

THE MILITANT

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

Washington's secret war in El Salvador



Left, unity meeting of Salvadoran freedom fighters. Top, junta's troops.

U.S. arms and funds are keeping in power a right-wing junta that has killed 4,000 peasants, workers, and students already this year. Eyewitnesses report U.S. 'advisers' directly involved in the fighting. Opposition forces have united. The country is on the brink of insurrection and civil war. Is this the next Vietnam? Page 11.

MIAMI

**Blacks rebel
against
new cop
invasion**

—PAGE 5

5,000 march for ERA



DETROIT, July 14—Unionists and women's rights groups demonstrate outside Republican convention. Page 6.

Militant/Stephen Bernard

The Reagan platform

The Republican Party's convention in Detroit marks a further step in the bipartisan drive against the rights, living standards, and organizations of working people.

The cornerstone was an attack on women's rights. A platform was adopted that withdraws the support voiced for the Equal Rights Amendment in Republican platforms for the past forty years.

The well-heeled delegates (average family income was \$47,000 a year) gave the back of their hands to poor women by hailing the Hyde Amendment, which bars Medicaid funding of abortions.

They endorsed a constitutional amendment to ban all abortions.

The repudiation of women's rights was the boldest move, but the entire platform constitutes a broadside assault on working people. It endorses "right to work" laws, projects big increases in military spending, and calls for further cuts in government spending for public services.

And in Ronald Reagan, big business has groomed a candidate who not only stands on these planks, but *openly* opposes ERA.

It is a class program for big business against working people.

The employers are using the election campaign to shift the spectrum of two-party politics even further to the right, regardless of who is elected.

The Reagan platform is not a break with the policies followed by the Carter administration. It codifies positions that Carter has implemented step-by-step.

Carter and his party sabotage ERA in state after state—most recently by trying to identify ERA with the drafting of women. Carter supports the Hyde Amendment, adopted by Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress.

Carter uses wage ceilings to push real wages down while inflation runs wild. He chips away at public services, health and safety protection for workers, and other basic needs. At the same time he pushes up war spending, and reinstitutes draft registration.

Carter will try to garner votes by presenting a more liberal image than Reagan, while pressing ahead in action on similar lines.

But the results of Carter's policies may speak too loud for many voters. That's why speeches at the Republican gathering were full of demagogic appeals to the workers and unemployed. A few condescending words were even thrown in for Black voters.

That's the two-party shell game. Both carry out the rulers' basic program while hustling our votes.

The rulers are well aware that the political spectrum they are presenting in 1980 isn't the real one.

They know the majority is behind ERA and abortion rights. They know that the majority support jobs for all and union protection.

They got a reminder when unions and women's rights groups mobilized over 4,000 people to protest the Republicans' anti-ERA stand. And Miami exploded again while the convention was in session.

That's why Reagan is trying to reassure us that the Republican party is really all for women's rights—just against ERA, abortion, and other minor details.

The rulers fear the unity that has begun to develop between the unions, civil rights organizations, and the women's rights movement. They want to head off the kind of protest actions that such unity can generate.

They are afraid that the working people who make up the overwhelming majority in this country will discover their vast collective power. They fear that working people will begin to exercise that power in the streets and in the political arena.

That is the perspective that Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, stand for in this election. They campaign for ERA, for abortion rights, for racial equality, and for an end to antilabor "right to work" laws.

They call for an end to the futile game of

trying to make the parties of the rich serve working people. They advocate the formation of a labor party by the unions.

Such a party would shatter forever the monopoly which the racist, sexist, and antilabor parties of big business are using to slash away at our basic human rights.

Cuban ships attacked

A Cuban sea captain is dead. Three of his shipmates are wounded, two seriously. All the facts are not yet in, but it's pretty clear that they have paid a price for Cuba's revolutionary solidarity with the Polisario Front, the Western Sahara liberation movement.

Survivors of the attack said they were strafed by Moroccan fighter planes July 14 nearly twenty miles off the coast of the Moroccan-claimed Western Sahara.

The target of the attack was two fuel supply tankers attached to the Cuban fishing fleet.

Members of the crew said they were first circled by a light plane, then two fighter planes appeared and began strafing them. One of the seriously injured Cubans had jumped overboard and was strafed while in the water.

Last April Morocco broke relations with Cuba after it recognized the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic declared by the Polisario Front.

Since 1975, when Spain gave up control over the Western Sahara, Moroccan King Hassan has tried to annex the area and crush Polisario. The Moroccan ruler is defying United Nations resolutions recognizing the Saharan people's right to self-determination.

In his capacity as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Fidel Castro has called on Morocco to reach a settlement with the Polisario Front.

But last fall, despite a formal U.S. position of not accepting Morocco's expansionist claims, Carter decided to provide jet fighters, helicopter gunships, and other weapons to Hassan.

Such interference by Washington breeds the kind of criminal aggression committed against the Cuban tankers. It underlines the need to demand that Carter recognize the rights of the Western Sahara people and stop arming Hassan's dictatorship.

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If You Like This Paper...



Grenada builds popular militia

The revolution in Grenada is coming under heavier attack from Washington. Maurice Bishop's government is responding by arming the people. Steve Clark reports from Grenada. **Page 9.**

Detroit city workers make gains

How a militant strike by AFSCME forced Mayor Coleman Young to make concessions on wages, other issues. **Page 6.**



Anatomy of a cover-up

When the FBI was caught lying in court about bag jobs against the SWP, it had to explain. New documents show how the government concocts lies. **Page 17.**



The Militant

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Iran quashes military coup: plot made in USA?

By Fred Feldman

The Iranian government appears to have succeeded in breaking up a large-scale U.S.-backed coup attempt by army officers, the Iraqi government, and followers of Shahpur Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar was the shah's last premier, who has been attempting to organize counterrevolutionary forces from Paris.

The conspiracy came to light at a time when the Carter administration is becoming more open about its role in efforts to topple the Tehran government and impose a military dictatorship on the Iranian people.

Despite the U.S. media's hostility to the Iranian revolution and the Tehran government, none have disputed the statements of Iranian officials on the attempted coup. Some provided extensive details of the plot from their own sources.

President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr announced July 10 that a coup had been put down. He said it had centered among air force officers in the area of Ahwaz, capital city of Khuzistan province. Others indicated army officers were also involved.

Two former generals from the shah's regime were reported July 13 to have confessed that they had planned to bring Bakhtiar back to power. They were Said Mehdiyoun, the shah's air force commander, and Ahmad Mo-haqeqi, who had headed the military police.

Counterrevolutionary officers

A July 12 Reuters dispatch stated that "senior revolutionary guard officers had taken over several key military installations and units" in Khuzistan province.

The officer caste of the Iranian army, riddled with former servants of the shah, has long been a source of opposition to the revolution. It has frequently come into conflict with the Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran), which arose out of the fight to bring down the shah and are popularly regarded as much more loyal to the revolution.

A detailed version of the coup plans appeared in the July 14 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"The plotters planned to set up a military junta in Iran," stated correspondent Leslie Keith. "They would then have installed former Premier Shahpur Bakhtiar as president."

Their blueprint called for even more initial bloodshed than the 1953 coup which Washington engineered to bring the shah back to the throne.

After capturing the Hamadan air base, 200 miles southwest of Tehran, "about 30 American-made Phantom aircraft were to have taken off to bomb various sensitive targets. . . .

"The most important of these was the home of Ayatollah Khomeini. . . . About 15 Phantoms were given the job



Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini greets anti-imperialist march from roof of his modest home in Qum. Khomeini, President Bani-Sadr, and almost all members of parliament were marked for death in U.S.-backed coup.

of bombing this target. . . .

"Another target was President Bani-Sadr's office in central Tehran. . . .

"Ten of the Phantoms were to have headed for Qum, about 80 miles south of Tehran. They were to have bombed the Faizieh school and important institutions of religious learning. . . .

"The Phantoms were also to have bombed and totally destroyed the Park Hotel in Tehran and a teacher's club where most of the deputies in Iran's new parliament are staying, thus wiping out in a stroke the majority of the members."

'Put them against walls'

"One of the first acts of the new junta," Keith claimed, "was to have been to release the 53 American hostages. [The number is now 52, after the release of Richard Queen.] They were then to have rounded up about 70 of the top leaders, put them up against walls wherever they were found, and shot them."

Keith leaves to the imagination of the reader what would have been the fate of Iran's workers, urban poor, students, and peasants under the new rulers.

According to Keith, the Iraqi government was to stage a diversion:

"The night the coup was to have been staged, Iraqi aircraft were to have entered Iran to bomb a number of unimportant targets. This, say the Iranian authorities, was the excuse the plotters were to have had to take off

from Hamadan.

"In fact, Iraqi aircraft did violate Iranian air space the night the coup was to have been staged. They overflew three border towns, but the power supply in the area was cut and the Iraqis reportedly missed their targets."

Keith's sources confirmed the assertions of Iranian officials identifying Gen. Said Mehdivan as the operational commander of the coup.

The coup attempt lent powerful support to President Bani-Sadr's assertions that Washington's April 24 raid against Iran was not intended primarily to release the hostages, but was part of a broad military plot to bring down the Tehran government—regardless of the danger to the hostages that would certainly have resulted.

CIA broadcasts

The latest exposures followed the admission by U.S. officials that the CIA is providing transmitters for counterrevolutionary broadcasts into Iran from Egypt.

Broadcasts call for army officers to organize a coup, and indicate support for Bakhtiar to head a new government—an identical program to that of the exposed plotters.

Other counterrevolutionary outfits are also getting Washington's backing for plots against Iran.

The April 30 *Christian Science Monitor* cited the case of General Gholam Oveissi, who commanded the shah's

ground forces until January 1979. Oveissi was directly responsible for organizing massacres of tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators against the shah, including the Bloody Friday slaughter of September 1978 in which about 5,000 died.

Oveissi heads a right-wing gang called *Azadegan*. He recently visited Washington and held discussions with U.S. officials. He "has moved quietly," reported *Strategy Week*, a newsletter with close Pentagon ties, "to develop a strong military team and the bases from which to prepare. His funding position is known to be sound."

Oveissi has been given bases by the Iraqi regime, which hopes to replace the shah as Washington's main ally in the Persian Gulf region.

Speeches by Oveissi and Bakhtiar are beamed daily from a radio transmitter in the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. Funding for the bases and transmitters probably comes from the same source that paid for the broadcasts from Egypt—the CIA.

Oveissi "is reported to be actively involved with the Iraqi government in pushing an invasion through Kurdistan that would be coordinated with uprisings within key army garrisons," wrote Henry Eason from London in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune/States-Item*.

Rightist guerrillas

Other options being pursued by Washington include organizing rightist guerrilla operations modeled on those in neighboring Afghanistan.

Eason continued: "One of the most important sets of military counterforces within Iran are tribal guerrillas similar to the ones who are resisting the Soviets in Afghanistan, who conducted raids on horseback and are armed with automatic rifles. They have not yet conducted a full scale attack on government forces, but their potential is highly regarded by the counterrevolutionaries."

To the overwhelming majority of Iranians, the latest revelations confirm their correctness in viewing the shah's trip to the United States "for his health" last November as a sign that Carter was stepping up moves to crush their revolution. Their massive mobilizations, which included the seizure of the U.S. embassy, have become a big obstacle to Washington's plans.

Iranians are stepping up demands for a thorough cleaning out of the shah's personnel and other rightists from the government offices and military barracks.

For American working people, the latest developments show that the government continues to hide what it is doing in Iran.

All the files in Washington on Iran—past and present—must be opened! Send back the shah and his stolen millions! Hands off Iran!

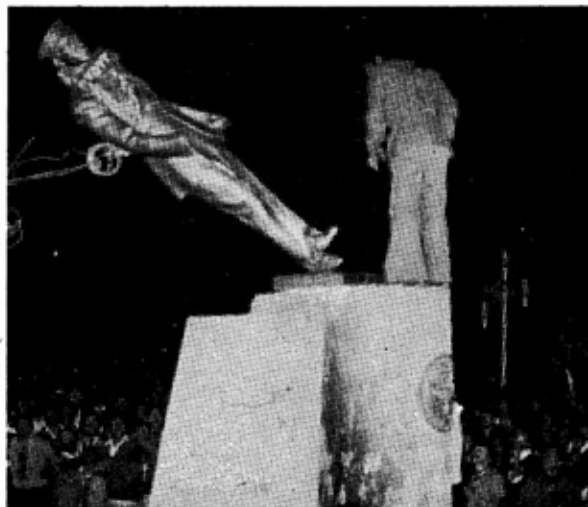
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From auto plants to Black community...

Miami

By Nan Bailey

MIAMI—What do Black youth in Liberty City, scene of the recent rebellion, think of Carter's draft?

I didn't even have to put the question to nineteen-year-old Sam Warrington.

"Sure, let's talk," he said when I explained I was from the *Militant*. "But I'll tell you," he warned, "the only thing that's on my mind right now is this draft."

"I know more young brothers are gonna have to go than anybody else," he told me. "That's how it always happens. But I don't want to go fight in nobody else's country."

"Reagan wants to start a war," he said. "Carter wants to take us in the draft—and then he won't give Blacks political opportunity."

"He gave the Cubans asylum. Why won't he give the Haitians asylum? That's just prejudice right there."

He explained that after the Black rebellion here, Carter "wouldn't even come to the meetings that we invited him to."

"How can they tell me the army will do something for me?" he continued. "I know veterans who don't even get enough benefits to live. And they're Americans—they live here for years and they're treated as bad as the refugees."

"The draft? What for?" asked twenty-two-year-old Calvin Black. "Those people over there ain't done nothing to me. What do I want to fight them for? I got plenty of crackers to fight right here," he said.

"Like Carter. He's going over there getting in everybody else's business. When they get back at him, I say, right on. That's how I feel about it."

"What he *should* do," Black said, speaking again of Carter, "is go over there and get the shah and send him on back. If he did that, the hostages would be here by eight o'clock tonight."

"Yeah," another youth agreed. "That was a mess they made over there in Iran. Next thing you know, there's gonna be some kind of war. If that's their reason for a war, that's a stupid reason."

"Look over there," Black continued, pointing to a Liberty City housing project. "See what we live in? All that money they're spending could be fixing the housing, giving people jobs, making sure food stamps keep coming."

"If I fight, it'll be for my own war," said eighteen-year-old Gary Hunter. "There's no Black people high up there in the government. But then they get Blacks to go out and fight for them. If they want a war, then they should be the first to go over and fight."

"As far as I'm concerned, this country's not worth fighting for. We need to be trying to straighten out things right here."

"We have to get together and do some nonviolent marches or something," he said.

"I've seen a lot of friends go to the army," said a Black youth who works as a golf caddy at a Miami Beach country club. "They tell them they'll get paid better and get better opportunities. But then they come out of the army and they don't have better opportunities at all. It's just the same as when they went in."

Eighteen-year-old Nalton Darby explained who he thought was responsible for registration and the draft. "It's not just Carter doing this," he said. "I think it's a committee or something."

"People are over Carter. It takes more than votes to get elected president. There's people with a lot of power. The more money you have, the more power you have. There's a lot of people who saw that Carter got elected and are telling him what to do."

Who can show the way forward to stopping the draft? "I don't know,"

Darby said. "One thing I *do* know is some of these Black leaders will only say so much. They're afraid if they speak a little wrong they'll lose their positions. We've got to be our own leaders, that's what I think."

New York

By Suzanne Haig

Many young workers at the General Motors auto plant in Tarrytown, New York, are against draft registration, Wells Todd told me in a recent interview.

"They believe the government is not working for them, but taking things from them, like taxes, jobs, and now possibly their lives," he said.

Bruce, a young Black worker, is one of those against registration. He told Todd, "Just because I'm twenty-five doesn't mean I'm exempt. If there's an all-out war, they'll get me too."

Willie Brownlee, twenty, told Todd he was not going to register. "I have a list of reasons why I won't," he said. "First, I'm Black and the government has never done anything for Black people—yet they take half of what we earn."

Another worker from the cushion room had a similar opinion. "The government makes all the decisions and we have to do what they say. If the old people want to fight, then draft them. They are more into wars than young people anyway."

According to Todd, many of the workers who are opposed to draft registration don't yet see what they can do to stop it or to prevent another Vietnam. "Some just say they won't sign

up," Todd explained. "Others don't even want to think about it."

"One young woman told me that she just doesn't want to get involved. 'It depresses me,' she said. 'We can't do anything. I'd rather just come to work and not think about it.'"

"That's why these protests against draft registration at the post offices are so important," Todd said. "They will demonstrate to my co-workers that we can do something about the draft. Hopefully some will join the picket lines."

Todd said that a few people were thinking that way already.

Bruce said he favored mass protests because of the jobs march he went to in Washington in May, organized by Operation PUSH. "I met all kinds of people there," he told Todd, "women, children, young, and old. This kind of protest would be a start. It would be a message to the government."

Todd said he found that many workers were grappling with the causes of war and the reasons for the government's attempts to reinstitute the draft.

"There's a renewed debate around the Vietnam war. Some workers say the government had no business in Vietnam. Others believe 'We should have stayed until we won,'" Todd said.

He added that "most workers don't know about the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada. Nor are they aware of Washington's role in supporting the military dictatorship in El Salvador and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean. You can't read about this in the daily press."

Todd found that a number of the workers who supported the draft did so

because of what they read in newspapers and see on TV.

A thirty-eight-year-old Black worker had told Todd that he thought the draft was a good idea because it would teach young men discipline and create jobs.

Bruce had a different idea about jobs. He told Todd that the reason for unemployment is "to push young people into the army. The only job around is the service."

A lot of his friends who couldn't find jobs had joined the army to be able to make some money. He was thinking about that himself before he got his job at General Motors.

There has also been discussion in the plant on whether women should be drafted.

One nineteen-year-old woman told Todd, "We have to protect what's ours. If they call women, I would go and fight."

Bruce said that "women have been exploited and should have equal rights, but without going into the army."

One thing's for sure. As this discussion continues it's prompting a lot of thinking about the U.S. role in the world, and the connection between foreign policy and the economic problems at home.

Bruce said he "is in the process of re-educating myself to help my people and to stop this country's rape of the world."

Chicago

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—"No way I'm going, man," the young Puerto Rican said. "This government doesn't fight just wars."

His friends nodded in agreement. "I got nothing to fight for over there," one says.

The discussion goes on as they and three others, all eighteen or nineteen years old, sign a petition to put Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, on the Illinois ballot.

This was the response of scores of Puerto Ricans, young and old, male and female, on Fullerton Beach in Chicago last week.

"He's against the draft?" a young woman asked, "sure, I'll sign, I've got three brothers and I want them home."

"I know what Vietnam did," one of her friends, a high school senior, said, "with all that killing and people coming back crippled. They can't get jobs. I don't want that again."

Some of the young men were worried.

"Hey, I don't know what I'll do. Register, maybe. I don't know. I just know I don't feel like going to Iran," one said.

I told people that Pulley doesn't believe young people in this country should fight people just like themselves in other countries, like Iran, Cuba and Nicaragua.

"And Puerto Rico," one young man interrupted.

The older Puerto Ricans felt the same way. The sentiment against the draft, against war, was overwhelming.

One middle-aged man walked by me at first, since I don't speak Spanish. I showed him a Pulley leaflet in Spanish and he stopped read it and smiled.

I managed to explain that Pulley is against the draft, and for the independence of Puerto Rico. He smiled, signed the petition, and told his friend to sign.

"I hope he wins," another young man said as he signed the petition.

Why?

"I'm 19 years old," he said very seriously. "I live at home because I am saving to go to college. This government hasn't done a thing for me. This guy Pulley is like one of us."

READ THE YOUNG SOCIALIST. JOIN THE YSA.

The Young Socialist Alliance is an activist organization of young workers and students. We are campaigning to reverse Carter's draft registration plan. We believe the interests of young people here lie in solidarity with the freedom fighters of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Iran, Angola, and Namibia—not in going to war against them.

The draft and the entire war machine aim to protect the profits of Big Oil and other U.S. corporations.

We are campaigning for government funds to be used for jobs, education, and social services—not war.

The YSA is made up of fighters against the Klan and cop violence, and for the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, desegregation, and affirmative action.

The new August/September issue of the *Young Socialist* features coverage of the fight against the draft with articles like, "Don't want to fight in a rich man's war" by Martin Koppel, and "No more Vietnams: an open letter to Carter" by Margaret Jayko.

"Revolution in Grenada: Let those who labor hold the reins" by Richard Fawkes discusses the un-

Campaigning for socialism
Pulley for President Zimmermann for Vice President

Young Socialist

August-September 1980

No to registration! Protest the draft!



Youth and '80 elections pages 6-7

Grenada and Nicaragua pages 8-9

folding revolution in the Caribbean.

And "Young people must stop the draft," an interview with Andrew Pulley, spells out the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate's program for countering Washington's war drive.

Clip and send to YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Still no justice

Miami Blacks rebel against cop invasion

By Bob Schwarz

MIAMI—The Black community here erupted in anger July 15 when hundreds of Dade County cops occupied the Liberty City area.

At about 3:30 p.m. two cops chased several Black youths into the James E. Scott Housing Project. The youths were accused of trying to rob a motorist.

When the cops ran into the project with guns drawn, an angry crowd began throwing rocks and bottles.

The cops called in reinforcements armed with shotguns, pistols, billy clubs, and tear gas. Within ninety minutes they cordoned off a nine-square-mile area.

Bus service was suspended.

By evening, Coconut Grove, another Black area of the city where angry crowds threw rocks at cops, was also barricaded.

Hundreds of Blacks lined Northwest Twenty-second Avenue until late in the night. Police cars sped down the street shooting tear-gas canisters.

While an assistant director of the Public Safety Department told the *Miami Herald*, "I would characterize this as a product of a small group within the community," hundreds of Blacks were out on the streets.

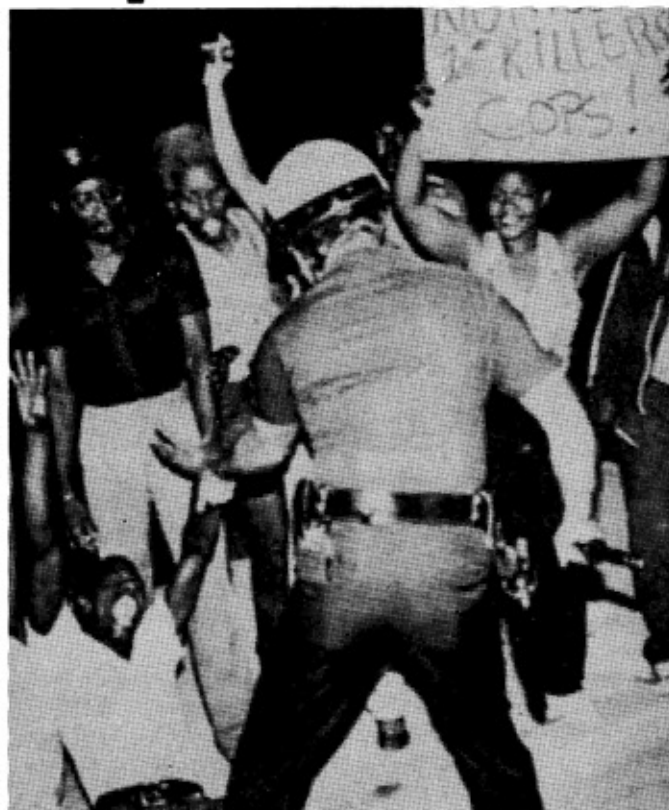
In the early evening, a crowd of several hundred gathered around a huge red, black, and green Black liberation flag.

One of the men carrying the flag



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

Poverty, mass unemployment, and cop brutality sparked Miami revolt in May.



said, "From our point of view something was going to jump down anyway. We didn't need an excuse. What we here on the street understand is that McDuffie [a Black insurance executive beaten to death by a gang of cops last December] wasn't the last one."

Black university Prof. Marvin Dunn

said, "A lot of the people down there are scared. They're scared police officers are going to march down and shoot them."

Five police officers were reported shot, none seriously. A twenty-year-old Black man was also shot by three whites in a truck.

The police arrested at least eleven young Blacks and charged them with looting and damaging cars.

Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, called the police action "a massive provocation against the Black community. This is a continuation of the police terror campaign that touched off last May's rebellion."

"Since May, public officials from the mayor to President Carter have promised aid to Miami Blacks. But so far the aid bills from Washington and Tallahassee have all been tax credits and loans to businesses.

"Not one dime has been spent on jobs at decent wages for the tens of thousands of unemployed. Not one dime is earmarked for housing, education, or hospitals."

Baron also pointed to the lack of federal indictments against the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie.

The only action taken, she said, "has been by the cops and county prosecutor's office in railroad the youth who were rounded up during the rebellion."

Four Black youth have been indicted for the murder of three white men who died during the rebellion. The only evidence against them is the testimony of a woman who claims she recognized them in a crowd of several hundred from fifty feet away.

As one young demonstrator in Liberty City explained, "We still ain't getting no justice."

Mexican torture victims face racist trial

By Barbara Kingsolver

TUCSON—Demonstrators in Tucson are demanding an end to the injustice of a racist trial that persecutes Mexican victims and lets their white torturers go free.

The beating, torture and robbery of three Mexicans, Manuel Garcia Loya, Eleazar Ruelas Zavala, and Bernabe Herrera Mata, occurred on August 18, 1976, on the Hanigan ranch near Douglas, Arizona, after the men crossed the border looking for work.

Their torturers, identified by the victims as ranchers Thomas and Patrick Hanigan, were acquitted in 1977 on 22 charges of assault, robbery and torture.

The case has been brought up again, this time in a federal court, in an effort to achieve justice for the three Mexican workers.

However, the second trial bears many resemblances to the first. Once again there is an all-white jury; the

defense was allowed the liberty of rejecting all minority jurors who were called; and the second court appears no more concerned with justice than the first, in spite of the evidence presented against the Hanigans.

One witness was Pamela Hanigan, ex-wife of Patrick Hanigan. She told of hearing the brothers discuss the beating and robbing of Mexican undocumented workers and said that this type of "hunting" was a frequent "sport" of theirs.

She saw the brothers leave the house with shotguns on the night of the assault. Patrick had said they were "looking for wetbacks" and that they would "knock them around a little bit, steal their money, and turn them in to the border patrol."

The Mexicans told of how the Hanigans stripped them, burned them with a hot poker, and threatened them with castration.

And yet it is not the torturers, but

the victims, whose mental stability is being doubted by the racist court. The judge has ordered that Zavala be examined by a psychiatrist to determine his competence to testify.

Reasons given for this decision were that Zavala "stammered and appeared nervous" during his full day on the stand, closely cross-examined by the Hanigans' attorney, who had been reprimanded for his racist language; and that Zavala could not remember the precise time he crossed the border on the night of the incident, nearly four years ago.

The judge had to back down later, however, because Zavala was ruled fit.

Josefina Otero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, said that the outrage by the Hanigan brothers reflected the deeply rooted racism in American society. "In Cuba, in Nicaragua this would never happen. Under socialism, racism is illegal."

Join antidraft protests at post offices across the country

As the July 21 date for draft registration for nineteen- and twenty-year-olds approaches, protests are being planned across the country at post offices where youth are required to sign up. Rallies, marches, forums, film showings, and teach-ins are among the other activities planned to show opposition to Washington's first step toward conscription.

Detroit—picket line July 21 at main post office, 1401 Fort Street, organized by Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). On July 21 and 31, CARD will hold conferences at 7 p.m. at Wayne State University Student Center to discuss organizing against the draft. For more information call (313) 577-3416.

New York City—picket line July 21, 9:30 a.m., at the General Post Office, Eighth Avenue and Thirty-second Street, sponsored by the Coalition Against Conscription. Call (212) 673-1808. Rally July 21 at Seventy-second Street and Broadway, 6-9 p.m., organized by the Mobilization Against the Draft. Call (212) 260-2002.

Washington, D.C.—rally and march July 19 from the main post office to Lafayette Park across from the White House, organized by CARD.

Baltimore—picket line July 21 from 4 to 6:30 p.m. at the main post office on Fayette Street, organized by Maryland CARD. Call (301) 366-7200.

Morgantown, West Virginia—picket line, noon, July 19, at post

office, organized by CARD. CARD will also hold a forum July 19 on the draft with the Vietnam War film, *Hearts and Minds*, at the Outdoor Inn, Mountain Lair, West Virginia University, at 7:30 p.m.

San Francisco—march July 19 from Rincon Annex Post Office at 11 a.m. to the federal building for a rally, organized by the California Campus Antidraft Coalition. On July 21, the Mobilization Against the Draft has called a picket line at noon at the post office on Seventh and Mission streets. Call (415) 861-2982.

Los Angeles—demonstration July 21, organized by CARD. Assembly is noon at the federal building, 300 North Los Angeles Street. Call (213) 831-9085.

Pittsburgh—picket lines and leafleting the last two weeks of July at

several post offices. On August 1, an antidraft teach-in will occur at the University of Pittsburgh at 8 p.m.

Minneapolis and St. Paul—community antidraft meeting July 20 organized by Twin Cities Stop the Draft Committee. Picket lines July 21 at post offices in the area.

Chicago—picket line at Loop Post Office at noon July 21 at Dearborn and Adams streets, organized by CARD.

Cincinnati—press conference July 18 at federal building post office and rally and demonstration noon, July 21, at same location.

Portland, Oregon—march and rally July 19, organized by Oregon Committee Against the Draft. Assembly at Portland University Park Blocks, followed by a march to Waterfall Park. Picketing and leafleting July 21 at the post office.

Mayor Young forced to retreat

Detroit city workers strike wins wage hikes

By Tony Dutrow

DETROIT—Striking city workers here, represented by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 25, have turned back take-away demands that Mayor Coleman Young hoped to cram down their throats.

Almost 2,000 workers attending the July 12 ratification meeting at Cobo Hall voted by a four-to-one margin to accept a new three-year contract and end the eleven-day strike.

Included in the contract were a 7.5 percent yearly wage increase to be "folded in" to the base pay each year; a first-of-its-kind supplemental unemployment benefit plan (SUB), giving workers thirty dollars per week while on layoff; a paid dental plan the city threatened to deny; and an agreement by the city to allow retiring city workers with twenty years or more to collect accumulated sick days previously ripped off upon retirement. In addition the city was forced to pay 80 percent of medical expenses in the new contract.

However, city workers failed to win a full, uncapped cost-of-living allowance (COLA), and were unable to end forced overtime in this contract. Both were key demands that AFSCME fought for right up to the settlement.

The union also failed to eliminate the attendance control program, but did force the city to let up on some of the most stringent features of the program.

'Got to have COLA'

The strikers applauded loudly at the open mike during discussion on the contract when a young Black worker said, "We've got to have an unlimited COLA. With the inflationary spiral what it is, I can't survive without it."

Another sentiment was expressed by a forty-five-year-old worker who told the *Militant* why he was voting for the contract. "Right now, the way things are, we can't get any more."

AFSCME estimated that individual workers lost between \$2,100 and \$2,300 to inflation over the life of the 1977 contract, because of the low increases

and the city's practice of paying an "uncola" (as city workers call it).

Previously the city had moved workers back to their base pay prior to each wage increase. This has been halted, and the city workers' wages will go from \$7.01 to \$8.61 per hour by the end of the contract.

Prior to the contract Mayor Young used the 1980 Republican convention to hold a gun to the heads of city workers and others whose contracts expired at or near the July 14 opening. The two convention sites, Cobo Hall and the Joe Louis Arena, were never picketed. But AFSCME's threat to do so caused great embarrassment to Mayor Young and the rulers of this city who had assured the Republicans that contract disputes would not interrupt convention preparations or proceedings.

Labor solidarity

Then, on July 8, Tom Turner, president of the Detroit Metropolitan Council AFL-CIO, announced that seventeen unions, including the Teamsters and Auto Workers, had formed a coalition to support the city workers' demands.

It was only after this show of labor solidarity that the city began to budge.

At the outset Mayor Young had been so confident of bringing the city workers into line that nothing was put onto the bargaining table until forty minutes before the deadline.

Young pleaded poverty, but workers who had seen how he lavished millions of dollars on convention preparations turned a deaf ear. "The city's got money. Hell, they had money to build all that," said a picketing city worker, waving her arm at the Renaissance Center.

Young's chief negotiator, Mark Ulicny, said on June 30, a few hours before the contract was to expire, that he expected AFSCME to grant an extension to keep workers off the picket line prior to the convention. AFSCME's response became a key slogan of the strike. "No contract, no work!"



Militant/Lou Howort
Outraged women's rights supporters picketed in New York City on July 10, following Supreme Court ruling upholding Hyde Amendment. Court okayed right of Congress to cut off federally funded abortions. Demonstration was organized by Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA).

Mayor Young's arrogance toward city workers surfaced when he said that they should learn to eat beans instead of steak. Workers, in their three-day "ring around the City County building," answered by chanting, "Coleman, Coleman, we want meat; go with the beans you told us to eat."

Nan Dukes, a clerical worker in Local 23, explained why she and many other city workers were more determined this time than in 1977 to resist the city's pressure.

"Back then my husband was working. He's laid off from the [Ford] Dearborn Frame Plant now. It's all on my shoulders, so I can't afford to settle for a bad contract. I'm a steward, and I've been on the phone every night, telling my people to hang in there and stay on those picket lines."

Bill Arth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, told the *Militant* after meeting with strikers that "picketers were all volunteers and received no strike benefits," but picketing was well organized and effective. "Scabbing by supervisors did not prevent vital city services from being completely shut down."

The picket line at key city locations were still going strong until the agreement was reached.

'Forgot where he came from'

Mayor Coleman Young suffered a big political defeat as a result of the strike. His image as a trade unionist who became a Democratic Party "friend of labor" has been severely tarnished.

One striker expressed her feelings on a placard, "The mayor forgot where he came from. His roots are in the union movement."

"Young is double-talking," she told the *Militant*. Democrats are always for the poor—until they get some money themselves.

Even a top labor official like Tom Turner, who is still tied to the Democrats, felt compelled to express the widespread frustration. He walked the picket line July 9 and said, "I am disenchanted with who is getting elected in the Democratic Party. They get like Republicans after they get in office. I think it is time for a change. The leadership of the American trade union movement is going to have to assess what is going on in Congress."

In this situation, Young's capacity to carry out further attacks on the city's working people has been weakened.

Layoff threat

Throughout the strike he had threatened to lay off 150 workers for each percentage point gained over the 1977 contract. And immediately following the settlement on July 12 the city hinted at impending layoffs.

While these threats are still very real, Mayor Young has had nothing further to say on the matter.

This time city workers will get SUB pay for twenty-six weeks, a price no other city has had to pay for its layoffs.

Now, whenever Mayor Young sharpens his axe for further cutbacks, he will be haunted by the memory of the eleven days when city workers surrounded the mayor's office and other locations and chanted:

"AFSCME fought the battle of Coleman Young; sat on the corner and the buses didn't run; turned on the water and the water didn't run; and the city came tumblin' down."

5,000 confront GOP: 'ERA Now!'

By Sheila Ostrow

DETROIT—Some 5,000 supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment demonstrated here on July 14, the opening day of the Republican national convention.

The marchers were enraged at the Republican Party's decision to dump ERA from their platform. They were there to show that the majority of people in this country want ERA ratified now.

The march spanned ten blocks, circling past the convention center, where the GOP was meeting.

The action was organized by labor and the women's movement.

National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal said at the rally that the action was built quickly because "women want our rights now and they aren't going to be denied. The bottom line is ratification and we will not be denied. . . . We will fight and we will win."

Don Ephlin, United Auto Workers vice-president, stressed the importance of unity in the fight for ERA.

"Labor and women have much in common," he said. "We have the same friends and the same enemies. The UAW has been with you since the beginning. We will stay with you until you are successful."

ERA supporters came from unions and women's groups around the country. There was a UAW 1A Women's Council contingent and one from the UAW Region 1 Youth Council.

Other contingents were: UAW Retirees; United Food and Commercial



United Auto Workers joined NOW and others to build march.

Workers; United Steelworkers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Michigan Education Association; Detroit Federation of Teachers; Coalition of Labor Union Women (Wayne State chapter); and others.

NOW contingents came from Michigan; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Springfield, Illinois; Evanston, Indiana; northern New Jersey; and Connecticut.

Marchers came from as far away as

Seattle and Washington, D.C. Many downtown Detroit office workers also attended the rally on their lunch hour.

The list of speakers included, Willard Maguire, president of the National Education Association, and a large number of Democratic and Republican officials.

On July 9, fifty people picketed in front of the Houston, Texas, Republican headquarters in a protest organized by NOW to demand passage of the ERA.

Dist. 31 votes down 'red clause'

Steelworkers debate shutdowns, politics

By Jon Hillson
and Malik Miah

MERRILLVILLE, Ind.—More than 600 delegates and guests of the United Steelworkers of America met here at USWA District 31's annual conference on June 28 and 29 in the midst of an onslaught against union members by the steel industry.

The conference passed a number of important resolutions.

It gave full support to a July 8 protest called by Local 65 against a two-week shutdown of U.S. Steel South Works.

It backed stepped-up solidarity with the two Steelworkers locals on strike against Northern Indiana Public Service Company.

It endorsed the formation of a women's department in the USWA and reaffirmed District 31's strong support of the Equal Rights Amendment, women's rights, and affirmative action.

It emphatically opposed the construction of the Baily nuclear power plant, favoring its replacement by a coal fired generating station.

And delegates decisively endorsed, against the recommendation of the conference resolutions committee, the elimination of the anti-communist clause from the USWA's international constitution.

Discussion around all the resolutions took place in a democratic atmosphere.

The picture that District 31 Director James Balanoff painted in his "State of the District Report" was far from rosy.

Layoffs and closings

More than 21,000 Steelworkers in the union's biggest district, nearly a fifth of the membership, are on layoff, with no end in sight. Thousands more are working only four days.

Plant shutdowns have wiped out 13 locals, with Pullman Standard's 2,000 remaining workers staring the next closure in the eye. Rumors of bigger layoffs and lengthy "temporary" closings at other mills abound.

Escalating corporate union-busting has a clear aim, "a nation without unions. And without OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration], without EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunities Commission], without any other protections for working people," Balanoff said.

Balanoff blasted both Carter and Reagan. Should the Democrats and Republicans fail to provide an alternative to this mess, "then we will have to create a new party and search for new leaders," he said. The cheers of the assembled Steelworkers for that point were the loudest of any of the remarks Balanoff made.

The two lengthiest debates underscored the strengths and weaknesses



July 8 demonstration of 500 called by Chicago-Gary district steelworkers conference to protest two-week shutdown of U.S. Steel South Works. Under pressure from union, mill reopened as scheduled.

of the Steelworkers gathering.

In a heated discussion, the majority of delegates were swayed by pro-war rhetoric to reject a resolution opposing the draft. The call for a "strong military" against the Soviet Union and Cuba carried the debate.

The openly right-wing sentiment that erupted around the draft debate had earlier been vented—without success—against a resolution on "Political Parties" submitted by Local 1010 at Inland Steel.

That resolution stated that, "this Body, while continuing its strong support of friends of Labor within the Democratic Party and elsewhere, and likewise working for reforms within the Democratic Party, recognizes and will also support legitimate efforts to build a National Coalition of Labor and its Allies aimed at creation of a new majority party for, by and of working people and our allies."

The resolutions committee urged the proposal be voted down.

Resolution author Mike Olszanski, a member of Local 1010's executive board, told the delegates the proposal was "a compromise" written to bridge the gap between advocates of a new party and those who believe the union's political activity should be confined to the two-party system.

Cliff Mezo, vice-president of Local 1010, urged support of the resolution, nailing the employers' two parties. "It's absolutely ridiculous that the biggest block of voters in this country have no representation at the highest level of government," Mezo said to cheers. "It's time to form a party to represent the majority," he said, "and to serve notice on the existing parties that they either represent us or we'll get a party of our own." The applause grew louder.

Etta Ettlinger, a member of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, took the floor, speaking on the need for a labor party. Ettlinger is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Indiana.

"This resolution looks forward and backward at the same time," she said. "It supports our enemies, the Democrats and Republicans, and calls for a new party at the same time. Brother Balanoff said yesterday we may need a new party and I agree with him," she said.

Larry Piscara, a delegate from Local 1033 at Republic Steel, opposed the idea of independent political action, claiming Carter was "a little problem." He urged the conference to "strongly back the two party system," charging that the only proponents of "a new party" were members or sympathizers of "the Communist Party and the Socialist Party."

This red-baiting attack was chal-

lenged by Cliff Mezo as an insult to the conference. He was warmly applauded, and his remarks were seconded by Balanoff.

The resolution was passed on a voice vote by a narrow margin.

A friend of a friend

Although there was no endorsement of a presidential candidate, the main political action at the conference was a ringing endorsement of Democrat Birch Bayh, U.S. Senator from Indiana.

The gubernatorial candidacy of Bayh's Democratic Party-mate John Hillenbrand was conspicuous by its absence. A multi-millionaire businessman, Hillenbrand backs "right to work" laws in practice, having moved one of

his casket-making firms south to avoid unionization. Bayh backs him, he backs Bayh, both back Carter and the Steelworkers get the shaft.

The discussion on political action begun at District 31's conference is far from finished. The debate on the need for a labor party is now out in the open. In continuing that discussion, labor party advocates can learn from the sharp polarization that took place here in the Steelworkers debate on the draft.

It made clear that independent political action by the union movement cannot be effectively mounted without a break from the foreign as well as the domestic policy of the bosses.

That discussion will also deepen in District 31.

Celebrate! with Tom Kerry

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Ed Mann wins spot on ballot

By Stu Singer

Steelworkers Local 1462 President Ed Mann has been certified for a position on the ballot for U.S. Congress in the November election. Mann is running as an independent candidate in the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio which includes Youngstown.

Mann's campaign grows out of the years-long fight of steelworkers against the decisions of U.S. Steel and Jones and Laughlin to shut down their steel operations in Youngstown. It is backed by leaders and activists in a number of union locals there.

Ed Mann summarized his program in one word: jobs.

Workers, Bosses, and Bureaucrats

A Socialist View of Labor Struggles Since the 1930s

By Tom Kerry

A veteran Socialist Workers Party leader discusses labor's fight against government intervention, the need for independent labor political action, the importance of union democracy, how to fight against inflation and unemployment, and the role of labor in defending the rights of the most oppressed workers. \$5.95, \$17 clothbound, 285 pages.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y., 10014. (Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)



Denied benefits: 'It's our taxes'

Copper strike solid despite injunctions

By Josefina Otero

PHOENIX—On July 13 I went to the Phelps-Dodge copper mine in Ajo, Arizona, along with some campaign supporters. Ajo is a two-hour drive from Phoenix.

The pickets we spoke to at the mine were especially interested in seeing the copper industry profits chart printed in the last issue of the *Militant*.

Renaldo Alvarado, a copper worker for thirty-four years who works in the smelter, said: "Look at this. The company is always crying bankruptcy. This chart shows their profits increased 60 percent last year."

Several pickets mentioned they had read in *Steeltown* (the union's monthly paper) about the resolution in favor of a labor party passed at the recent District 38 convention of the Steelworkers.

Bill Rivera, a sixty-two year old heavy-equipment operator who has worked at the mine for thirty-nine years, said: "The Democrats and Republicans are both the same. They agree with what Carter has been doing. I like the idea of a labor party. I think we should do it."

The strikers are angry that they are being denied food stamps and unemployment benefits. "We pay the taxes, it's our money. Why don't we get it?" one asked.

Strike benefits from the union are \$35 to \$40 a week.

Josefina Otero is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Arizona. She is a member of Steelworkers Local 3937 at Reynolds Aluminum in Phoenix.

By Dave Hurst

SALT LAKE CITY—Utah's "right to work" law has been called into play against the 6,000 union strikers at Kennecott Copper's Bingham Canyon mine and processing facilities here.

On July 7 strikers organized a mass picket at one of the mine gates to try to keep independent contractors from entering. Under provisions of the anti-labor "right to work" law such mass picketing is illegal.

Kennecott quickly filed a request with Utah Judge David B. Dee seeking an injunction to limit the number of pickets at each entrance to the mine, smelter, and mills. The company alleged that strikers had engaged in

Dave Hurst is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 2nd Congressional District in Utah. He is a member of Steelworkers Local 4208 at Eimco in Salt Lake City.

Phoenix forum

The Phoenix Militant Labor Forum is sponsoring a meeting to support the copper strike on Saturday, July 26. It will begin at 7 p.m. at 1243 East McDowell Street in Phoenix.

Speakers will include strikers and union representatives. A collection will be taken to support the strike.

For more information call (602) 255-0450.

"potentially violent or destructive activity" which threatened Kennecott property. This allegation stemmed from the burning of cast-off tires by strikers at one of the mine gates.

Cass Alvin of the United Steelworkers, head of the twenty-six union coalition engaged in bargaining with the copper industry, called the tire burning "a socially useful act" aimed at destroying the tires—which gathered water—as a breeding place for malaria-spreading mosquitoes.

Local new media played up the incident, describing "drunken mobs" of violence-prone strikers. By contrast the media were silent about a spontaneous fire at a Kennecott trash dump, which sent clouds of noxious fumes into the air for two days.

On July 11 Judge Dee handed down his injunction against five unions at the mine. Under the "right to work" law he limited the unions to two to six pickets at each entrance. The judge's order also prohibited blocking access to the property. He warned strikers not to keep anyone from crossing the picket line.

Already my union, USWA Local 4208, has adopted a resolution of support to the strike.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign has been well-received on the picket line. Bill Hoyle, candidate for governor, and I visited several picket sites July 12 and discussed issues ranging from the court injunction to the upcoming presidential election and the need for a labor party.

One picketer told us "As far as I'm concerned Anderson, Carter, and Reagan are the three stooges. It's about time we got our own party that speaks for workers for a change."

Copper wealth

39,000 copper miners are making modest demands for more job safety and a minimal wage increase to keep their pay up with skyrocketing inflation.

They feel strongly enough to go on strike, sustaining their families on \$35-40 a week. The capitalist-controlled government bodies refuse them the food stamps and unemployment benefits funded by miners' taxes.

But no one should worry whether the top bosses of the copper companies are suffering. Below are some of their salaries for 1979:

Kennecott—chairman Thomas D. Barrow: \$1,309 million; president William H. Wendel: \$501,000

Phelps-Dodge—chairman George B. Munroe: \$341,000; president Warren E. Fenzi: \$253,000

Asarco—chairman Charles F. Barber: \$571,000; president Ralph L. Hennebach: \$396,000

Amax—chairman Pierre Gosseland: \$832,000; president John Towers: \$547,000

Anaconda (Arco)—chairman R.O. Anderson: \$777,000; president T.F. Bradshaw: \$1,516 million.

UAW loses representation vote at Ala. GM plant

By Nelson Blackstock and Willa Madden

DECATUR, Ala.—The United Auto Workers narrowly lost a union recognition vote June 27 at a General Motors plant just across the river from this northern Alabama city.

With 1,448 workers, Saginaw Steering Gear is the largest non-union GM facility in the country. It is one of many plants that the auto companies moved south during the past decade in search of an anti-union sanctuary.

Beginning with the vote at GM's Guide Lamp plant in Monroe, Louisiana, in early 1977, more than a dozen of these plants have gone UAW. They vary in size from less than fifty up to 2,300 at the GM assembly plant in Oklahoma City.

On the eve of the Oklahoma City vote a year ago UAW President Douglas Fraser announced that Saginaw Gear would be the next big target.

Back in March 1978 the UAW set up its Southern Regional Organizing Office in Nashville, Tennessee. The coordinator is James Turner.

On the day of the election Turner was at the UAW office here in Decatur. Workers in "Vote UAW" t-shirts gathered in office corridors and the parking lot outside.

Turner was optimistic about the outcome. "But if we lose, it will be because of the scare tactics," he said.

GM claimed to be neutral in the election as the result of an agreement with the UAW. The ball in the plant is being carried by the "Committee for Free Enterprise," composed of anti-union employees.

The biggest lie they are promoting is that "laid-off workers from the North will come down and bump them out of their jobs," Turner said. "They've taken two sentences out of a UAW agreement with GM and printed them totally out of context. You could take two sentences out of the Bible, or two

sentences out of the Constitution and totally change the meaning."

In 1978 the UAW narrowly lost a vote at the Wolverine plant here. In the days before the vote an anti-union phone bank was operated out of Civil Defense headquarters in the basement of the county courthouse.

It had been set up by the mayor, chamber of commerce members, and local businessmen. Staffing it were members of the Jaycees, Rotary and Kiwanis. They called workers to try to intimidate them into voting against the union.

Turner knew of no evidence of any such campaign during this drive. But at Wolverine, the existence of the phone bank was not discovered until the election was over.

Northern Alabama differs from the heavily unionized Birmingham area to the south. Overwhelmingly rural until recent years, it has a reputation as an anti-union area.

Mike MacLemore, a Decatur native, told the *Militant* that he is blacklisted at Saginaw and several other plants because his family is known to be pro-union.

In 1978 the UAW successfully organized a Westclox plant here. It later closed and moved away. MacLemore said this served to dampen union sentiment among some.

Turner believes the impact of anti-union propaganda is fading. A Ford plant in Sheffield is under UAW contract. The Aluminum Workers have organized the Freuhauf Trailer plant here.

"A lot of the lies get cleared up by people's neighbors who work in union plants," Turner said. "They're able to tell people the way it is."

As for what's drawing more workers to the union today, Turner sums it up in two words, "the economy."

When nearly 200 workers were laid off at Saginaw, a company plan pro-



UAW supporters were optimistic on day of vote

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

vided some additional income for two weeks. After that they were stuck with \$90 a week, the maximum in Alabama. The fact that UAW members get Supplemental Unemployment Benefits was a strong drawing card for some workers, Turner said.

Safety is another factor. "Terrible," is how Turner describes it. "That plant's been there only five years. But I've never seen a dirtier one—oil all over the floor."

Turner says this was pretty much an "in-house" drive, that the union did little to try to organize support in the community.

Spearheading the union drive in the plant was a 200 member committee. It was made up of a spectrum of workers, Turner said. "Some who have worked in other plants. Some who this is their

first job. Some young, some older. Blacks. Women."

Decatur has a reputation as an area where the anti-union Ku Klux Klan is relatively strong. But Turner says they played no visible role in the union recognition fight.

After the election, a leaflet passed out at the plant announced that "the UAW is still here." Union representatives say the organizing office will not close.

While no plans have yet been finalized, the earliest another vote can take place under NLRB rules is one year.

The result here shows that, claims of "neutrality" aside, GM is a tough opponent. A battle lies ahead before the remaining non-union auto plants in the South are brought under the UAW banner.

Pulley on solidarity tour of Grenada, Nicaragua

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley arrived in Grenada July 9 to begin a nine-day fact-finding tour of this Caribbean island of 100,000 people. Grenada has been the scene of an advancing revolution since the repressive government of Eric Gairy was overthrown by the New Jewel Movement in March 1979.



ANDREW PULLEY

Pulley was accompanied by Steve Clark and Diane Wang. Clark is managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, a revolutionary Marxist weekly newsmagazine. Wang is a steelworker and member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The three went to Grenada to express the solidarity of American socialists with the Grenadian people in the wake of stepped-up attacks on their revolution.

On June 19, a bomb exploded at a rally in St. George's, Grenada's capital. The bomb had been planted under the platform where Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the New Jewel Movement were to speak.

The intended victims escaped unharmed, but two women were killed and a dozen other people were wounded. The bombing aroused indignation across the island.

"My visit with the Grenadian people will enable me to spread the truth about their revolution to working people in the United States," declared Pulley. "It's especially important now, in the face of the U.S. government's war threat against the Caribbean and incidents like this bombing, that workers in my country stand firmly on the side of the Grenadian people and their right to govern their country without interference from Washington."

From Grenada Pulley will travel to Nicaragua to participate in the July 19 celebration of the first year of the Nicaraguan revolution.

"The people of Nicaragua have provided the world with an example of what a government based on the interests of the workers and farmers can accomplish," the socialist candidate said. "In just one year since they threw out Somoza, the Nicaraguans have begun a massive literacy campaign, turned over land to the peasants, and nationalized the banks and major industries. All in the face of U.S. efforts to starve the revolution by denying aid necessary to rebuild the war-torn country."

"On returning to the U.S.," Pulley said, "I plan to redouble my efforts to campaign for material aid to the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada."

While in Grenada, Pulley, Clark, and Wang will meet with leaders of the New Jewel Movement, organizers of the country's new trade unions, militia leaders, and Grenadians from all walks of life.

Beginning with this issue, the *Militant* is publishing dispatches describing their experiences.

Grenadians join militia to defend revolution

By Steve Clark

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—The people of this small Caribbean country are mobilizing to defend their revolution, as U.S.-backed terrorist activity continues.

On July 4, a soldier of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) and a member of the militia were shot in the island's northern-most parish of St. Patrick's. PRA soldier Simon Layne and militiaman Danny Baptiste were rushed to a St. George's hospital in critical condition.

Layne and Baptiste were inside the Mt. Reuil Water Works building when they heard shouts from outside, telling them to "get ready to come out. Automatic weapons outside here. Guerrillas around."

When Layne opened the door to look out, he was shot in the chest. Baptiste was shot in the back as he ran for cover.

According to the Grenadian government, the four gunmen were followers of Kenneth "Buck" Budhlall and his brother Kennedy Budhlall, two former New Jewel Movement (NJM) members charged with plotting an aborted April 26 attempt to overthrow the new government.

The Budhlall brothers had also been waging a "freedom to grow" campaign against government efforts to stamp out large-scale marijuana cultivation. Kennedy Budhlall had been arrested when the April coup attempt was uncovered.

Of the four people identified as the gunmen in St. Patrick's, only one has so far been caught and arrested.

June 19 bombing

Members of the Budhlall gang were also behind the June 19 terrorist bombing of a mass rally at Queen's Park in St. George's. Two young women were killed and dozens of people injured in that vicious attack.

The bomb had been intended to go off beneath a platform where Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and virtually the entire top government and New Jewel Movement leadership were scheduled to speak.

Keith S. Bernard, one of the key suspects in the Queen's Park bombing, was arrested shortly after the attack. Another suspect, Strachan Phillip, was killed in a gun battle with government forces.

On July 2, Kenneth "Buck" Budhlall, Ronald Budhlall, and Russell Budhlall—widely known here as the three "Buckaneers"—were arrested on Mucbe Kawe island, near Pearls Airport, while attempting to flee the country to evade the charges against them.

Hundreds of rounds of ammunition had been discovered at the home of Russell Budhlall only a week before the June 19 bombing. Nicholas William, another member of the Budhlall

grouping, was killed a week after the Queen's Park attack, when a bomb he was carrying accidentally went off.

The NJM-led government has responded to the Queen's Park bombing with mass demonstrations across the island and a campaign to build and train a militia of 20,000—nearly one fifth of the island's population—to secure the revolution against its enemies at home and abroad.

Behind the 'Buckaneers'

New Jewel Movement leaders have stressed that behind the Budhlall gang and the marijuana growers stands a more powerful and more dangerous foe—U.S. imperialism. They have linked the right-wing violence in Grenada to Washington's threats against Cuba, CIA destabilization efforts and coup attempts in Jamaica, and the assassinations of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador and political leader Walter Rodney in Guyana.

"We must not only root out remaining local counter-revolution," said an article on the arrest of the three "Buckaneers" in the July 5 *New Jewel*, "but must never forget the foreign connection which taught our 'local mercenaries' to make bombs. We must keep our eyes on the seas, our coastal lookout alert, our Militia active on our beaches, even while we safeguard our communities."

Grenada's leaders also explain that a successful defense of the country against imperialism is only possible because of the continuing social and political conquests of the revolution.

An editorial in the July 5 *New Jewel* said, "Once more, we have seen that a popular Revolution possesses tremendous strength to defend itself against aggression, from within or from without. That strength is the organized strength of the people who are prepared to come forward to defend the Revolution because they recognize the increased benefits the Revolution is bringing everyday."

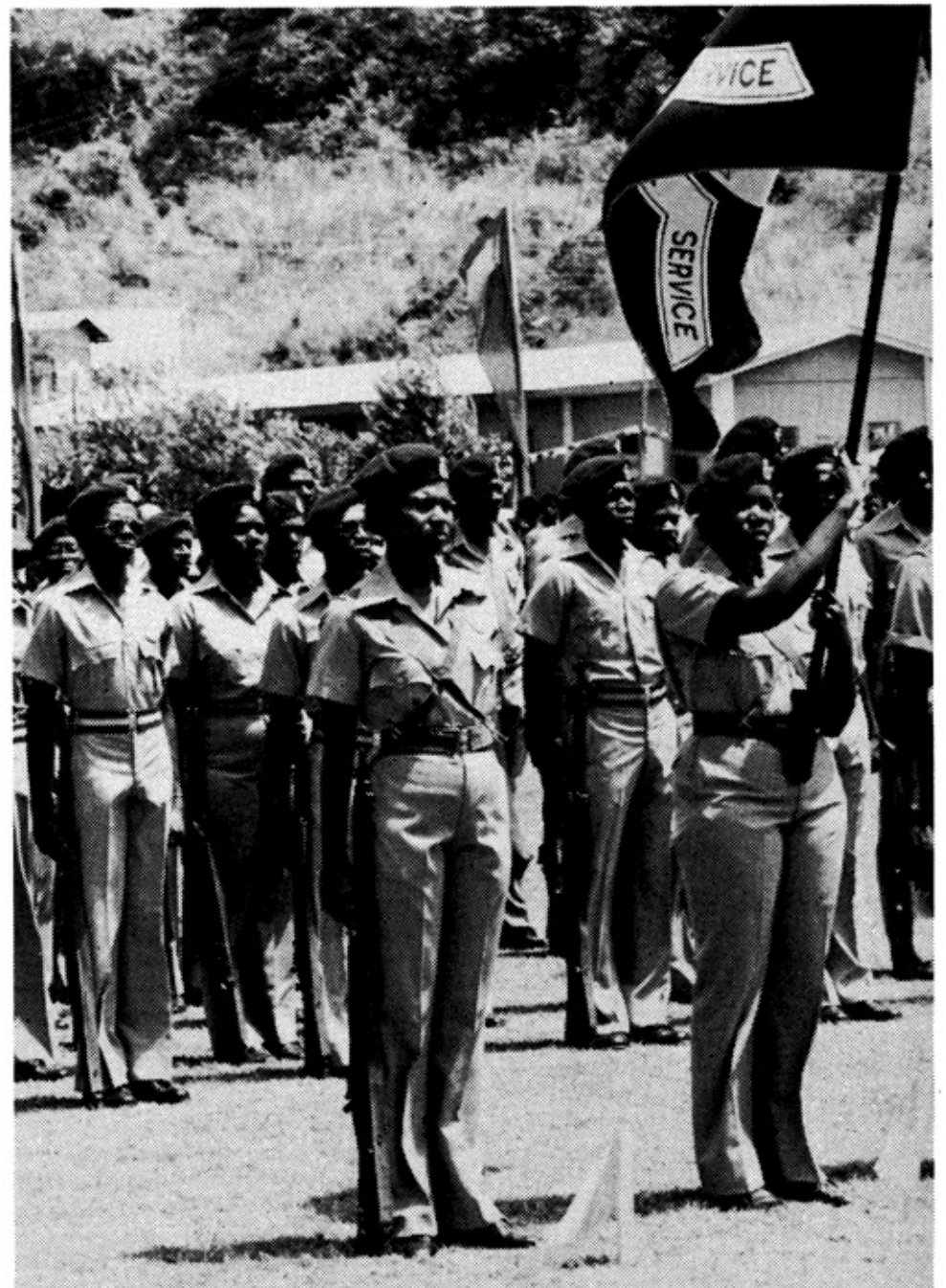
Evidence that this perspective is being carried out is visible everywhere on the island. Articles in the U.S. big-business media are trying to sabotage tourism here by portraying Grenada as an intimidating armed camp. These are simply lies.

But everywhere, posters can be seen calling on Grenadians to "join the militia and defend the country against the imperialist aggression."

Signing up for militia

Each night, people sign up at militia centers in towns around the country. Following Prime Minister Bishop's call for a militia of 20,000 for example, 225 people signed up during the first hour that tables were set up in the island's second largest city, Grenville.

At night, PRA soldiers and militia members patrol the beaches, set up



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

Grenadian police at first anniversary of revolution. New force defends interests of workers and farmers, not capitalists.

some roadside checkpoints, and monitor large gatherings.

Many were on duty at St. George's Regal Theatre June 18 for the opening of a Cuban film festival and the premier of a new Cuban-made documentary on Grenada, "A Big Revolution in a Small Country."

First-aid courses are also being conducted throughout the island in conjunction with the militia, drawing participation from thousands of Grenadians, young and old.

'Our greatest enemies'

The determination of the Grenadian people to defend the gains of their revolution against imperialist attack was clear from a conversation between New Jewel Movement youth leaders and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.

Tarlie Francis, chairman of the Na-

tional Students' Council, explained that prior to the Queen's Park bombing many Grenadians were not so aware of why they should be concerned about U.S. imperialism. But the murder of two young women, the injury of dozens of others, and the attempted assassination of government leaders has driven the danger home.

The imperialists "are our greatest enemies," Francis told Pulley. "No longer can we just think about beating their propaganda. We have to think about beating them physically now. Because they are disorganized, but they are more aggressive than ever."

Linghan Samuel, a leader of the NJM's National Youth Organization, jumped into the conversation. "If Washington tries to invade Grenada," he said, "it will be a second Bay of Pigs."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Enforce laws on wages & conditions

Nicaragua unions tighten control of production

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The mass organizations of Nicaraguan workers and peasants have launched campaigns to enforce decrees of the revolutionary government concerning wages, working conditions, and land use.

Capitalists and landlords are the main targets, although bureaucratic administrators in some nationalized workplaces are also feeling the heat.

Following a drive spearheaded by the Sandinista-led Rural Workers Association (ATC), a law was adopted June 11 by the Council of State ordering an across-the-board wage increase of 125 córdobas per month for all workers earning less than 1,200 córdobas per month (10 córdobas equals US\$1 at the official exchange rate).

The wage hike affects about 300,000 of Nicaragua's lowest paid workers, including some 80 percent of the country's rural labor force.

Over the objections of capitalist delegates from the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the Council of State further decided to make the wage hike retroactive to June 1.

Campaign for enforcement

Since the measure was adopted, many private employers have either stalled or flatly refused to pay the higher wages. Some state enterprises have also been slow in increasing salaries.

So on July 1, the Intersindical—a coordinating body made up of the ATC, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), and the Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i)—called on "all the workers of the country . . . to demand compliance with the conquests achieved through their own efforts by:

"1. Demanding in the workplaces the C\$125 increase for all those workers earning less than C\$1,200.

"2. Reporting to the offices of the Intersindical or of the CST, CGT-i, or ATC all cases of noncompliance with this decree.

"3. Demanding that each and every one of the revolutionary laws benefiting the workers be complied with in the workplaces."

The CST itself has set forth an ambitious "Plan of Struggle" as its main contribution to the celebrations of the revolution's first anniversary, which will culminate on July 19. The CST's plan involves not only enforcing the wage increase decree, but also demanding compliance with industrial health and safety laws, labor contracts involving vacation and pension payments, and trade-union rights guaranteed by the revolution.

'Vigilance bodies'

"To get compliance with the demands being raised," the CST plan states, "we will make use of all the forms of struggle we have acquired



Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) delegates to Council of State. From left, Daniel García, Adrián Gutiérrez, José Bravo, Juan Antonio González, Jorge Rojas, Donald Vargas.

with the triumph of the revolution."

CST leader and Council of State delegate Jorge Rojas elaborated on this in a July 5 interview with *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

"Our orientation for getting the wage readjustment enforced," Rojas said, "is to create vigilance bodies inside the unions that can denounce the places where the bosses are not complying and get them to respect us by means of our Ministry of Labor. And if in the last instance it is necessary to organize a protest mobilization against one employer or another, then we'll do that."

"In the Council of State," Rojas added, "we are only a few representatives [from the unions], so it is not from there that we are going to make a law prevail. Rather, we have to base ourselves on the masses, on the rank and file."

ATC versus landlords

While helping to lead the Intersindical campaign to enforce the wage increase, the Rural Workers Association is engaged in a battle on another front as well.

With the coming of the rainy season it is time to plant food grain and cotton. But in many parts of the countryside private landowners are refusing to rent land to poor peasants at the government decreed rent limit of 100 córdobas per manzana (1 manzana equals 0.7 hectare).

"The initial reaction of a majority of landlords has been to refuse to rent land," the FSLN daily *Barricada* reported July 7. "By announcing that now they are the ones who will cultivate, they are not only attacking the nation's production, but also preventing hundreds of peasants from dedicating themselves to the work that for years has been their means of livelihood."

"In no way can it be thought that these landlords have the experience or the ability to produce. Rather . . . they are taking a counterrevolutionary atti-

tude, boycotting the production of basic grains, attacking the future sustenance of Nicaragua. Moreover, in most cases they haven't even the intention of producing."

In response to this situation, the ATC is organizing poor peasants to go ahead and plant on idle land, while continuing efforts to force the landlords into rental agreements.

"Our position is to call for planting," ATC production secretary Wilberto Lara told *Barricada*. "Keeping in mind that it is necessary to pay the rent the law stipulates, we want to increase production, pay the rent, and respect private property. Once utilized, we will hand the land back to its owners."

Some landlords have reportedly accepted this arrangement, but others will no doubt reject it.

In the event of further landlord resistance, the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) can bring to bear the revolutionary government's

Decree Number Sixteen which empowers INRA to intervene (take over) idle land holdings.

Independent mobilization

The new initiatives being taken by the CST and the ATC show the importance that the Sandinista leadership continues to place on the independent organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants.

Their revolutionary perspective on this question is summed up in a speech by Commander of the Revolution Carlos Núñez that the FSLN has just published in a pamphlet entitled "The Role of the Mass Organizations in the Revolutionary Process."

Núñez states, "Under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front the mass organizations are guided . . . along two important lines. In the first place, our mass organizations must watch over and work to strengthen the political framework of the revolution. And in the second place, they must be true instruments for receiving, expressing, and conveying the most pressing demands of the masses."

"Starting from this premise, the mass organizations must take up and make their own the demands of their members and of their social sectors, and struggle to see that these are realized through the new mechanisms the revolution has instituted. . . .

"This means that the mass organizations, acting in the framework of the general line of the revolution, must have sufficient right to resort . . . to private criticism, public criticism, utilization of all the communications media, and even mobilizations to demand the measures necessary to guarantee that their concerns are heard."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

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'Perspectiva Mundial' is the Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant.' Like the 'Militant,' it carries regular coverage of the labor movement and the struggles for social justice in the United States and abroad, plus news and analysis with a special emphasis on the workers movement in Latin America.

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July 26 celebrations of Cuban revolution

NEW YORK—The twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on Cuba's Moncada Barracks will be celebrated at a Night of Solidarity with Cuba here on Saturday, July 26.

The 1953 attack on Moncada was crushed by troops of the Batista dictatorship. But Fidel Castro and the other young rebels who made the assault went on to form the July 26 Movement, which toppled the Batista regime on January 1, 1959.

The celebration here will feature a special representative from Cuba, the

premiere showing of a new Cuban documentary film, and cultural presentations.

Following the program, there will be a dance featuring the musical group Conjunto Nosotros.

The program, which begins at 7 p.m., will be held at the Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 West 43rd Street. The dance, at 10 p.m., will be held at Casa de las Americas, 104 West 14th Street.

The celebration is sponsored by a coalition of organizations in solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

CUBA: TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF REVOLUTION. AN INTERNATIONALIST EXAMPLE. Speakers: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; representative of Guyana National and Friends; others. Sun., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN FRANCISCO

CELEBRATE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Program and film on Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement, "The Moncada Program." Fri., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St., Donation: \$2.50. Aup: *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

RALLY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE REVOLUTIONS IN CUBA, NICARAGUA, AND GRENADA. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Pedro Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet. Sat., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$3. Aup: SWP Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MINNESOTA

TWIN CITIES

CELEBRATION OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Fri.-Sat., July 25-26. Fri., 7:30 p.m. rally. Speakers: Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party National Organizational Secretary; James Kendrick, SWP candidate for Congress. Slide Show. Sat., 1 p.m. "What Cuba means to young people in the U.S." 3 p.m. "A Marxist view of militarism and the draft." 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. \$2 for rally, \$2 for classes. Sat., 6 p.m. barbeque, 897 Scheffer Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$5. Aup: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

AN EVENING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Sister Stephanie Lindsay, just returned from fact-finding tour of Central America; Kathleen Grant, Young Socialist Alliance; Jonathan Weissburger, delegate to 1978 World Festival of Youth and Spirit sponsored by Cuba; Valerie Libby, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.



Left, freedom fighter salutes January 22 demonstration in San Salvador. The united action by four main opposition groups drew 200,000. After troops opened fire on march, some 40,000 peasants and other protesters took refuge on university campus. Right, government forces lay siege to campus.

Carter's secret war in El Salvador

By Nancy Cole

El Salvador is on the brink of insurrection and civil war.

Guatemala is in revolt, with the insurrection "several months farther away" than El Salvador's, predicts the *New York Times*.

Washington's suffocating grip on Central America, maintained through nearly all of this century, was cracked one year ago by the workers, peasants, and students of Nicaragua. Led by youthful fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, they brought down the Somoza family dictatorship.

Carter backed Somoza to the end, and the Pentagon provided the tyrant what help it could short of U.S. Marine divisions. But the Nicaraguan people won. The shock waves from their victory are being felt throughout Latin America . . . and elsewhere.

In a series this month called "Central America: A Region in Turmoil," the *New York Times* wrote: "As recognition of Central America's strategic importance has spread through Washington, pressure has mounted in Congress, the National Security Council and the Pentagon for a hard-line response to the leftist challenge [in El Salvador]."

War has begun

Here in the United States, we see signs of military preparation in Carter's draft registration plan. The demands for a "hard-line response" carry the threat of a new Vietnam in Central America.

For the Salvadoran people, however, war has already begun.

Four thousand Salvadorans have been killed so far this year. In proportion to the country's population, that's the equivalent of more than 185,000 dead in the United States.

Salvadoran freedom fighters, unarmed peasants, and urban workers are being gunned down every day by the official armed forces and right-wing paramilitary gangs of the ruling junta.

This is Washington's war. The slaughter could not go on without military, economic, and political support from the Carter administration for the Salvadoran military regime.

• Washington provides the arms and ammunition, directly from the Pentagon and indirectly through "private" arms sales and via Israel.

• Washington trains the junta's police and soldiers.

• U.S. military advisers are on the scene, and there are persistent reports of U.S. forces taking direct part in the fighting.

• Washington is beefing up the armed forces of the right-wing dictatorships in Honduras and Guatemala for a possible invasion of El Salvador. Already Honduran troops have joined in a massacre of Salvadoran peasant men, women, and children.

• As cover for full-scale military intervention, Washington is trying to put together an "inter-American" force with troops from pro-U.S. regimes.

ance by the people of Central America to Yankee domination and plunder.

And then there is the prestige and influence of the Cuban revolutionary government and its pledge to support all peoples under fire from Washington.

So for now, the Carter administration must try to disguise its aims and methods in keeping El Salvador under capitalist control. In this, as in all other endeavors, the U.S. rulers have the willing complicity of the big-business news media. They work together to keep the truth from the American people.

The *New York Times* series on Cen-

Bible-study group in Canton Carmen Montes, Chalatenango department, and massacred 12 people. In Canton Ojo de Agua, two men were decapitated and their hands and feet cut off, and two girls' arms were cut off and they were left to bleed to death. On Feb. 21 near Camulasco, the army burned the fields to destroy cover, and wrecked two bridges to prevent escape."

Their crime? Membership in a Christian peasant league.

The Nutes heard eyewitness reports of such murders in six departments: Chalatenango, Cuscatlan, Cabanas, Santa Ana, La Libertad, and La Paz. "... at the Hacienda de Tihuilacoyo in La Paz, those [peasants] who applied for admission to the promised cooperative were systematically slain along with their children. Often the new 'cooperative' is run by the same Orden member who was manager of the old estate."

Border massacre

Earlier this month, reports reached the public of a May massacre of Salvadorans fleeing an army attack, including helicopters, across the Sumpul River bordering Honduras. Men, women, and children who reached the Honduran side alive were driven back across the border by Honduran soldiers into the fire of Salvadoran troops.

Some estimated more than eighty were killed. A New York Catholic priest in Honduras, Rev. Robert Gallagher, contends 600 died.

The bishop of the Honduran diocese of Santa Rosa de Copan has accused the Honduran government of conspiring with the military of Guatemala and El Salvador, along with the Organization of American States observers responsible for watching the border, to cover up the atrocity (*Washington Post*, July 6).

These and countless other horrors give the lie to the "moderation" tag assigned the junta by Carter.

The effort to keep the truth from U.S. working people reached a new high after the March 24 assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Romero was gunned down one day after he counseled Salvadoran troops to heed "the law of God" and halt the killing.

Scores were killed at Romero's funeral on March 30 when uniformed soldiers and rightist civilians fired on

'The United States will never permit a new Nicaragua, even if it must take the most reprehensible measures to prevent it.'

**—Zbigniew Brzezinski,
President Carter's
National Security Adviser**

U.S. presidents have long felt free to dispatch troops to Central America to protect the interests of the banana, coffee, sugar, and other U.S. companies that have grown rich exploiting the resources and people of the region.

Sending the marines

Nicaraguans live with the memory of twenty-two years of occupation by U.S. Marines. It lasted from 1912 to 1925. Then U.S. Marines were sent back in to put down a 1926 rebellion and remained until the butcher Somoza family was firmly at the helm.

When the rule of the giant landowners in El Salvador was threatened by a revolutionary uprising in 1932, U.S. and Canadian destroyers stood off the coast, ready to land troops if the military regime needed help. Thirty thousand Indian peasants and others were massacred.

Today, however, such overt intervention is much more difficult for Washington.

Its major problem is the post-Vietnam attitudes of U.S. working people. We don't want another war, and Carter has had to move cautiously, including with his moves to reinstitute the draft.

Another factor is the growing resist-

ance by the people of Central America to Yankee domination and plunder.

tration American turmoil painstakingly outlines the challenge for Washington in carrying out its "new policy" in El Salvador—that is, the "commitment to human rights and social reform."

The White House has invented a story, wearing thinner day by day, that the regime in El Salvador is made up of good-intentioned reformers, caught between the extremists of the right and the left.

The much heralded "reforms" of the junta have meant no betterment in the lives of the Salvadoran people. In fact, announcement of the "reforms" coincided with an official declaration of a state of siege, removing any formal rights Salvadorans had before.

The biggest publicity-getter, land redistribution, has been used by the military as cover for a terror campaign against suspect peasants.

Betty Richardson Nute, representing the American Friends Service Committee, and William Nute, Jr., a New York physician, recently returned from a fact-finding trip to El Salvador. They described the "reform" that has come to Salvadoran peasants in an article in the June 11 *Los Angeles Times*.

On March 3, they wrote, the National Guard and the rightist terrorist group, Orden, "invaded a community

Continued from preceding page
the crowd.

Yet the junta claimed that responsibility for the assassination and funeral massacre was a toss-up between right and left extremists. U.S. officials backed this story up, portraying Romero as an opponent of the right and left alike.

Romero's letter to Carter

Several weeks before his death, Romero wrote President Carter a letter, pleading with him not to give more military aid to the junta.

"The \$200,000 in gas masks and flak jackets that the U.S. had provided the junta in November 1979, along with the training team to instruct in their use, had meant the security forces 'have repressed the people even more violently, using deadly weapons,'" Romero wrote Carter.

Romero's letter was prompted by news that the U.S. Congress was considering a \$5.7 million emergency military aid package for the Salvadoran generals.

"The contribution of your government, instead of favoring greater justice and peace in El Salvador, undoubtedly will sharpen the repression," Romero charged.

Washington claimed this military aid represented no contradiction with its public stance of support for reform and human rights. The aid was to be only "nonlethal" equipment, Carter administration officials said.

Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs William Bowdler spun out the story in an April 29 letter to the *New York Times*:

"For the reform program to succeed, the Government needs to reduce violence by the extremes as well as institutional violence. To accomplish this, it must increase the professionalism of its security forces, which would lead to restraint in the use of force and respect for individual rights."

American-style restraint was hinted at in a statement by a U.S. officer, explaining the guiding role of three

twelve-man U.S. military training teams then being assembled for El Salvador. According to the May 9 *Miami Herald*, the officer said, "The idea is that if a guy is standing with a protest sign, you don't have to cut him down with a machine gun. You use tear gas."

To aid the repression

The American Friends Service Committee obtained copies of the military aid package under the Freedom of Information Act. It charges the real extent of the aid was kept from the public.

"As repression by Salvadoran security forces escalates daily in the countryside, this [U.S. military] gear becomes vital to the junta's waging of counterinsurgency war," wrote the AFSC's Thomas Conrad and Cynthia Arnson, from the Institute for Policy Studies, in the June 15 *New York Times*.

The list of equipment includes 7,500 CS tear-gas grenades, 250 "Manpack" field combat radios, thousands of batteries, and an unspecified number of tear-gas-grenade launchers.

The aid also includes the sale of fifty portable night-vision devices for observation and nighttime weapons targeting. They were perfected for use in Vietnam. According to Conrad and Arnson, three communications-monitoring sets for the Salvadoran regime were judged by a U.S. Army aid as "perfect for use against guerrillas and insurgents."

"The Pentagon's objective ultimately is to get the Marines in there," said one government official opposed to the military aid, "and show that they can win a guerrilla war" (*Washington Post*, February 14).

Nonetheless, Congress obligingly approved the "nonlethal" military aid on April 1.

For fiscal year 1981, the Carter administration has asked Congress to approve even more openly combat-oriented aid. This includes helicopters, jeeps, patrol boats, aircraft engines,

and parachutes.

All this is totally separate from the "private" arms sales to El Salvador, which require approval by the U.S. government. In January, the Commerce Department okayed the export of \$8,000 worth of "nonmilitary" shotguns and spare parts to El Salvador.

According to a congressional source, report Conrad and Arnson, this year the State Department's Office of Munitions Control expects to issue licenses for up to \$250,000 worth of arms from U.S. corporations for export to El Salvador.

Even more of the Salvadoran military's armaments are provided by Israel, Washington's usual weapons channel to discredited rightist regimes. In recent years Israel supplied more than 80 percent of the weapons purchased by El Salvador.

These include Ouragan fighter-bombers, Arava transport planes, and large quantities of Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles (see July 18 *Militant*).

Role of U.S. troops

While Congress debates more overt aid and the Zionist regime pours in arms, U.S. troops are already in El Salvador.

In a March 12 full-page ad in the *New York Times*, the People's Revolutionary Army of El Salvador described this intervention:

"Uniformed Americans, in the capacity of chiefs of operations, participated in the December 15th massacre of more than 100 peasants in El Congo. On January 23rd marines in custody of the American Embassy captured two students, members of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), in the vicinity of the Embassy, and later turned them over to the National Guard—a fact acknowledged by the persons with power of attorney for the Embassy. These two students are now listed as 'Disappeared.'"

"During the past few days an enormous American military mission has arrived in our country: advisors and military technicians in counterinsurrection, veterans of Viet Nam, are here giving courses to officials and classes in the General Headquarters of the armed forces. Technicians in explosives in other branches of the repressive forces such as the National Police, the National Guard, and the Police of the Treasury Department are of American nationality."

'Communications equipment'

Fabio Castillo, former rector of the University of El Salvador and now a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), said the main foreign intervention in El Salvador is from the U.S.

U.S. equipment, Castillo told the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, "composed of armored cars and counterinsurgency helicopters, among other things, arrives in the country under the guise of communications equipment."

"American troops have also begun to be directly involved in the fighting. In fact, thirty-six American military advisors are stationed at three antiguerrilla bases in El Salvador."

Writing from San Salvador last month, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondent J. Milan said, "The presence of North American advisers and pilots is very evident. They are working with the army, but even more with the National Guard and the police."

"The presence of two uniformed Yankee soldiers stood out at a press conference held to explain the detention of ex-Minister of Education Samayoa. Numerous denunciations of 'Green Berets' have been made in recent days by campesinos from the militarily occupied zones."

"American military aid is massive. Every day the newspapers describe the provision of U.S. arms. The helicopters, especially designed for counterinsurgency warfare, stand out."

In Puerto Rico, the *Militant* has learned, members of the National

Opposition



Antigovernment demonstration in San Salvador

A decisive showdown is nearing in El Salvador between the country's ruling military-civilian junta and the unions, peasant groups, and political organizations that oppose it.

The current junta in El Salvador—made up of military officers and members of the Christian Democratic Party—seized power in October 1979 with U.S. backing. They promised a program of reforms but quickly showed that they were more interested in repression.

In December 1979 all the non-Christian Democratic civilians resigned from the government.

Since then the base of support for the junta has shrunk even further, with several factions of the Christian Democrats withdrawing their support, and a whole series of civilian resignations from the cabinet in March and April.

At a nationally televised news conference on January 8, Salvador

How Washington built regime's terror squads

The U.S. government made the Salvadoran military what it is today—a tool of terror.

In 1957, the United States initiated a plan to upgrade El Salvador's police and internal security network under the auspices of the Agency for International Development (AID).

It was dubbed the Public Safety program. Between 1957 and the program's termination in 1974, the U.S. Office of Public Safety (OPS) spent a total of \$2.1 million to train Salvadoran police and to provide arms and equipment.

According to Cindy Arnson from the Institute for Policy Studies, "Public Safety advisers reorganized the police academy, trained and equipped special riot control units in the National Police and National Guard, created a bomb-handling squad to investigate 'terrorist activities,' centralized the police records bureau, and set up a teletype system linking all six of the Central Ameri-

can republics.

"Key positions in the Salvadorean security establishment were often filled by graduates of OPS training, including those brought to Washington D.C. for studies at the International Police Academy."

When the program was formally ended in 1974, AID analysts concluded that "... the National Police ... has advanced from a non-descript, *cuartel-bound* group of poorly trained men to a well-disciplined, well-trained and respected uniformed corps. It has a good riot control capability, good investigative capability, good records, and fair communications and mobility."

For a nation of 4.7 million people, El Salvador has 7,000 men in the army, navy and air force; 2,500 men in the National Guard; and 2,600 in the National Police and the Treasury Police. All branches work closely together and often are commanded by army officers.



Child's sign in June 28 New York City protest reads, 'Uncle Sam pays for democracy in El Salvador'

Why Sal

El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America, with 8,250 square miles. Its population of 4.7 million, however, is surpassed only by Guatemala.

While the majority of Salvadorans live in rural areas, it has a relatively large working class. Industrialization has increased dramatically since 1962. Its major product is coffee, accounting for 60 percent of the country's export earnings. Other major exports are sugar and cotton.

But most Salvadorans don't benefit from the wealth they produce. Average income is \$450 per person per year.

Hunger is a big problem in El Salvador. About half the infants die of malnutrition or related ailments before their first birthday.

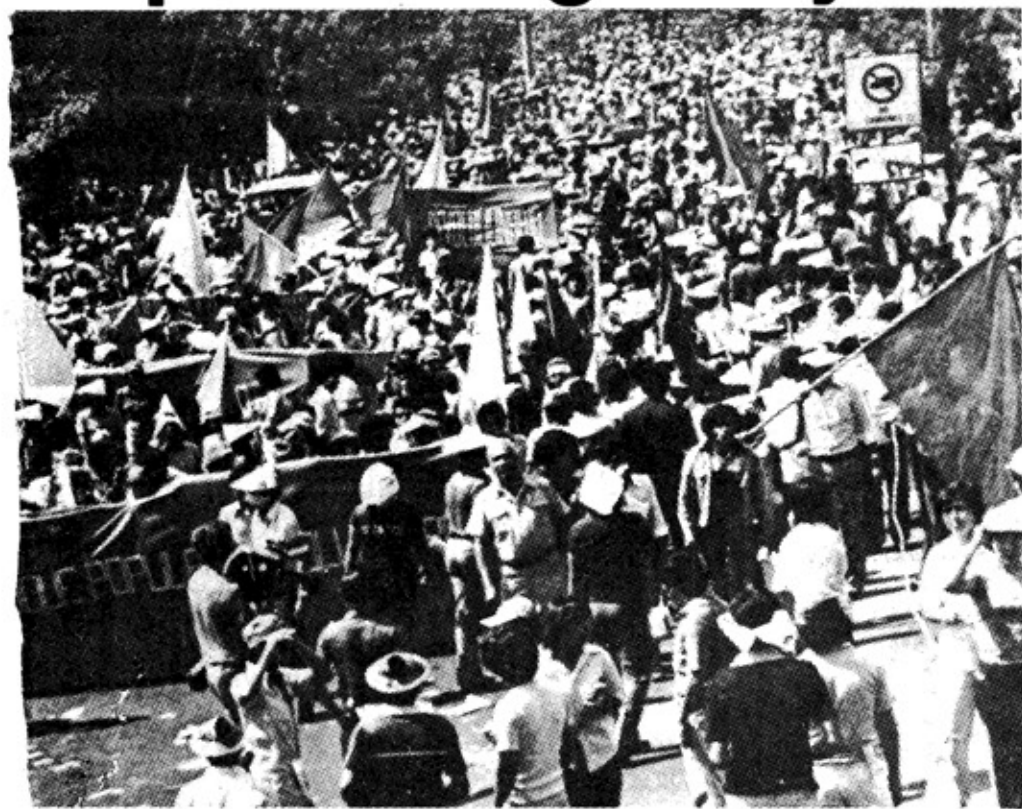
There are fewer than three doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Illiteracy is 59 percent.

Since 1932 the army has ruled El Salvador on behalf of a tiny land-owning elite known as the "fourteen families." The ruling military junta ensures this tiny minority—about 2 percent of the population—control over 60 percent of the cultivable land.

Most industry is foreign-owned. U.S. corporations predominate. These U.S. capitalists rake in huge profits off the sweat and blood of the

roups unite against junta



January 22

Samayoa announced he was resigning from the cabinet to join the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), a guerrilla organization linked to the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR).

Two sons of Christian Democratic junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich also announced they were joining the FPL guerrillas.

While the military junta faces continuing erosion of its base, the opposition movement is growing, consolidating, and gaining wider influence.

Last January a big step was taken with the formation of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM). The CRM was composed of the BPR; the United People's Action Front (FAPU); the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28); and the Communist Party's legal arm, the UDN.

On April 2, forty-nine unions, professional organizations, and political groups that had initially sup-

ported the junta joined together to form the Salvadoran Democratic Front (FDS). In mid-April the FDS joined with the CRM in a coalition called the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

Then on June 10 the four main guerrilla groups announced they were joining forces to overthrow the junta and would begin joint military actions.

The new Revolutionary Military Coordinating Committee is made up of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL); the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP); and the military forces of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

A rally of 100,000 hailed this unity move. In their unity statement the guerrilla groups pledged to "set forth and apply a single political-military line for all our groups, and that will lead the revolutionary war of our heroic people to victory."

Guard are attending weekend training sessions on El Salvador—its people, culture, terrain, and so on.

The scuttlebutt is that the National Guard is training for an invasion of El Salvador. Such talk is so widespread that Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló was forced to issue a statement to the effect that the National Guard can't be used for foreign intervention... unless there is a special presidential decree.

Cuba as pretext

To launch a full-scale military intervention, Washington needs a pretext. In motivating the military aid earlier this year, U.S. officials dragged out the standard "Cuban role" ruse. The Carter administration claimed that Cuba was sending weapons to insurgents. This charge was made one day after U.S.-backed Salvadoran rightists murdered Archbishop Romero.

With the Cuban charge as the backdrop, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell told a congressional subcommittee, "We will not use military force in situations where only domestic groups are in contention" (emphasis added).

Earlier this year, Washington claimed responsibility for thwarting a right-wing coup in El Salvador. But in fact, Panamanian officials accused the United States of "preparing the ground for a right-wing coup d'état," reported the February 29 *Latin American Weekly Report*.

According to *LAWR*, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs William Bowdler and Robert Pastor, Latin American specialist for the U.S. National Security Council, visited Panama City in February to discuss El Salvador with Panamanian officials.

At this meeting, the two suggested "that support for a right-wing takeover might be the only way out." At that point, according to the account, "the Panamanians 'abruptly' ended the discussion."

"Both the State Department and the US ambassador to Panama, Ambler Moss, have denied the report," *LAWR* explained, but it was described "as 'substantially correct' by the Panamanian ambassador to the USA, Juan Antonio Tack."

Secret meeting

The U.S. government has sought to involve other governments of the region as cover for its Salvadoran intervention.

The unity statement of the four Salvadoran armed revolutionary organizations issued last month explained, "At the very moment that we were meeting to agree on the creation of the United Directorate, a secret meeting was taking place in Washington—presided over by Brzezinski and several Pentagon generals—with some leaders of the Christian Democrats in Latin America and other official figures. The meeting was held to try to concretize a traitorous commitment to military intervention in our country."

In June, Jorge Chiriboga Guerrero, a leftist member of Ecuador's parliament, said that the armies of the Andean Pact countries (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador) are already involved in the Pentagon's plans for a "peacekeeping mission" in El Salvador.

Citing "diplomatic sources," journalist Patricia Lara wrote in the June 29 Bogotá, Colombia, daily *El Espectador* that the U.S., Venezuelan, and Colombian armed forces are collaborating to set up a "peacekeeping force" for use in El Salvador.

Summarizing the article, a *Prensa Latina* dispatch from Bogotá noted that Lara thought the Andean military force "to be the most convenient way for the United States to intervene in El Salvador, although this does not rule out direct U.S. intervention."

"The other alternative reserved by the United States for preventing the revolutionary victory in El Salvador would be the intervention of forces from Guatemala and Honduras on the

pretext of any border incident with the small Central American country, the commentary notes.

"Patricia Lara called attention especially to Venezuela, indicating that the country is in the process of increasing the armed power of its military forces...."

"Recently, according to the journalist, Venezuela received a mobile Special Forces training group sent by the Pentagon. Besides being alert for action in Central America, that group also has responsibility for training forces for special operations" (*Barricada*, July 1).

The *New York Times* reported July 9 that U.S. officials are now proposing "direct negotiations" in El Salvador between the government and the Democratic Revolutionary Front to take place during a "cease-fire."

This cease-fire would be supervised by none other than an "inter-American peace force."

The front, the *Times* reports, "has already rejected outside intervention."

'However long it takes'

Opponents of U.S. intervention in El Salvador have no way to know what Washington's next step in El Salvador will be. But it is clear that the U.S. will try to prevent "another Nicaragua" at all costs.

What is also apparent is that the Salvadoran freedom fighters will stand up to Yankee military might, and they will not be alone.

"We have already defined our position regarding a possible military intervention by the United States, whether it intervenes alone, with other countries, or through others," declares the unity statement of the four armed revolutionary organizations in El Salvador.

"We will resist. We will fight, however long it takes, until the invaders are expelled and their tools and servants within our country are defeated. The Salvadoran revolution will not be halted by intervention!"

Speaking to 1.5 million Cubans at the May Day rally in Havana, Fidel Castro condemned Washington's creation of a Caribbean Task Force and its stepped-up military maneuvers in the region. He said these are "definitely aimed against us and against Central America and the Caribbean."

Fidel said that the situation in El Salvador in particular "requires the broadest international support in order to stay the hands of the imperialists." He announced plans for strengthening Cuba's militias and preparing to meet a complete naval blockade in the event Washington attacks Cuba for its solidarity with the Central American revolution.

'A new Vietnam'

The Cubans will not be the only ones to come to the aid of El Salvador. Echoing a comment often made by Cuban leaders, Ecuadorian parliament member Jorge Chiriboga Guerrero warned last month that U.S. intervention "would provoke a new Vietnam." He said that "the Ecuadorian people, as well as other peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, would act to prevent such a U.S. plan from taking shape" (*Barricada*, June 26).

Responding to a question about a U.S.-inspired "peacekeeping force" in El Salvador, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto said last month, "I hope... President Carter would not feel tempted to do that, much less order a direct intervention in El Salvador. For us, that would be like aggression against our own person, since we are an integral part of Central America. If that should occur, it would produce an explosion in the Central American political struggle."

In the United States, supporters of the Salvadoran people's right to determine their own future free from U.S. domination should make our determination equally clear. We must redouble our efforts to demand:

No draft!

No war!

U.S. out of El Salvador!

adorans are in revolt



Salvadoran workers.

U.S. corporations with investments in El Salvador include Exxon, International Basic coffee company, Westinghouse Electric, Alcoa, Texaco, U.S. Steel, and more. First National Bank and Bank of America have branches in San Salvador.

These U.S. corporations have everything to gain by keeping their good friends in power. When the military regime of Gen. Humberto Romero was facing growing opposition, the U.S. government aided and supported the October 1979 takeover

that brought to power a group of military officers and members of the Christian Democratic Party.

The military junta promised reforms but has instead suspended the rights of free speech, assembly, travel. Its so-called land reform is nothing but a pretext for military occupation of the land.

This bloody junta is in power today with U.S. economic and military backing.

That's why "Yankee go home" is central to the fight of the Salvadoran people for their freedom.

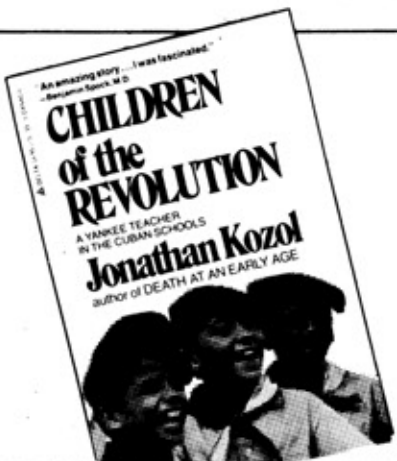
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Carter arms rightist guerrillas

Behind Washington's lies on Afghan war

By Ernest Harsch

Half a year after thousands of Soviet combat troops entered Afghanistan, the government in Kabul is still facing stiff resistance from counterrevolutionary guerrilla forces.

Operating in numerous small bands, the insurgents stage hit-and-run actions from Afghanistan's rugged mountain regions or seek to create disturbances in the cities and towns. They attack Afghan and Soviet military units, burn schools, destroy hospitals, mine roads and bridges, and murder supporters of the revolution.

The rebels claim to be fighting for Islam, but they are actually fighting to preserve the class interests of privileged layers of Afghan society.

They are deeply opposed to the unfolding Afghan revolution, which began in April 1978 with the overthrow of the Mohammad Daud dictatorship and the seizure of power by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

Their armed actions are aimed not at "liberating" Afghanistan, but at obstructing the land reform program, literacy drive, expansion of women's rights, and other progressive social measures enacted by the PDPA regime.

Carter aids rebels

From the very beginning this counterrevolutionary drive has received open encouragement and covert material backing from Washington.

Most of the Afghan guerrilla bases are located in neighboring Pakistan, which is ruled by the military dictatorship of Gen. Zia ul-Haq. The Pakistani junta provides direct assistance to these guerrillas and also helps to funnel aid from other sources.

In a dispatch from Pakistan in the May 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, correspondent Edward Girardet reported, "There are signs . . . that factory-new Pakistani and Chinese weapons are beginning to drift into rebel hands. One European observer came across Pakistani Army-issue Enfield .303s, identifiable by markings on the butts and black-painted barrels."

According to a report in the May 28 *Christian Science Monitor*, the pro-American regimes in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other Middle Eastern countries are also providing arms to the insurgents.

Washington is behind this operation, both in arranging the arms shipments from other countries and in providing its own weapons.

CIA role

In mid-February, a White House official admitted that the Central Intelligence Agency had begun to send arms, many of them of Soviet make, to the Afghan rightists through Pakistan. *New York Times* correspondent David Binder called it the CIA's first operation "of this nature and magnitude since the Angolan civil war ended in 1976."

Some reporters traveling with the guerrillas have confirmed that they are receiving U.S.-supplied weapons.

In a dispatch from Derinur, Afghanistan, in the April 6 *Washington Post*, correspondent Tyler Marshall reported, "As rebels filled their bandoliers, empty bright blue ammunition boxes lettered 'Interarms, Alexandria, Va.' soon littered the ground, mixed with less distinctive packaging of a Czech manufacturer, Sellier and Bellot."

"Nearly 50 American-made antitank mines, medical supplies from China and 980 pairs of boots were taken into the nearby village. . . ."

Interarms, which is registered as a private company, is one of the largest firms in the United States trading in foreign-manufactured weaponry. It is headed by Samuel Cummings, who worked for the CIA in the late 1940s



Thousands rally in Kabul April 21 for hoisting of new flag. Despite U.S. media claims, Afghan government has significant base of support. Unions and peasant groups have been extended, and militias formed to defend revolution.

and early 1950s. Since then, the CIA has used Interarms as a source for untraceable, "clean" arms for its clandestine operations abroad.

Rumors as 'fact'

Bolstered by this imperialist backing, the insurgents have continued to defy the Afghan government.

It is difficult, however, to judge the extent of the fighting from the "news" reports that appear in the capitalist press.

Although numerous Western journalists have traveled into Afghanistan with the guerrillas, few of them have reported any substantial fighting. The bulk of the actions they claimed to have seen were minor skirmishes or hit-and-run operations.

The guerrilla groups try to make up for this by issuing numerous stories of major battles, often claiming high Soviet casualties. These unsubstantiated boasts are then picked up by the major American and European newspapers and passed on to their readers as fact.

For several days in a row in early June, major U.S. newspapers cited reports that Kabul had been surrounded by an army of 20,000 insurgents. But the June 12 *New York Times* was forced to admit that according to U.S. officials there was no evidence at all of the existence of such an army.

In May, one rebel group claimed to have captured Herat, the third largest city. Nothing more was heard of this "capture."

Besides the wildly exaggerated claims of the guerrillas themselves, many of the reports cite as their sources unnamed "eyewitnesses" and "travelers" arriving in India and Pakistan. By their very nature, the claims of these "travelers" cannot be immediately confirmed or discounted.

Afghan gov't gains

Despite the exaggerated claims of guerrilla successes, some Western reporters have acknowledged Soviet and Afghan government gains in certain regions of the country. A report in the March 30 *New York Times*, for instance, stated that military offensives in Kunar and Badakhshan provinces had virtually wiped out rebel activities there.

Nevertheless, there has been serious fighting. *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party daily, admitted as much in its May 10 issue, stating, "The struggle against the bandits in the mountains is no easy matter."

Kabul radio reported on June 8 that during the previous two months, 140 persons had been killed during clashes in Kabul. Thirty schools were reported to have been destroyed, as well as one hospital. The radio report accused "criminals" backed by Washington and the Chinese regime of being behind the disturbances.

The Soviet press agency Novosti reported on June 13 that there was fighting in the suburbs of Kabul and that "bandits are shooting people's power representatives, poisoning the water, terrorizing the population, and even trying to infiltrate into the capital in small groups."

Diplomatic moves

In an effort to undermine the outside backing for the rightist insurgents, the Afghan regime on May 14 issued a proposal for a negotiated "political settlement" to the conflict.

The settlement, the Afghan regime maintained, would have to "ensure complete and guaranteed end to aggressive actions against Afghanistan, to subversive actions and any other forms of interference from the outside in its internal affairs. . . ."

Specifically, Kabul demanded a "clearly expressed commitment" by Washington "not to carry out any subversive activities against Afghanistan, including activities from the territories of third world countries." A similar commitment was asked of the Pakistani regime.

With an end to outside interference, the statement continued, a withdrawal of Soviet troops could then be considered.

Both Washington and the Pakistani regime spurned this offer, refusing to give the kind of public commitments that were asked for.

Several weeks earlier, the Cuban government, acting as the chair of the Nonaligned movement, had offered to arrange negotiations between the Afghan and Pakistani regimes. General Zia rejected Havana's offer.

The hard stance by many of Washington's allies against the Soviet pre-

sence in Afghanistan has nevertheless been weakened in recent months. This has paralleled the setbacks to Carter's attempts to impose an international economic embargo on Iran and to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

Islamic conference

At a conference of Islamic foreign ministers held in Pakistan May 17-22, a resolution was passed reaffirming an earlier call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

But unlike the previous Islamic conference in January, when the call for Soviet withdrawal was issued, this one at the same time left open the door to negotiations with all the parties involved, including Moscow and the Kabul regime.

Pleas by the Afghan guerrilla groups for stepped-up material backing were turned down—at least publicly. Given the extreme factionalism among the groups (there are about sixty of them), some participants at the conference were concerned that greater assistance would do little to actually bolster the guerrilla struggle.

The denunciations of Washington were also sharper. The conference "strongly" condemned the U.S. government for its "military aggression" against Iran.

Even General Zia, who faces considerable anti-American sentiment within Pakistan, felt compelled to condemn "the presence of the U.S. naval forces which have been deployed in a threatening posture in the vicinity of Iran."

Carter & foreign troops

In late June, as heads of state of the big capitalist powers gathered in Venice for a summit meeting, Soviet authorities announced that one division of troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan. The announcement indicated they were no longer needed.

Carter responded by reiterating his demand for complete Soviet withdrawal. He called for the imposition of a "transitional" regime in Afghanistan, with troops from "Islamic nations" like Pakistan, whose governments have been arming the reactionaries, to replace the Soviet forces.

Carter's insistence that Soviet troops in Afghanistan be replaced by pro-rightist foreign armies exposes his claimed defense of Afghan self-determination. Washington does not believe that the landlords and capitalists in Afghanistan can establish a stable reactionary government in power against the social forces backing the Afghan revolution.

Defense Committees

The Afghan regime's diplomatic initiatives have been coupled with some limited measures inside the country to step up defense against the counter-revolution.

In early March, the age for military conscription was lowered from twenty-two years to twenty-one years, with draftees liable for service in the armed forces, police, or labor corps.

In addition, according to a March 19 Reuters dispatch from Kabul, "Efforts are being made to involve the local populations in security tasks and persuade them that the insurgents are not genuine Moslems."

The Karmal government has established armed militia units in Kabul and other cities and towns. A report in the March 30 *Washington Post* described them as "an adaptation of the Defense of the Revolution Committees set up in Cuba and Ethiopia."

"According to travelers from Kabul, armed committee members are seen hanging around street corners and party headquarters in the city, and at night they run patrols looking for violations of the 10 p.m. curfew."

Continued on next page

Angolans mobilize against S. African invaders

By Nan Bailey

A counteroffensive by the Angolan army has succeeded in pushing back battalions of South African troops who launched an invasion of Angola beginning June 7.

A photograph of one of the raiding South African aircraft shot down by Angolan troops shows the plane with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) markings. This evidence supports charges made by Angolan leaders that the South African assault has the backing of major imperialist powers.

Sara Rodrigues, a correspondent for the radical newsweekly *Guardian*, reports from Angola that a communique released by the Angolan Defense Ministry detailed the results of that country's counteroffensive.

The army of the apartheid regime carried out raids on Namibian guerrilla camps and Angolan villages, killing hundreds in the first few weeks. But Angolan troops have now driven the South Africans out of at least three towns they had occupied—Mongua, Evale, and Mulemba.

As the fighting took place, South African planes continued to strafe villages and Angolan troop columns.

Lucio Lara, a leader of the MPLA, Angola's ruling party, called on Angolans to mobilize to defend the country.

He warned they must be prepared for further attacks and that the South African "operations are not directed only at SWAPO [the South West Africa People's Organisation, which is fighting for the liberation of Namibia]—the South Africans have much wider objectives."

Rodrigues also reports that Cuban troops in Angola have been deliberately held back from the fighting so far in accordance with an MPLA decision. MPLA leaders explained that this is being done to avoid spreading the international consequences of the South African invasion.

MPLA leader Lara warned, however, that if South Africa attempts to move northward into other parts of the country, Angola would call on its allies for support.

On July 1, Angolans rallied across the country to condemn the invasion and pledge their readiness to defend their country.

In Luanda, the national capital, tens of thousands marched with banners proclaiming, "Hands off Angola," "Racists out of our country," and, "Namibia and South Africa is the continuation of our struggle."

The London-based *Anti-Apartheid News* quotes the Angolan chief of staff, Commander Xietu, who pledged that despite the great hardships suffered by his country as a result of the South African attacks, Angola "will not waver an inch in its support for the liberation of the Namibian people."

Meanwhile, the South African gov-



This plane with NATO markings was shot down by Angolan Defense Force during South African attacks.

ernment is pressing its attacks on Black rights fighters within the country.

A group of clergymen arrested in a government crackdown earlier this year went to trial July 1. All were convicted of violating the Riotous Assembly Act with their participation in a march protesting the detention of another church leader.

Three of the clergymen were sentenced to jail for fifty days while thirty-two others were fined.

But resistance to the apartheid regime continues.

As Black GM and Ford workers ended a strike which won them higher wages, Black meatworkers in Capetown went out on strike, challenging

management's refusal to meet with a negotiating committee elected by the workers.

Construction has been halted at a Johannesburg coal conversion plant after two days of protests by 2,000 Black workers angered at hearing that one of their co-workers had been shot by South African officials.

Fidel calls for solidarity with Angola

The following message on South Africa's invasion of Angola was sent by Fidel Castro, chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to the heads of state of the movement:

Your Excellency:

I am writing to you as a result of the reports from Angola and the denunciation made by the Angolan Government regarding the attack on that country as of June 7 by the racist armed forces of the South African regime.

Several thousand members of the apartheid army, backed by dozens of artillery pieces, armored cars, helicopters and Mirage fighter

planes, invaded Angola from the border of Namibia, occupied by South Africa contrary to UN decisions.

Coinciding with recent actions announced by the United States to lift the legal restrictions which allegedly prevented the administration of that country from intervening in the internal affairs of Angola and supplying covert aid to the counterrevolutionary bands which operate from South African bases, the South African attack once again sows death and terror among the people of Angola and poses a threat to the country's security, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

The Angolan Government has demanded a meeting of the Security Council, which, among other things, decided to keep the matter under study. In line with the decisions made at the 6th Summit, the non-aligned countries should express their full solidarity with this Front-Line State, condemn the South African attacks, support sanctions on the Pretoria regime in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, and give Angola the material, moral and political solidarity needed to once again defeat racist aggression.

Fidel Castro Ruz
Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries

...Afghan

Continued from preceding page

At least some of these committees have been established on a factory level. The March 17 *Kabul New Times* reported, for instance, that the workers at the Afghan Textile Mills in Gulbahaar had set up a "resistance group" there to help defend the area against counterrevolutionary attack.

Since Babrak Karmal came to power on December 27 (after the ouster and execution of his PDPA predecessor, Hafizullah Amin), he has promised to safeguard and extend the social gains that workers and peasants have won over the past two years.

A commission has been set up to study proposals for a "second phase" of the land reform program.

According to statements by Karmal and reports in the Afghan press, the new land reform measures will include greater provision of agricultural ma-

chinery and chemical fertilizer to peasants, assistance in the establishment of cooperatives, government credit to farmers on easy terms, the "finalization" of land distribution, and the guarantee of full land ownership rights to peasants who have received new plots of land.

New peasant formations, called Democratic Peasants' Unions, have been established in various parts of the country.

Trade unions have also been extended. Although the working class in Afghanistan is quite small—only about 330,000 industrial, transport, and communications workers out of a total labor force of 5.6 million—unions have been set up in Kabul, Helmand, Kandahar, and other areas since the PDPA came to power.

The April 14 *Kabul New Times* reported the official inauguration of the first Workers Union in Nangarhar Province. Addressing a rally of workers, the union head declared, "We will

continue our struggle to the last breath against the enemies of the Saur Revolution,* that is, internal and regional reaction led by U.S. imperialism."

Although the bourgeois press tries to portray the Karmal regime as being extremely unpopular and entirely dependent on the Soviet troops, it does have a significant base of support.

Mass rallies are still being held in most of the major towns, at least several of them each week. In March and April, for instance, the Afghan press was filled with reports and photographs of major rallies involving tens of thousands in the provinces of Kabul, Paktia, Parwan, Farah, Balkh, Nangarhar, Takhar, Ghour, Kandahar, Baghlan, Bamian, and Fariab.

These included actions to mark International Women's Day on March 8;

*The beginning of the revolution on April 27, 1978, came during the Afghan month of Saur.

celebrations of the second anniversary of the revolution; commemorations of the April 17, 1978, assassination of PDPA leader Mir Akbar Khyber; rallies by high-school students, workers, and farmers; and demonstrations to condemn American imperialism's aid to the counterrevolution.

Even according to the government's own reports, however, these mobilizations have been limited in scope.

If the counterrevolutionary bands are to be decisively defeated, it will be necessary to organize and mobilize the workers and peasants to a much greater extent, to politically counter the demagogic claims of the rebel forces.

Military action to suppress the guerrillas is important, but only by politically inspiring Afghanistan's working population and harnessing their full social strength can the revolution be adequately defended—and advanced.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Anatomy of a cover-up

How FBI, Justice Dep't lied about SWP burglaries

By Gus Horowitz

Documents of the Justice Department and FBI, made public July 2, disclose a systematic attempt by federal authorities to withhold information about illegal FBI burglaries against the Socialist Workers Party.

The new documents are a February 19 report from FBI Director William Webster to Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, and a June 25 Justice Department document entitled, "The Nondisclosure of FBI Bag Jobs in the Socialist Workers Party Civil Litigation." They describe how Justice Department and FBI officials lied to government agencies, a federal court, and congressional committees in an effort to cover up for the FBI burglars.

The burglaries themselves were brought to light in March 1976. FBI files that had been obtained by the SWP in the course of the party's suit against government harassment clearly showed that "bag jobs" against the SWP had been carried out repeatedly between 1960 and 1966.

This exposure caught the government attorneys with their pants down. Up until then they had been denying in court that the government ever carried out such burglaries.

The FBI also lied to the General Accounting Office, which had been carrying out an audit of FBI activities at the request of the House Judiciary Committee in 1974; and to the House and Senate Select Committees on Intelligence in 1975. The FBI covered up and understated burglaries against the SWP and the Weather Underground.

Internal investigation

In 1978 the Justice Department ordered an internal investigation to explain how the lies occurred—or, in the delicate phraseology of Webster, to set forth the "most probable causes for the FBI's failure to respond completely and accurately" to the court and government committees.

The inquiry, Webster says, "involved over 12,000 man-hours of work, 40 detailed interviews of present and former FBI employees, and review of hundreds of volumes of material."

Several FBI officials—mostly dead or retired—were found at fault, and three "mid-management" FBI agents who are still on the job received letters of censure, Webster reports.

But he takes pains to absolve the FBI, as such, from willful lying. The Justice Department, for its part, puts all the blame on the FBI and asserts that there was no misconduct by government lawyers. The FBI report, however, does implicate the Justice Department in the cover-up.

"It's a case of thieves falling out," commented Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president and one of the plaintiffs in the SWP suit against the government. "As a result, the documents contain many damning admissions. They tell a lot about the techniques of government lying."

FBI codes

One technique used to cover up the FBI burglaries was a special coding method. FBI files never used explicit terms like "burglary" or "bag job." Instead, the internal FBI document might say something like this:

"New York requests a Bureau reply prior to 1-28-60 when it is contemplated that . . . (an anonymous source contact at SWP headquarters) will be contacted. . . ."

This statement, taken from an actual FBI document, was explained as follows in the Justice Department report:

"The key phrase is 'anonymous source,' an FBI term of art used to designate a bag job. Further, the anonymous source was designated by a symbol number bearing an asterisk. Asterisk symbol numbers almost always denote an inanimate source, normally either electronic surveillance or a bag job. The particular symbol was, in fact, the one for bag jobs directed against the SWP national headquarters in New York when it was located at 116 University Place. Numerous entries were conducted under that symbol number."

The special coding served a dual purpose. First, knowledge of the details of FBI bag jobs was limited, thus keeping the risk of exposure to a minimum; only those who knew the code could decipher the entry.

Second, it allows those who did know about FBI burglaries to disclaim official knowledge. They could go into court or testify before Congress, say they examined the records, and deny under oath

that they found anything indicating an FBI burglary.

This is precisely how the Department of Justice excuses itself for lying in court. "It appears that no one in the Criminal Division in fact recognized the reflection of bag jobs in the electronic surveillance documents."

'Unaware'

Webster's FBI memo is even more brazen. Because of the coding, he insists, even most FBI agents would not be able to detect records of FBI burglaries. So FBI agents in the legal division—the ones who helped draw up the government responses to the court—were themselves "unaware" of the FBI burglaries against the SWP.

Oral coding was also used. In conversations with government lawyers, the FBI agents talked about "confidential investigative techniques," rather than burglaries. As a result, the Justice Department asserts, government lawyers "were uniform in disclaiming that they understood bag jobs were being discussed."

Another technique in government lying was that of deliberately limiting their interpretation of questions asked by the court.

For example, when the court ordered the FBI and other government agencies to respond to SWP queries about wiretaps, burglaries, and other ha-

his time on the Petersen Committee, "he did not make the connection between [the SWP case] and the bag job reflected in the Cointelpro report."

Missing the connection

"Failure to make the connection" is the third main lying technique revealed in the latest documents. Time and again government lawyers and FBI agents came across files and other evidence of FBI bag jobs against the SWP. But when they had to answer questions in court, "none of these individuals appear to have made the connection between this information and the government's answer."

Or else, we are told, the evidence got bottled up in the bureaucracy.

FBI agents preparing responses to Congress or other agencies had information about burglaries against the SWP; but "this information never came to the attention of any of the agents" working on the SWP court case.

An internal survey in the FBI's Intelligence Division turned up bag jobs against the SWP, but "it does not appear that this survey was made available outside the Intelligence Division."

A new FBI legal agent who came on the case "did not recognize the ramifications of this request [by the court for information about burglaries]."

The judge ordered the Justice Department to



Herblock
'Except for those of us who are above it.'



Powell
FBI claim that burglaries against SWP stopped in 1966 has met widening disbelief.

arrassment, the FBI at first tried to interpret this as referring only to a conspiracy.

"According to this line of reasoning," the Justice Department explains, "the FBI was not obligated to disclose activities such as bag jobs, electronic surveillance, and Cointelpro because they were undertaken by the Bureau on its own and not in concert with any other defendant."

This stance was so absurd, and the public disclosures of FBI wiretapping and Cointelpro so well known, that the government decided it had to admit these in court, while still initially denying the burglaries.

The most flagrant example of a limiting interpretation occurred outside the SWP court suit, when the attorney general's office conducted a review of Cointelpro in 1974. Sitting on the review committee were FBI agents and Department of Justice lawyers. The committee was chaired by Assistant Attorney General Petersen.

While this committee was reviewing disruption programs against the SWP, one of the committee members pointed out a bag job, filed under the usual FBI code. The matter was raised with Petersen "on multiple occasions," the Justice Department reports. But Petersen decided "that the entry was unrelated to Cointelpro," and that the committee's review was limited only to Cointelpro.

As a result, the burglary was never officially investigated. Other FBI burglary files were kept from the committee on the grounds that they, too, were unrelated to Cointelpro.

This cover-up went further. One of the government lawyers on the Petersen Committee later took over responsibility for handling the SWP case in court. Although he knew about the burglary from

cough up information about burglaries, but "it appears that no FBI personnel, particularly those involved in the civil suit, were aware" of the court order.

Mismanagement?

The problem, Webster summarizes, is that "the left hand did not always know what the right hand was doing." It was "a failure of management within the Bureau."

"That's just another government lie," said Andrew Pulley. "The FBI and the government lawyers had to admit a part of the truth. But they are still trying to evade responsibility for obstructing justice."

What does the Socialist Workers Party plan to do next?

"First of all," said Pulley, "we want to publicize these new documents as widely as possible. People will get a better idea of how the government batters the truth."

"But we don't accept the FBI and Justice Department reports as full disclosure of the cover-up."

A major item still to be accounted for is the government claim that FBI burglaries stopped in 1966.

"That's another big lie," said Pulley. "It's just a new example of FBI coding techniques. They've taken burglaries off the official record, but the burglaries still occur. Even these documents show that the FBI burglarized the Weather Underground in the 1970s. They burglarized us in the 1970s and they're doing it right now in the 1980s too."

"We're going to fight this all the way," the socialist candidate concluded. "We're going to fight until the whole truth comes out."

San Diego ballot drive launched

Friedman blasts Klan-Democrat in 43rd C.D.

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—"The Klan is on the ballot. We're trying to get a socialist on the ballot to challenge them. That's what I tell people," an aerospace worker and Socialist Workers Party

member explained. "And they often grab the petition board from me to sign."

Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Tom Metzger won the Democratic Party primary in the 43rd Congressional District June 3.

Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party candidate, is opposing Klanner-Democrat Metzger and millionaire Republican incumbent, Clair Burgener, in this southern California district.

"People want somebody to oppose Metzger," exclaimed another campaigner who is helping to get Friedman on the ballot. "I just tell them we've got a good workers' candidate to oppose Metzger and they sign," he added.

Petitioning to gather the 11,000 signatures needed to put Friedman on the ballot officially began July 12, as more than thirty supporters fanned out to cities and towns in the 43rd district with petition boards and stacks of campaign literature.

By the time the weekend ended, close to 4,000 people had signed SWP petitions.

"I sold five *Militants* and signed up three people on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann endorser cards," reported one petitioner. "This Young Socialist for Pulley and Zimmermann," he said, holding up the signed endorser card for the SWP presidential slate, "is a young Black guy. He bought a *Militant*, and he and his wife both signed the petition. They want to come to the July 19 rally for the Friedman campaign."

"This one," he continued, pointing to another YSPZ card, "is a young guy, twenty years old. He took a petition to get his neighbors to sign."

Another petitioner told me about an experience he had campaigning in El Cajon, a suburb of San Diego:

"I approached two men and started telling them about the campaign. 'What party?' one asked me. I told him and then added that Friedman is a machinist. 'Yeah, he's one of us,' one of the guys said. 'I'll sign for him.' His buddy signed, too."

Another campaigner reported: "While I was petitioning some reactionary came out of a store and started



Militant/Dick Roberts
SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman, right, petitions in downtown San Diego for ballot spot.

yelling at me—things like, 'nigger-lover.' I started challenging the things he was saying. When he left, a group of retirees who had been sitting on a bench taking it all in, called me over. One guy said, 'You really gave it to him.' They all signed."

"A few people told me they were voting for Metzger," another socialist petitioner said. "When I asked them why, they were vague on their reasons. Then one of them said, 'Look at the man who's in there now. We've got to get rid of him,'" referring to Republican incumbent Burgener.

Burgener is well-known in the district for his record of actions against organized labor, undocumented workers, and small farmers (who make up five percent of the voters in the 43rd C.D.).

"Metzger's Klan membership and campaign literature will help to dispel illusions that the Democratic Party is a viable alternative for working people, minorities, and women," said SWP candidate Mark Friedman.

"His solution to the problem of unemployment is to call for a stronger U.S. border patrol force, a five-year moratorium on all foreign immigration, and the implementation of Carter's police-state worker I.D. card

scheme.

"He blames undocumented workers and refugees for the lack of jobs, housing, and social security and welfare funds. He calls for an end to desegregation and school busing.

"And he makes a campaign promise to submit a bill to abolish affirmative action within ninety days after his election.

"My campaign," said Friedman, "is explaining that the solution to unemployment is totally different. What is needed is to reduce the workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work. The multi-billion dollar war budget should be abolished and those funds used for a massive program of public works to build good housing, schools, hospitals—to meet the needs of the working people of this country while providing productive jobs for millions of unemployed.

"It's the bosses—not Blacks, not undocumented workers, and not the immigrants—who are responsible for unemployment and inflation," Friedman said. "Working people and our allies must join together in the fight to defend our common interests against the bosses.

"We must demand quotas to give teeth to affirmative action. Giving preference to minorities and women in hiring is the only way to compensate for decades of discrimination. We must demand that the bosses not be allowed to use layoffs to erase affirmative action gains already won. The same percentage of women and minorities employed before layoffs should be maintained after layoffs take place.

"Metzger's program to eliminate affirmative action, strengthen *la migra*, and institute I.D. cards for all workers aims to divide and weaken our class and make it easier for the bosses to drive down our living standards more than they already have.

"To take on the bosses and the Metzgers and Burgeners who represent their interests, working people need an independent labor party. Such a party, based on our unions, would give workers political clout in the fight to defend our class interests.

"That's what my campaign stands for," Friedman said.

Your help is needed!

Help petition to put Socialist Workers Party candidate Mark Friedman on the ballot in California's 43rd Congressional District. Contact the campaign headquarters in San Diego at 1053 15th Street, or phone (714) 234-4630.

Become an endorser of the campaign by filling out this coupon. Funds are also urgently needed.

☐ I endorse the Friedman campaign for U.S. Congress. Although I may not necessarily agree with all the planks on the Socialist Workers platform, I support the campaign as a positive alternative to the Klan-Democratic and Republican candidates in the 43rd C.D.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Union/Org. _____

Clip and mail to San Diego Friedman for Congress Campaign Committee, 1053 15th Street, San Diego, California 92101.

Construction workers win wage increase

By John Naubert

SAN DIEGO—Following a two-and-a-half week strike that shut down construction sites in San Diego and North County, workers in the AFL-CIO Laborers Union reached a tentative contract agreement with the Association of General Contractors on July 13.

The agreement gives the construction workers a \$6.25 wage increase over the next three years. Construction bosses had offered \$5.10 before the strike.

During the strike, initiated June 26 by Teamsters Local 36, tens of thousands of other unionists in the construction trades honored the picket lines.

Construction was halted on highrise office buildings downtown and in North County—projects worth \$600 million.

On July 7, the Teamsters extended picketing to the San Onofre nuclear power plant construction site, shutting down work on the \$3.1 billion project.

The San Diego construction companies tried to break the strike by locking out more than 20,000 building trades workers on July 8. Those locked out included operating engineers, cement masons, laborers, and pipefitters.

Ray Ehly, speaking for the contractor bosses during the strike, said, "We no longer have the only game in town and the realization of this fact must be

taken into account by those employees demanding overzealous wage packages."

The other "game" was a reference to the construction companies whose workers are not union organized. The contractors threatened unionists that if they didn't stop being "overzealous," they would find themselves out of a job.

The contractors had trouble maintaining a united front for the lockout, however. At least four contractors in North County broke ranks before the strike ended and began hiring union labor to get their projects moving again.

Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in the Forty-third District, pledged his support to the fight by construction workers, stating, "San Diego workers have to deal with inflation that is over 18 percent—among the highest in the country."

Friedman, a member of Local 685 of the International Association of Machinists, said, "My brothers and sisters in the construction trades have completely justifiable demands. All they seek is a wage increase that would give them some protection against inflation.

"The Democratic and Republican politicians are complicit with the contractors," said Friedman. "By their silence during the strike, they showed

that they won't defend working people.

"The massive show of solidarity with the Teamsters displayed by other construction workers during the strike

demonstrated the power of our class and our unions if we stand together in the fight for our interests against the bosses," said Friedman.

...Greensboro Nazis

Continued from back page

to order the other Nazis not to surrender.

Wood added that Butkovich also offered to burn down his home and make it look like the Communist Workers Party had done it in retaliation for the killings.

According to a July 16 radio news report, Wood asserted that Butkovich had specifically advised him to bring a gun to the demonstration.

From the time he joined, Nazis said, Butkovich pressed them to get lethal weapons.

"He would say, 'We've got to have a real revolutionary group here,'" recalled Harold Covington, a leading North Carolina Nazi. "He said that we needed training and that he would teach us how to convert semiautomatic rifles into automatic weapons." He also offered to train them to make pipebombs and firebombs and to help them obtain hand grenades. He proposed establishing commando training at a nearby farm.

They said he also urged the murder

of a dissident Ku Klux Klan figure.

Butkovich has not been available for comment. Nor, apparently, does the prosecutor intend to call him as a witness against those charged with murdering the CWP five. His name does not appear on the list of 273 witnesses the prosecutor said he may call.

From the outset, it was apparent that the murders could not have been perpetrated without official knowledge.

It was established that local police knew that the KKK and Nazis intended to show up at the CWP demonstration, which assembled in the heart of the city's Black community.

Yet shortly before the racist killers arrived the police withdrew from the scene.

The case against the killers is recorded. TV film and newspaper photographs show the Klanners and Nazis calmly getting out of their cars, removing guns from the trunks, and then methodically blazing away at demonstrators.

But less than half of the participants in the killings have been indicted.

Johnson backs demand for investigation

Black worker shot in Calif., KKK link seen

By Mike Downs

FONTANA, Calif.—Dovard Howard is a 32-year-old Black telephone cable splicer in this town fifty miles from Los Angeles. On July 1 he was shot-gunned while working in a lift bucket.

He is now recovering from surgery on his stomach and lungs. He has no feeling below his knees. There are six buckshot pellet wounds in his back.

Howard and his wife, Geneva, are convinced that the Ku Klux Klan was involved in the shooting.

When George Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California, heard about the shooting, he went to Fontana. He and a group of campaign supporters talked to the Howards to find out more about the racist attack.

Johnson voiced the socialist campaign's support to the Howards and their demand that the shooting, and the Klan's involvement, be investigated.

Death threats

We learned that recent activities of the Klan in Fontana support the Howards' charges:

- Crosses, painted black to look like they were burned, have been left on the lawns of the Howards and other Black and Mexican families.

- The Rev. William Dunston, president of the NAACP branch in Rialto, the Howards' community, has been threatened twice by Klanners who have called his home. In one call, a man said, "This is the Klan and if you're alive by September 1 you'll be the luckiest son-of-a-bitch in the United States. This is our summer to eliminate civil rights leaders and workers. You are on our list. The same thing that happened to Vernon Jordan will soon happen to you."

- Klan members recently terrorized a Mexican-American family in Fontana, according to Rick Flores, vice-president of the United Steelworkers local here. "Their house was surrounded by Klansmen, not just from here, but from El Monte and Los Angeles, too," Flores said. He said the Klan members displayed guns.

- The Klan held a public rally at city hall here just two hours after Dovard Howard was shot.

- While Larry Deanne, the white arrested for the shooting, has not been proven to be a member of any Klan group, he has hardly been disowned. The head of one Klan chapter said Deanne was not a member of his organization, "but might be a member of another Klan chapter."

The San Bernadino County sheriff's department and the Fontana Police Department maintain that these incidents have no particular significance.

"We don't really have a racial problem in Fontana," a police department spokesman said. "We have a good ethnic mixture with no racial problems between any groups, and there hasn't been any kind of confrontation."

A spokesman for the San Bernadino Sheriff told reporters, "We had one incident three or four months ago, which wasn't really a cross-burning because there was no wooden cross, but someone had drawn a cross in dirt in front of a Black family's house, and put flammable liquid inside and then lit it. This was a new Black family that had just moved into the area. But we don't have any racial problem."

The increased activities of the Klan and the inaction of local officials have resulted in more boldness by racists. Geneva Howard told us that some young whites have chanted "KKK" to Black students in and around schools.

"I've gotten phone calls from people who called me, 'nigger bitch,'" she said.

The Howards have special reason to think the local cops are racist. Cops grabbed their twelve year old son Darrell and a Black friend off the street recently and jailed them.

Their crime? They were the first Blacks the cops found in a neighborhood where a burglary had taken place. Darrell and his friend were found to be innocent.

Geneva Howard worries that "Iranians Go Home" spraypainted on the wall of her house is also a sign of the Klan's vendetta against Blacks.

Vandals put up the slogan right after Iranians released the Black hostages. They also painted it on her mother-in-law's house. They are the only two Black families in the area.

Concerned about the safety of her five children, Howard has sent them to stay with relatives.

Support from co-workers

But support for the Howards is growing. Dovard Howard is a member of the Communications Workers of America. "Most of my fellow workers have stopped in to see me," he said. He told us that his co-workers, most of them white, have been "very supportive."

The Howard's neighbors, with one exception, have also given their support to the family. "They let me know they were looking out for us," said Geneva Howard.

She explained that one neighbor has

always been hostile. On one occasion, he stood by while his son beat up one of the Howard children, who was much smaller. "But his wife came by with their boy and both of them apologized," said Howard.

Both the local NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference branches here are calling for an investigation of the shooting and the Klan by the newly-created state task force on civil rights.

Johnson and the Socialist Workers campaign support this call. "This investigation should be begun immediately," said Johnson. "The task force should be opened to Black leaders and union officials in order to carry out a thorough investigation."

Labor's role

Johnson also commended Rick Flores, vice-president of USWA Local 2869, and the San Bernadino-Riverside Counties AFL-CIO Central Labor Council for speaking out against the racist attack.

On July 1, just hours after Howard was shot, the San Bernadino-Riverside Labor Council passed a resolution which stated:

"We of the San Bernadino-Riverside Central Labor Council urgently request that the law enforcement author-

ities of San Bernadino and Riverside counties investigate and move to end the lawless, terroristic activities of the Ku Klux Klan in our area."

"Unionists have a vital role to play in dealing with the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan," said Johnson. "This city, for example, is dominated by the giant Kaiser Steel plant. The United Steelworkers union is a major influence in the community."

"Klan violence poses a deadly threat to all workers and to their unions."

"I am campaigning on the same ticket as Mark Friedman, the socialist candidate who is challenging Klanner-Democrat Tom Metzger for U.S. Congress in the 43rd district," Johnson said.

"We are explaining that the Klan is used by the employers and the Democrats and Republicans to help them carry out their attacks against workers—especially by blaming Blacks, Mexicanos, and immigrants for the economic crisis and targeting them for violence."

"The unions must join Black organizations in their defense of victims of racist terror like the Howards. Opposing Klan terror and the racist, anti-union proposals of candidates like Metzger is in the interest of all working people."



George Johnson, right, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, files California ballot petitions. Johnson and campaign supporters went to Fontana to get facts on shooting of Dovard Howard.

Conference launches Nat'l Black United Front

By Melvin Chappell and Keith Jones

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Bedford-Stuyvesant, one of the country's impoverished communities, was the site of the founding convention of the National Black United Front.

Under the theme of "Organizing for Victory in the 80s," more than 1,000 Black activists from thirty-four states met June 26-29 to discuss united action and launch the organization. The New York-based Black United Front sponsored the three-day event.

The convention's agenda and workshops covered many issues concerning the Black community, including: police brutality, the military draft, electoral politics, labor, international affairs, and youth.

Many of the participating groups have been involved in antiracist activities around the country. Among them were the United League of Mississippi and Black United Fronts in Portland, Oregon and Cairo, Illinois.

Evening sessions were highlighted by rallies featuring such speakers as

Rev. Charles Koen, Paul Robeson, Jr., John Henrik Clarke, Marcus Garvey, Jr., and Amiri Baraka.

Struggles in Africa and the Caribbean were major points of discussion during the convention. Several representatives of liberation movements addressed the meeting.

Representing the government of Grenada, Richard Burt described the revolutionary developments on that island since the March 1979 insurrection led by the New Jewel Movement ousted the dictatorship of Eric Gairy.

Burt told the gathering that Cuban aid was setting the example for international solidarity.

The convention voted to send a telegram to Granadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. The message denounced the June 19 bombing attack against Bishop and other NJM leaders and expressed NBUF's solidarity with the revolution.

In addition, the convention sent a telegram to Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham condemning the June 13 murder of opposition leader Walter Rodney. The message placed full

blame on the Burnham government for the assassination and demanded an end to harassment of the Working Peoples Alliance, Rodney's party.

The convention received greetings from the New Jewel Movement, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Pan-African Congress Movement of Britain, and the Pan-African Congress of South Africa.

The general session adopted resolutions from the various workshops.

- **International Affairs.** The convention supported the freedom struggle in southern Africa and called on U.S. firms to divest funds in South Africa; expressed solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle and reaffirmed that Zionism is a form of racism; expressed support for the Grenadian and Iranian revolutions and demanded that the U.S. end sanctions and military aggression against Iran; called for political asylum for all Haitian refugees; and supported Puerto Rican independence.

- **Youth.** Under the slogan "No draft: the fight is at home not abroad,"

the meeting opposed military conscription, and called for an end to cutbacks in Black studies programs.

- **Labor.** The convention urged NBUF to get involved in workers' struggles around health and safety on the job, and to defend undocumented workers.

- **Women.** Resolutions opposed wife-beating, forced sterilization, and the Hyde Amendment; called for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; supported abortion rights, child care, and health care for the poor; and condemned FBI harassment and declared NBUF's support for Black activist Assata Shakur in her fight for freedom.

There was little discussion on the 1980 elections. But the convention voted down a motion calling for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties.

The gathering concluded with the election of a national NBUF leadership. Rev. Herbert Daughtry, head of the New York City BUF, was elected national chairperson of the organization.

By Any Means Necessary

Osborne Hart



Margaret Bush-Wilson volunteers—us

As I sat in the north hall of the Miami Beach Convention Center and listened to Margaret Bush-Wilson deliver her speech to the NAACP convention, my ears perked up.

"There is an area of our national life where sound policy and voluntary participation are at work," Wilson remarked.

Given all the problems Blacks face because of the *unsound* government policies, I wondered what she was talking about.

My answer came in her next breath.

"I speak of course, of the all-volunteer armed forces of the United States."

She went on to run down the merits and qualities of today's Army: better educated, less personnel turnover, and a lower crime rate than the general population! As she spoke images of the many army recruitment posters and television commercials appeared before my eyes.

Wilson's point?

Well, as she explained, the volunteer army is 28 percent Black and for that reason, "there is a deliberate campaign to challenge the effectiveness and efficiency of the all-volunteer army."

She charges racism against Democratic Senators Sam Nunn of Georgia, John Stennis of Mississippi and others who have mounted this campaign.

There's more.

"As for the suggestion that a disproportionate number of Blacks will die in a war, a few facts are frequently left out of the equation. In a war, soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines will face the threat of an enemy. Obviously, whites and Blacks will die—and not necessarily in proportions reflecting their representation in society," she said.

"Finally, the suggestion that Blacks may refuse to fight in certain parts of the world—or possibly not at all—is a smoke screen thrown up by more subtle, sophisticated racists. There is no historical evidence to suggest this would ever happen. In fact, I challenge anyone to name one Black American who has ever been convicted of treason!"

Wilson's arguments in defense of the military don't have a leg to stand on.

The "volunteer army" is not voluntary for Blacks. High unemployment and across-the-board racism



force thousands of us into the army just as if we'd been shanghaied. The supposed merits of military service have nothing to do with it.

As for the "few facts frequently left out of the equation" about who dies in war, Wilson said some things that are true.

Lots of people die in war, as she complacently observed. And a disproportionate number of them are Black, as happened in Vietnam. That is not the luck of dice, but a product of the racist structure of this society.

Her claim that no Black has been convicted of treason is misleading. There may never have been a treason conviction, but Blacks have faced plenty of victimization by the military "justice" system.

Wilson has a point in charging racism against Nunn and Stennis. They try to evade the real issues in the draft by hinting that Black "volunteers" are lazy or cowardly.

But her pro-military polemic plays into the racists' hands. Their goal is not to get Blacks out of the army, but to push forward preparations for war.

Nunn and Stennis serve on the Armed Services Committee and are big proponents of registration

and the draft. They want to grind down the antiwar sentiment that exists in this country, which they know is especially strong among Blacks.

The main thing Wilson leaves out of her brief for the army is the interests that Blacks would be expected to fight for: not our own, but those of Monsanto (she's on the board of directors), Exxon, General Motors, and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Wilson denounces the idea that Blacks might not willingly fight in some places. Is she volunteering us for a war against Angola—like the one President Ford tried to engineer in 1975-76? Is she offering us up as combat forces for the apartheid regime in South Africa, in case the Black struggle there "gets out of hand" in the view of the U.S. government?

Does she want us to be ready and willing to fight the Cubans, who eliminated racist discrimination in their country? Or the Grenadians, Black people who have begun to take their destiny into their hands? Or the Nicaraguans or Salvadorans?

There's nothing wrong with the opposition most Blacks feel to fighting in the kind of unjust and racist wars that are being prepared in Washington.

What's wrong is Margaret Bush-Wilson trying to sell the army to us—and vice versa.

Their Government

Guys who really deserve to swing

The following article by Warren Hoge appeared in the June 28 'New York Times' under the headline 'Somoza Baited By Paraguayan Over a Woman.'

It should bring everyone up to date on how Anastasio Somoza, the former dictator of Nicaragua who was ousted by the Sandinista revolution, is doing these days. And it provides a charming domestic glimpse of his Paraguayan hosts.

The article requires no comment. In fact, it defies comment.

ASUNCION, Paraguay, June 27—Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who is living here under Government conditions that he avoid publicity, has become involved in a scandal involving a former Miss Paraguay and a volatile and vengeful newspaper publisher, whose mistress the former Nicaraguan dictator evidently stole.

In a series of fuming front-page editorials, Humberto Domínguez Dibb, the owner of the Asunción daily newspaper *Hoy*, has been denouncing General Somoza and demanding that he be sent packing.

Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay, finally ordered Mr. Domínguez Dibb, who was until recently his son-in-law, to stop, and General Somoza, who has not uttered a public word since a news conference on his arrival last August, directed his spokesman to deny rumors that he was contemplating moving to Brazil or Uruguay.

At the center of the tempest is a 25-year-old beauty queen, María Angela Martínez, who was widely known in Asunción even before General Somoza's arrival. After leaving her husband, the star of the championship national soccer team, she

began appearing in public with Victor Pecci, an international-class tennis player.

More recently she became the mistress of Mr. Domínguez Dibb, 38, the son of a poor Lebanese family who amassed a fortune after marrying President Stroessner's daughter, Graciella. In addition to buying *Hoy*, Mr. Domínguez Dibb's family obtained concessions to Government-protected monopolies, the national lottery and gambling casinos, which are legal in Paraguay.

Last August the 54-year-old General Somoza arrived with his longtime close friend, Dinorah Sampson, and his son, Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero. He soon moved into a rented mansion and began having parties for Government officials and Asunción society.

"Paraguayans tend to be prudish, and these affairs weren't what they were used to," a diplomat said. "There was a lot of drinking, and the Paraguayans didn't like to see him with his mistress so openly. Here you play with your mistress out of the way during the week, but at home or on weekends it's all family."

On one such evening General Somoza's son made advances to the daughter-in-law of President Stroessner, who is the daughter of Gen. Andrés Rodríguez, the only other man in the country with power approaching the chief executive's. Young Mr. Somoza left Paraguay the next day and has not returned.

According to Aldo Zucolillo, publisher of *ABC Color*, the largest Asunción paper, Mr. Somoza bought 25,000 acres of grazing land in the west, his only known investment since he arrived. A diplomat speculated, however, that he was making

Fred Feldman



sizable private contributions to President Stroessner, the head of a Government known for its corruption.

When Miss Martínez began spending time with General Somoza, Mr. Domínguez Dibb reacted with fury. He destroyed one of the general's Mercedes cars with an earthmoving machine and then unleashed the articles, each signed with his name, that accused General Somoza of organizing an army to reclaim Nicaragua, of selling peasants' blood to hospitals and of fleeing Nicaragua with such haste that he left his father's ashes behind to be desecrated by terrorists.

After President Stroessner halted the assault, *ABC Color* got into the act, taunting its competitor with a mischievous poem entitled "Al Tacho Tu Amor Se Fue," which translates as "Your Love Has Gone Down the Can" but, because General Somoza's nickname is Tacho, holds a pointed second meaning.

Then, after *ABC Color* published a sarcastic item about a film in which Miss Martínez is shown nude, Mr. Domínguez Dibb appeared in the *ABC Color* newsroom with a pistol in his belt and two men with machine guns guarding the door. He banged on desks, threw telephones and typewriters on the floor and threatened to kill the publisher.

The next day *Hoy* called Mr. Zucolillo and the writer of the *ABC Color* items homosexuals with "strange histories of sodomy." Interviewed yesterday, Mr. Zucolillo said he was no longer being threatened by Mr. Domínguez Dibb, who apparently has succeeded in wooing Miss Martínez back. "But you see from this," he said, "the worst thing you can be accused of in Paraguay, the very worst, is to be a Communist or a homosexual."



Or use them?—The Rocky Mountain arsenal near Denver is still storing 896 Weteye bombs containing 156 tons of deadly nerve gas, and declared obsolete in 1973. The Army says it's still trying to figure out whether to keep them there, ship them to Utah, which doesn't want them either, or possibly destroy them.

Another little mishap—They think a faulty switch resulted in six coils overheating in a scheduled nuclear fusion experiment at Oak Ridge National Laboratory. The insulation was burned off the coils, but it happened only because the experiment hadn't really started so there was no cooling water for the coils.

Some of us are getting by—Despite the slump, better quality housing is still doing nicely. Realtors anticipate no sweat in disposing of a New York three-bedroom duplex for \$2.5 million. Or a four-bedroom Beverly Hills pad with maid's quarters, projec-

tion room, pool and tennis court, \$3.4 million.

What you got and who you know—A banker who signed up for a \$215,000 California home explained that his boss helped arrange the mortgage. "I don't delude myself into thinking everyone could do the same thing," the happy homeowner confides. "It helped to know bankers."

One man's choice—The chairman of the House rules committee of the Alabama legislature pocket-vetoes a bill that would reportedly strengthen a state public-meeting statute. "Who," he inquired, "gave the press the right to take charge of the public's right to know?"

Our rational society—Each year nearly \$5 million is invested in television promotion of Tootsie Rolls, Tootsie Drops and Tootsie Pop Drops.



Union Talk

Rail union acts for women's rights

This week's column is by Jim Little, a member of United Transportation Union Local 240.

LOS ANGELES—United Transportation Union Local 32, which represents engineers, firepersons, and hostlers on Southern Pacific Railroad's Los Angeles Division, recently formed a women's committee.

Dan Eckenboy, Local 32 chairperson, voiced his support at a women's committee meeting. "The union movement is at its best when it has a cause. Here we have a cause," he said.

Brenda Johnson, a hostler who is coordinator of the group, told me that the committee was started by a few members getting together to talk about problems women face on the railroad. The committee should be "an arm of the union," she said.

One of the issues they are concerned with is the discriminatory restroom facilities on the railroad. At many places where the operating crews work, there are no restroom facilities for women. Several women have pointed out that this is a violation of their seniority rights. If they cannot work a job at a certain location because there are no bathrooms,

then they are effectively denied the right to exercise seniority.

Other job-related issues before the committee are maternity benefits and leave, and child health benefits.

The committee is also actively working on getting the Equal Rights Amendment ratified nationally. It views this as a priority even though ERA has already passed in California. Several members participated in planning meetings for the May 10 march and rally in Chicago, and a slide show on the action is planned for their July committee meeting.

In addition the committee is pressing the UTU International to shift the next convention from unratified Florida to a state that has passed the ERA.

Johnson stresses the importance of reaching out to other trade unions to get them involved in fighting for passage of the ERA. "Women who work have the unions, but we need more protection behind us," she told me. "We need it written in the law."

Since May 10 several members have joined the National Organization for Women and the Coali-

tion of Labor Union Women because they see the importance of participating in organizations fighting for equality for women throughout society.

The committee has also gotten an agreement by the UTU national legislative representative to replace the outmoded standard correspondence of "Dear Brothers and Sirs" with "Dear Brothers and Sisters."

Paul Bigby, the local's legislative representative, has outlined the important role that men can play in supporting women on the job. He and a few Chicano engineers were among the first minorities hired in the operating department. He points out that women are being treated just as minorities were several years ago.

Both men and women members of other UTU locals and other railroad crafts are invited to attend committee meetings. The committee wants UTU members from around the country to feel free to write them for information or to receive their newsletter.

The address is UTU Local 32 Women's Committee, 2732 Fletcher Drive, Los Angeles, California 90039.

What's Going On

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

IRAN TODAY. A program of workshops, slide presentation, speeches. Speakers: George Wald; William Worthy; Rev. Charles Kimball; Mary Anderson. Sun., July 20, 1 p.m. Evening program begins at 7:30 p.m., Blackstone Community School, 380 Shawmut Avenue. Donation: \$2; \$1 evening forum only. Ausp: Boston Coalition vs. U.S. Intervention in Iran.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

NO TO THE DRAFT! Speakers: Bob Berson, Young Socialist Alliance; Ken Milner, Vietnam antiwar activist; others: Tues., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

GRAND OPENING OF CLEVELAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Speakers: John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others: Sat., July 26, 5 p.m. reception; 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. party. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$6 dinner and rally; \$1.50 rally only.

Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE CONTINUING ATTACKS ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT. Speakers: Ken Stern, attorney for American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks and member of National Lawyers Guild. Slide show: "The Question That You Ask." Sun., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS HOUSTON

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Sun., July 27. Class 1: Speaker: Alexis Irizarry, Socialist Workers Party. "Nicaraguan Revolution: an eyewitness report and slide show." 12 noon. Class 2: A panel discussion on Cuba, El Salvador and Grenada. 2:30 p.m. University of Houston, University Center, Parliament Room. Donation: \$1 each class. 5 p.m. barbeque and party: \$3. Ausp: Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

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Why we celebrate July 19

July 19 is a good day to celebrate. One year ago on that date the Nicaraguan people, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, defeated the bloody tyrant Anastasio Somoza.

This revolution ended forty years of brutal exploitation and oppression by the Somoza family. It was a great victory for the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and a shining example for working people throughout the world.

The ouster of Somoza was a massive blow to U.S. imperialism as well. For it was Washington that installed Somoza in the 1930s, and it was U.S. economic and military aid that kept him in power.

During his rule, Somoza robbed the people of Nicaragua—of their money, their land, their rights, their human dignity. When he fled Nicaragua last July Somoza took his money with him, but he left behind a people willing to fight to the death for their freedom. And they have shown in practice over the past year that they will not let go of these newly won rights.

In just his last year in power Somoza's forces killed more than 35,000 people and wounded another 100,000. More than a quarter of the country's industrial plants were damaged by Somoza's bombs. He left agriculture, housing, industry, and commerce devastated. He left foreign debts of \$1.5 billion. Unemployment of 50 percent. Half the population illiterate. Infant mortality at 13 percent. Inflation at 40 percent.

With an end of the Somoza tyranny the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) began the task of mobilizing the people to defend their revolution and rebuild their country.

Committed to fundamental change, they established a workers and farmers government which immediately launched a land reform program, slashed rents by 50 percent, and instituted a national health care program.

Early this year a national literacy crusade was launched. Its aim is to teach the vast majority of Nicaraguans to read and write. The literacy campaign will also teach class politics, making the workers and peasants conscious of their role in the

battle against the capitalist property owners and the U.S. imperialists, who pose the greatest threat to the advance of the revolution.

The Nicaraguan revolution has enjoyed the benefit of learning from the experience and leadership of the Cuban revolution. And it can rely on Cuba for aid and solidarity. Cuba has sent teachers and doctors to work side by side with their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters. When the Nicaraguans asked for international aid for reconstruction, Cuba promptly challenged the U.S. government, and all others, to a competition to see who can provide the most.

Over the past year the FSLN has shown that they, like the Cubans, are authentic revolutionists. Their commitment to establishing a society that functions for the poor, the illiterate, farmers, workers, women, youth, minorities has won them respect and confidence.

The Sandinista leadership has continued to mobilize the people, in the literacy crusade, in their unions, in rallies and demonstrations.

The new Nicaraguan government has expropriated substantial land holdings and put them under the direction of the agrarian reform ministry and the Sandinista-led Rural Workers Association.

Workers at privately owned factories have taken over production and demanded government intervention against employers who try to sabotage production or drain capital from the country.

The Sandinista People's Army has been formed, with volunteer militias also being organized in the workplaces, schools, and throughout the countryside.

And a worker-peasant majority was recently achieved in the Council of State. The majority of this decision-making body is now composed of representatives of unions, neighborhood groups, women's and youth organizations, peasant and agricultural organizations.

With the aid and solidarity of Cuba and the workers and farmers of Latin America and the United States, Nicaragua will continue her big strides as the second free territory of the Americas.

—Priscilla Schenk



Nicaraguan children celebrate Sandinista victory over Somoza last July.

Nuclear murder

For anyone needing more evidence of the dangers of nuclear radiation, the June issue of *Life* magazine is must reading. A feature article, "The Downwind People," lets the victims of the U.S. military's nuclear weapons testing in the 1950s tell their own story.

Between 1951 and 1963, ninety-three atom bombs were detonated over the desert floor of Nevada. Despite repeated assurances from the Atomic Energy Commission that there was no danger to the residents of southern Utah, eastern Nevada, and northern Arizona, these people soon witnessed a tremendous increase in cancer and leukemia. Losses of sheep and cattle herds also took place.

The AEC's defense was that none of these effects were caused by the fallout. Studies made public certainly prove otherwise. For example, children born in southern Utah during the period of heaviest testing were 2.4 times more likely to die of leukemia than those born either before or since.

In the interviews with *Life*, we are told the stories of the eight severely retarded young people, all born between 1952 and 1957; of the mortician who had to look in his textbooks to learn how to embalm cancer victims, which was a rare disease in St. George, Utah, until 1956; of the seven-year-old Nevada boy who walked to school two days after a blast and was dead of leukemia within the year; and of the shepherders who lost about 1,400 head, over half of their herd, when a fallout cloud passed over them.

The response of these victims to what the government did to them has developed into a powerful force in area politics.

A \$500 million lawsuit has been filed against the U.S. by 965 people, all of whom have cancer or have lost a family member to cancer. The experience of residents with nuclear weapons in the past has sparked massive opposition to the Pentagon's MX missile system, as reported earlier in the *Militant*.

There are now victims of the U.S. nuclear arms race in Japan, on the Pacific island of Eniwetok, and in the U.S. itself. The time to stop this madness is now, before any new escalations of the arms race claim any more victims.

Dave Hurst
Salt Lake City, Utah

Open debates

Militant readers might be interested in the following letter, which I sent to the League of Women Voters in response to a request for funds:

As a woman I have been proud of the watchdog role the League of Women Voters has played through the years. I believed you were among those who fought to keep democracy alive in our country.

It has been a great disappointment to me that the League of Women Voters would not allow small political parties to participate in national debates that would allow the American people to be exposed to other options. This is the democratic process.

Elections become a farce when only those major parties with millions of dollars to spread are the ones to be heard day in and day out.

Our society is being consumed by inflation, nuclear fallout, unemployment, exorbitant oil costs, the efforts of Blacks and others to attain a decent standard of living and be free of racist attacks, the

Students reject registration

A debate occurred recently on the issue of the draft and registration in front of the junior and senior classes at a Catholic high school in Toledo. A Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) member (me) debated the issue with a draft supporter from the Young Republicans.

Briefly, I went over the history of U.S. military interventions over the past twenty-five years: Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Iran, Chile. I also discussed how registration is a step toward the draft, which is a step toward war, and that this is occurring at the same time as a depression and why.

The Young Republican, a financial analyst in his thirties, basically quoted military statistics, talked about "Soviet aggression" and U.S. weakness.

The students, sixteen to eighteen years old, were virtually unanimous in their opposition to the draft and registration. They immediately showed their hostility toward the pro-draft speaker (who took a deferment during the Vietnam War).

In the discussion period one student exclaimed, "You call it a democracy when a bunch of people in Washington decide what I've got to do for the next two or three years of my life!" Applause followed.

Another said, "Anyone who thinks this country's in danger of being invaded doesn't realize who the bully in this world is." And, "We can already blow the world up twenty times over. Why more?" And, "I'll fight to defend myself against a real danger, but not on foreign soil for the oil companies."

The Young Republican could only respond with, "The price of freedom is sometimes very high," and, "The Russians may not invade next month or even next year, but we've got to be ready for them."

This didn't satisfy the students one bit.

Several signed up to join CARD after the debate.

From this experience with these near-draft-age young people, I'm confident that those the government wants to draft are those most opposed to the idea of the draft and a new war.

Paul Tierney
Toledo, Ohio

Learning About Socialism

V.I. Lenin: 'Nationalize oil!'

Last week's column referred to the discussions about nationalization of industry which the Bolshevik Party had in the months leading up to the October 1917 Russian revolution. This week's column will expand a little on that discussion.

V.I. Lenin was the principal leader among the revolutionaries who successfully organized to overturn capitalist rule in Russia.

In February 1917 a revolution toppled the old monarchy of the tsar. The strikes and demonstrations leading up to that revolution were led to a big extent by factory workers who were members of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin was in exile in Switzerland at the time.

Joseph Stalin and Leon Kamenev, the main party leaders on the scene, held back the Bolshevik factory workers. Their policy was similar to that of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, two parties that called themselves socialist but supported the capitalist government.

Lenin returned from exile at the beginning of April and threw himself into a successful fight to change the policy of the Bolshevik leadership.

Russia was devastated from World War I. The economic crisis, which had led to the overthrow of the tsar, was not being solved by the new capitalist government led by Alexander Kerensky, a lawyer.

The Bolsheviks put forward demands against that government to meet the immediate needs of the people. Through fighting for these demands, the workers, peasants, and soldiers quickly saw through the pretensions of Kerensky's government, which called itself "revolutionary democratic."

The emergency situation described below bears some similarities to the economic crisis gripping the United States today. Russian working people faced contrived energy shortages, plant closings, profit gouging, and economic disruptions.

We are not within a few months of a socialist revolution in this country. But the measures proposed to meet the capitalist economic crisis of 1917 Russia are applicable for 1980 America.

The Russian experience in 1917 is strikingly similar to events in Nicaragua and Grenada today and to the Cuba of twenty years ago. The main difference is that the revolutionaries in those countries have won control of the government in the battle against the capitalists. The Bolsheviks—until October—were raising demands against a hostile capitalist government that came out of the earlier revolution. But in both cases the same measures are involved to combat capitalist sabotage and disruption.

The excerpts here are taken from the pamphlet written by Lenin in September 1917 called *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*. One of the best sources for it is a collection called *Lenin on Workers' Control and Nationalization of Industry*. It contains this and other pamphlets, articles, and letters.

The book is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from the offices listed below.

* * *

The chief and principal measure of combating, of averting, catastrophe and famine . . . is control, supervision, accounting, regulation by the state.

Capitalism differs from the old, pre-capitalist systems of economy in having created the closest interconnection and interdependence of the various branches of the economy. Were this not so, incidentally, no steps toward socialism would be technically feasible.

Take the oil business. It was to a vast extent "socialized" by the earlier development of capitalism. Just a couple of oil barons wield millions and hundreds of millions of rubles, clipping coupons and raking in fabulous profits from a "business" which is *already* actually, technically and socially organized on a national scale and is *already* being conducted by hundreds and thousands of employees, engineers, etc.

War must be declared on the oil barons and shareholders, the confiscation of their property and punishment by imprisonment must be decreed for delaying nationalization of the oil business, for concealing incomes or accounts, for sabotaging production, and for failing to take steps to increase production. The initiative of the workers and other employees must be drawn on; they must be immediately summoned to conferences and congresses; a certain proportion of the profits must be assigned to them, provided they institute overall control and increase production.

Abolition of commercial secrecy

Unless commercial secrecy is abolished, either control over production and distribution will remain an empty promise . . . or control can be exercised only by reactionary-bureaucratic methods and means.

This is the very key to all control. [Commercial secrecy is] an instrument exclusively for concealing financial swindles and the fantastically high profits of big capital.

The revolutionary democrats, were they real revolutionaries and democrats, would immediately pass a law abolishing commercial secrecy, compelling contractors and merchants to render accounts public, forbidding them to abandon their field of activity without the permission of the authorities, imposing the penalty of confiscation of property and shooting for concealment and for deceiving the people, organizing verification and control *from below*, democratically, by the people themselves, by unions of workers and other employees, consumers, etc.

In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, that is, which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of "authorized bodies" of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognized to be, and still are, the controllers. The inevitable result is the capitalist robbery that arouses universal indignation among the people, and the economic chaos that is being artificially kept up by the capitalists.

We must resolutely and irrevocably, not fearing to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control *over* the landowners and capitalists *by* the workers and peasants. And this is what our Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks fear worse than the plague.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

constant threat of war, not even to mention the difficulty of passing the Equal Rights Amendment. Neither the Democrats or Republicans are dealing with the issues because they can't solve the problems.

When the League of Women Voters opens the forum and allows small political parties such as the Socialist Workers Party to enter into the debate with the Democrats and Republicans, I will be very happy to send a contribution.
Ethel Fruit
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Heat wave cover-up?

The Texas heat wave may not be such a mystery after all. On June 20, a Mexican weather official blamed the worst drought in Mexico in 100 years on U.S. weather experiments designed to reduce the force of hurricanes. Of course the U.S. embassy denied the charges.

Aguilar Anguiano, director of Mexico's National Weather Service, said that "it is presumed the U.S. experiments are the cause of the current drought."

The U.S. does not deny that they seeded the skies in the Gulf of Mexico. However, they claim no reduction in rain is expected. Last year Mexico was forced to buy 7.5 million tons of grain from the U.S. This year Mexicans feel it will be worse.

The seeding was intended to prevent hurricanes from hitting the Texas coast with so much force. In Mexico they rely on the same hurricane winds to bring needed rain for crops. So the United States bureaus involved committed an aggressive act against Mexico without regard for human welfare there.

But those who sling silver iodide crystals will be bound to get some on innocent victims here. People in Texas are now the victims along with the Mexicans of the U.S.'s half-baked experiments.

This isn't the first time; remember Agent Orange, LSD army experiments, atomic bomb tests in Utah, Three Mile Island, the list is endless. In Texas the almost 100 dead due to the heat could very well be part of another U.S. government cover-up.

In this case the U.S. National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration should open its books to total public inspection. Otherwise we will not know the truth about this heat wave.

Arturo Ramirez Yañez
Houston, Texas

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.

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VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Gov't agent helped racists plan murderous assault Worked with Nazis in Greensboro

By Steve Craine

GREENSBORO, N.C.—A government agent planted in the Nazi Party participated in the planning that preceded the murder of five antiracist demonstrators here last November 3.

The agent, Nazis said, made the proposal that they take guns to the rally in the trunks of their cars.

The provocateur, Bernard Butkovich, is an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. A unit of the Treasury Department, the ATF has functioned as a secret police agency involved in many political provocations, frame-ups and entrapments.

When the November 3 killings occurred it was clear that authorities had looked the other way as Nazis and Klanners gunned down five members of the Communist Workers Party, the group which initiated the antiracist demonstration.

The new revelations now point directly to federal complicity in the murders.

Disclosure of the ATF role in the Nazi group was made by the *Greensboro Record* and *New York Times* July 14. The revelation came as jury selection is proceeding in the trial of six Nazis and KKKers charged with murder of the five (see story below).

Butkovich joined the Nazi outfit in Greensboro about four months prior to the assassination of the five CWPers.

Officials concede he is in fact an agent who has been operating out of the ATF office in Cleveland.

Nazis in Greensboro say they became suspicious of him. They apparently gave the lead to the *Greensboro Record*.

It was at a planning meeting the day prior to the bloody attack that Butkovich made the gun proposal, the Nazis said.

Butkovich did not show up at the rally where the murders were committed. But afterward he offered to give refuge to three Nazis who went into hiding. He said he would take them to a farm in Ohio.

Federal and local officials deny that Butkovich gave them advance information on the slated murders. A Treasury Department official said an investigation of Butkovich's undercover role was made immediately after the slayings and, "we found nothing inappropriate."

Greensboro's chief of police, W.E. Swing, also asserted authorities had no advance knowledge. But he reconfirmed an earlier disclosure that local police had their own plant in the racist gang at the time of the attack.

Local police were also aware of Butkovich.

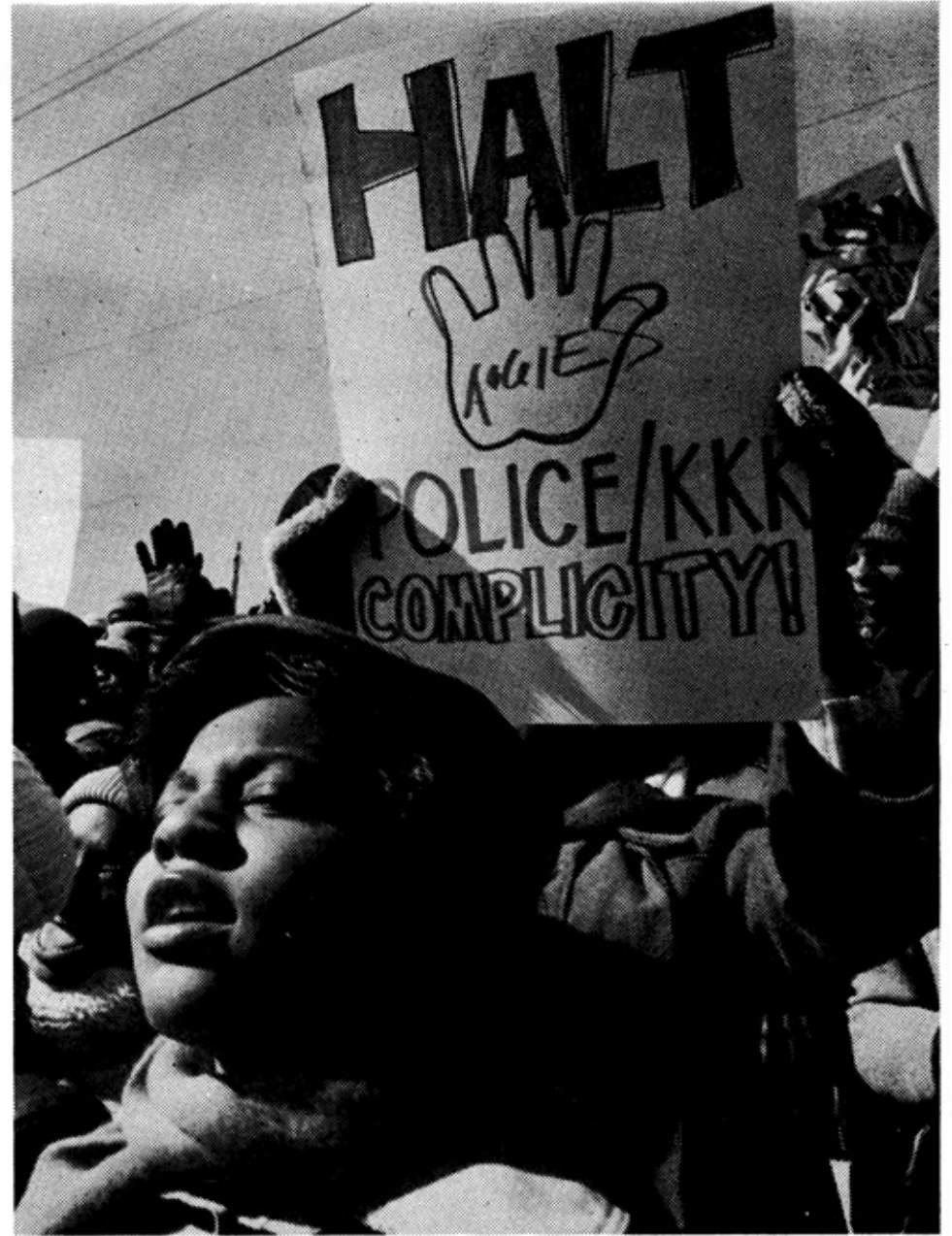
One of those arrested at the scene of the killings was Roland Wood, a Nazi leader.

The following day, Wood was brought from the county jail to city police headquarters and put in a small interview room.

The police then brought Butkovich in and the two were left to talk unattended.

Wood later said Butkovich urged him

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Militant/Lou Howort

Greensboro demonstration last February protested official complicity with racists.

SWP nominee demands probe

Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina, demanded that the federal, state, and local governments open all their files on the Greensboro killing of antiracist protesters last November.

"This is the only way that labor, the civil rights movement, and other anti-Klan fighters can uncover the full truth about government complicity in the murders," the candidate said in a statement July 16.

Pointing to the presence of a federal agent in the Nazi group involved in the slayings, the candidate declared, "Washington has shown it will stoop to the lowest, vilest tactics to silence voices of dissent."

"What about the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X? What about the shooting of Vernon Jordan? We still don't know the facts about the government's role in these crimes," the socialist said.

He demanded the arrest and prosecution for murder of all Ku Klux Klanners, Nazis, and government agents involved in the Greensboro killings.

Cooper also insisted that frame-up charges against surviving victims of the massacre be dropped.

How to qualify for N. Carolina jury

By Johanna Ryan

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Octavio Mandulay came to this country in 1960 from Cuba after the new revolutionary government nationalized his business. During his first four years in this country, he was active in a counterrevolutionary Cuban organization called the "Twentieth of May." He prefers not to say just what his activities were.

For the past sixteen years he has lived in Greensboro. He has heard of the Ku Klux Klan. As he understands it, they were formed after the Civil War "in reaction to the invasion of the North and carpetbagging." He considers them a "patriotic" organization. And of the Nazis? They are "strongly patriotic," says Mandulay.

As for the Communist Workers Party, he feels they seek martyrdom for the sake of publicity—like "any other communist organization."

On July 10 Mandulay was chosen to sit on the jury in the trial of six Klansmen and Nazis accused of the murder

of five Communist Workers Party activists at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro's Black community last November.

He was approved as "impartial," not only by the defense, but by Judge James Long and by the district attorney, who is supposed to be pushing for a first-degree murder conviction. As of July 15, only nine jurors had been selected. They are all white.

During questioning, the jurors are ushered into a sort of twilight zone of upside-down justice, where victims are criminals, criminals are patriots, and the Klan is just another civic organization.

The six court-appointed defense attorneys keep a sharp eye out for any juror who might be biased against the Klan.

Black jurors are singled out for special harassment. "You haven't ever heard anything good about the Klan, have you?" defense lawyers ask accusingly.

One Black woman, a former employee of Cone Mill, where some of the victims had worked, was interrogated at length as to whether she had been involved with the CWP, or with the union organizing committee at her plant.

In addition to approving Octavio Mandulay, the district attorney has passed a juror who agreed that it was less a crime to kill a communist than someone else. And another who considered a communist "the enemy," and wondered "why the charge is first-degree murder." The prosecution joins in the defense effort to cast the slain demonstrators as criminals.

Prosecution lawyers ask jurors if "the fact that the alleged victims were communists who held views which are un-American and repugnant to us all," or "the fact that the alleged victims tried to form labor unions and to overthrow the government would affect their verdict?"