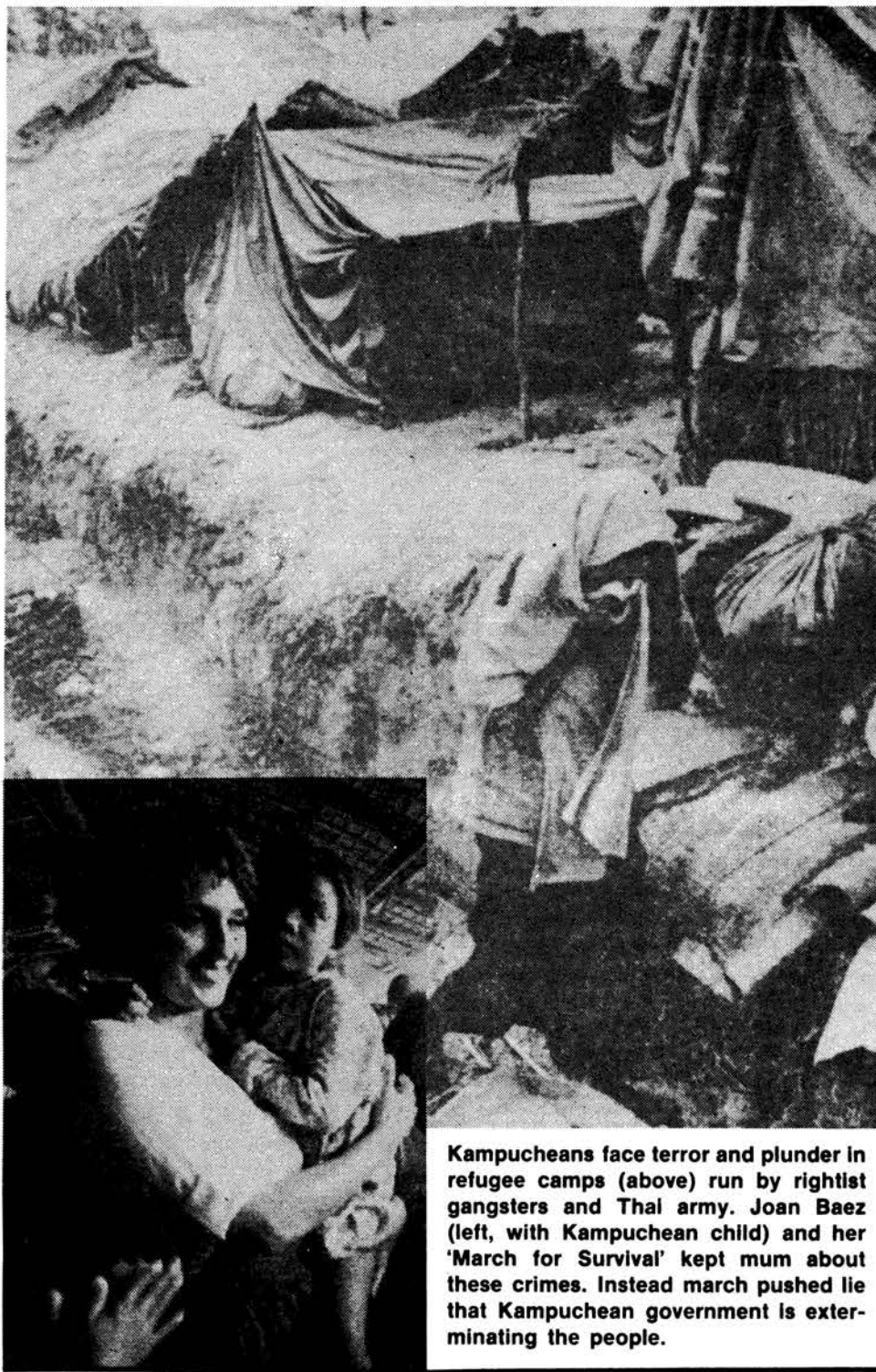
That is why the Thai army has now ordered relief organizations to shut down border distribution stations that were providing food to residents of western Kampuchea.

These stations, which were not under tight control of the Thai army and the rightists, played a part in ending famine in the war-ravaged western fringe of Kampuchea. The Heng Samrin government encouraged Kampucheans to get food at these stations.

The Thai army's goal in closing the stations is to force thousands of Kampucheans to choose between hunger or moving into refugee camps controlled by the Thai army or rightist outfits.

Recent reports by Richard Nations in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* have begun to lift the curtain a bit on conditions in these camps.

Worst off may be those under the control of Pol Pot's "Khmer Rouge" gang. "The relief agencies," stated Nations in the December 7 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "are increasingly sensitive to allegations of supplying the Khmer Rouge, particularly in the face of the telling contrast between the desperate conditions of those under Pol Pot control and the healthier conditions among the refugees gathering in the north. A relief official said: 'The



Kampucheans face terror and plunder in refugee camps (above) run by rightist gangsters and Thai army. Joan Baez (left, with Kampuchean child) and her 'March for Survival' kept mum about these crimes. Instead march pushed lie that Kampuchean government is exterminating the people.

conclusion is difficult to escape: the Khmer Rouge starve the people and feed the soldiers to fight."

### Khmer Serei camps

But life is hardly easier for those saddled with guardians from the "Khmer Serei" (the general label used for all the other rightist groups that trace their origin to the pre-1975, pro-U.S. dictatorship).

They are led by men like Van Sari, head of Camp 204. He "has been smuggling gems and timber out of Kampuchea since the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975," writes Nations in a report on these camps in the February 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

"The Khmer Serei factions," Nations says, "are also competing for the control of people and commerce. The more people in a camp, the larger the relief ration the leaders can claim from the Red Cross, and the greater surplus they can resell to villagers coming from inside Kampuchea."

"In an effort to bypass the leadership of the camps, the Red Cross in mid-December opened a direct delivery point at Baan Nong Chan, offering 30 kgs of rice to anyone from the interior. This knocked the bottom out of the rice market in Camp 204, whose soldiers retaliated with a dawn raid on December 30, scattering the Khmer group

assisting the Red Cross and Nong Chan."

The fight over dividing the spoils is getting increasingly bloody, with reports "that the self-styled Prince Norodom Soriavong, whose own armed group was operating from a camp near Camp 007, was murdered inside Kampuchea last week after an argument over his attitude to relief supplies."

In the camp at Nong Samet, just inside Kampuchea, major fighting reportedly broke out:

"The armed force in Nong Samet—estimated by the Thais to number 2,000—amounted to an uneasy coalition of, among others, former Khmer Rouge soldiers and ex-Lon Nol officers. Politics in the camp polarised between those following the Thai line on unity against the Vietnamese—including cooperation with the Khmer Rouge 12 kms. north—and those who considered Pol Pot as great a foe as Heng Samrin."

"In December, In Sakhan, leader of Camp 007, led the hardliners in a power grab, forcing Moul Sary, his former adviser, to flee an assassination attempt and seek the protective custody of the Thais. . . . On January 3 the tension [between ex-Khmer Rouge led by Anduong Suvanakiri and Khmer Serei forces] erupted into battles that lasted for a week after In Sakhan executed 15 of Anduong Suvanakiri's followers."

Nations doesn't mention how many innocent refugees were killed in the cross fire between the two gangs of bandits, but he describes it as a "civil war" in which refugees were forced to flee "to rival camps in Thailand."

Why is it that the "March for Survival" was silent about the real conditions in the refugee camps? Why is Leo Cherne's "International Rescue Committee" so uninterested in rescuing these people from their Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei captors?

The tipoff is Nation's comment that the clashes in the camps "discredit relief operations and support those international relief officials who favour delivering food to Phnom Penh."

Coming in the wake of the battles at Nong Samet, the Cherne-Baez "March for Survival" tried to cast a smoke-screen around the real situation at the Thai border. By pointing accusing fingers at the Phnom Penh government, they obscured the way most "relief" operations at the Thai border are being used to try to continue an imperialist-engineered war against Kampuchea.

Their performance at a refugee camp in Thailand helped to conceal the victimization of the refugees in the camps, as right-wing gangsters and Thai officials line their pockets.

That cover-up is what the "March for Survival" was all about.

## Even 'Time' admits truth about Kampuchea

Despite U.S.-backed propaganda efforts such as the recent 'March for Survival,' facts continue to come out about the real situation in Kampuchea.

The following is excerpted from an article headlined 'The Fancies and the Fact' in the February 18 issue of 'Time' magazine.

After a tour of the Thailand-Cambodia border last week, *Time's* Hong Kong bureau chief, Marsh Clark, found that conditions have changed so much in the past 13 months that the Western public's perception of Cambodia is a mixture of fact and fancy. Clark's report:

**FANCY:** The Cambodians are in imminent danger of being wiped out as a race.

**FACT:** There are now about 150,000 Cambodians in refugee camps well inside Thailand. An estimated 740,000 Cambodians, mostly civilians, are within a short distance of the border on the Cambodian side; it takes a considerable amount of imagination to speculate that they will all die of starvation or be killed.

**FANCY:** Since international relief efforts are only a "drop in the bucket" (as they are often characterized), the Cambodians are still dying of hunger and disease by the hundreds of thousands.

**FACT:** While the situation is bad, it is an improvement over the famine of last summer and fall. The Vietnamese have allowed peasants to keep the rice crop just harvested. This move, combined with the arrival of international relief supplies, has eased the crisis.

**FANCY:** The Vietnamese and the Phnom-Penh government have systematically prevented international relief supplies from being distributed to the starving inside Cambodia.

**FACT:** Most visible evidence suggests this is not true. While relief stores have piled up at the port of Kompong Som and at Phnom-Penh, there is no proof that

Hanoi or Phnom-Penh is deliberately obstructing delivery. Distribution delays appear to be due to the lack of Cambodian administrators, the shortage of transportation, and continued fighting between the Vietnamese and forces loyal to the deposed Pol Pot regime.

**FANCY:** Now that the world has been alerted to Cambodia's plight and huge amounts of food are being channeled into the country, there will soon no longer be a need for an aid effort.

**FACT:** At least 200,000 tons of additional food must reach Cambodia, and 40,000 more tons of pesticides and seeds, if a major famine is to be avoided later this year.





**How compassionate can you get?**—Describing the floods in the Palm Springs area, AP reported that two high schools had been made into emergency shelters for the homeless, and, “the many hotels and motels in the area lowered their rates for flood victims.”

**Teach, man**—A Miami high school principal ordered \$9,000 worth of gold-plated plumbing with school funds, reportedly for a home he's building. He says it was for a “plumbing” class, but there's no teacher or students enrolled for such a class. The fixtures were listed on school records as “basketball uniforms and equipment.” The local school board voted full confidence in the principal.

**Logic dep't**—President Carter's explanation that

having registration is the best way to avoid having the draft suggested to us the thought that the best way to avoid having a baby is to get pregnant.

**Jesus saves**—The Southern Baptist Convention reported that 1979 contributions, for the first time, topped the \$2 billion mark. The property value of Southern Baptist churches and agencies, the report said, is now \$9.6 billion.

**Where's he been?**—The *New York Times* provided guest column space to an ex-diplomat who argues the government should start using propaganda to promote its global interests.

**Credibility gulch**—A small but steadily diminishing number of Americans have “a great deal” or

“quite a lot” of confidence in Congress, reports the *New York Times*/CBS News Poll. A solid 18 percent of those polled have such confidence, as compared to 34 percent found by the Gallup poll ten months ago.

**Spiritual warmth**—We've always been skeptical of the stereotype of religious figures as otherworldly. For instance, it was reported that Swami Mukhtananda will marry thirteen couples in a traditional Indian ceremony. The knots will be tied at the swami's “winter retreat” in Miami Beach.

**Thought for the week**—“Why is everything at the cost of poor people all the time?”—Henry Paradis, a New Hampshire tool grinder who rejects Carter and doesn't buy Kennedy.

## Union Talk

### UAW strike forces Budd to back down

This week's column is by Elizabeth Ziers, an auto worker at Ford's River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan.

DETROIT—During last fall's auto contract negotiations, the “Big Three” auto companies—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler—declared war on auto workers and our union.

Their strategy to ensure continued profits was to force the burden of the economic crisis on auto workers and the UAW.

Takeaway was the name of the game.

The companies demanded that the union give back many of the economic insurances won in previous contracts.

In Chrysler's case, the union was forced to reopen the contract and give back even more to “save the company” and along with it some jobs.

The results?

Some 200,000 auto workers are out of work. Plants are closed or shut down. And for those of us who remain on the assembly line, speedups and forced overtime are the order of the day.

As other contracts throughout the industry expire, our brothers and sisters elsewhere are offered the Chrysler-style takeaway plan.

Some 35,000 striking auto workers at International Harvester are going into their fifth month.

Harvester is determined to take back the contract guarantee against forced overtime—a provision that's been part of their labor agreement since the 1940s.

The latest example of the takeaway approach was in negotiations with Budd Company.

Budd is an auto parts manufacturer employing 10,000 UAW members nationally, with more than 2,000 in Detroit.

Budd workers were seeking a contract agreement parallel to the Ford and General Motors pacts. Ford and GM contracts are not without takeaways—just fewer than Chrysler's.

Budd had a different agenda. It wanted to test the Chrysler plan.

The company proposed: eight fewer paid personal holidays than Ford and GM; deferred wage increases; delayed pension raises; a twenty-four-cent return on cost-of-living increases compared to fourteen cents at Ford and GM “to pay for pensions”; a seventy-five-cent an hour cut for new workers, ten cents more than Ford and GM; and a reduction in health protection.

Budd workers refused to settle for these takeaways.

On January 15, ten UAW locals in seven Budd plants were forced to strike—the first time in twenty-two years.

However, Budd had anticipated a walkout. Inventories were stockpiled. Shifts were shortened. Daily layoffs occurred prior to the strike date. And the company threatened plant shutdowns and closings.

In an effort to pit other auto workers against the strike, it was rumored in my plant that we would shut down because of the Budd strike.

But Budd strikers had no intention of taking a Chrysler solution and were willing to stay out as long as necessary.

After twenty-six days, Budd backed down. The February 2 settlement—with a few exceptions—is basically on a par with Ford and GM. The exceptions include: slightly lower pensions than auto; probable closing of the Gary, Indiana, plant; and no guarantee of full seniority rights for workers transferring to new plants.

One of the biggest takeaways was defeated. Budd wanted to reduce health protection. Not only was it maintained, but maternity disability was improved. Previously, women received only six weeks. Now, they can get fifty-two weeks of benefits with possible extensions.

The ability of Budd workers to turn back some of the company's takeaways is a plus for auto workers and the entire labor movement. It is a glimpse of what is possible when workers stand up to corporate blackmail.

## 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 (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Mexico. Fri., March 1, 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA

#### SAN FRANCISCO

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. First Unitarian Church. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO

#### DENVER

**RALLY AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT.** Sat., March 8, noon. Federal Court House, 19th and Stout. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, American Friends Service Committee, Libertarian Party, U.S. Peace Council, Crusade for Justice, others.

### FLORIDA

#### MIAMI

**EYEWITNESS REPORT ON CUBA AND SLIDE-SHOW.** Speaker: Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 8, 8 p.m. 8171 NE. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

### INDIANA

#### INDIANAPOLIS

**NO TO THE DRAFT!** Speakers: Paul Hyatt, member of Peacemakers; Kari Reddington, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### MISSOURI

#### ST. LOUIS

**NICARAGUA: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.** Speakers: Antonio Vindell, Nicaraguan student,

former writer for Nicaraguan daily *La Prensa*; Daniel Hellinger, assistant professor 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.

### OREGON

#### PORTLAND

**THE STRUGGLE TO UNIONIZE J.P. STEVENS.** Speaker: 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.

### WASHINGTON

#### SEATTLE

**NO DRAFT! ANOTHER VIETNAM? FOR WHOM?** Speakers: Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sun., March 2, 8 p.m., 7 p.m. reception. 1306 S. K Street. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP campaign. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

## International Women's Day

### ARIZONA

#### PHOENIX

**ORIGINS AND MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY.** Speaker: Ellie Garcia, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 8, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0451.

### MINNESOTA

#### TWIN CITIES

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY RALLY FOR EQUAL RIGHTS.** Special focus: Women in the Labor Force. Sat., March 8, 3 p.m. United Labor Center, 312 Central Ave. NE., Minneapolis. Ausp: Metropolitan Area National Organization for Women.

### NEW YORK

#### UPPER MANHATTAN

**WHY WOMEN NEED MEDICAID FUNDS FOR ABORTION.** A panel discussion. Lourides Soto, American Civil Liberties Union Reproductive Freedom Project; Carla Horton, National Organization for Women Reproductive Rights Committee; Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 8, 8 p.m. 564 W. 11st St. (at St. Nicholas, 2nd floor). Spanish

translation. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 928-1718.

### OREGON

#### PORTLAND

**HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE.** Speakers: Sara Baird, member, Machinists Local 1005. Sun., March 9, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### UTAH

#### SALT LAKE CITY

**“WITH BABIES AND BANNERS.”** A film about union women in the 1930s United Auto Workers sit-down strike. Sun., March 9, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.



## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### Chicano Moratorium: 1970

In a torrential downpour on February 28, 1970, more than 6,000 Chicanos took to the streets in East Los Angeles to protest U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. This action helped spur what Fred Halstead, in his authoritative account of the movement against the Vietnam War, *Out Now!*, called "the largest and most significant action of any oppressed nationality in the U.S. against the war in Vietnam"—the Chicano Moratorium.

Like Blacks and Puerto Ricans, Chicanos weren't impressed with the claims that the U.S. rulers wanted them to fight for democracy in South Vietnam. They saw little democracy at home. Some identified with the Vietnamese as a non-white people fighting U.S. domination.

But it was the disproportionately greater burden that the war imposed on the Chicano, Black, and Puerto Rican communities that gave the greatest impetus to antiwar feeling and action.

By 1970 Chicanos were dying in Vietnam at a rate far higher than their percentage of the population—a rate even higher than the casualty rate for Black soldiers.

In an interview in the September 4, 1970, issue of the *Militant*, Rosalio Muñoz, an organizer of the Moratorium, explained how these and other considerations brought about the movement's birth. Muñoz and some of the other organizers had been active in counseling Chicano youth who wanted to resist the draft.

They soon decided that draft resistance wasn't enough. "If Nixon's (projected plan for a) volunteer army comes, it's going to be purely Chicanos, Blacks, and other minority people because of the immense social and economic pressures on Chicanos and on poor people. Especially the economic incentive, because there's really no job opportunities for Chicano youth at that age. . . .

"These economic pressures are reinforced by the welfare and court systems. . . . We figured that given all these . . . pressures, draft counseling isn't the most relevant thing. You have to get the whole community, the whole culture of the Chicano, involved in the thing!"

Muñoz and other Chicano activists went to the November 15, 1969 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco which was attended by more than a quarter of a million participants. Impressed by the size of the march and the fact that Chicano activist Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of

the Denver Crusade for Justice spoke at the rally, Muñoz and his comrades soon organized a National Chicano Draft Conference. Out of this conference came the call for the first Chicano Moratorium demonstration to be held in Los Angeles, December 20, 1969.

The December demonstration drew about 2,000 people. Encouraged by the turnout, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) called the February 28 action. Despite a rain storm, Muñoz said, "That was the most spirited demonstration I've ever been in." Contingents from all over California participated—students, farmworkers, and working people from the cities.

A few weeks later at the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, the NCMC was successful in getting the conference to call for a national demonstration in Los Angeles for August 29. This action would be preceded by antiwar actions throughout the Southwest to build the national demonstration.

Among the places in California where Moratoriums were held were Coachella, San Francisco, San Diego, and Stockton. August 29 was strongly endorsed by Chicano groups, especially the Raza Unida parties and Chicano student groups.

August 29 turned out to be the largest antiwar demonstration up to that time in the Los Angeles area, with more than 25,000 marchers and thousands of supportive onlookers. Participants included all sections of the Chicano community. The spirited participants marched under banners with slogans like, "Our Fight is in Aztlán [a term used by Chicano nationalists for the Southwest], not in Vietnam," "Bring All the Carnales [brothers] Home!" and chanted "Chicano Power," and "Raza Sí, Guerra No!"

As the rally was just getting under way after the march, Los Angeles county deputies brutally assaulted the demonstrators, resulting in the death of three and injury to scores of others. One of those murdered was a leading Chicano journalist, Rubén Salazar.

The cop attack was an attempt to prevent the spread of this example of mobilization by oppressed national minorities against the war. But opposition to Washington's war continued to spread and remained an important factor in the struggles of the Chicano community.

—August Nimtz

#### Truth on Afghanistan

Every once in a while a little bit of truth emerges from the mountain of lies that passes for journalism in the capitalist press. The San Francisco *Examiner-Chronicle* of February 17, for example, quoted an Afghan rightist, a "farmer" named Shahab Uddin, who gave a straightforward explanation of why they were fighting the government.

"They told people that Islam was a tired religion, no good for progress. They invited women to attend meetings. The government said our women had to attend meetings and our children had to go to schools. This threatens our religion. We had to fight."

Women attending meetings and children going to school! What an outrageous spectacle!

Yet according to the righteous Baptist in the White House the United States must support the "freedom loving" Islamic rebels in Afghanistan against the tyrannical atheists from the north. In Iran, on the other hand, the United States is backing the besieged forces of secular freedom against mobs of Islamic fanatics.

Even the most jaded cynics must be shaking their heads at this explanation of world events.

In any case it is easy to understand the affinity of Carter for the cause of the landlords and opium dealers in Afghanistan. Carter professes support for the Equal Rights Amendment but only offers women the "right" to be drafted and die defending the sacred cause of illiteracy and the veil in Afghanistan.

The Afghan rightists don't mince words or bullets. They baldly state that women are to be excluded from all political life, period.

Carter claims to back improved schools but continues to tear apart our educational system in favor of a skyrocketing war budget. The Afghan rightists have a more direct approach—they just shoot teachers.

Mark Harris  
San Francisco, California

#### On the draft

Anyone born after January 1, 1960, must suffer punishment of restricted economic opportunity. This is simply because good jobs do not go to those who may be called away for the draft. One can only wonder about Mr. Carter's right to lead a free people.

It is one of the requirements of a legal government to protect the lives and liberties of those under it. Has not Carter freely abrogated his government's claim to legality over those younger [than twenty]? I suggest someone with a legal background check on this one.

Would not the victims of such oppression have the right if not the obligation to refuse to register and refuse any oath or pledge of allegiance to him?

Since the document that gives this nation its legality (the Declaration of Independence) also gives the offended people the right to seek the altering or abolishment of any government that they feel detrimental to them, would not those children affected have the right to engage in a Sandinista-type rebellion (who were mostly teenagers) in order to bring that about?

Gary Lee Canarsky  
Kansas City, Missouri

#### Corporate hooligans

The coverage in your pages of the antidraft movement has been excellent, and it has especially been valuable in exposing the connection between multinational desires and official U.S. foreign policy.

Now more than ever we have to direct our attention to revealing corporate hooliganism in the world and the resulting shift in foreign policy priorities in order to compensate for the excesses in question.

We have to shift our main focus from one of attacking corporate-controlled legislators to one of making known the real director of the congressional stage show, the multinationals.

Like Mobil Oil used to say, quit watching the hole (Congress), instead of the doughnut (the multinationals).  
Christopher Townsend  
Gulfport, Florida

#### Olympic optometry

Speaking at Toledo University on February 19, former South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk reflected and refracted the U.S. government's nearsightedness when he said, "I didn't know that the African countries had boycotted the Olympics because of South Africa four years ago until the other day. And believe me, I read the news frequently."

Janet Post  
Toledo, Ohio

#### A renewal

I thought I would drop you a brief note to tell you how much

#### Workers against draft

Recently some of my co-workers and I have begun to do work in opposition to the draft at the Twin Cities Ford Assembly Plant in St. Paul. We are circulating a petition against the draft which is also being distributed by students at the University of Minnesota. At the end of our petitioning we intend to hold a press conference before we send the petitions to our congressional representatives in Washington, D.C.

We are also keeping our co-workers informed as to what students are doing to oppose the draft and we will be publicizing the March 22 antidraft protest in the plant. In turn, we are letting students involved in antidraft work know how workers at Ford feel about the draft.

Jeff Pike  
St. Paul, Minnesota

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# Learning About Socialism

I enjoy the *Militant*. I wouldn't miss it for the world. I quote it whenever I am in a political discussion, and I sometimes save issues to show my friends.

Your coverage of Afghanistan has been excellent.

Lawrence Works  
Seattle, Washington

## Organize

I am in agreement in regards to the letter written in the February 22 issue on the conditions in Attica and prisons throughout the U.S. I am also a victim of this dehumanizing bureaucratic machinery.

There can never be a change until we put aside our petty grievances (Blacks, Latinos, and whites) and organize. "Organization is the key." We all have a common ground, a number that replaces our given attributes.

A prisoner  
New York

## Haitians protest

Some 200 demonstrators, most of them Haitian refugees, gathered at Port Everglades, Florida, February 16 where a \$2 million yacht owned by [Haitian dictator] Baby Doc Duvalier is being repaired.

The Miami Coalition for Human Rights for Haitian Refugees reports that the U.S. government is indirectly paying for the yacht and repairs.

The owner, Baby Doc, uses U.S. taxes for these purposes while thousands of Haitian "Boat People" have been trying to escape the economic misery and political tyranny of that dictator.

Spokespeople also elaborated on the other excesses of Duvalier as well as the long and close ties of the U.S. and Haitian regimes. They asked passersby to demand that the U.S. government immediately stop all aid to Haiti and offer political asylum to Haitians as it now does to Cubans and Nicaraguans.

Loud and vigorous chants filled the air for almost two hours.

John Richardson  
Miami, Florida

**The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

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.

## Abortion rights—working-class issue

The Supreme Court decision ordering the resumption of Medicaid payments for abortion, while the court decides the constitutional issue, is a gain for women's rights and for all working people.

Now a campaign is needed to help ensure a favorable decision by the high court, which is expected to rule in June on whether the Hyde Amendment is constitutional.

That reactionary statute, first approved by Congress in 1976, denied federal funding for abortions except when it can be proven that the woman's life is in danger. Or if she has certified proof that her pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.

If ever there was an example of class and race discrimination, it's the Hyde Amendment.

In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled that abortions are legal in this country. The Hyde Amendment added the qualification: For those who can afford it.

It proclaims that a constitutional right—and that's what the high court said abortion was—can be exercised by the rich, but not by working people.

The amendment arbitrarily separates out abortions from other medical procedures covered by Medicaid.

The principal victims, obviously, have been low-paid and jobless women. Women who, in large proportion, also happen to be Black and Latino.

The stakes are high in the fight to scrap the Hyde Amendment.

Labor proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment have popularized the slogan: discrimination is big business for Big Business. Employers pocket billions of dollars in extra profits every year by keeping women in inferior, low-paid jobs. On the average, working women are paid only fifty-nine cents for every dollar men make. The difference goes to profits.

By denying women the right to determine for themselves if and when they will have children, the government keeps women that much more at the mercy of the employers. It reinforces the notion that women's place is in the home, bearing children—not in the work force as an equal with men. Fear of pregnancy becomes another weapon to keep women subordinate throughout society.

All working people—men and women alike—pay a penalty for this added exploitation of women. And the capitalist rulers have no intention of yielding the benefits they reap from relegating women to an inferior status.

That's why, 200 years after the American revolution, we're still fighting for a simple constitutional statement that women have equal rights.

And that's why, seven years after the legalization of abortion, women's right to choose is still under attack.

In recent years organized labor has joined with women's organizations to become a leading force in the fight for ratification of the ERA.

Labor was also in the forefront of defending affirmative action by defeating the *Weber* lawsuit.

For the same good reasons, labor should now add its power to the fight to bury the Hyde Amendment.

Certainly labor has no friends among the "right to life" forces. The nature of their stand should be apparent just by looking at who they are.



1977 protest against Hyde Amendment

It's the same people who support the war drive, the death penalty, nuclear power, and all the other deadly evils of capitalism. As far as these characters are concerned, the "right to life" stops at the moment of birth.

It's not simply ultraright-wingers who are waging the fight against women's right to control their bodies. It's also the Catholic hierarchy, which has put its financial and political power into the anti-abortion drive.

And it's the two capitalist parties.

The Hyde Amendment was passed with the full assent of the Democratic majority and Republican minority in Congress.

President Carter declared his support for such a stature even before he was elected. During the 1976 campaign, he declared: "I don't think we ought to tax people like myself, who feel very strongly against abortions, to finance abortions through the federal government."

We wonder if the president would favor the same anti-tax approach for those who oppose the military budget?

In mobilizing support for full elimination of the Hyde Amendment, it is important for the women's and labor movements to stress that the issue is not abortion or no abortion.

The issue is whether all women will have access to legal, safe abortions—or be forced to resort to illegal botched abortions, the kind that have claimed so many women's lives.

Anti-abortion laws have never ended abortions. They simply drive women into the hands of back-alley butchers.

The "right to life" argument is as phony as the "right to work" argument. The one is no more interested in the right to life than the other is in the right to a job.

Both are aimed at restricting the rights of working people, to inhibit their ability to fight back.

The organized labor movement is the only genuine right-to-work movement in this country. It alone has the strength—and the self-interest—to fight for jobs for all.

And, by the same token, the labor movement has the strength and self-interest to join with women's organizations in fighting to establish once and for all that women, and not their oppressors, will determine if and when they have children.

—Harry Ring

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# THE MILITANT

## Women steelworkers map ERA drive in Illinois

### District 31 USWA Women's Conference meets

By Markie Wilson

CHICAGO—Despite a big snowstorm, some 400 delegates and observers attended the third annual women's conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers.

Held in Merrillville, Indiana, February 15, the gathering reflected the determination of women steelworkers to advance women's rights and to protect their hard-won gains in the face of layoffs and cutbacks.

District Director James Balanoff opened the conference by pointing to the accomplishments of the District 31 Women's Caucus.

He credited the Women's Caucus with helping to win legislation extending disability insurance to cover pregnancy, with winning new washroom facilities for women in several locals, and with helping to defeat the Weber challenge to affirmative action. He also cited the election of Alice Puerala of Local 65, the first woman president of a basic steel local.

Balanoff singled out ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as a major goal. "We must leave no stone unturned," he declared, "to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, especially in Illinois."

A unanimously approved resolution concluded: "BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The District 31 Women's Conference go on record in support of a winning strategy for the ERA in the state of Illinois, a key state for ratification, by actively supporting a conference in March of steelworkers, other labor unions, women's rights groups, and others, followed by a massive march on Mothers Day, May 11, in Chicago."

Although plans for the proposed march are still tentative, there has been discussion among key women's groups, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), National Organization for Women, the ERA ratification project of NOW, and various labor groups.

An Illinois Labor Conference for the ERA, still in the planning stage, is slated for April 26.

A big inspiration at the District 31



Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president for human affairs (left), told District 31 conference, 'I am here to offer you any help I can' to ratify ERA in Illinois. Conference drew inspiration from January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia, (right) attended by unionists from across the country.



Militant/Lou Howort

conference was the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference for ERA ratification held in Virginia last year and the successful labor-sponsored ERA march there January 13.

Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president for human affairs, opened his remarks to the conference by saying, "I recently spoke at a Newport News, Virginia, labor rally in support of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. I am here to offer you any help that I can in your battle to make Illinois the thirty-sixth state whose legislature has ratified ERA."

Lynch charged there is an alliance between opponents of the ERA, and the union-busting "right to work" forces. He said it is no accident that most of the states that have failed to ratify ERA are also "right to work" states.

"The enemies of the rights of workers, women, and Blacks always march together," Lynch declared. "And so must we—against them!"

Addie Wyatt, international vice-

president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and vice-president of CLUW, was the keynote speaker on ERA.

Recalling the "fantastic demonstration" in Virginia, where thousands turned out, Wyatt told the conference, "It gave us the opportunity to say to Virginia and the world that women and men must be treated equally. We need women and men together to get the better world we need."

Pat Grogan, a member of the Local 65 Women's Committee, asked Wyatt for more information on the projected Illinois labor conference and Mothers Day march. "We're raring to go and get organized for this," Grogan said.

Wyatt said the April 26 conference would bring unionists together from across Illinois to work for ratification.

"On Mothers Day," she added, "we usually give candy. What we're suggesting is that this year, we get the churches, the unions and other organizations to give ERA to our moth-

ers. . . . We'll be marching to express our concern for the ERA and our determination to get it."

District Director Balanoff pledged that "our district will go all out for that conference and march."

Marcella Kitching, co-chair of the Local 65 Women's Committee, told the *Militant*, "The ERA labor conference is a great thing. I went to Virginia for the LERN conference. It will educate our members, all of us."

"The men have to stand behind the women. If not, they'll end up getting less pay too. It behooves them to see that ERA is for everybody."

"If we lose the ERA, everything else we've won will be in trouble. This conference will show that labor in Illinois is behind the ERA. And we have to be out in force on May 11."

(Coverage of the District 31 Women's conference, including discussions on affirmative action, layoffs, sexual harassment, and the draft, will continue in next week's *Militant*.)

## Detroit unionists back Ill. ERA fight

By Martha Dowling and Jim Burfeind

DETROIT—"I pledge to you today my wholehearted support and that of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO to achieve ratification of the ERA."

So spoke Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, at a Detroit-area conference on "Labor's Case for the ERA."

Steelworkers and other unionists attended the February 16 conference at United Steelworkers Local 1299 hall. It was organized by the United Steelworkers District 29 Women's Council and co-sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

Floyd Chambers of the USWA civil rights department pledged that the union will be "in the forefront" of the

fight to ratify ERA.

Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and co-coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), described the impact of the January 13 Virginia labor march for ERA.

Kelly emphasized that ERA was "a working people's issue and a minority people's issue."

Turner also declared that the ERA fight "has to involve all of us in the labor movement, working together with our traditional allies in the civil rights movement, the religious, academic, and youth groups."

He called for stepped-up education on the ERA, including in labor publications and conferences. Also, he said, "We must continue to give financial assistance to such groups as LERN

and similar efforts in other non-ratified states."

Eunice Stokes, representing Local 235 of the United Auto Workers, spoke eloquently of the stake of Black women in winning ERA.

"We are confronted," she declared, "by a twin-headed monster—racism and sexism—which prevents us from being complete human beings." The high point of the day was the announcement of the spring campaign for ERA ratification in Illinois.

NOW representative Ruth Whitney said this drive would culminate with a national ERA march in Chicago this May.

She said support for the action was already building in the labor movement and among other supporters of ERA.

She stressed the importance of participation and support by labor in other states for the Illinois action.

In addition, Whitney, along with Detroit councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey, spoke of NOW's stand on drafting women.

They declared that women are not afraid to fight and have always been in the forefront of struggles for justice and freedom. But, they said, NOW and other women's groups oppose the draft as an infringement on the civil rights of both men and women.

Marilyn Reed, recording secretary of the District 29 Women's Council, made an appeal to women steelworkers to join the council. "Organizing mobilizations to get the ERA passed is what our Women's Council is all about," she said.