

## Salvador election fraud reveals crisis of junta

### Reagan stakes everything on military aid

BY WILL REISSNER

The Reagan administration's hope that the March 28 elections in El Salvador will provide a facelift for the bloody junta ruling that country, thus making U.S. military involvement more palatable to the American public, is being dashed.

Of sixty countries asked to send observers to the Salvadoran elections, only six — including Uruguay's military regime — have agreed. The U.S. delegation will include Richard Scammon and Howard Penniman, two veterans of the team that monitored the 1967 elections in South Vietnam.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, which brings together the forces fighting for social change, will not participate in the elections.

FDR leader Guillermo Ungo noted that "I would like to participate in the elections, but the army has decided I cannot by publishing a hit list of 138 names of supposed subversives. My predecessor as president of the front was murdered and I don't want to end up like him."

#### Junta losing war

Reagan administration officials admit, according to the March 1 *New York Times*, that "they are not optimistic about the chances of a successful election next month in El Salvador, or about the Salvadoran Government's ability to achieve a military victory over the rebels."

A high-ranking administration specialist on Central America conceded that the junta's military situation is deteriorating badly, and that "we are within inches of losing control over the situation entirely."

The junta's military problems were highlighted by the failure of its massive ten-day offensive against guerrilla positions on the slopes of the Guazapa volcano, only fifteen miles from the capital.

Although Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García had predicted his 2,000 troops would win a smashing victory, the offensive was abruptly terminated on March 2 with the guerrillas still in place.

The army's Guazapa offensive featured constant aerial bombing and use of heavy artillery. The entire region, with its large peasant population, was turned into a free-fire zone.

According to the March 2 *Washington Post*, Gen. García "said that the entire population within the guerrilla-held territory is committed to the guerrilla cause and no one there can be considered a civilian."

*Time* magazine photographer Harry Mattison noted that "the army decided to hit a wasp's nest and was heavily stung."

#### Reagan reviews options

The March 1 *New York Times* reports that because of "the successes of the El Salvador insurgents in the past months," President Reagan has ordered an urgent review of U.S. options there.

This review can only lead to increased U.S. military support to the junta, since senior Reagan advisers told the *Times*



Using phony charge that Nicaragua is routing arms to Salvadoran rebels, Washington has stationed destroyer, U.S.S. Caron, in Nicaraguan waters near coast of El Salvador.

that the president has already ruled out any decrease in Washington's commitment.

There are already ominous signs that the Reagan administration, which claims that the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador is controlled by Nicaragua and Cuba, is planning moves against both those countries.

The February 14 *Washington Post* reported a \$19 million CIA plan for covert action against Nicaragua's revolutionary government.

On February 24, the day Reagan warned the Organization of American States that he would "do whatever is prudent and necessary" to maintain imperialist interests in the Caribbean and

Central America, the Pentagon announced that a U.S. destroyer has been stationed off the Pacific coast of Nicaragua and El Salvador, inside Nicaraguan waters, for two months.

#### Practice blockade of Cuba?

From March 8 to 18, the Pentagon and its NATO allies will hold military maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico involving twenty-eight warships and some eighty aircraft from the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands.

James McCartney noted in the February 21 *Miami Herald* that the naval exercise

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## One million refuse to register for war in Central America

In the midst of a stepped-up drive by Washington to prepare for U.S. military intervention in Central America, nearly a million draft-age men are refusing to register for the draft. They are upholding their constitutional and moral right not to fight in an immoral war to maim and kill in El Salvador, Guatemala, or anywhere else in the region. They are saying, by their refusal to register, "No more Vietnams!"

These courageous youth deserve the full support and commendation of all

### EDITORIAL

those who are opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

As a candidate for president, Ronald Reagan campaigned against draft registration; but once in office, as is typical of Democratic and Republican officials, he dumped his campaign promise and ex-

tended draft registration indefinitely. This decision came in early January of this year, as Washington was escalating its threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada and stepping up its military aid to El Salvador, including the training of Salvadoran soldiers and officers at army bases on U.S. soil.

In this context, Reagan's message was clear: "We live in a dangerous world. In the event of a future threat to national safety, registration could save the United States as much as six weeks in mobilizing emergency manpower."

Getting the signal, one Black draft-age youth, interviewed by the *Miami Herald* following Reagan's announcement, aptly stated, "Registration is how they get in touch with you when there's a war, right? So it's a standby draft, right?"

The registration law, adopted by Congress in mid-1980 during the Carter administration, was challenged by a law-

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## Ford pact: workers will lose \$1 billion

BY SUSAN ANMUTH

Ford workers have ratified a contract that will cost them at least a billion dollars.

The vote was 43,683 for the contract and 15,933 against. Fewer than half of 105,000 working and 55,000 laid-off unionists voted.

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), estimated that \$1 billion will be saved by Ford during the 30 months the contract is in effect until it expires in September 1984.

The UAW leadership buckled to the pressure of the auto barons for give-backs and to negotiate them before the old contract expired in September.

Ford workers gave up 3 percent annual productivity wage increases, which ranged from 23 to 39 cents per hour under the old contract. They gave up nine floating holidays per year (personal paid holidays, or PPHs).

Cost-of-living allowance (COLA) raises due before December 1982 are to be deferred. Then each deferred COLA raise will not even be paid to workers until eighteen months after it was originally scheduled. This amounts to a substantial loan to Ford by UAW members.

The new contract also gives large concessions to Ford on new hires. It will now take seventy-eight weeks for a new hire to get full pay (it took twelve under the old contract), and starting pay is more than a dollar less per hour than before.

UAW officials describe the new contract as a "historic agreement" and a "breakthrough in job security." Yet the *Wall Street Journal* gloated that 3,000 jobs will be lost through the elimination of PPHs.

#### Ford keeps right to close plants

Purported job security provisions are totally fraudulent.

One such provision is a two-year moratorium on plant closings as a result of "outsourcing," or shifting production to outside suppliers. This does not affect shutdowns already announced. Moreover, contract language stipulates that "closings would be permitted for volume-related reasons attributable to market conditions . . . or internal Company consolidations of operations."

The contract also states that "the Company retains the ultimate discretion as to the final major sourcing decisions" since "sourcing actions may be necessary to preserve and enhance total Company competitiveness."

In plain English, Ford still has full authority to close plants.

The agreement merely ties Ford to notifying the union sixty days ("when practicable") before a final major outsourcing decision. And then the union is free to propose "any changes in work practices or any local deviation from" the national contract, so that Ford may change its decision.

In other words, the union is invited to tear up its own contract at individual plants. This provision can only lead to auto workers competing against each other, trying to save "their" plants. This is an act of cannibalism sure to further weaken the UAW. Everyone's standard of living and job conditions will deteriorate.

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# Salvador elections

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ercises are intended to convey the "message" that "a naval blockade of Cuba is not beyond imagination."

The Reagan administration has also asked Congress to resume U.S. military aid to the military regimes in Argentina, Chile, and Guatemala. This move comes amid reports of Argentine military intervention in Central America and the growing strength of the rebel forces in Guatemala.

On February 24, the Argentine army chief-of-staff assured his Salvadoran counterpart that the Argentine junta "would give all possible assistance" to the Salvadoran regime.

Moreover, the February 5 *Los Angeles Times*, citing a congressional source, reported that the first of a contingent of Argentine personnel had arrived in Central America last November to train rightist Nicaraguan exiles fighting the Sandinista government in that country.

## Mass opposition in U.S.

The biggest obstacle to Reagan's plans for more direct U.S. military involvement in Central America is the massive opposition within the American public.

The March 1 issue of *Newsweek* reported that a Gallup poll found that 89 percent of the American people oppose sending troops to El Salvador.

White House officials admitted to *New York Times* reporter Steven Weisman that "Mr. Reagan's problems in dealing with El Salvador were compounded by strong public sentiment in the United States against a military effort to help the Salvadoran Government."

To gain congressional approval for increased military aid to the Salvadoran junta, President Reagan certified on January 28 that the regime is making progress on human rights. The hypocrisy of this assertion was more than even some people in the U.S. embassy in San Salvador could stomach.

## Death squads

One embassy official confessed to Warren Hoge of the *New York Times*, "Sometimes I sit here defending our policy and suddenly I think about El Playón. It gets me sick in the heart." El Playón is a lava field outside the capital where government death squads regularly dump the bodies of their victims.

Since the present junta took power in October 1979, more than 30,000 civilians have been murdered by the armed forces and pro-government death squads.

The opposition to the administration's

intervention in El Salvador is causing concern among some ruling circles. A March 1 editorial in the *New York Times*, for example, worries that Reagan's "simple and puerile" rhetoric about the struggle "impairs support for even modest levels of aid."

The *Times* agrees with Reagan's basic policy — which its editors describe as establishing a "reform-minded" regime "buttressed by as much aid as American opinion will tolerate." This, in hopes of holding out long enough "to deny Salvadoran leftists a Nicaragua-style triumph until their more moderate factions can be won over."

But the newspaper warns that this "may take years," and worries that the American public will make that policy impossible.

The *Times* and some members of Congress are urging the administration to negotiate with the Salvadoran insurgents. The FDR has stated repeatedly that it is ready to start talks with the Reagan administration and the Salvadoran junta "immediately and without prior conditions."

Mexican President José López Portillo has also urged the Reagan administration



Salvadoran rebels training in Morazán province.

tion to negotiate with the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments.

Meanwhile, broadcasts on the Salvadoran guerrillas' Radio Venceremos on March 1 and 2 contained detailed instructions on preparing for a "people's insurrection."

Announcers called on residents to make maps of their communities and workplaces; to take inventory of stocks of potable water, medical facilities, and shelters; and to monitor government garrisons to determine the number of troops, vehicles, and weapons they contain.

## Ford contract: costly blow to auto workers

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The UAW leadership's "Buy American" campaign pitted us against foreign auto workers. Chrysler, Ford, and GM workers are pitted against each other by concessions. The new Ford contract provision takes this suicidal competition even to the plant level.

Another so-called breakthrough is the Guaranteed Income Stream program (GIS) for Ford workers with at least fifteen years' seniority who are laid off in the future. They will receive 50 percent of their working wages, plus a percentage point for each additional year of seniority, until they retire or reach age 62.

There are several catches to the program. Eligibility depends on accepting work at any Ford facility anywhere in the country, or "suitable employment" offered by public employment services. GIS payments will be reduced by up to 80 percent of earnings from such "suitable employment."

UAW negotiator Matt Rinaldi admitted that "suitable employment" includes working at such low-paying places as McDonalds. The contract also states that GIS can be suspended if the participant "ceases to work by reason of strike or personal leave of absence of a week or more."

Moreover, Ford is providing only \$45 million for the fund, which will offer little protection even to high seniority workers who are eligible for GIS.

The UAW leadership made a special attempt to secure the vote of laid-off members. A two-page letter stressed the resumption of suspended Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) upon ratification of the contract. The letter "forgot" to say that Ford will advance only \$70 million into the SUB fund, which will not last long, and which will be repaid to Ford.

Nor did it mention that up to \$100 can be taken out of each SUB check to repay previous benefits from the Trade Readjustment Agreement.

## GM encouraged by Ford contract

One immediate consequence of the ratification is that General Motors will pressure the UAW to reopen its contract too. Strong rank-and-file opposition to concessions caused earlier talks to break down in late January, but since then GM has announced the closing of eight plants. It is unlikely that the Fraser leadership will stand up to this blackmail by GM.

Why did so many Ford workers vote for this giveaway contract?

Auto workers are faced with a new, devastating situation. Layoffs in the industry are at an all-time high.

And the union leadership offers no strategy for fighting back. To the contrary, they present a defeat as a "breakthrough."

Given the default of the officials, most UAW members don't yet see a way of standing up to the auto giants. There is a certain fatalism, expressed by a woman laid off from Ford's Metuchen, New Jersey, plant who said, "It doesn't matter whether you vote yes or no. They already made an agreement."

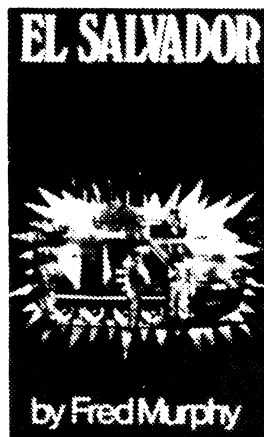
Many workers are hoping their sacrifices will somehow save jobs. A Wayne, Michigan, assembler spoke for others when she said, "There are a lot of people out of work and we have to cut corners somewhere."

But acceptance of givebacks is a temporary reaction. As a member of UAW Local 600 at the River Rouge plant put it, "The people's gonna rebel against this. People, you can push 'em so far; they've got to come back because they can't go no other place."

Susan Anmuth, a member of UAW Local 980, worked at the Ford Assembly Plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, for three years.

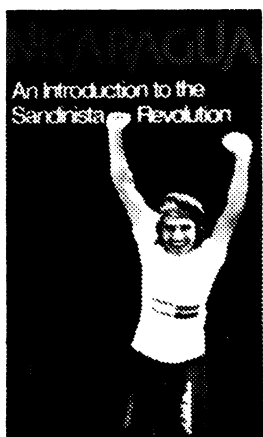
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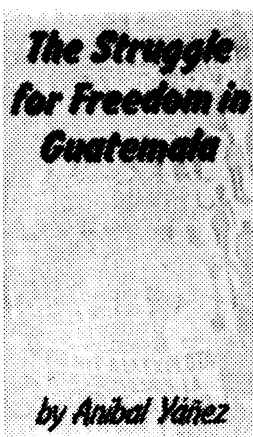
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# Demonstrators boost March 27 protest against war drive

## Appeal sent to Ft. Bragg troops

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ AND PRISCILLA SCHENK

On February 27, a number of highly successful local actions were held to protest Washington's war plans in El Salvador and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean. The largest were in North Carolina, New Jersey, and Vermont. They were organized to publicize the March 27 national march on Washington.

In North Carolina, undeterred by four inches of snowfall and freezing rain, more than 600 protesters from all over the state converged on Fayetteville to demonstrate against the training of 1,000 Salvadoran troops at the Ft. Bragg military base.

Antiwar committees from Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Boone, North Carolina, and Richmond and Newport News, Virginia, were present. In addition the Raleigh Black United Front, War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, and members of the Unitarian church were present.

Salvadoran troops began arriving at Ft. Bragg on January 11, as part of the Reagan administration's stepped-up military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta.

In addition five hundred Salvadoran officer candidates are being trained at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Despite the previous night's snowfall and the freezing rain on the day of the demonstration, a spirited three-hour rally was held at Pope Park in Fayetteville. Then a caravan of over 175 cars and buses traveled to Ft. Bragg where another brief rally was held.

At the rally on the base, three letters were presented to Colonel Ericson, who was representing the officers on the base. One was addressed to Ronald Reagan. Another was to the U.S. soldiers on the base.

### Letter to Salvadoran soldiers

The third letter, read by Victor Rubio on behalf of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR), was directed to the Salvadoran troops being trained at the base. It said, "We make the firmest appeal to all soldiers at Ft. Bragg to take the side of humanity. We appeal to you as fellow citizens and fellow sufferers to join your voices with ours of the February 27 Fort Bragg Coalition and say a resounding no to the immoral course of U.S. policy in El Salvador. We urge our brothers and sisters in the military to join with the American people in saying, 'no more Vietnams.'"

On behalf of the February 27 Fort Bragg Coalition, Rev. Henry Atkins read the letter addressed to U.S. soldiers. It stated, "As we proceed to make our voices heard in Washington, D.C., on March 27 and in front of the United Nations in New York on June 12, North Carolina would like to feel that our brothers and sisters in the military at Ft. Bragg stand with the people of the United States and the world who desire an end to war and who struggle for the liberation of peace-loving people on this earth."

### Trade unionists organize

Among others who spoke at the rally was Rev. Dave Dyson, representing the National Labor Committee in Support of Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador. He told the crowd, "I bring you greetings from thousands and thousands of trade unionists who are beginning to come alive on the issue of El Salvador. Our goal in our committee is to

take many of the thousands of people who were on the streets of Washington, D.C., on September 19, Solidarity Day, and put them on the streets around the issue of El Salvador.

"American people, and I'm speaking primarily of trade union families, are not willing to sacrifice their sons and daughters to prop up this junta. They are not willing to go to the jungles of Central America to defend supply-side economics. It is the height of hypocrisy to support trade unionists in Poland while supporting the murder of trade unionists in El Salvador."

Also on hand was Philip Wheaton from the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action who exposed the slander campaign against Nicaragua, especially with regard to the alleged repression of Miskitu Indians.

### Right wingers dealt a blow

In Jersey City, New Jersey, right-wing Cuban groups were dealt a major political defeat on February 27 as 500 people turned out for a march and rally to protest U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

The protest was called by the New Jersey Coalition Against Intervention in El Salvador. The coalition was initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Eighteen groups, including solidarity, religious, student, and civic organizations, are part of this coalition.

Two days before the event local papers announced that Alpha 66 and an organization calling itself Cuban Ex-Political Prisoners were planning a counterdemonstration at the assembly point for the march. Alpha 66 is a group of counterrevolutionary Cubans with a history of right-wing terrorist attacks against supporters of the Cuban revolution and other progressive struggles. It has claimed responsibility for murders

## Baltimore leaders answer attacks on socialist offices

BALTIMORE — Representatives of a number of area organizations met with reporters here March 3 to protest recent attacks on the campaign offices of Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

Present at the news conference were Hayes, Enolia McMillan of the NAACP, Richard Hill of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and speakers from the New American Movement and People United Against Racist Repression.

The attacks on the SWP headquarters came on the evenings of February 19 and 21, with a single gunshot being fired through an office window each time.

Pointing to massive political killings by El Salvador's U.S.-backed junta, Hill told reporters, "Given President Reagan's idea of human rights, it is not surprising that dissenting views suffer such attacks in the U.S. The responsibility for them must be credited to official government policy, which sanctions this type of activity."

Hayes noted that "every move toward war in this country has been accompanied by government repression aimed at quelling opposition. Right-wing repression goes hand in hand with this."

"Part of the fight against this," she continued, "is to organize for the March



Protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador were held in several cities. This one in Jersey City saw 500 march despite right-wing threats.

and other violent attacks on political activists.

The counterdemonstration, called to support U.S. military aid to the bloody Salvadoran junta, received prominent coverage in the local papers over the following two days.

Marta Pina, a leader of Alpha 66, told the *Dispatch* that they expected 500 to 1,000 people to participate in the counterdemonstration. Pina called the antiwar protest "the work of Communist agents, such as SANE."

### United defense for demonstration

Antiwar activists immediately responded to these provocations. A delegation of activists went to the Jersey City mayor's office to demand protection for their democratic right to assemble. A statement to the mayor was signed by thirteen coalition members.

Rally organizers then called for a special meeting to plan security for the demonstration. Representatives of CISPES, Inter-religious Task Force on El Salvador, Citizens Party, Federation of Latin American Students, Hudson County Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, Communist Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Venceremos Brigade, Peoples Anti-War Mobilization, SANE, and others attended.

As the march assembled at Journal Square, activists joined together to pro-

tect the demonstration from possible intimidation, provocation, or attack from the right wingers.

As the demonstrators marched the mile to the rally site, their ranks grew to 500. People raised clenched fists and honked their horns in solidarity with the marchers as they passed.

The right wingers, who were able to muster only about forty supporters, gathered across the street from the rally. For more than an hour they continued to jeer and threaten the demonstrators, shouting anti-Cuban slogans and "Viva CIA."

Inside there was a film showing of *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. Speakers at the rally included Silvia Sandoval of the Women's Association of El Salvador who explained the role of women as leaders in the revolutionary struggle in her country.

Then William Ford, the brother of one of the missionaries slain in El Salvador in 1980, spoke.

### 'Attacks are international'

Gregory Pardlo, president of North Jersey striking air traffic controllers, was greeted with a big applause and chants of "PATCO, PATCO." "If I have anything to bring to you that means anything today," Pardlo said, "it is that your deepest fears are well founded." He said that the attacks on working people by the government are international. "This is a country that was built on slave labor and the labor of undocumented workers. The attacks that we see are probably a prelude to war. And the worst is yet to come unless groups like this enlarge and get out the word that El Salvador can very easily become another Vietnam."

Other speakers included José Soler from the New York Hispanic Labor Committee, Willie Johnson of the Concerned Citizens of Jersey City, and Lorraine Sullivan, whose son is a reporter who disappeared in El Salvador a year ago.

### 500 turn out in Burlington

In Burlington, Vermont, in what was described as the largest demonstration since the anti-Vietnam war movement, 500 people came out to demonstrate against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Speakers at a rally after the demonstration included the socialist mayor of Burlington, Bernard Sanders; Omar Aguilar, a Salvadoran student; and David Ross, a Vietnam veteran.

In Detroit on March 10, City Councilwoman Mary Anne Mahaffey will present a resolution before the Detroit City Council condemning military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta and endorsing the March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Confident that it will pass, Mahaffey has organized a news conference the very next day to present the resolution to Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the FDR.

# Castro speaks to unionists

## Fight for peace is part of fight for social liberation

BY DAVID FRANKEL

On February 10 Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke before the tenth congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Havana. Present at the congress were delegates from 351 trade union organizations. They came from 135 different countries, and represented some 260 million workers — the great majority of the international trade union movement.

This was the first time that a congress of this kind was held outside of Europe, Fidel pointed out. "And the fact that it takes place in Cuba, a country struggling for development in the midst of constant threats, slanderous campaigns and a rigid economic blockade," made the congress itself an act of solidarity.

Fidel's speech was of even greater interest than would normally be the case, since it came amid a new escalation of Washington's war drive in Central America and the Caribbean. It was also his first speech since the declaration of martial law in Poland, and it dealt in some detail with events inside Western Europe and the United States.

### 'The struggle for peace'

"We are certain that at present the most urgent and unpostponable task is the struggle for peace and safeguarding mankind from destruction caused by nuclear holocaust," Fidel said.

"But, as we have underlined before, this battle is inseparably linked to the problems of development and to the efforts of the exploited peoples and workers to secure more just and equitable living conditions. . . . Workers are not only interested in living; they are also deeply concerned about the conditions they will live in. . . . Thus, we are deeply convinced that, if we wish to develop a true worldwide mass movement, the banners of the struggle for peace and the banners of the urgent and immediate claims the workers make must march side by side."

Fidel continued: "The responsibility for the increase of international tension rests fully on the present U.S. administration and some of its allies. . . .

"They intend to stop the progress of all revolutionary, national liberation, or simply progressive processes by applying the false and ridiculous criterion that they are produced by alleged Soviet 'interference' or 'expansionism.' . . .

"This deeply reactionary and aggressive path is to a large extent backed by the interests and profits of the big transnational consortia, the main beneficiaries of that policy."

The giant U.S. monopolies, Fidel pointed out, "see their profits multiply tremendously, precisely as a result of a policy whose most pernicious effects are

brought to bear on the huge masses of workers in the developed Western countries themselves, in the form of a remarkable worsening of living conditions, unemployment, inflation, serious cuts in Social Security, instability, and poverty.

"On the other hand, and in much greater magnitude and even with more serious and dramatic consequences, that policy implies incredible levels of poverty, squalor, lack of culture, and hunger for the broad oppressed and impoverished masses of Third World workers."

In Europe, Fidel noted, the U.S. rulers have been pressing their NATO allies to increase military spending and to follow "a policy of greater hostility and harshness against the USSR and all other socialist countries." At the same time, Washington has been trying to impose the installation of new nuclear missiles in Europe.

"These imperialist measures seriously endanger world peace," Fidel said. "The risks they imply are so obvious that the peoples of Western Europe are fully justified in their concern. Millions of workers, employees, intellectuals and students, men and women, young and old, have taken to the streets to express their condemnation of that policy. . . .

"Of course, workers are not concerned only about the perils of war. What is ominous in this imperialist policy is that it also affects the most direct and immediate interests of the workers. On the other hand, said interests are not only limited to salaries, working conditions and living standards."

### The Reagan policy in action

Reagan's ultrareactionary course, Fidel charged, has been a shot in the arm "for the most repressive, anti-popular and antiworker regimes in the world."

It is the reactionary policy of the U.S. government, Fidel said, that has encouraged the criminal aggression of the South African regime in Angola and Namibia; of the Israeli regime in Lebanon and against Iraq and Syria; and that is behind the relentless campaign against Vietnam. And in every case, workers are the principal victims.

"When patriots of many countries subjected to fascist regimes in South America are persecuted, tortured, murdered, or disappear, the victims of the imperialist backing to these bloodthirsty regimes are also workers. When in Central America, the people of Nicaragua are forced to mobilize in the face of threats of aggression and mercenary bands . . . it is the workers who die as a result of yankee policy."

"When thousands and thousands of workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, and even children succumb in El Salvador and Guatemala, the victims of repulsive tyrannies shamelessly armed and bolstered by U.S. imperialism, it is once again the people and the workers who pay with their sacrifice and their lives for the lofty aspiration of achieving freedom and blazing the path towards a decorous and honorable existence for the exploited and oppressed majorities."

### Impact of arms race

In discussing the arms race, Fidel took note of the fact that "After World War II the weight of the military budget in public expenditure made the militarization of the economy one of the main instruments of economic policy of major capitalist states. For a few years during the postwar period, military expenditures tended temporarily to step up the rate of economic growth in some countries. . . .

"The 1974-75 economic crisis, however, evidenced that military expenditures, like other economic policy instruments, were no longer able to cushion the impact of the crisis, let alone pro-

voke, albeit artificially, a significant economic recovery. Moreover, its intrinsically unproductive and inflationary nature became manifest, since they increase money supply and commodity demands, without a compensating increase in the production of consumer goods."

In citing examples of the waste of resources on armaments, Fidel said, "Approximately 25 percent of the world's scientific personnel is engaged in military activities. It is estimated that 60 percent of overall scientific research expenditures is absorbed by military programs. The volume of such research projects is five times greater than that of the projects devoted to health protection."

Furthermore, "the arms race makes all the more unbearable the profound economic crisis the capitalist system is currently going through."

### Economic crisis

Of the economic crisis itself, Fidel said: "As in the past, the monopolies' reaction to crisis has been to curtail production, cut back investments, underutilize production capacity and lay off tens of millions of workers. The monopolies and large transnationals, taking advantage of the progress of the scientific-technical revolution, use the crisis to intensify the exploitation of workers and to worsen working conditions. . . ."

Unemployment, Fidel declared, has reached heights that have not been seen in fifty years. "In the developed capitalist countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development, the 1981 official unemployment figure was 25 million, that is, 4 million more than in 1980 and 10 million more than during the 1974-75 crisis. It is estimated that the rate will reach over 28 million in 1982.

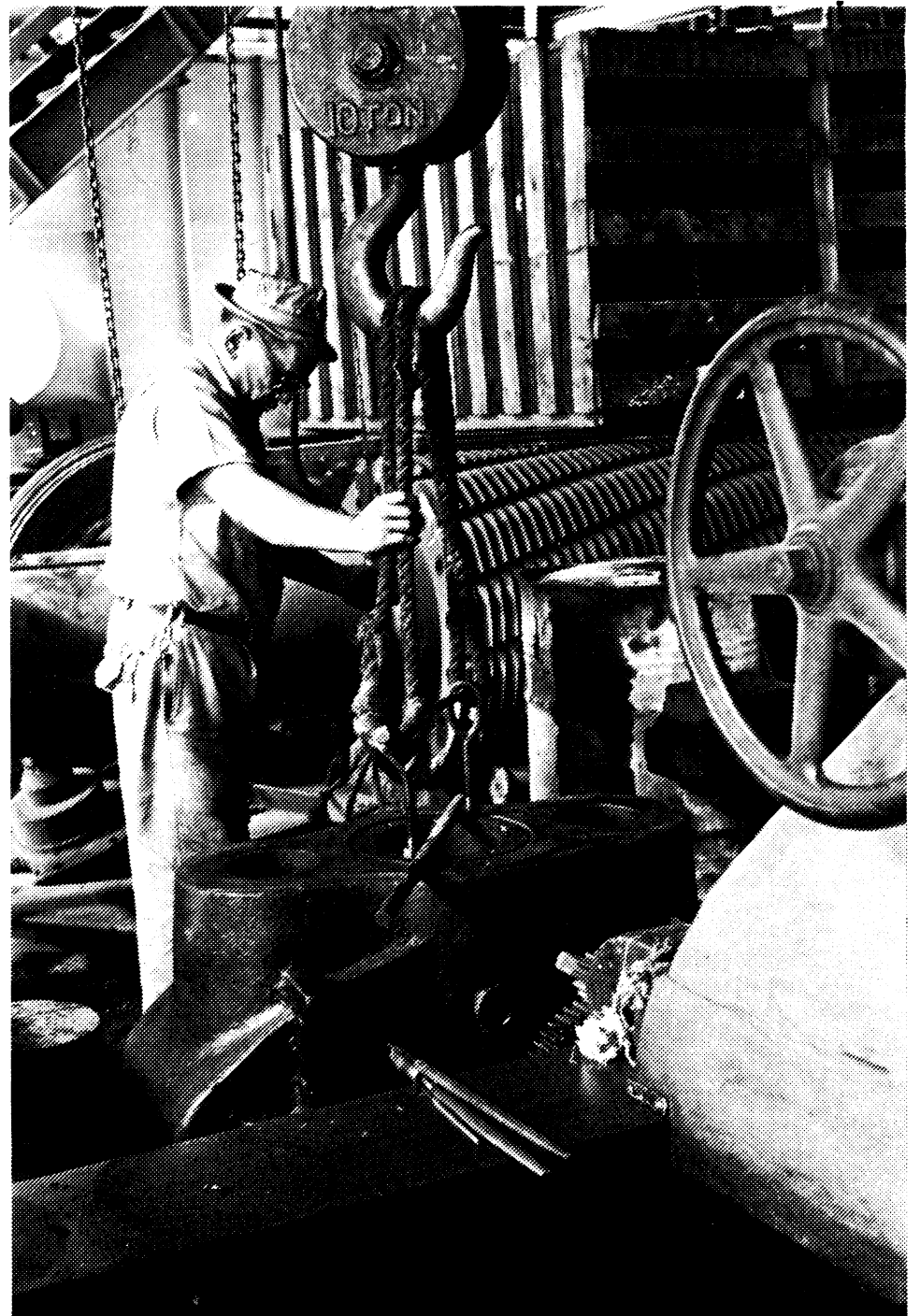
"Although these are dramatic figures, they nevertheless do not reflect the actual extent of unemployment, since statistics in the countries affected are used in different ways to deceitfully conceal it."

### Plight of women

Turning to another topic, Fidel asked: "And what about the working woman in general? According to ILO [International Labor Organization] estimates, there are 575 million women who work, that is, 35 percent of the world's labor force. But, although they represent a little over one third of the total labor force, they receive only one tenth of the world's revenue. The scourge of unemployment and the antilabor offensive waged by the exploiters in these times of crisis particularly affect women."

"The principle of equal pay for equal work is acknowledged through legislation in many capitalist states, but in real terms, remuneration differences between women and men range between 20 and 50 percent. . . .

"Other victims of the present situation deserving special attention from the international labor movement are the large masses of migrant workers who, cornered by unemployment and poverty in their own countries, turn to countries with greater industrial development in order to sell their labor under precarious conditions, taking on the



Militant/Harry Ring  
Cuban sugar mill. Castro explained to Tenth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, held in Havana, that Cuban unions "defend the Revolution and defend and represent the interests and the rights of all workers and workers' collectives."

### Full text of Castro's speech to appear in March 15 'Intercontinental Press'

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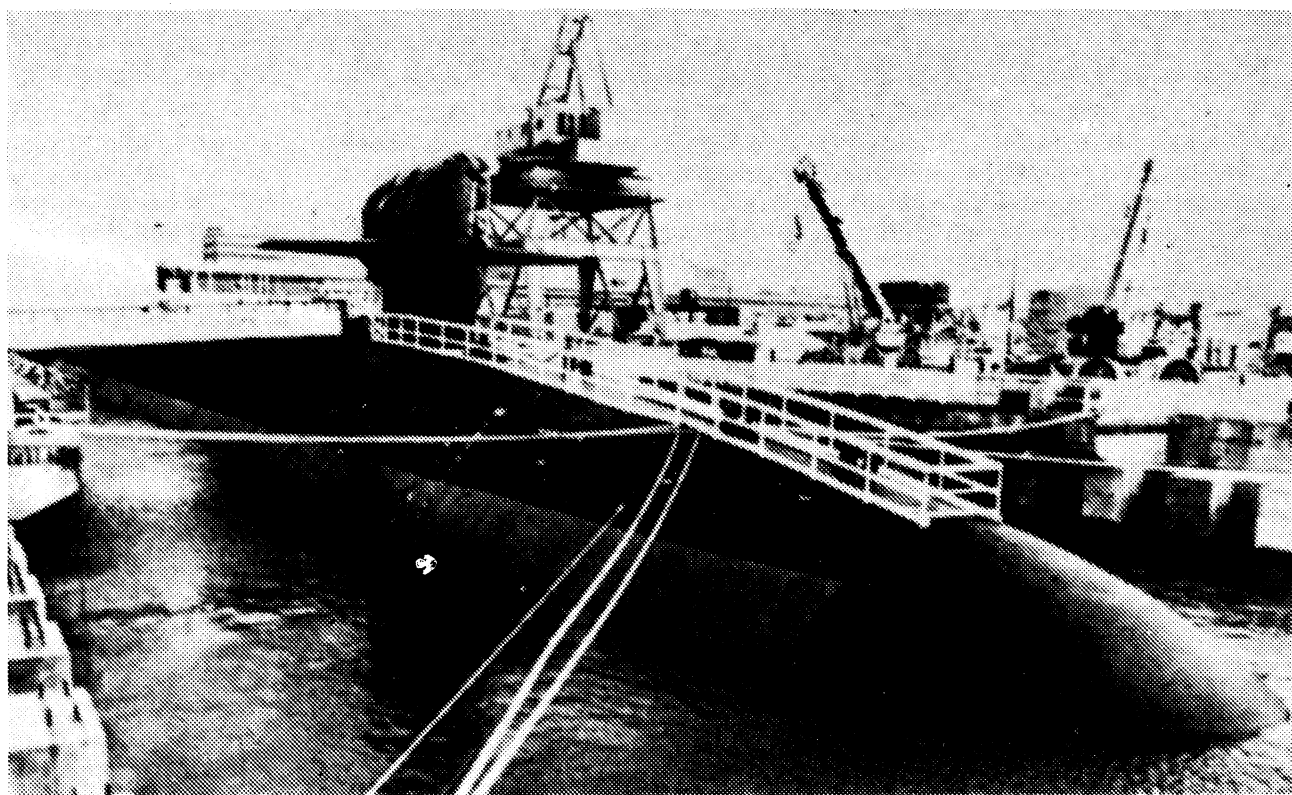
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A Trident submarine. "If we wish to develop a true worldwide mass movement," Castro told unionists, "the banners of the struggle for peace and the banners of the urgent and immediate claims the workers make must march side by side."

hardest and worst paid jobs, deprived of their basic rights and, in many cases, suffering from the most loathsome forms of racial discrimination."

#### A 'tragic and desperate situation'

Regarding the colonial and semicolonial countries, Fidel described "the tragic and desperate situation in which more than one-fourth of mankind lives today, a situation that can be summarized in very few words: hunger, ignorance, squalor, poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunities, lack of security, despair, inequality.

"Some 800 million human beings go hungry or are underfed in the underdeveloped world. . . .

"Over 1,500 million people drink contaminated water. . . .

"The workers and the workers' children are the ones that go hungry, the ones that lack schools, the ones that die without medical care.

"The cause of this disastrous situation lies in imperialist policy, its selfish, warmongering and aggressive nature, and the ruinous economic and social heritage that the capitalist system of production — first through colonialism and later through neocolonialism — has bequeathed the world, with its characteristic consequences: wars, bloodshed, social injustice, the the exploitation of classes and nations.

#### Faith in working class

"We would have very little faith in the enormous fighting capabilities of the exploited masses," Fidel continued, "both in underdeveloped and in developed capitalist countries, and very little confidence in humanity's capabilities of progress, if we did not firmly believe that mankind can and must solve these problems.

"In that struggle workers are to play a leading role. It is they who must undertake in the first place — for being the most revolutionary class in society — the historic task of transforming the unjust and merciless social order that has given rise to these appalling realities."

Fidel then turned to the situation in the United States, where "the huge capitalist propaganda machine continuously stresses the alleged virtues of its system."

He described the unemployment, with 9.5 million jobless, and the disproportionately high unemployment rates for Blacks, and even more for Black and Latino youth.

"While 8.7 percent of the white population was reported at poverty levels, the Hispanic population below the poverty line reached 21.6 percent and the Black population 30.6 percent."

Describing Reagan's cutbacks in health care, Fidel noted that they "affect 24 million people, 7 million of whom are children."

He added: "The brutal cuts in Social Security expenditures have made the si-

tuation still more desperate for the jobless workers in that country, especially women, youths, Blacks, and the super-exploited national minorities."

#### Reagan and Poland

Fidel continued: "From the start, Mr. Reagan's government has been marked by a deeply antipopular and antilabor attitude. He flung air traffic controllers out of their jobs with unheard-of harshness. And he revives the most turbulent periods of trade union repression, resorting to the entire arsenal of legal measures. . . . His economic program is the living expression of the reactionary monopolistic policy, and as many of his own countrymen have declared, it is aimed at making the poor poorer and the rich richer.

"Nevertheless, that same government, on the occasion of the unfortunate events in Poland, an unquestionable result of serious mistakes made during the process of building socialism in the fraternal country as well as of the action of the imperialist enemy, shamelessly affects demagogic attitudes and promotes the most vile propaganda campaigns, posing as a defender of the interests of the workers and people of Poland.

"That same government — whose hands are tainted by the blood of tens of thousands of workers and peasants, foully murdered by the genocidal regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala; which sponsors plans of aggression against Nicaragua and Grenada; which keeps up a hysterical campaign of threats and provocations against the Cuban people, while tightening even more the criminal and total economic blockade imposed for more than twenty years against our country; which backs Israeli massacres against Palestinians and Lebanese; which is a bosom friend of South Africa, where 20 million Africans are discriminated against, exploited, and brutally oppressed; which is an accomplice of all reactionary tyrannies, fascist or racist regimes on earth — that government can never be the defender of the workers' interests in any part of the world.

"We cherish the great hope that, in spite of Reagan, his demagoguery, his blockades and economic aggressions, our sister Poland will, by itself and with the fraternal and solidary cooperation of all progressive forces in the world, be able to overcome its difficulties without a civil war or bloodshed and will continue to march successfully on the path of socialism.

"The capitalist economic crisis has assumed such dimensions that its effects are also being felt by the economies of socialist countries, although the latter, by the very nature of their social system, do not generate them and are in a better position to counteract their negative consequences."

Fidel continued: "The world's labor movement is growing, not only in

numbers, but also in scope and depth. The interrelation between economic problems and the most vital aspirations of a political nature becomes ever more manifest. . . .

"Half a million U.S. workers came together to protest against the domestic and foreign policy of the Reagan administration, and millions more have thundered down the streets of the major European capitals, demanding jobs, security, and peace. We do not doubt that, in the future the workers' resistance to the policy of the cold war, the arms race, and the perils of war will be increasingly staunch and determined."

Turning to the trade unions in Cuba, Fidel remarked that despite shortcomings and mistakes, "we have worked in all honesty and loyalty to foster a revolutionary and democratic trade union movement, with a strong class awareness, capable of aiming at and attaining great objectives on its own.

"Our trade unions defend the Revolution and defend and represent the interests and the rights of all workers and of all workers' collectives. The purest practice of proletarian democracy sustains them. Our trade union leaders are workers promoted by their fellow workers from the grass roots to the highest responsibilities."

#### U.S. threats against Cuba

Fidel also took up the continuing U.S. threats against Cuba, vowing that "no power will be able to subjugate us, intimidate us, or force us to give up a single one of our principles."

He noted the charges that Cuba has been receiving bombers capable of attacking the U.S. mainland — charges that were reiterated by Reagan February 24 in his speech to the Organization of American States. Such weapons according to Washington violate the

agreements between Moscow and Washington that were reached at the time of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

Fidel declared: "Apart from the fact that our country has never acknowledged, nor will it ever acknowledge, any constraint on its sovereign prerogative to purchase the weapons it deems necessary for its defense — a right all countries in the world exercise — Cuba has not received any type of plane which is in any way different from the ones it has been receiving in past years, all of which are tactical, and none strategic."

#### 'History unites us'

In conclusion, Fidel declared: "Our enemies do not frighten us by rattling their weapons, with their arrogant declarations and gross, slanderous campaigns. They will never bring us to our knees. . . .

"Nor are we thinking solely of the risks that may await Cuba. We are part of humanity and we have thrown in our lot with the peoples, with the workers and the poor of the earth. . . .

"We are united by mankind's vital interest in peace; the determined struggle against the insane arms race; the aspiration of all the workers of the world to a better, worthier, more equitable, reliable, and just life, the right of the peoples to economic and political independence; the struggle against colonialism, racism, and fascism. . . .

"History unites us, our destiny unites us, our future unites us!

"Let us struggle with all our might for mankind's survival and for a future truly worthy of being called human!

"For this reason, allow me to repeat here the noble slogan of those who were the immortal and unforgettable champions of the workers: Workers of the world, unite!"

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# Messages from prison reach Indiana forum

BY DAVE CAHALANE

INDIANAPOLIS — "When we struggle collectively against deplorable conditions in prison, as well as out of prison, we are also struggling to achieve the desired results of a society free of exploitation and oppression."

These words are from a letter read to a recent Militant Forum here. The author, Kolomo Mugabe Kaltiki, is a prisoner in Indiana State Prison.

Kaltiki had planned to address the forum in person, while on prison furlough, but prison officials stepped in to prevent this.

But, prison officials, also known as "prison-crats," couldn't keep the full truth from being told.

The audience also heard the letter of

another prisoner, Achebe Lateef, which exposed the real source of violence in prison — the conscious policy of officials to increase tensions and worsen conditions inside.

Three activists in the struggle for prisoners' rights also spoke: Michael Milsap, attorney for the Legal Services Organization (LSO); Jerry Ulman, member of the Socialist Workers Party; and Stewart Brooks who spent more than six years imprisoned in Indiana's so-called "correctional" institutions.

"Look at the treatment of Haitian refugees kept in military camps," Brooks said, "or look at the daily beatings in Indianapolis city and county lockups."

"What is going on in El Salvador, the prison torture, or what happened under

the shah in Iran," Brooks said, "is coming here. We don't understand sometimes how close we are to these situations today in this country."

"We should all be concerned about prisons, because any one of us here could be taken, framed-up, and put there because we are poor, working class, or involved in the struggle."

## Prison dungeons

"There are dungeons in the city, county, and state prisons," Michael Milsap told the audience. One prisoner in a so-called 'maximum-restraint' unit was placed in a cell and literally shackled to his bed. Each hand and foot was chained to a corner of the bed. He was kept this way for four days, only one hand was freed at meal time.

This can happen to any prisoner who exhibits "uncontrolled" behavior, as prison officials put it.

Education and job training, health care, counseling, cell conditions, have all deteriorated.

Prisoners are denied the right to cross-examine guards in prison disciplinary proceedings. Parole boards routinely hear prisoners' cases and return them to their cells.

"We challenge the state's idea of building bigger and bigger prisons. We challenge Reagan's plan to convert military camps into warehouses for prisoners," Milsap said.

Indiana's state prisons, farms, and reformatories are filled 10 to 100 percent over their capacity. Indiana's prison population of about 15,000 is expected to double by 1987.

Much of the blame for this, Kaltiki and Lateef said in their letters to the forum, rests with a 1973 penal code enacted to give harsher sentences in Indiana.

As Kaltiki explained, "History from Indiana government shows nothing will be done except to imprison more poor people and relieve itself from creating more jobs for people who desperately need work."

"Racism and racial discrimination is a fundamental practice within the prison environment," Kaltiki said. "Considering that racism permeates the entire system within this country and its institutions, it is only logical that the concept of racism will also exist within prisons of this country."

Blacks are disproportionately denied parole and occupy 80 percent of all special lock-up units in the state. Black prisoners are also denied semiskilled and skilled jobs inside that would qualify them for work release programs.

Milsap added that "among guards at Indiana State Prison, Klan members openly recruit other guards."

Women prisoners, Kaltiki said, are all too often forgotten when prisons are dis-

cussed. He declared, "Women in prison are demanding attention to their problems and must receive all the support possible if we are to struggle collectively."

The other speakers agreed. They explained the recent case of a woman prisoner raped by guards in an Indiana prison. Chief prosecutor Goldsmith refused to press charges against the guards, claiming she was a "willing" victim. Such crimes against women prisoners, it was explained, are fully condoned by the system.

All the speakers agreed that the problem with prisons is the problem with how this whole society is run.

"Historically, U.S. prisons have been used to maintain the status quo in the interests of the ruling rich," Ulman said. "Police, the courts, prisons, and that ultimate weapon of terror, capital punishment," all serve this end.

The real criminals, he explained, are the profit-gouging, rich who murder workers by cutting safety standards on the job. Reagan and the Democratic and Republican parties are up to their necks in the blood spilled by El Salvador's dictatorship.

Violent crimes committed by working people against other working people, Ulman said, "only demonstrate the success achieved by the ruling rich in setting the victims of class society against one another."

The speakers pointed to the necessity of supporting every struggle by prisoners for their legal rights and for better conditions.

At the same time, Brooks pointed out, to change the prisons "we have to completely change the system that created the prisons, which were made for poor and working class people."

Ulman agreed, pointing to countries like revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

"There is very little crime" in these countries, Ulman said, "because they are on a path leading away from alienation, away from racism, exploitation, and discrimination against women."



## Philly meeting held despite threats

BY JOE WALTERS

PHILADELPHIA — A forum on racist terror was held here several weeks ago despite attempted disruption, including constant phone threats, police investigation of a bomb threat, and a "tip" to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that a brawl was taking place at the meeting.

The forum dealt with the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a long-time Black activist, who was shot in the chest by a cop and then arrested for murder (officer Daniel Faulkner died in the incident).

Jamal was beaten by cops who tried to kill him in the hospital. At a hearing in January, the judge answered a petition to lower his bail by revoking it.

Jamal, a radio reporter, was elected president of the Association of Black Journalists last year. He was a founder of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party in the early 1970s.

Sonia Sanchez, a Black activist poet and a victim of FBI harassment, and

Chris Davis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state Senate from the 3rd District, spoke at the January 20 forum.

Davis told the *Militant*, "These disruption attempts on the forum are an attack on the democratic rights of Mumia Abu-Jamal and all those who want to hear his position."

"We need to organize a broad defense for him and defeat this attempt to kill him through the courts."

At the end of the forum a collection was taken up and contributed to the Mumia Abu-Jamal Defense Committee. The committee, which consists of activists from all over the city, has printed an informational piece on the case, is circulating petitions, and is organizing fund raising activities.

Contributions can be sent to ABJ Mumia Abu-Jamal Support Fund, P.O. Box 13117, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101. For more information on the committee call (215) 225-1911.

# Unanswered questions remain on Malcolm X killing

On January 17, "60 Minutes," a television news program, featured interviews with three men now serving time for the assassination of Malcolm X. The three — Thomas Hagan, Norman Butler, and Thomas Johnson — have served seventeen years of a life sentence.

Both Butler and Johnson denied having any part in the shooting of Malcolm X at the Audubon Ballroom

ican Unity (OAAU), that they would never have been permitted into the ballroom. "They had nothing to do with this, nothing at all," Hagan told "60 Minutes" reporter Mike Wallace.

Hagan went on to explain that he was hired to do the shooting and that he had four accomplices. This is not new. Hagan confessed all of this while on the stand during the trial.

The district attorney ignored Hagan's story and took no action to prove or disprove it. The cops didn't even conduct any further investigation into who hired Hagan. What makes the cover-up even more glaring is that when Hagan gave the names of his four accomplices several years later, this too was totally ignored by the cops. Why did they refuse to make any effort to bring to the surface the full plot behind the assassination?

Mike Wallace also interviewed Benjamin Goodman, the person that introduced Malcolm to the audience at the ballroom the day he was killed. Like so many other members of the OAAU, Goodman had worked closely with Butler and Johnson before the split between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam on March 8, 1964.

"They were not sitting out here," Goodman told Wallace at the ballroom where Malcolm was slain.

"They are not the men that killed Malcolm." Despite the fact that Goodman was one of the few men on the stage facing the audience during the shooting, he was never called to testify at the trial. Why did this serious omission occur?

Mike Wallace did get a chance to interview, off camera, a man who testified in a special closed session of the trial. The man admitted lying at the trial, and said the police line-up at which he identified Butler was a phony and a setup.

Another point that "60 Minutes" made was that Gene Roberts, an undercover agent in the OAAU who gave mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to the dying Malcolm, was never called to testify. On top of that, while the prosecution lawyers were certainly aware of Roberts's assignment to spy, disrupt, and gather information, this fact was kept secret from the defense lawyers.

While this program was quite informative in presenting many of the not-so-well-known facts to the public, I believe it left us with more unanswered questions. The program did take us to another level of the depth of the cover-up. All of the unanswered questions point to the cops and the ruling class having more to hide about their involvement than they care to admit.



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

on February 21, 1965. They state that witnesses during the trial lied about their participation in the assassination. Unlike Hagan, they were not apprehended at the ballroom: Butler was arrested at his home five days later, and Johnson was arrested at his home five days after that, on March 3.

Both men were so well known by members of Malcolm's organization, the Organization of Afro-Amer-

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The Agro-Industrial Plant (right), opened in 1981, is part of the effort to provide jobs and industrialize the Grenadian economy. It provides revenue for 800 small farmers and eighteen state farms by producing tamarind nectar, guava-banana juice, nutmeg jam, and other items.



# Workers and farmers plan Grenada budget

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Close to 1,000 Grenadians gathered here January 29 to attend the first National Conference of Delegates of Mass Organization on the Economy.

The delegates represented the island's ten trade unions, the National Youth Organization and National Women's Organization, and soldiers from the People's Revolutionary Army. About 30,000 people are in these organizations — a startling total of more than 60 percent of Grenada's adult population.

The one-day conference began with an address by Minister of Finance Bernard Coard. It then divided into twenty-five smaller discussion groups, each with a cross-section of the island's workforce and mass organizations.

At a news conference earlier in the week, Coard pointed out that through meetings such as this one, the People's Revolutionary Government hopes to raise the consciousness of Grenadians about their economy, to cut out waste and corruption, and to increase efficiency.

Coard said that "we see the involvement of all of the people of our country in this process. The economy of the country is the business of every Grenadian. The budget and planning process is not a secret that descends from on high once a year in the colonial tradition, but it is the property of all the people. This involvement and discussion with all the people is only the latest, if not the most dramatic, example of what we in Grenada mean by genuine people's democracy."

## Economic achievements

The economic achievements Grenada has made, and the problems still to be overcome, were detailed for the delegates in a forty-four-page report.

While the economies of even the strongest imperialist powers have been declining due to the capitalist economic crisis, Grenada has seen an increase of 10 percent in its gross domestic product — this despite a 6 percent drop in tourism. There was a 5 percent increase in agricultural production, and an increase of 15 percent in exports.

During the first year of the Grenadian revolution, there was a massive 208 percent increase in the amount spent on construction, as new schools, houses, and factories were built. This has continued in 1981, which saw a 68 percent increase in capital investment in the economy.

As Coard told the delegates at the conference, "While imperialism spends all its money on more and more weapons of savagery and destruction, on neutron bombs and missiles, we do the opposite. We build, we construct, we are the makers of the future. For imperialism, 1982 will be one of economic disaster. Our 1982, comrades — and let us proclaim it proudly — is one of economic construction."

Another contrast with what is hap-

pening in the imperialist countries is that in revolutionary Grenada real wages are rising. In 1981 wages in Grenada rose 17.3 percent, compared to 14.5 percent for inflation.

## Democracy and planning

The conference marked the halfway stage in the process of national debate on the 1982 budget. For the last two months, members of the revolutionary government have been explaining the problems of the economy to the various mass organizations. The conference was to allow maximum feedback from these organizations. The next stage will be an analysis of the mass of suggestions made at the conference, and their integration into the final budget.

At the December meeting of the St. George's Parish Council, Bernard Bourne, budget officer in the Ministry of Finance, explained to the 300 workers present the main outlines of the 1982 budget. "The single most important thing about the budget is its democratic preparation," explained Bourne. "This process of democratization did not spring out of nowhere. It began in 1979, when for the first time heads of departments and workers participated. In 1981 the unions were involved, and in 1982 the broad mass of the people will be involved."

"The second main feature is planning. Of course it is the first attempt at such a plan. The plan will initially be for one year. We must remember that in the first year of the revolution we saw planning from day to day, in 1980 from month to month, and in 1981 we consolidated that monthly planning. Planning is essential."

During December, thousands of Grenadian workers heard similar reports on planning and the outline of the budget. These parish council meetings were followed up by meetings in the workplaces. At Grenlec, the island's electrical generating plant, all the workers were involved in budget discussions.

## Discussion at Grenlec

On the morning of December 15, Bernard Coard spoke for an hour to the assembled Grenlec workers. He explained the country's various accounting systems, and plans for capital expenditure and increased efficiency. He also outlined the role of the U.S. government in blocking aid and loans, especially during May 1981, when Grenada applied to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan toward the costs of building its international airport.

Coard used the example of a small farmer to explain and highlight complex economic problems, and the discussion and question time lasted another hour.

For the next two mornings, officials of the Budget Office and the Ministry of Trade were at Grenlec to answer further questions. All the time, tremendous emphasis was placed on the democratic involvement of the workers. This is a prac-

tical question, as Coard explained, since it is the workers themselves who know best how the company, and country, should be operated.

At the January meeting of the St. George's Parish Council, the economy was the main item on the agenda. Minister of Mass Mobilization Selwyn Strachan told the meeting of plans for special committees to tackle economic problems in the workplace. These plans were placed before the conference of mass organizations last Friday.

Strachan asked the workers to be sure they elect delegates to the conference, and to organize discussions around the printed material that the delegates would receive.

"This year is going to be a really tough year," he told the meeting. "And there can be no skylarking. If we fail to take the economy seriously — and we have to be frank and honest with each other — the revolution will collapse. We cannot have a revolution where our economy is in a shambles. We have to learn from the mistakes of other countries."

"It will be difficult for you to participate in this particular discussion without facts. So comrades, we are going to make sure that every time you turn on the radio, you will be getting those facts."

And the facts have been coming to every worker on the island. "Frank and honest" discussions have been taking

place in every workplace and in the units of the army. The major achievement of the January 29 conference was that the discussion groups, which lasted three hours, were serious forums for an informed people to debate the island's economic problems.

Each group had a government officer to answer questions, and that is all the officials did. The time was open for maximum discussion from the delegates.

One delegate remarked to me that she was pleasantly surprised by the high level of political understanding of the young soldiers who represented the army units. They were active participants in every discussion.

Each group had a secretary, who noted down every idea and criticism made by the participants. Many urged increased use of locally grown crops and cutting waste and inefficiency. The Civil Service, which has remained largely intact since before the revolution, came in for criticism in several groups.

One delegate from each discussion group reported to a plenary meeting.

The discussion is presently being written up for distribution. There will also be a special conference for retired people, and one for small-craftspeople and shopkeepers. The final budget will be presented to the Grenadian people on March 9, which has been declared "Budget Day."

From Intercontinental Press

# Protest cuts at Children's Hospital

BY CARL FINAMORE

OAKLAND, Calif. — More than 250 people picketed Children's Hospital here recently to protest planned cutbacks in essential services.

The demonstration was endorsed by a community health coalition, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 616, Highland Association of Interns and Residents, the Coalition to Fight Infant Mortality, church groups, and others.

The February 1 action was called to express outrage at a change in hospital policy that would deny treatment to children who don't have health insurance or cash on the line. The implementation of this new policy has been shelved for the moment as a result of the protests. The hospital is also proposing to cut back or close down altogether certain outpatient clinics that are used mainly by poor and minority children.

At the same time the hospital announced it would lay off fifty-five workers, some with many years' seniority. More than thirty other workers have had their hours reduced and shuffled. The hospital argues that these lay-offs and cutbacks are the result of almost \$3 million in budget cuts caused by recent reductions in California's payments to medical patients.

However, in private meetings with union representatives, an informed source quoted a hospital administrator

admitting: "The hospitals are not claiming inability to pay their employees; they are simply exercising their right to lay off employees in order to reconstruct their hospitals in a more economic way."

These moves have sparked in-house meetings of over 100 workers at Children's Hospital more than once. SEIU Local 250, the hospital workers union, attempted to obtain an injunction against the hospital to prevent the layoffs. This failed and the union is now reportedly writing a resolution for submission to the Alameda County Central Labor Council requesting backing for this struggle from the entire labor movement.

Pressure has also been building in the community to demand that the city council call a public hearing around the racist nature of both the cutbacks and the layoffs.

Dr. Lew Pepper, a member of the Highland Association of Interns and Residents, told the *Militant*, "Let the administration of Children's Hospital open their financial records from the past ten years and show us where the money has gone."

Dr. Alice Jones, chief medical resident at Highland, commented, "Children's Hospital's new policies demonstrate clearly that Reagan's plan to cut back public services and let the private sector take over is totally unrealistic."



Joe Swanson

Militant/Stu Singer

# Nebraska rail worker discusses need to fight for socialism

Describes changing attitudes of co-workers

BY STU SINGER

Joe Swanson is forty-two years old and has worked on the Burlington Northern railroad ever since he got out of the Marines in 1959. He grew up on a farm near Lincoln, Nebraska, and he's lived in that town ever since he went to work.

He recently joined the Socialist Workers Party. He's been an active and respected leader of the United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 305 for a number of years, although he holds no elected position.

Swanson was in New York recently for a meeting of socialist rail workers from around the country. "I've never seen such changes in people in this country. So many people I'm in contact with — students, rail workers, farmers — are starting to wake up to the facts — they don't believe the lies anymore."

Joe was on the railroad throughout the Vietnam War. He says attitudes about that war changed slowly. The biggest changes were when the young veterans started coming back and hiring on the railroad.

"There were different types. Some didn't talk about the war at all. The ones who did and said they liked it sounded crazy. People stayed away from them. The other veterans were against it. They convinced other people. One guy who came on the railroad had spoken in Washington at some meetings against the war as soon as he got out of the service.

"But I think antiwar sentiment is deeper right now than it ever was during the Vietnam War. The ones who used to argue for the war, now keep quiet. The ones who used to keep quiet, now say they don't want another war. They say their kids are not going to fight in El Salvador.

"I see the old ones shaking their heads when they read Haig's latest statement threatening to send troops.

"El Salvador is closer to home. A lot of people are realizing now what happened in Vietnam."

## Labor and farmers

Many rail workers in Nebraska, like Joe, come from farm families. Some have farms now. They hold on to them by working jobs and then going home and working the farm.

"When I was a kid, the farmers believed organized labor was the problem. They thought workers were making too much money, pushing up the prices of what farmers have to buy.

"Then I got into labor and they said the problem was farmers. With all their big, expensive equipment, they were pushing up food prices. But farmers and workers have changed their thinking. Now there's a lot less of blaming each other.

"Capitalism is the problem. People who wouldn't talk to me when I used to say that, now listen and tend to agree."

Swanson said that farmers are getting more involved in political activity. He spoke at a rally recently at the

Nebraska State House. It was against budget cuts, and a number of farmers were there. "They said they liked what I had to say and invited me to speak at a farmers' meeting."

A well-known Nebraska farmer, Merle Hansen, who heads the state organization of the U.S. Farmers Association, has been speaking at meetings against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and around other political issues. At an El Salvador meeting in Kansas City where Joe saw Hansen speak, "the response was terrific. There was a representative from the FDR of El Salvador and someone from Grenada. They sat taking notes as Merle spoke. I guess they never knew there were farmers in this country who would talk like that."

## Unions and politics

In the mid 1960s Swanson got active in his union. He started going to union meetings and encouraging other workers to do the same. There was a safety issue he and many other workers wanted to take action around. The Hobson Yard where they worked is the main rail yard in Lincoln. It was in terrible shape. "We felt it should be fixed up. Not just for us, but for all the people who lived around the yard. A serious accident was just waiting to happen.

"We proposed bringing in federal inspectors to enforce the standards required for a Class I yard like Hobson.

"Some of the older workers were against it. They were afraid the inspectors would order the yard closed and we'd lose jobs. That gives you an idea of how bad conditions were. But the young workers wanted it changed — no matter what the risks were.

"We got other young workers to start coming to union meetings and we did call in the federal inspectors. We forced through improvements in conditions."

## Identifies with youth

Joe Swanson says his political ideas have been influenced a lot by his children. He says he's always looked to young people and often identifies more with twenty-year-olds than their parents, who are his own age.

There was a bar in Lincoln where he and other railroaders used to hang out. A group of young people who were in a group called the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC) used to hang out there too. They had an influence on Joe and his friends in the early 1970s.

The RMCers moved from Lincoln, but they stayed in touch. In 1977 the RMC fused with the Socialist Workers Party, and in that process his old friends from Lincoln introduced Joe to the *Militant*.

He started reading it regularly and ordered a small bundle to sell.

In 1980 a group of unionists organized the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Swanson and other rail workers from Lin-

coln got involved in this union-backed antinuclear formation.

There are two nuclear power plants operating in Nebraska, "but Nebraskans are real conscious of the environment and open spaces and blue skies. So there was opposition to nuclear power."

A contingent from Lincoln went to the first national Labor Conference on Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh in October 1980. When a national demonstration was called for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in March 1981 on the anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident, Joe's UTU local and other unions backed it and sent representatives to Harrisburg.

When the second Labor Safe Energy Conference was held late last year in Gary, Indiana, again a delegation of Lincoln rail workers and others participated.

Opposition to nuclear power is becoming of more immediate concern in Lincoln now, especially for rail workers. Plans were recently announced to move radioactive shipments of nuclear waste from the Brownville atomic power plant through Lincoln by train.

"Many people are really mad about that. There had been assurances for years that the nuclear plant had enough storage capacity for radioactive wastes through the end of the century. Then all of a sudden they announced that trains will go right through town carrying the wastes. A shipment is supposed to go through every two months starting in September.

"People who disagreed with us before on the nuclear power issue are changing their minds."

## Labor party, Solidarity Day

Joe Swanson says he is very encouraged by the prospects for building a labor party. "The response to the PATCO [Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization] strike was a step forward. We had 200 people turn out in Lincoln to support PATCO.

"But when [AFL-CIO President Lane] Kirkland joined Haig and Reagan in calling demonstrations around Poland, they hardly got anybody to participate. At the Poland rallies they called for January 30, only fifteen people showed up here, and they were mostly union bureaucrats.

"I think people see through Reagan. He breaks the PATCO strike and then claims to support workers in Poland. Workers here aren't fooled by that."

When the top leadership of the rail unions called demonstrations throughout the country on April 29, Joe and some other workers in Lincoln helped organize a contingent to participate in the Washington rally. They drove the 1,400 miles each way and were inspired by the militancy of the 25,000 other rail workers they met.

A similar thing happened on a bigger scale around the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington called by the AFL-CIO. A

larger contingent, again led by the rail workers, drove to Washington.

"We talk about a labor party a lot. I always raise PATCO and ask where were the Democrats and Republicans who say they are friends of labor when PATCO was attacked?

"No one can name a single Democrat or Republican politician who backed PATCO. It really makes people think. It's a strong argument for why we need a labor party.

"The union bureaucrats are trying to turn attention to the Democrats. But the workers have seen both sides of the coin. It seems like the same head and the same tail. It used to be that people felt the Democrats were more pro-labor. But not after seeing Carter.

"If there was a labor party, it would get people involved.

"At a union meeting recently, one of the officials said they were having trouble finding a candidate to support for a state-wide race. He suggested that maybe we should run a labor person. I don't know what will come of that, but the bureaucrats have a real problem trying to push votes for the Democrats."

## The Russian revolution

Joe Swanson is a fairly recent member of the Socialist Workers Party, but being a rebel and an agitator is not new to him.

"I always used to take on other workers for racist remarks. A lot of the things that are part of the socialist program are ideas I have held for a long time. It's the same for other workers.

"The most basic idea is that the workers should run the country. Well, everyone on the railroad knows it's the workers who run the railroad. The bosses are useless. I think it's the same in every industry and the same for the government as a whole."

One of the socialists Joe ran into in Lincoln in the early 1970s gave him a book on labor history. "It really opened my eyes. They never taught us the history of workers in school. It just made me look at things differently. Reading about how workers were treated in this country made me interested in reading about revolutions. I read about the Russian revolution. You could see it was a workers revolution."

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance members in Lincoln are beginning some educational programs. They hope to further educate themselves and to win some more rail workers, students, and hopefully some farmers and other people to their ranks.

February 6 and 7 they had a successful program including a forum and some classes. The forum featured Dick Roberts, who wrote the book *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization*. There were also speakers from a number of rail unions in Lincoln including the UTU, Firemen and Oilers, Maintenance of Way, and also the Lincoln Coalition of Rail Crafts.



## How the revolution in Russia inspired socialists in America

The following is the first chapter in *Revolutionary Continuity: The Communist Years*. This book, to be published by Monad Press, is the second volume of a history by Farrell Dobbs of the development of Marxist leadership in the United States. The first volume, *Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years (1848-1917)*, appeared in 1980.

Dobbs has been a Marxist since 1934. A leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes, he was the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to organize over-the-road drivers. He served thirteen months in federal penitentiary in Sandstone, Minnesota, for his opposition to World War II.

Dobbs was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960. He was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party from 1953 to 1972.

The chapter we are reprinting is titled, "A Reinspired Left Wing."

BY FARRELL DOBBS

When the United States government entered the First World War in April 1917 it took coercive measures to enforce compliance by the population with its imperialist course. Compulsory military service was imposed. Federal sedition laws were amended with the passage of the Espionage Act, which severely restricted civil liberties and served as the main legal instrument for government attacks on antiwar militants.

Political cops raided the headquarters of workers' political organizations and trade unions. Homes of workers were invaded as well. Their families were harassed. Records and literature were seized. Arrests, and often imprisonment, followed on frame-up charges of obstructing the military draft. The foreign born became a special target as deportations were used more and more as a weapon of intimidation. Anti-German chauvinism was fostered on a mass scale.

An even more brutal crackdown, including in some cases the imposition of martial law, became the order of the day in Washington's colonial possessions such as Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

Press censorship was instituted and authorities banned numerous issues of radical publications from the mails. At the same time the government encouraged extralegal suppression of the peace movement as part of a general antiradical crusade.

Mobs terrorized opponents of the war — socialists, pacifists, and syndicalists alike. Businessmen were praised for arming themselves. Racist assaults and lynchings increased. Vigilante gangs ransacked various trade union centers, broke strikes in the name of "patriotism," and in Butte, Montana, lynched a union organizer, Frank Little.

Under such reactionary pressures the once-massive peace movement was reduced to a scattering of individuals who maintained a stand as conscientious objectors to military service; and class-collaborationist tendencies within the labor movement capitulated, one after another, to the imperialist government. Despite such defections, however, many of the nation's toilers remained opposed to the war. What they needed in order to do something about it was a means of politically asserting themselves in a collective manner.

### Leadership default

It was possible for organized labor, if competently led, to forge an alliance with working farmers and launch a strong antiwar campaign. But the workers were handicapped by a general leadership default. Right-wing and centrist leaders in the labor movement were betraying them, and none of the left-wing tendencies had a program that pointed the way toward an effective defense of the toilers' interests.

Only a small minority of the workers were

### The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

Vol. I, No. 1 Saturday, November 16, 1918 Price 2 Cents

#### There Shall Not Be A New War—Against Socialism!

In these most glorious of all glorious days in history, when thrones and capitalism are crumbling and the workers are determining to become the masters of the world, the glory of it all is the despair and the gloom of the tyrants of capital and industry everywhere, who feel their supremacy tottering to its end.

With the coming of peace come new and mightier problems, new and mightier social struggles. With the coming of peace comes the threat of a new war against socialism in Germany and in Russia.

The buccannery of capitalism have for one year been proposing that Socialism in Russia should be crushed. They have been proposing that a huge army should be sent to Russia to crush the Workers' and Peasants' Government, the greatest event in the history of the world, the first time that the common people, the producers, were the conscious masters of industry, of government, of society.

These very same buccannery, through the newspapers, are now mobilizing public opinion for a new war against Socialism, revolutionary Socialism, conquer definitely in Germany.

For in spite of slanders and lies, in spite of abuse about "anarchy," it is Socialism that is conquering in Russia, and it is Socialism that is conquering in Germany. It is this Socialism that the horrible press of capitalism objects to, and it is against this Socialism that it proposes to wage war.

If these proposals were held the government, if a new

peace, the black cross of American journalism united in a chorus against the Revolution in Germany and Austria, united in infamous proposals for a new war to maintain "order" in Russia and Germany, which means to assist the junkies and the capitalists against the workers and Socialism.

Where these men should have a heart, they have a dollar mark. Where these men should have a brain to use for humanity and progress, they have a brain to use for capitalism and reaction. Where these men should use the pen for the people, they use the pen for the masters of the people.

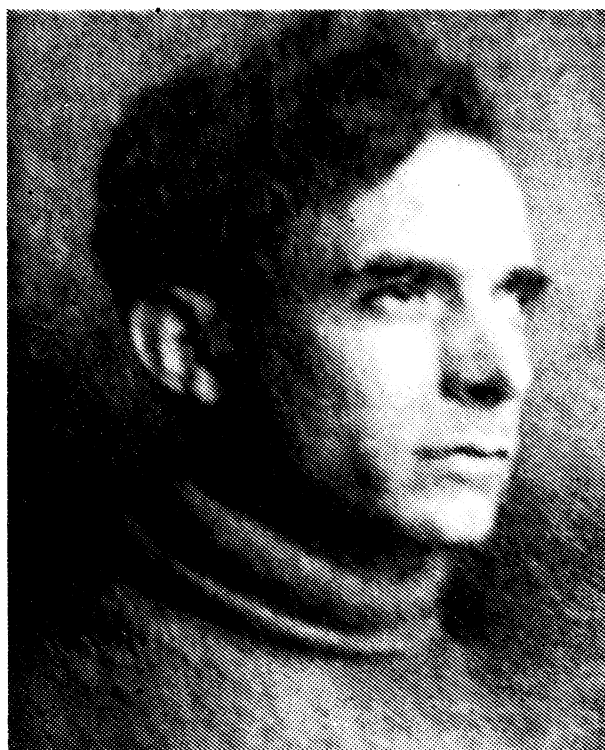
Two days before the abdication of the Kaiser, the Boston "Post" suggested that it might be necessary to keep autocrats in Germany in control for some time longer.

Four days before the Kaiser's abdication, the New York "Evening Sun" declared that it might be necessary for the Allies and the United States to become an ally of the German Government to crush "disorder" and "anarchy" in Germany.

These proposals are general.

This mobilization of public opinion is active and general. The men who write, but do not fight, are eager for a new war to protect capitalism in Germany, to restore capitalism in Russia.

For four and a half years, these newspapers have been damning the Kaiser, now many openly suggest while



November 16, 1918, issue of *Revolutionary Age* denounced imperialist attempts to crush the socialist revolution in Russia. Under the editorship of Louis Fraina, *Revolutionary Age* became the main organ of the Socialist Party left wing in the United States. Fraina later became a founder of American communism.

unionized. Moreover, they belonged mainly to the American Federation of Labor (AFL), headed by Samuel Gompers, which centered on the organization of the skilled trades, ignoring the great mass of unskilled and semiskilled workers in basic industry. The Gompers bureaucracy, which ruled the organization with an iron hand, supported the imperialist war unconditionally. Its class-collaborationist policies, implemented without any consultation with the union membership, included proclamation of a wartime no-strike pledge; acceptance of military conscription, which many of the AFL ranks opposed; and collusion with the capitalist government in repression of the peace movement and stepped-up attacks on Black and the foreign born.

Back in 1905 left-wing socialists and syndicalists had cooperated in forming the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Their aim was to replace the narrow AFL-craft union setup with an industrial union movement through which they intended to organize the basic industries. They had set out to make the new movement "revolutionary" from the start; that is, they had envisaged a great leap by the workers from a generally unorganized condition, even in trade unions, to readiness for a revolutionary struggle to overturn the capitalist system. This kind of ultraleftism was, of course, doomed to failure. Basic industry remained unorganized, and industrial workers remained defenseless. By 1917 the IWW had retreated and survived only as a small and ineffective organization based primarily on itinerant workers in the western part of the country.

### IWW leaders reject political struggle

The syndicalists had won unchallenged leadership of the IWW soon after it was founded. They had then steered the ranks into rejection of all "politics." This included turning their backs on the urgent task of working toward the construction of a mass labor party in the course of which a revolutionary proletarian vanguard party could be constructed. Instead, strikes in various industries were conducted more or less as dress rehearsals for a nationwide general strike through which the workers were to seize the workplace and use this economic power to transform society.

Although the IWW leaders firmly opposed U.S. participation in the war, they had no perspective for a political struggle against the imperialists. Under their guidance the IWW members, courageous in their opposition to the imperialist war and crackdown, could do little more than oppose the conscription of workers into the armed forces, go to jail when drafted, maintain a militant course in industry, and look toward intensification of the class struggle after the war ended.

The Socialist Party (SP) held an emergency convention in April 1917 shortly after Congress declared war on Germany. The assembled delegates were divided in their views. On one side a majority bloc of left-wing militants, centrists, and Christian pacifists advocated opposition to U.S. involvement in the military conflict. On the other a right-wing minority of reformists put forward what amounted to a pro-war line. After heated debate a formal decision was pushed through the gathering condemning the congressional action and calling upon the workers to withhold their support from the imperialists.

### SP: an all-inclusive formation

As the political composition of the convention delegations revealed, the SP was an all-inclusive formation open to anyone who in any way professed a belief in socialism. This was a result of the absence of a political strategy of revolutionary proletarian party building, a fatal flaw which the SP shared with all other parties of the Second International except the Russian Bolsheviks. Contradictions flowing from

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

such political disorientation had been deforming the class character of the party since its inception in 1901. Across that 16-year period workers in the ranks had been gradually elbowed aside by an expanding component of petty-bourgeois members. The SP had failed to develop as a combat party of the proletariat whose goal was to lead the kind of revolutionary struggle against all aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression that could lead to the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

Instead, it had degenerated into a reformist caricature of a socialist vanguard which was utterly incapable of opposing imperialism. Under those circumstances the antiwar resolution of the emergency convention failed to set in motion a vigorous antiwar campaign that would be one part of a deepening class-struggle strategy. The convention decision simply accelerated an exposure of the party's internal contradictions. It began to come apart at the seams under wartime pressures. Petty-bourgeois members, few of whom had in any sense become Marxists, streamed out of the SP.

Although remaining within the party, the right-wing minority tendency publicly carried out its own line in defiance of the convention decision. It called upon the government to adopt a "constructive" program for a negotiated peace, a course that soon led to open support of the imperialist "war for democracy."

No disciplinary action was taken against the minority for this disloyal act, and other tendencies in the SP were also allowed to proceed entirely on their own, setting whatever policies they chose. As a result there was no distinct Socialist Party stand on the war.

Christian pacifists in the party ranks, who were part of the antiwar majority bloc, were morally opposed to the use of force and violence. They wanted only to see the fighting ended. They had no conception of the class-struggle issues involved in the fight against imperialism, no awareness that lasting peace could be achieved only by abolishing the capitalist system, and no understanding that the fight against imperialist war could only be effectively conducted by the working class if it was part of a political strategy aimed at establishing a workers' and farmers' government. These political shortcomings caused them to fall into the ruling-class trap. Before long they shifted their line to advocacy of a "democratic" peace to be negotiated by the warmakers.

## Bourgeois pacifists crumble

Since the outbreak of the European war in 1914 centrist leaders in the SP had identified themselves with the massive popular opposition to U.S. involvement in the conflict. But in keeping with their vacillatory traits an opportunist course had been substituted for a class-struggle course. The party ranks were steered into support of the bourgeois pacifist-led peace movement and away from helping to organize meaningful working-class action in opposition to the U.S. imperialists. With U.S. entry into the war in 1917, the bourgeois pacifists crumbled. The capitalists launched a vicious attack on what remained of the peace movement, and the reign of terror that followed generated a reactionary political climate. Increased lynchings of Blacks, chauvinist attacks on the foreign born, and antilabor assaults were winked at if not openly encouraged by the most prominent ruling-class figures. Feeling this heavy pressure, the centrists moved further and further to the right. They began by supporting the advocates of a negotiated peace and went on from there to follow what in effect became a pro-war line.

As the bloc formed at the 1917 Socialist Party emergency convention rapidly disintegrated, the left-wing militants in the SP stood virtually alone in continuing the struggle against imperialism. The left wing was composed mainly of two categories of workers: native-born trade unionists identifying with Eugene V. Debs, and foreign-born workers belonging to language federations affiliated with the party. Many of the foreign-born workers had come to this country with some grasp of Marxist strategy and tactics previously acquired in their native lands, and



Some of the delegates at the April 1917 emergency convention of the Socialist Party, held shortly after Congress declared war on Germany. Antiwar resolution adopted by the convention accelerated division between the party's left and right wings, and resulted in no campaign against the war.

these revolutionary-minded workers constituted a growing component of the party membership.

These left-wing socialist militants united in an effort to organize an antiwar struggle within the AFL. At the outset they got a substantial response in the trade union ranks, including some backing in the lower echelons of the AFL officialdom. But the cumulative effect of the government's repressive actions, together with the treachery of the proimperialist Gompers bureaucracy, broke the back of the campaign; and the socialist fighters were pushed into a corner, with no prospects of promoting effective mass working-class action against the war.

## Ending capitalism key to ending war

Basic to the SP left wing's difficulties was a failure to perceive that imperialism could be effectively opposed only within the framework of a revolutionary political course to oust the capitalists from power and establish the rule of the workers and their allies. The left-wingers had mistakenly assumed that militarism was the key issue in the fight against war. This view had been given concrete expression through a call for opposition to the conscription of workers into the imperialist armed forces. But the campaign to arouse massive resistance to the draft had failed. As a consequence socialists of draft age could uphold their position only by declaring themselves conscientious objectors to military service on an individual basis, putting them in a comparable situation to IWW militants. Neither the socialists nor the syndicalists could do more than register their opposition to the war in a manner akin to the moral stance taken by individual pacifists. This stood in the way of organizing the working class in collective antiwar action.

These limitations and misconceptions in matters of theory, program, strategy and tactics, and the organizational norms that flowed from them dated back to the founding of the SP and the IWW, as described in the first volume of this work. They had brought the revolutionary vanguard in this country to an impasse.

Then, like a brilliant sunrise, inspiring political light came from the East. On November 7, 1917, the Bolshevik revolution triumphed in Russia. Living proof was thus presented that the workers and their allies could take power out of the hands of the exploiters and wield it in the interests of the toilers on a world scale. And it was shown how this could be done under the leadership of a revolutionary combat party. Once in power, moreover, the Bolshevik regime's first proclamation was that the newly created Soviet Union had removed itself from the international conflict. This provided a concrete demonstration that the working class could put an end to imperialist wars of conquest, and the Russian example gave fresh impetus to proletarian struggles against the capitalist rulers throughout the world.

## Russian revolution inspires U.S. radicals

In the United States all wings of the radical movement were inspired by the proletarian victory in Russia. At the outset support of the Soviet Union was expressed by widely divergent political tendencies rang-

ing from many reformists in the SP to the anarcho-syndicalists in the IWW. Pro-Soviet sentiments were also manifested amongst militants in the AFL. Their instinctive sense of class kinship with the Russian revolutionists was articulated by Eugene V. Debs, the foremost socialist agitator of the time, who proclaimed himself a Bolshevik.

Antiwar forces backed the Soviet government's proposal to all imperialist belligerents for an immediate peace with no annexations of territory or indemnities. To serve that end a broad formation called Friends of the Russian Revolution was established in the United States in December 1917. It used the Soviet peace proposal as the basis for intensified propaganda against the imperialist war.

A campaign was launched to press for diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the U.S. government. Two organizations devoted to this objective were established early in 1918. One of these was the Russian Soviet Recognition League, which sought the widest possible support on that single issue. The other formation was narrower in character. It was set up by left-wingers in the SP under the name American Bolshevik Bureau of Information, and its central purpose was to refute capitalist lies about the Soviet Republic.

President Woodrow Wilson refused, however, to recognize the Soviet government. Instead, he linked up with the British, French, Japanese, and other ruling classes in joint support of Russian counterrevolutionaries who had launched a civil war against the Bolshevik regime. As part of that reactionary alliance imperialist armed forces invaded the Soviet Union, United States troops among them.

Wilson's actions brought a storm of protest from within the working-class movement. Not only political radicals but also many trade unionists rallied around the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia" in united efforts to defend the workers' state against capitalist attack. In October 1919 longshoremen in Seattle made their support concrete when they refused to load fifty freight cars of rifles onto government-chartered ships bound for the counterrevolutionary armies.

## Labor bureaucrats support war on Russia

Top AFL officials, whose collaboration with the capitalist rulers knew no bounds, took the contrary position. They opposed recognition of the Bolshevik government or economic relations with it; supported the imperialist intervention in Russia; differentiated themselves from the Soviet peace proposal; and joined forces with class-collaborationist leaders of West European trade unions in efforts to spike an in-

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The left-wing militants in the Socialist Party stood virtually alone in continuing the struggle against imperialism.  
”

ternational upsurge of the peace movement, which had been stimulated by the Russian revolution.

This marked a new stage in a process that had begun in 1913 when the AFL, together with British, French, and German trade unionists, had taken the initiative in forming the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). The declared aim of the federation was to establish international labor solidarity, but this high purpose was negated from the beginning by the organization's program. Affiliated unions were to restrict themselves entirely to economic issues. They were to refrain from independent labor political action and to stand aloof from the socialist movement.

Contradictions inherent in this class-collaborationist outlook asserted themselves the following year when World War I broke out. Right-wing Socialists who dominated the leadership of the European trade unions supported their respective capitalist governments and helped to regiment the workers for use as cannon fodder in the imperialist slaughter. Any pretense of maintaining international labor solidarity went by the boards as IFTU affiliates lined up on opposite sides of the battle lines.

Parallel with that development the Gompersites in the AFL, who took their cue from the Wilson administration, adopted an anti-German stance. By the time the United States entered the war in 1917 they

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had become out-and-out jingoists, who reacted accordingly in the aftermath of the Russian revolution. Gompers himself went to Europe in 1918 to help combat rising antiwar sentiment among British, French, and Italian workers. He called for "peace" through military victory over Germany and he urged the workers to continue giving their all in the imperialist war. This move on Gompers's part was, of course, merely an extension abroad of the AFL hierarchy's course in backing an intensified assault on the antiwar movement and class-struggle-minded workers at home.

#### Bosses attack 'Bolshevik terrorism'

Since early 1918 capitalist newspapers and boss-minded preachers in the United States had been linking opponents of the war with "Bolshevik terrorism," along with the usual "German agent" accusations. This smear attack both encouraged extralegal attacks against the oppressed and was used as a cover by the government to launch a new wave of police raids, indictments, and arrests. As part of the stepped-up repressions, further twists were soon added in the framing of indictments. The Espionage Act was amended so as to make it a felony either to "attempt" obstruction of the military draft or to use "abusive language" about the government.

Censorship of the radical press became more sweeping than ever. Issue after issue was withheld from distribution by the post office, and cancellation of second-class mailing rights was increasingly used to place heavy new financial burdens upon radical papers. The governmental curbs became so severe that a number of periodicals were literally suppressed.

Among the individuals victimized in the newly intensified witch-hunt was Rose Pastor Stokes, a prominent Socialist Party member. In March 1918 she criticized Wilson's war policy at a public meeting in Kansas City, Missouri. Stokes was then indicted on "subversive" charges, tried in federal court, and found guilty. She received a 10-year prison sentence, which her supporters in the labor and socialist movements succeeded in having overturned only in 1920.

Shortly after Stokes's indictment five national officials of the SP were indicted for alleged obstruction of the draft and enlistment services. Included were Victor L. Berger, the party's main right-wing leader, along with I. Louis Engdahl, Adolph Germer, William Kruse, and Irwin St. John Tucker. The five were brought to trial in Chicago before Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, a notorious labor-hater. All were declared guilty and sentenced to 20 years in federal prison. They were then released on bond pending appeal of the convictions.

#### Socialist denied seat in Congress

Later in 1918 Berger was elected to Congress from a Wisconsin district. But the House of Representatives denied him his seat on the ground that he had been convicted of violating the Espionage Act. A special election was then held in Berger's congressional district, and his constituents again put him in office. Once more, however, the House refused to seat him, even though the war had by that time ended. It was only after his reelection in 1922 that Berger was allowed to take his seat.

Meanwhile, around a hundred leading militants of the IWW were brought before the same Judge Landis in another witch-hunt trial. They had been indicted under the Espionage Act in 1917 and were included among a larger number of IWW members arrested during federal police raids at that time. Among those now put on trial were the organization's general secretary, William D. Haywood, together with members of the general executive board, secretaries of industrial unions, organizers and propagandists, editors and writers. The nation was being presented with the spectacle of a mass trial, completely rigged to frame up the defendants as "conspirators."

There were five counts in the indictment: conspiracy to prevent, hinder, and delay the execution of the Espionage Act, the Selective Service Act, and other war acts; conspiracy to injure citizens selling munitions to the government; conspiracy to induce draft eligibles not to register and soldiers to desert the army; conspiracy to cause insubordination and disloyalty in the military and naval forces of the United States; and conspiracy to defraud employers of labor by circulating propaganda through the mails. The latter count was so outrageous, so patently devised to protect the open-shop bosses from the trade union movement, that it was thrown out and the charges were confined to the other four counts.

The IWW trial opened at Chicago in April 1918 and lasted over four months. During the proceedings it became increasingly evident that the government's central target was the organization's very right to ex-



Native-born U.S. workers identifying with Eugene Debs (above) were one major component of Socialist Party left wing. The other was foreign-born workers. Government witch-hunters jailed Debs for over three years after his June 1918 antiwar speech in Canton, Ohio.

### “The Bolshevik regime's first proclamation was that the Soviet Union had removed itself from the international conflict.”

ist. The Espionage Act was being used to smash a militant trade union. A biased jury — petty-bourgeois in composition, pro-war in outlook, and politically incapable of weighing the basic issues involved — found the defendants guilty. They were handed prison sentences ranging from short terms for the least prominent union figures to 20 years for the most outstanding leaders. The convictions were appealed and the defendants were released on stiff bail pending the outcome.

During this series of frameups — from the Stokes case to the IWW trial — Debs had played a major role in mobilizing broad support for the victims. Then he, too, fell prey to the witch-hunters. On June 6, 1918, Debs made an antiwar speech before a crowd of 1,200 gathered in a public park in Canton, Ohio. It was a deliberate act of defiance, courageously executed in a calculated attempt to promote widening opposition to the government attack on democratic rights. Within two weeks the federal authorities took the step Debs had expected. He was indicted under the Espionage Act for "attempting" to cause insubordination, mutiny, disloyalty, and refusal of duty within the military forces of the United States; and for using "abusive language" about the government.

The capitalist propagandists then went to work, denouncing the socialist leader as a "Bolshevik terrorist," a "traitor," and a "German agent." These slanders produced to a significant extent the results Debs had anticipated. Thousands upon thousands of people, who had no socialist leanings, respected Debs as an honest, sincere fighter for all the exploited and oppressed. They were outraged by the vicious accusations made against him, and letters in his defense poured in to his defense committee from all parts of the country.

But the Wilson administration was not deterred by the rising groundswell of protest against the harsh treatment of those who opposed its war policy. On

September 9, 1918, Debs was put on trial in federal court in Cleveland, Ohio. Government witnesses testified about remarks he had allegedly made at the Canton meeting and stressed that the audience contained men of draft age. The defense presented no witnesses of its own. It admitted, in effect, the antiwar character of the Canton speech, denied that anything said was criminal, and argued that the Espionage Act violated the Bill of Rights.

Debs himself made the final defense plea to the jury. He argued for his right to oppose a war he thought unjust and voiced his support of all others who had exercised this right during the war. The socialist leader went on from there in his courtroom address to call upon the workers of all countries to stop murdering one another for the profit of the capitalist ruling classes.

After the prosecutor's summation of the charges the case went to the jury, which consisted entirely of males. The youngest was 58, and all were white and persons of considerable wealth. The judge instructed them to find Debs not guilty on the "abusive language" charge and to render a verdict only on those counts in the indictment concerning "attempted" obstruction of the draft. The jury found Debs guilty on the latter counts. He was then sentenced to 10 years in prison and released on bond while appealing the verdict.

On March 10, 1919 — a few months after the fighting in Europe was over — the U. S. Supreme Court upheld Debs's conviction. He was incarcerated briefly in a West Virginia state penitentiary, and then was transferred to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, where he remained until the end of 1922.

The governmental assault upon the radical movement had been fiercer than ever during 1918. It failed, nevertheless, to break the spirit of left-wing militants in the Socialist Party. They persisted in their opposition to the imperialist war and in their defense of the Soviet Union. They also tried to absorb the lessons of the Bolshevik victory in Russia so as to strengthen the revolutionary struggle against capitalism here at home.

#### Inadequate knowledge of scientific socialism

Unfortunately, though, the pro-Bolshevik SP members were politically handicapped by inadequate knowledge of scientific socialism. Few English translations of Marxist literature were available to them. Unlike earlier generations of worker rebels, they had no direct help from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in building the revolutionary movement. Aid of that kind had come to an end when Engels died in 1895, after having outlived Marx by 12 years. During the two decades following Engels's death influence from abroad became more and more that of the reformist and centrist misleaders in the Second International. Not much, if anything, was known here about the writings of V. I. Lenin, the foremost Russian Bolshevik revolutionary, who sought to reinstate genuine Marxism at the very center of proletarian party building. Thus from the founding of the Socialist Party of America in 1901 the left wing had to proceed more or less on its own in shaping a political strategy.

In those circumstances the socialist militants were unable to develop a clear Marxist strategy for the conquest of power by the working class. Instead, they embraced mistaken theories, unrealistic strategic concepts, and sectarian tactics.

#### Lacked transitional approach

Around 1905 many of them adopted the ultraleft position that struggles to improve the workers' immediate situation were purely reformist in character and an obstacle to revolutionary action. At that point they linked up with the syndicalists in an attempt to revolutionize the trade union movement at a forced pace through the IWW. No transitional process was envisaged to help the workers learn political lessons from their day-to-day battles with the bosses and build a class-struggle left wing within the organized trade union movement capable of transforming it. It was simply taken for granted that radical leaders could guide the union ranks straight from battles with the bosses into a revolutionary offensive against the whole capitalist system.

Adoption of this ultraleft course resulted in serious weakening of the SP's left wing. During the next few years increasing numbers of socialist militants, consisting primarily of native-born workers, went all the way over to syndicalism. Only a small group of revo-

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lutionists stayed in the party, and few of them perceived the need for a Marxist political vanguard to lead the masses to think socially and act politically, to generalize proletarian socialist conclusions from every manifestation of the class struggle. In the main the left-wing militants held semisyndicalist views, considering the party little more than a propaganda instrument acting in support of revolutionary unions through which labor was expected to take power.

On balance, a dominant role was ceded to the syndicalists in the trade union field; the centrists and reformists were allowed a virtually free hand in the political sphere; and the relatively few revolutionary socialists saw no clear way out of this morass.

Within the Socialist Party itself no further change of real significance occurred until the European war started in 1914. At that juncture the struggle to keep

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**The pro-Bolshevik SP members were handicapped by inadequate knowledge of scientific socialism. Few English translations of Marxist literature were available to them.**”

the United States out of the imperialist holocaust became the major issue in the internal party conflict, and the experiences that followed made the true nature of social reformism abundantly clear to many worker militants. Faint-hearted petty-bourgeois members, who constituted the main component of the SP's reformist majority, deserted the organization. Leading right-wing socialists openly sabotaged the antiwar movement. Centrists in the party did likewise in a roundabout way designed to conceal their innate treachery at critical points in the class struggle. In one or another manner the reformists moved toward outright capitulation to the imperialists.

#### Role of foreign-born workers

Only the revolutionary socialists remained firmly opposed to the war, and their intransigent stand enabled them to gain reinforcements at an accelerating rate. Most of the new support came from antiwar militants among the foreign-born workers. They joined the SP's language federations where many of them lined up immediately with the left wing. In terms of total SP membership this compensated in part for petty-bourgeois defections. At the same time the combination of petty-bourgeois losses and proletarian growth altered the party's class composition in a manner that strengthened the revolutionists.

The language federations played a special role in still another respect. They helped introduce members of the Socialist Party to theoretical concepts advanced by European socialists who were trying to formulate a revolutionary alternative to social reformism. But even the most committed of these revolutionists were floundering.

#### Rosa Luxemburg's views

One of the most farsighted of the revolutionists in Europe was Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the German and Polish Social Democratic parties. Her views were shaped by two decisive experiences in the class struggle. One was her years of struggle against the reformist and centrist leaders of the German party and trade unions, who she correctly saw were stifling the anticapitalist initiative and combativity of the working class. The second was her participation in the revolutionary upheaval of 1905-06 in her native Poland, which was part of the Russian empire, and one of the centers of the revolution.

The most important revolutionary conclusions that Luxemburg drew from 1905 she shared with Lenin and other Bolsheviks; with Leon Trotsky, the most prominent leader of the working class in Russia outside the Bolshevik party; and with Karl Kautsky, a leader of the centrist current in the German Social Democratic Party and the most famous European Marxist of the day.

Together with them, Luxemburg pointed to the mass political strikes that had erupted spontaneously



**President Woodrow Wilson abandoned campaign pledge to keep United States out of First World War, then committed U.S. forces to imperialist invasion of revolutionary Russia. Below, American troops in Siberia.**

and spread throughout Russia as an indispensable weapon of revolutionary struggle of the working class. Understanding how that massive political strike wave developed, how the consciousness of millions of workers changed and grew as the struggles of 1905 unfolded, was key to charting an effective revolutionary strategy.

In writing about 1905 Luxemburg was most concerned to bring these lessons home for the German workers. She centered her polemical fire on the conservative leaders of the German trade unions especially. She counterposed the revolutionary mass political strikes of 1905 to the timid threats sometimes made by leaders of the German party to call a political strike as a pressure tactic designed to win a parliamentary concession.

She also counterposed the massive strike wave that had spread throughout the Russian empire to the anarcho-syndicalist concept of the general strike as the beginning and end of revolutionary strategy.

Trends comparable to the mass upheaval that led to the 1905 insurrection against tsarism could be expected to develop in other countries, she argued, opening the way for swift, large-scale mobilizations of the workers as an organized political force ready to act along revolutionary lines. Initially, such a movement would have only limited objectives. But further experience acquired during mass confrontations with the capitalists would teach the workers new political lessons, impelling them toward adoption of revolutionary aims.

Should they attempt to stand in the way, reformist and centrist leaders would be swept aside by the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, who would create new forms of organization as necessary.

Therefore, Luxemburg concluded, the Marxists should focus central attention on efforts to speed this overall process. Their objectives should be to infuse socialist content into the program of the spontaneous movement; to promote the building of a mass revolutionary organization as the class struggle grew more intense; and to press toward the overthrow of capitalism.

These revolutionary ideas had a positive side. Class-struggle action by the toiling masses was counterposed to the class-collaborationist line of right-wing socialists who held that capitalism could gradually be transformed into socialism through legislative measures. The building of a mass revolutionary party utilizing all available means to advance class consciousness and providing leadership for all aspects of the political struggle was counterposed to syndicalist concepts.

#### Luxemburg's mass strike strategy

But Luxemburg's outlook also had a negative aspect. Too much credence was given to the hope that the spontaneous creativity of the revolutionary masses would be capable of overcoming all obstacles. Too little weight was given to tirelessly preparing for the coming revolutionary storms by organizing the politically advanced workers into a vanguard party based on a clearly defined program. She rejected Lenin's course and refused to forge a faction of revolutionists within the all-inclusive German social democracy.

For Luxemburg, the mass strike became in essence the entire strategy. For Lenin it was one ingredient of a strategy of proletarian party building.

Thus, Luxemburg was unable to project a way out of the trap of the old minimum-maximum program of the Second International: immediate demands today, socialism as the ultimate goal, but no bridge, no transition from here to there. Conscious, disciplined, politically homogeneous leadership to help guide the working class and its allies, especially the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities, through the transitional stages of the struggle to establish a government of the toilers was discounted.

Attention was diverted away from the task of building Marxist formations, country by country, in order to resolve the leadership crisis resulting from reformist degeneration of the Second International.

In short, Luxemburg missed the essential strategic axis that Lenin saw clearly, and unlike anyone else. In this respect, revolutionists such as she and Trotsky played a centrist role in relation to the Bolshevik leadership.

#### 'Mass action' theories

Others among left-wing socialists in Europe were developing concepts of "mass action" that were anarcho-syndicalist in essence. These currents, centered in Holland especially, had an influence on revolutionists in the U.S. that was more direct and disorienting than Luxemburg's. The "mass action" theorists held that it was necessary to entirely reject the electoral arena and parliamentary forms of working-class opposition to the capitalists. Revolutionists should concentrate on mobilization of the proletariat at the factory level. All means of struggle used should be extra-parliamentary in character, with the workers taking direct action instead of combining this with putting forward candidates of workers' parties and taking advantage of the parliamentary arena to advance revolutionary consciousness. Once capitalism was overturned, moreover, a new proletarian state should not be used as an instrument of workers' power. It could be replaced at once by a changed form of social organization, mass councils that somehow would simply administer the new society.

One of the most articulate exponents of the above line was Anton Pannekoek, a leader of the Dutch Social Democratic Party, who also used the pen name Karl Horner. After the imperialist war started in Europe some of his closest colleagues emigrated to this country and he himself became a frequent contributor to left-wing publications in the United States. Through this medium his writings were quite extensively circulated among militants in the Socialist Party.

#### Pannekoek's influence on U.S. radicals

Evidence of Pannekoek's influence appeared in the line developed by the SP's Lettish federation. This organization's membership was concentrated in the Boston area, and the Lettish revolutionary militants, immigrants from Latvia, had a majority in it. They used that advantage to conduct a political offensive against the reformist wing of the party, beginning with efforts to secure adoption of a strong antiwar stand at the 1915 convention of the Massachusetts SP units.

An official Lettish delegation introduced resolutions at the state gathering calling upon the party to oppose capitalist recruitment of military forces; to resist preparations the U.S. imperialists were making for an invasion of Mexico; to act in solidarity with European socialists struggling against the war; and



to support the movement for a new international.

All these resolutions were rejected by the convention, and shortly thereafter the Letts set up the Socialist Propaganda League (SPL) to facilitate extension of their political campaign on a party-wide scale. In October 1915 the SPL distributed a manifesto addressing a wide range of issues. It clearly reflected the influence of Pannekoek and his Dutch colleagues. Revolutionary socialism was counterposed to reformist opportunism in a generalized way, but then specific political questions were taken up and dealt with in a sectarian fashion. Criticism of reformist preoccupation with immediate demands went in the direction of casting aside this whole aspect of a genuine class-struggle program. Differentiation from reformist practices in the parliamentary sphere took the form of one-sided emphasis on abstractly defined extraparlimentary political action of a mass character. As these views showed, new life was being breathed into ultraleft ideas developed earlier by native-born revolutionists. Under the objective pressures of imperialist war, and the capitulation of the majority of the leadership of the workers' movement internationally, ultraleftism in the U.S. was being fertilized and blooming anew.

The Lettish federation's proposals for the handling of problems within the party itself were similarly carried to self-defeating extremes. The need to eliminate bureaucratic abuses by reformists holding official posts was translated into rejection of centralism as an organizational norm in a revolutionary proletarian party. With the apparent object of acquiring new left-wing forces, the SP was urged to seek organic unity with the Socialist Labor Party, which had fallen into sectarian isolation from the mass movement.

#### Lenin offers fraternal criticisms

A copy of the manifesto issued by the Socialist Propaganda League soon reached Lenin at his place of exile in Switzerland. He responded to it in November 1915 through a friendly letter addressed to the SPL. To be sure it got to a maximum number of American revolutionary workers and not just those party leaders who spoke several languages, Lenin wrote the letter in his own rough English. He hailed the comrades in the United States who were striving to combat opportunism, reaffirm the teachings of Marx and Engels, and restore true internationalism. From the standpoint of that outlook, which they held in common, he then offered fraternal criticisms of some points in the SPL's program.

Although the line adopted by reformists within the Second International should be firmly opposed, Lenin counseled, it was incorrect to say they had placed too much emphasis upon immediate demands and had thereby diluted socialism. Marxists put forth concrete demands aimed at winning real improvements, however small, in the workers' economic and political situation. The fact was that all parties, except the revolutionary party of the working class, were liars and hypocrites when they spoke about reforms, immediate demands, and revolutionary action. Revolutionaries stressed that the durability of any reform wrested from the rulers depended upon continuing revolutionary methods of struggle. As Lenin was to stress many times, reforms are the by-products of revolutionary struggle. If a socialist party did not fight for immediate economic, social, and political demands with revolutionary methods, not only would any reforms wrested eventually be taken back but the party could become a sect. The party could become severed from the masses, and that was the most pernicious menace to the success of revolutionary socialism.

#### Key role of centralized vanguard party

The Bolshevik leader agreed that mass action by the workers should be included when speaking about political action. But it was necessary, he added, to define what was to be understood by "political mass action." His concern about such a formulation evidently centered on the SPL's failure to grasp the central role of the vanguard party in the class struggle as a whole.

Lenin also dealt with an error in the SPL's approach to matters of internal party organization. The Bolsheviks, he emphasized, always defended internal democracy, but they never spoke against centralization of the party. They were for democratic centralism. In any given crisis the masses needed immediate help from the central institutions of the revolutionary party in shaping a correct political course. Therefore, centralism represented a good and strong feature of the movement.

The problem within the parties of the Second International was not centralization, he explained; it



Rosa Luxemburg and V.I. Lenin. The conflicting views of both of these revolutionists influenced the American Socialist Party left wing. Luxemburg's strategy relied heavily on spontaneous strikes by the masses. For Lenin, such strikes were only one ingredient in building a proletarian party of the sort that led the workers and peasants to power in Russia.

“Most SP members wanted a new world alignment: one that provided organizational ties with the Bolsheviks.”

arose from the preponderance of opportunists who had betrayed the workers. Unity with social democrats who supported the war was an evil. The Bolsheviks were for secession from such nationalistic opportunists and for unity with revolutionary Marxists upholding the principles of working-class internationalism. But concerning the question of unifying the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party in the United States, he pointed out, it should be kept in mind that Marx and Engels had condemned the sectarian character of the Socialist Labor Party.

#### Lenin urges opposition to immigration laws

Finally, combining, as he always did, internationalism with the unqualified battle against racism and national oppression, Lenin denounced the “jingo socialism” of the opportunist leaders of the SP who favored restrictions on the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers into the U.S. “We think that one cannot be internationalist and be at the same time in favor of such restrictions,” Lenin told the SP. “And we assert that Socialists in America, especially English Socialists, belonging to the ruling, and oppressing nation, who are not against any restrictions of immigration, against the possession of colonies (Hawaii) and for the entire freedom of colonies, that such Socialists are in reality jingoes.” (See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, pp. 423-28, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.)

At that time Lenin's advice did not have the authority it was to acquire after the Russian revolution two years later. No grasp of his writings — largely unavailable in the United States — was reflected in a further manifesto the Socialist Propaganda League issued at the end of 1916. If anything, the new document was even more ultraleft than the previous one. It rejected all forms of socialist intervention in the electoral arena. “Undivided mass action” was advocated on both the political and industrial planes, with revolutionary unions envisaged as the organizational medium. No mention was made of Chinese or Blacks or other oppressed nationalities and super-exploited layers of the U.S. working class who were special targets of the warmongers and chauvinists. And no mention was made of the struggle for women's suffrage.

#### Reformists set back in 1916 elections

The 1916 manifesto appeared shortly after the U.S. presidential elections in November of that year. This time the reformists had managed to nominate a right-winger, Allan Benson, as the Socialist Party's candidate for president. They had expected their candidate to do better than Debs, a revolutionary, had done as the presidential nominee in previous elections. But the opposite proved to be the case. Benson's vote declined sharply from the support Debs had won at the polls in 1912.

This setback weakened reformist influence within the SP, and in the changed situation the Socialist Propaganda League saw a chance to make some gains in the internal party struggle. Publication of the above manifesto was only the first step taken. In January 1917 the SPL launched its own paper called the *Internationalist*. Unlike the socialist press generally, which printed diverse and contradictory political views, the SPL paper focused on the presentation of left-wing concepts. It was the open organ of a public faction in the party serving two interrelated aims: development of a homogeneous revolutionary programmatic outlook among socialist militants, together with promotion of organizational cooperation between left-wingers throughout the party. Before long the paper's name was changed from the *Internationalist* to the *New Internationalist*, and at that point Louis C. Fraina became the editor.

About the same time another left-wing publication was established under SPL sponsorship. Leon Trotsky, the leading Russian revolutionary outside the Bolshevik Party, spent a brief period in this country during early 1917, and had a hand in its appearance. He stressed the need for a theoretical magazine through which English-speaking militants could be educated in Marxist fundamentals, and his proposal struck a responsive chord. In May 1917 a theoretical magazine, the *Class Struggle*, was founded under the joint editorship of Louis B. Boudin, Ludwig Lore, and Fraina. Of these three, Fraina played the dominant role in using the magazine to develop left-wing theory, program, and strategy.

#### Louis Fraina's role

Fraina, an Italian-American who was later to use the pseudonym Lewis Corey, had joined the Socialist Party in 1909. Soon afterward he had left the SP to

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become a member of the Socialist Labor Party, where he remained until 1914. While in the Socialist Labor Party he had assimilated the semisyndicalist concepts and sectarian approach to the class struggle taught by that party's central leader, Daniel De Leon. Fraina brought this political baggage with him when he rejoined the SP in 1917, having been attracted by the antiwar stand taken by the Socialist Party's left wing after the European conflict began. During the process of this change in party affiliation he had come into contact with the Socialist Propaganda League, which had introduced him to the views of Pannekoek and other ultralefts. Those ideas were blended into his previously acquired De Leonism, and with such an outlook he began to function as principal editor of the left-wing press.

Under Fraina's editorial guidance the *Class Struggle* presented "mass action" concepts intended to fit the situation then existing in the United States. It was done in a manner designed to draw syndicalist militants into support of the strategic course set by left-wing socialists. The political line followed by reformists in the Socialist Party was emphatically repudiated. This reaffirmation of revolutionary socialism was accompanied by fraternal criticism of the syndicalists for their opposition to politics in general. Mass political action by revolutionary unions was called for, and the rise of such a trend in the class struggle was forecast essentially as follows:

It would begin with a spontaneous outbreak of industrial strikes. Experience acquired during those conflicts would impel the mass movement toward higher levels of class consciousness. More and more workers would come to embrace a revolutionary outlook and shape the political course and organizational forms needed at each stage of developments. Then, as this chain reaction continued to unfold, the working class would arrive at the point where it would be ready for an all-out struggle to overturn the capitalist state and abolish the capitalist system.

## Failure to grasp 1917 events in Russia

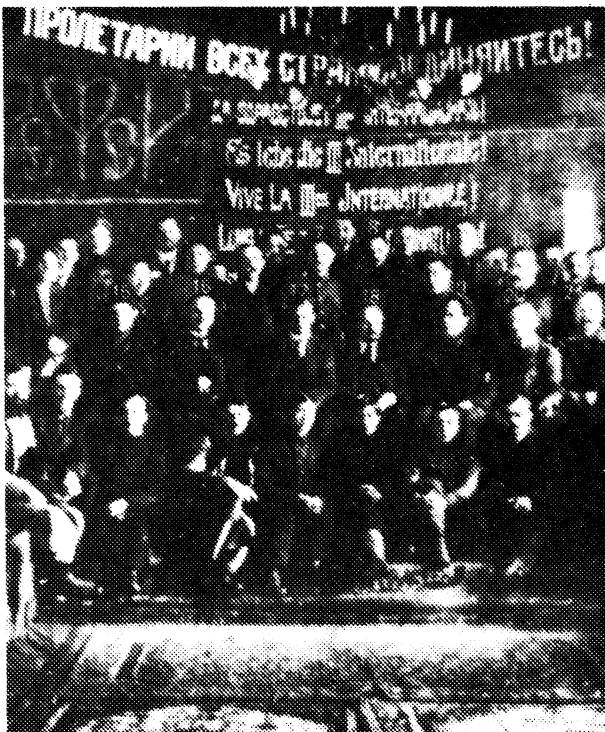
These concepts were so abstract, so divorced from concrete reality, that any upsurge in the class struggle could appear to be the first link in the anticipated chain reaction. Small wonder, therefore, that the SP militants under Fraina's influence failed to grasp the true meaning of the 1917 events in Russia. Their appraisal of the March 1917 revolution focused on the fact that the tsar was overthrown, not through an election, but by means of a spontaneous armed insurrection. At that point reference was made in this country's left-wing press to the "syndicalist-socialist" revolution in Russia. When the Russian toilers organized soviets and through these instruments of struggle and incipient organs of state power took power nine months later, the same U.S. radicals equated those soviets with their idea of revolutionary unions. Little or no perception was manifested of the Bolshevik Party's irreplaceable role in leading the toilers, organized and educated through a complex variety of struggles, to establish a workers' and peasants' government, and the transitional steps that led to that victory.

This type of general evaluation of the Russian achievements was included by Fraina in a number of articles in *Class Struggle*, in pamphlets, and in his 1918 introduction to *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, a book of writings by Lenin and Trotsky which he compiled. He interpreted the Bolshevik victory as verification of the correctness of the policy followed by revolutionary socialists in the United States, and that ultraleft policy was recapitulated in detail.

Fraina also examined the question of the state from the viewpoint of his "mass action" theory. Here he opened the door to the anti-Marxist, anarcho-syndicalist conclusion that revolutionary unions would constitute the main instrument for the reorganization of society after capitalism was overthrown; that they would perform the functions previously allotted to the state, thereby displacing the state as the mechanism for the consolidation of proletarian rule.

## Fraina downplays vanguard role of party

In addition Fraina relegated the proletarian Marxist party to little more than a secondary place in the class struggle. The vanguard role of the Bolshevik Party was virtually confined to the introduction of socialist perspectives into the spontaneous mass move-



'The Russians were about to initiate the organization of a new international.' Official photograph taken at the First Congress of the Communist International, March 1919.

ment. To all intents and purposes leadership in other respects was accorded in advance to the anticipated revolutionary unions or councils, which were counted on to overturn the capitalist order through "political mass action" and then proceed to reconstruct society on a socialist basis.

In advancing these views Fraina was doing the best he could with the understanding he had to project revolutionary perspectives for socialists in the United States. His objectivity was reflected in his efforts to probe more deeply into Bolshevik political concepts and to make those concepts available to other militants in this country as he grasped them. As an editor of the *Class Struggle* he featured articles about the Soviet Union in its columns. Following publication of *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, John Reed's book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, appeared, providing further concrete data about the dynamics of the Bolshevik revolution.

Through the kind of information available in these two books SP militants of that day were introduced for the first time to genuine Marxism. But due to their limited understanding of scientific socialism, they were unable to comprehend the fundamental axis of Bolshevik policy, the Leninist strategy of party building. "Mass action" strategy remained uppermost in their minds as they oriented toward duplication of the Russian revolution in this country. The transitional steps that had made the Bolshevik victory possible were difficult for them to grasp and generalize from.

An entirely different orientation prevailed among right-wingers in the Socialist Party. Succumbing to anti-Bolshevik propaganda spread by the U.S. ruling class and by European social reformists, they soon

backed away from whatever enthusiasm they had initially shown over the workers' victory in Russia. Their political line remained class collaborationist to the core. Despite the fact that the imperialist war had exposed the utterly reactionary character of decaying capitalism, despite the example set in Russia of the way to abolish imperialism and other evils spawned by that outlived social order — the right-wingers persisted in advocating a gradual transition to socialism through piecemeal changes in the existing system to be achieved by collaboration with wings of the capitalist class. They also continued to support the war, and they became increasingly hostile to the new Soviet regime.

## SP reformists refuse to call convention

With the political conflict between the left and right wings of the SP thus growing more intense, Debs proposed in May 1918 that a national convention be held to set an official line. He evidently counted on majority decisions to oppose the war and to reformulate the party's basic aims in the light of the Bolshevik revolution. But the reformists, who dominated the party officialdom, refused to call a convention on the grounds that such a step might precipitate a split in the organization. So nothing came of Debs's proposal.

By this time the left wing was gaining reinforcements from a new quarter. Former socialists, who had gone over to syndicalism, were strongly influenced by the political lessons of the Russian revolution. This caused a significant number of them to revise their views and rejoin the SP where they lined up with its revolutionary wing. A regroupment of native-born and foreign-born revolutionaries thus developed. They wanted to break the reformists' stranglehold on the party and make it a fighting organization based on class-struggle principles and revolutionary political perspectives.

In the fall of 1918 the revolutionists, organized as a faction, opened a political campaign to wrest control of the SP apparatus from the right-wingers and centrists. At the outset the drive was spearheaded by the Socialist Propaganda League, chiefly through intensive dissemination of left-wing political views. Earlier the League had discontinued its propaganda vehicle, the *New International*, because of financial difficulties, and that gap was now filled by the new SPL periodical, the *Revolutionary Age*. With Fraina as its editor, *Revolutionary Age* served as the central organ of the revolutionary socialists in the following months.

## Left wing organized in SP

Toward the end of 1918, as the political offensive by the revolutionary faction gained momentum, a left-wing formation was organized in Chicago, Illinois. It consisted mainly of Slavic militants among whom the SP's Russian federation played a major role. This grouping also established a Communist Propaganda League parallel to the Socialist Propaganda League previously set up in the East by the Lettish federation.

Then, early in 1919, the revolutionists made another major breakthrough. A left wing crystallized in

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## Further reading

# On the American socialist movement

By Farrell Dobbs

**Revolutionary Continuity**

Marxist Leadership in the U.S.: The Early Years (1848-1917). 221 pages, paper \$5.45

**Teamster Rebellion**

192 pages, paper \$4.95

**Teamster Power**

255 pages, paper \$5.95

**Teamster Politics**

256 pages, paper \$5.95

**Teamster Bureaucracy**

304 pages, paper \$5.95

**Also**

**Lenin on the United States**

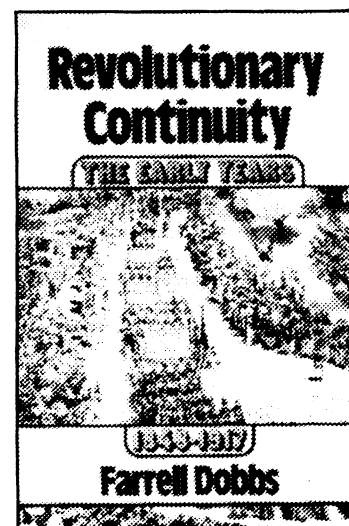
674 pages, \$3.65

**Eugene V. Debs Speaks**

320 pages, paper \$6.95

**The First Ten Years of American Communism**

Report of a Participant, by James P. Cannon. 343 pages, paper \$6.95



Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.



# 'A book about women moving forward'

*Women and the Cuban Revolution*, edited by Elizabeth Stone, Pathfinder Press, \$3.95.

BY ANDREA MORELL

March 8 is International Women's Day. Many feminist activists will be using that date to discuss how to respond to the severe attacks on women's rights in this country, as well as the struggles of sisters around the world. These meetings will take place under the darkening cloud of U.S. imperialism's war threats against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, especially Cuba.

At such a time, *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, edited by Elizabeth Stone, makes inspiring and instructive reading. It shows that while American women — and women in the entire capitalist world — are being driven back, Cuban women are moving forward. And most important, it shows *why* this is so. It gives a glimpse of the kind of society that the war mongers in Washington find so hateful.

The book consists of speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro, Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) President Vilma Espín, and the Communist Party of Cuba's 1975 *Thesis: On the Full Exercise of Women's Equality*. This important document appears in full in English for the first time in this collection. Appended are the Cuban Maternity Law for Working Women and the 1975 Family Code.

An introductory essay by Socialist Workers Party leader Elizabeth Stone surveys the changes in women's role in Cuba since the revolution in 1959 and assesses the progress made and direction taken.

## Revolution makes the difference

The explanation for the dramatic change in women's status is in the social revolution begun in Cuba in 1959, the year the Cuban people overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. This

## BOOK REVIEW

brought to power a government based on and responsible to the country's working people, the majority of the population.

Through this revolutionary government and its leadership, headed by Fidel Castro, the Cuban workers and farmers are carrying forward a deep-going social revolution aimed at eliminating exploitation and oppression and raising the standard of living and culture of the masses of Cuban people. A big part of this is bringing women forward. To accomplish this, the Cuban toilers had to throw off the domination of the island by U.S. imperialism. Capitalism has been overthrown and Cuban society is in transition to the construction of socialism.

## Before the revolution

Stone explains that prior to 1959, "Cuban women suffered the extreme oppression that is characteristic of countries dominated by imperialism." Only 9.8 percent of Cuban women were in the workforce, and 70 percent of them were domestic servants.

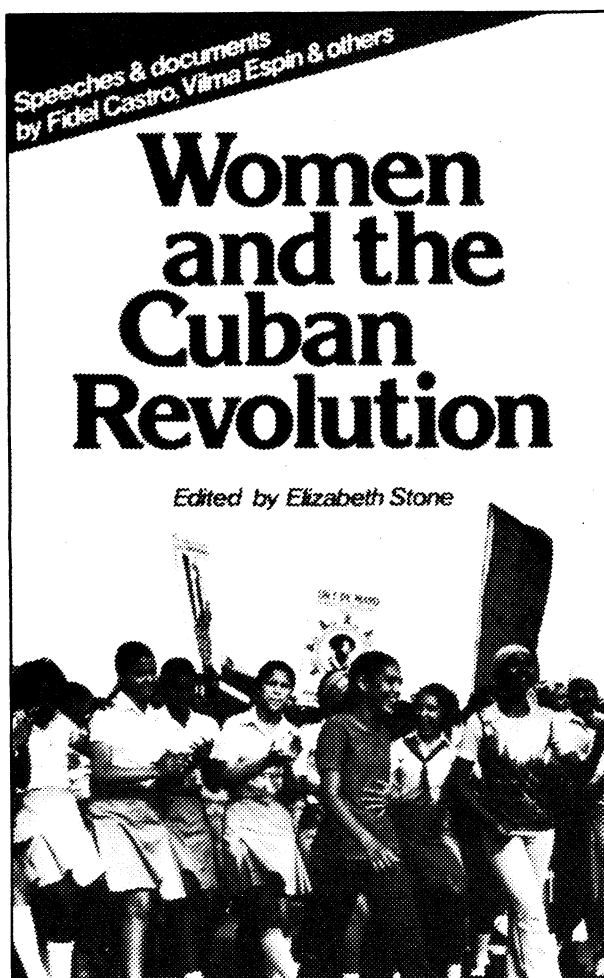
FMC president Vilma Espín, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, explains in one historical account, "and even worse was the situation of Black women, who suffered the double discrimination of sex and color. Having no access to office or retail-sales positions, they had to resort to the lowest-paying jobs: in industries harmful to health like tobacco, or as maids in the homes of wealthy families."

On the job, women were denied equal pay, and the laws on maternity leaves, vacations, and retirement were not respected.

Abortion was illegal, and contraception generally unavailable. Cuban women of all classes were actively discouraged from taking part in public life. Stone explains that all the social attitudes associated with "machismo" prevailed.

The position of women in Cuba today is vastly altered.

One-third of Cuban women are in the workforce,



represented throughout industry, services, agriculture, and the technical and professional fields. They receive equal pay and the government promotes preferential advancement.

## New life for women

The Maternity Law for Working Women, adopted in 1974, provides up to eighteen weeks paid maternity leave and the right to return to one's job after a year's leave of absence after the birth of the baby.

Childcare centers — all free — accept infants from forty-five days. Contraception and abortion are available on demand and free of charge, like all medical care in Cuba. There is no official population promotion policy, and Cuban women are under no government pressure to bear children.

Cuba's 1976 Constitution bars discrimination on account of sex. And Stone points out, "Racial discrimination and segregation in jobs, schooling, housing, and recreational facilities is a thing of the past in Cuba." Black women participate fully as doors open more widely to all women.

A campaign was recently launched to encourage women to volunteer for the territorial militias, formed in 1981 in response to stepped-up war threats against Cuba by the U.S. government.

## Decrease in crimes against women

Since the revolution, crime has decreased significantly in Cuba, including rape and other crimes of violence against women. Commercial exploitation of women's bodies is absent and other degrading practices, such as beauty contests, have been eliminated at the demand of women.

Women are developing as leaders in Cuban public

life. They lead their own highly influential organization, the two-and-a-half-million-member Federation of Cuban Women.

Women play prominent roles in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). This is a national network of neighborhood organizations formed for defense, which also take on a wide variety of community-organizing tasks.

Forty-two percent of local trade union officials are women. By 1981, the number of women elected to membership in the Cuban Communist Party had risen to 9.1 percent. And women who could not leave the house unchaperoned before the revolution, today are teachers in Nicaragua.

In fact, the picture that emerges from *Women and the Cuban Revolution* is that relative to their starting point, Cuban women may have advanced farther in the past twenty-three years than the women of any other country. Today, says Stone, they enjoy the highest living standard and social status of women in any industrially underdeveloped country. And on questions like abortion and childcare, Cuban women are ahead of their sisters in the industrialized countries.

## Revolution in the revolution

The Cubans call the transformation in the role, image, and consciousness of women the "revolution within the revolution."

With the overthrow of Batista, the revolutionary government began to organize women with the aim of drawing them into national life and winning them to the side of the revolution. On August 23, 1960, the Federation of Cuban Women was founded with 17,000 members to spearhead this process. Founding President Vilma Espín describes the FMC's initial tasks and approach this way:

"We had to change women's mentality — accustomed as they were to playing a secondary role in society. Our women had endured years of discrimination. We had to show her her own possibilities, her ability to do all kinds of work. We had to make her feel the urgent needs of our revolution in the construction of a new life. We had to change both woman's image of herself and society's image of women."

The Ana Betancourt School for peasant women was opened, drawing women from the countryside into Havana. A school was set up in Havana for former maids. Special schools were also established for former prostitutes to help prepare them to be integrated into the workforce. More than half the participants in, and benefactors of, the massive 1961 literacy campaign — which wiped out illiteracy in Cuba — were women.

Stone explains that Cuban women "were motivated to do all these things because they wanted to be part of the changes which they hoped would lead to a better life for the masses of working people and peasants. They didn't do this with a full consciousness of the need for women's equality. But equal rights was involved."

But a new consciousness of themselves as women was being forged in the process.

## Women in the workforce

Drawing women into the workforce has been at the heart of the Cuban revolution's approach to women's emancipation. In her main report to the Second FMC congress in 1974, Espín listed the main obstacles blocking women's full incorporation into the fulltime regular workforce:

- Pressure of home and family,
- Lacks in existing services,
- Lack of economic incentive,
- Lack of minimal conditions of hygiene and protection at worksites,
- Lack of political work with the newly incorporated women on the job, and
- A lack of understanding concerning women's role in society."

There were two major sources of these problems: the continuing pressure of the poverty of the country and antiwoman prejudices. The measures to deal with these problems fell into two broad categories: giving higher economic priority to plans directly related to making it possible for women to become and

Continued on next page

# American socialists and Russian revolution

Continued from ISR/6

New York City and its environs. This New York faction functioned almost from the start as a party within a party, with its own mechanisms for political and organizational activity, fund raising, etc. This development not only added significant numerical weight to the left wing as a national entity, but also had the effect of accelerating the organization of the left wing throughout the party. With this development the faction struggle heated up.

Around that time new political heat was generated



The author, Farrell Dobbs, during his 1948 campaign for the U.S. presidency on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

by a right-wing maneuver. In February 1919, shortly after the war ended, the European social patriots sponsored a world conference held in Bern, Switzerland. Their object was to perpetuate the reformist-controlled Second International, which had betrayed the workers into the hands of the imperialists. Right-wingers in the Socialist Party of America wanted to steer the party into support of that objective. So they arranged — with help from the centrists — the participation of a party delegation in the Bern gathering. As matters turned out, though, this maneuver ran counter to prevailing sentiment in the party ranks, and it proved ineffectual.

Most SP members had become disillusioned with the Second International. They wanted a new world alignment: one that excluded the social patriots and provided organizational ties with the Bolsheviks. In those circumstances the revolutionists were able to win majority support against the reformists on the question of international affiliation. The party soon repudiated the aims of the Bern conference and declared itself in favor of forming a new world organization.

## Trade union upsurge

While this episode was unfolding the revolutionary socialists got an additional boost from a trade union upsurge here at home. Wartime inflation, together with restrictions on the right to strike for higher wages, had seriously eroded the workers' living standards. Under such conditions organized labor had urgent cause for action by the time the imperialist hostilities ended in November 1918 and government controls were eased. AFL rank-and-filers began at once to press for improvements in their economic situation. The demands presented were rejected by the bosses and a series of major strikes soon broke out. These class battles — which erupted spontaneously in several industries — provided evidence that the workers generally were in a rebellious mood, including those in basic industry who remained unorganized.

The sudden rise in labor militancy inspired worker members throughout the Socialist Party. More and more of them came into active support of the left wing, thereby giving it greater weight — as against

the reformists — in the internal relationship of party forces.

Politically, though, the revolutionary socialists proceeded to get themselves out on a limb. They misinterpreted the workers' readiness to fight aggressively at the trade union level as a sign that the class as a whole could be guided directly into a struggle for power. A new manifesto and program, based on that premise, was issued by the left faction in February 1919 and printed in *Revolutionary Age*. The line presented reflected an effort to combine "mass action" concepts with Bolshevik slogans mechanically applied to the class struggle in the United States. It added up to little more than a sectarian attempt to overleap objective reality.

In substance the left-wing document put the following aims on the order of the day: A turn away from struggles for immediate demands by the trade unions to revolutionary action by the proletariat as a class. Mass organizations of the toilers along soviet (workers' council) lines. Establishment of workers' control in industry by means of revolutionary unions. Overthrow of the capitalist system and institution of a socialist order through a proletarian dictatorship based on federated soviets.

The February 1919 manifesto also reasserted the need for the Socialist Party to make a clean break with the reformists internationally and collaborate with the Bolsheviks in reconstructing the world socialist movement on a revolutionary basis. Of all the key perspectives advocated by the party's left wing, this one alone was soon to advance from the propaganda stage onto the plane of concrete action; for the Russians were about to initiate the organization of a new international.

## Next month in the 'ISR'

In our April issue we will publish an article by Ernest Mandel, entitled "The Debate on the Character and Perspectives of the Russian Revolution." It is a response to the article on the fourth anniversary of the Russian revolution by Lenin, and to "How Lenin Saw the Russian Revolution," by Doug Jenness, both of which appeared in the November *ISR*.

# Women moving forward with the Cuban revolution

Continued from previous page

remain full-time workers, and a national educational campaign against sexism and for women's equality.

The ideological campaign had several big components. A major national spotlight was put on the second FMC congress where these problems were discussed. The First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, which took place in 1975, devoted a major portion of its time to the question and adopted the comprehensive *Thesis: On the Full Exercise of Women's Equality*.

Nationwide discussions were organized around a new Family Code to replace the prerevolutionary laws on marriage, divorce, adoption, and alimony. The Code stipulates that women are to be equal in marriage and that men should share the responsibility of rearing children and doing housework. Much of the discussion centered on these provisions, which were quite controversial.

After a thorough discussion by the entire island, the Code received an overwhelming popular vote and was entered into law on March 8, 1975.

## Role of leadership

One of the central themes that emerges in the book is the role of the Castro leadership in the double revolution of women within the revolution.

The interrelationship between the leadership and the masses of women pressing their aspirations for full equality is at the heart of the double revolution. Women's equality is moving forward in Cuba, not despite the government, but in partnership with the government, the Communist Party, and the leading Castro team.

Their leadership has been critical at every juncture. Instead of bending to the pressures of more conservative-minded Cubans on this issue, they have acted as Marxist revolutionaries — they have led.

The Cuban record in fighting for women's equality is proof positive of Stone's judgement that "in all essentials the Cubans have acted in accord with the analysis of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on this question. In his famous work, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Engels put forward the same goals the Cubans have stressed as being necessary to freeing women: 1) ending the economic dependence of women on their husbands; 2) getting women out of the isolation of the home and incorporating them into the workforce; 3) socializing house-

hold chores traditionally done by women through the use of public laundries, cafeterias, child care, and other public services; and 4) ending the economic chains that compel family members to remain together, so that relationships between people can be based on affection and not on economic necessity."

The book gives an indication, not only of how far the Cubans have come, but how much they still have to do on this score — as they themselves are the first to explain. The advance of the liberation of women is a function of the economic development of the country. A retarding factor is the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, which is a conscious attempt to hold back the island's development and undercut its social successes. Supporters of women's rights have every interest in demanding that Washington end the blockade, as well as opposing U.S. war moves against Cuba.

## Lessons for U.S. women

Many of the questions that Cuban revolutionaries have had to deal with in coming to grips with women's liberation and the socialist revolution are very similar to ones that come up in this country. The most important lesson is the absolute incompatibility of capitalism and women's equality. The personhood and dignity of women can only be advanced in struggle against capitalism and along the road of fighting for a new society that prioritizes human needs, not private profits.

A revolutionary government of the workers and all the oppressed and exploited in the United States would mobilize women to advance our struggle for emancipation, just as the Cuban government is doing in Cuba.

*Women and the Cuban Revolution* is a book that deserves the serious study of every feminist and revolutionary.

## NEW YORK Hear Elizabeth Stone on:

**The Struggle for Women's Rights in the U.S. and What We Can Learn from the Struggles of Cuban Women.**

Friday, March 12, Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West, Manhattan. 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program.

Sponsored by New York-New Jersey Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 260-6400.





# Voting Rights Act: an endangered statute

17 years ago, bloody southern battle brought its enactment



Demonstrators carry victim of March 7, 1965, assault on historic first Selma-Montgomery, Alabama, civil rights march. Earlier, Blacks in Selma trying to register to vote had been savagely attacked by sheriff's deputies. Then protest march to capitol in Montgomery was attacked in view of national TV cameras. A new march was organized with thousands of participants, which concluded with rally at capitol.

BY GREG McCARTEN

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — The federal Voting Rights Act, enacted in 1965, was a product of the massive civil rights battles of the 1960s. It bars restrictive registration measures, intimidation at the polls, and gerrymandering of voting districts. English-only ballots are barred in Latino and other communities where English is not a first language.

In areas where less than 50 percent of those eligible to vote are registered, no changes can be made in election laws without Justice Department approval. The same is true for redistricting plans.

A debate has developed in Congress, spurred on by the Reagan administration, over whether to weaken or even renew the act, due to expire in August of this year.

This debate comes at a time when Democrats and Republicans have joined in a full-scale assault on our democratic rights, standard of living, social programs, and unions.

Especially hard hit have been the programs which most benefit oppressed nationalities in this country. They have ripped up the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, brought the process of school desegregation to a virtual halt, and are trying to destroy affirmative action programs. And now the administration is proposing amendments to the Voting Rights Act aimed at gutting it.

The act is intended to eliminate generations of calculated disenfranchisement of Blacks and other victims of racism.

Much more than today, the right to vote prior to the 1960s was determined by a person's race and whether he or she could read English, to a registrant's satisfaction.

## Read Shakespeare?

In southern states Blacks were made to recite the Declaration of Independence, show voter registration cards, take reading exams, identify passages from Shakespeare, and a host of other gimmicks in order to register to vote or cast their ballot. These were laws on the books.

Extra-legal activities, looked on approvingly by the government, were as

predominate. Hartman Turnbow told Studs Terkel in *American Dreams, Lost and Found*, his experience with being the first Black to register to vote in Tchula, Mississippi, in 1963.

While he was waiting to register, Turnbow says, a crowd of whites and Blacks gathered to watch the unique event. After he left, those Blacks who tried to register were subjected to the literacy tests.

A week later, Turnbow's house was firebombed twice in a day, and shots were fired into the house. The next day Turnbow was arrested on charges that he had set the fire and done the shooting for publicity. He was convicted in Tchula on the charges which were later dropped in federal court.

This kind of activity and laws to deny voting rights were part of a larger set of southern laws called "Jim Crow." These made segregation and discrimination mandatory. There were separate schools, bathrooms, lunch counters, jobs, and drinking fountains for Blacks and whites. Some cities even had ordinances prohibiting Blacks and whites from playing checkers together.

The powerful civil rights movement broke the back of those Jim Crow laws. Blacks saw the right to vote, with federal enforcement, as a primary objective of that movement.

The conditions of legal racism explain the fact that in 1960 only 29.1 percent of all Blacks were registered to vote. In 1965 only 300 Blacks held elected office.

## Uphill fight

Winning the right to vote has been an uphill battle all the way.

In 1964, Lyndon Johnson said that "no more civil rights legislation is needed." But less than a year later he felt enough pressure to put his signature on the Voting Rights Act.

What happened between 1964 and 1965 was a massive movement aimed at winning the voting rights bill. A key provision demanded by the movement was federal enforcement and supervision of elections.

A march organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in early 1965, from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, was brutally attacked on the outskirts of Selma. This attack by state troopers and

county sheriffs sparked nationwide protests against the violence and for voting rights.

This massive pressure and national attention forced Congress and the Johnson administration to pass the bill.

Since the original act was won, it has been extended twice. In 1975 a section providing for bilingual ballots in areas heavily populated by those whose first language is not English was added. This extended voting rights to Latinos in Texas, for example, who make up 20 percent of the population.

## Some progress

Because of the movement to win voting rights, the abolition of discriminatory practices, and federal enforcement, progress has been made since the early sixties. Today more than 2,000 Blacks hold elected office in seven southern states. In 1974 the figure was 964.

The process is far from complete. A recent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report details the "unfulfilled goals" of the act. It states, "The underrepresentation of blacks in public office is evident at every level, but is most obvious at the highest levels of government."

And over the past few years the attacks on the Voting Rights Act have been on the rise.

A particularly devastating blow was dealt by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980. The court overturned a Mobile, Alabama, federal court ruling in favor of Blacks who charged that the city's system of at-large elections denied Blacks the opportunity to elect Black officials.

The Supreme Court ruled that Blacks needed to show that the laws were deliberately aimed at excluding them from office. Blacks would have to show that the *intent* of the law, rather than its effects, were discriminatory.

This ruling had a chilling effect on attempts to fight discriminatory laws.

## Pressure remains

Many Blacks, especially in rural areas, feel that even with the Voting Rights Act, acute problems remain.

A *New York Times* article entitled, "Once Again, A Clash Over Voting Rights" points out that "it is not uncommon to find well-known white moneylenders seated at the polling places on election day; their presence reminds their Black debtors of who holds the power."

Many states and cities have been devising new schemes to dilute the voting strength of Blacks and other nationalities. The whole of the redistricting plan for North Carolina has come under the scrutiny of the Justice Department. One especially curious feature is a "fish-hook" district, which literally loops around through rural white areas to avoid the urban Black population.

The city of Greensboro, North Carolina, is doing some fast explaining to the federal government about a plan to annex large areas of white suburbs. Both the "intent" and "effect" would be to dilute the Black voting strength. This is a relatively common practice in cities in the South and Southwest.

Voters in New York City found out last fall that they had more in common with the South than they thought when the courts ordered elections for city council suspended because of gerrymandered districts. The new districts in the city would reduce Black and Latino representation at a time when their percentage of the population has increased.

Now, Reagan wants to write the 1980 Supreme Court opinion into law. The administration wants to make plain-

tiffs prove that the *intent* of a particular voting procedure is to discriminate.

Laughlin McDonald, an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer for a discrimination case in South Carolina pointed to the obvious, "If the only way to prove intent is to get a confession of intent, then it's impossible to prove. People aren't going to come forth today and say, 'Yeah, that was our intent.' It makes no sense at all."

Whether Reagan's changes are adopted or not, a clear message is being sent to the states, localities and districts covered by the act. Reagan is telling them, "this administration will not uphold the Voting Rights Act."

On September 19, 1981, a half million working people joined together in Washington D.C. for Solidarity Day. It was a massive march against the program of the wealthy and those who run the government for them.

"Extend the Voting Rights Act" signs were carried by whites, Blacks, men, women, and children. The AFL-CIO is on record in support of the extension of a strong bill.

In North Carolina, a broad coalition of labor, civil rights, women's, and church groups have announced plans to press for extension of the act.

At a recent news conference held by the coalition, John Wilson, president of the North Carolina Association of Educators said, "there continues to be a need for the Voting Rights Act and its special provisions."

"There was a time when we thought that our political leaders had risen above past discriminatory patterns, but recent inaction in the U.S. Senate sends a clear message to those of us who believe that the right to vote is an American principle worthy of a fight."

Among the coalition members are: the state NAACP, AFL-CIO, the National Black Independent Political Party, National Organization for Women, and others.

## Will take a fight

It is clear that extension and continued enforcement of the Voting Rights Act will take the same kind of strong and determined struggle which won the act in the first place.

For example, both of North Carolina's senators, John East and Jesse Helms, are opposed to extending the bill.

The Democrat and Republican parties recognize that the very people protected by the act are certain to be in the forefront of efforts to launch independent working class candidates that will challenge the capitalist two-party system.



In 1964 President Lyndon Johnson said Voting Rights Act wasn't needed. But after national outcry over assault on voting rights demonstrators he proposed act.

# North & South Korea: comparing two social systems



Workers in garment shops in South Korea average twelve hours a day, six days a week, and make between \$50 and \$60 a month.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Korea today is an artificially divided country with the North and South pursuing totally different economic policies.

The South has a capitalist economy; one open to foreign investment, 94 percent of which comes from American and Japanese banks and corporations.

The North, on the other hand, has developed under a system where capitalist rule has been overturned. Its industries and natural resources are no longer in the hands of individual, wealthy families, but are nationalized. Landlords no longer own the land. Decisions on production and distribution are part of an overall plan, not left to considerations of profit. The government, not corporations and banks, controls all foreign trade.

How have these two different economic systems affected the development of industry, the growth of agriculture, and the living standards of the population?

Both North and South had to rebuild their economies following the devastation of the 1950-53 Korean War. Washington and fifteen other imperialist countries sent in hundreds of thousands of troops in an attempt to roll back the workers and farmers revolution in the North and prevent its advance in the South.

"I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula, is just a terrible mess," General Emmet O'Donnell, head of the American Far Eastern bomber command, commented in 1951.

Describing the North, which bore the brunt of the attacks, O'Donnell said, "Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. Just before the Chinese came in, we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea."

In the first three months of the war alone, the U.S. Air Force dropped 97,000 tons of bombs and 7.8 million gallons of napalm on the North. Every major industrial enterprise in the North was destroyed. The death toll in the North and South together was a staggering three million to four million, not counting the millions maimed and wounded.

## 'Showcase of the world'

Because of its rapid economic development following the war, South Korea has been labeled the "showcase of the developing world" by Washington and

the U.S. big-business press.

In order to maintain and protect this "showcase," however, Washington has stationed 40,000 troops and 700 nuclear weapons in South Korea. The 600,000-strong South Korean army is commanded by a U.S. officer.

This military force is a constant source of aggression against the North, forcing the North Korean government to divert vital resources into defending the country. Between 15 and 20 percent of North Korea's budget over the last decade has gone for defense, according to a U.S. CIA estimate.

In addition, Washington has imposed severe economic sanctions against the North, and a trade embargo by all the imperialist powers was in effect for a period of time.

But despite such difficulties, North Korea has made tremendous strides, which is rarely mentioned in the U.S. news media.

In fact, industrial output in the North makes up 76 percent of the Gross National Product, up from 16.8 percent in 1946. And a U.S. CIA report in 1978 admitted that in practically every respect North Korea was, as of 1976, outproducing the South in per capita terms in virtually every major sector of the economy — from agriculture to steel, electric power generation, cement, machine tools, and trucks.

The South, according to this CIA report, was superior in only two things: passenger cars and television sets.

But while industry has increased in the South, so has poverty. In the North the standard of living has steadily improved for the majority of the population.

According to the Korean Development Institute, a research agency serving private enterprise and the South Korean government, the income gap between high- and low-income people in the South widened during the years 1965 to 1976. The 40 percent of the country whose households are in the lowest income group had their share of income drop from 19 percent in 1965 to 16.9 in 1976. During the same period, the 20 percent of households in the highest income bracket saw their share rise from 42.4 to 45.3 percent.

A leading Japanese bourgeois economist, Sumiya Mikio, has shown that a rise in per capita GNP in the South, from \$100 in 1968 to \$373 in 1973, did

not result in increased income for the workers. The rise was achieved by lowering their living standards — by deepening their exploitation.

The U.S. and South Korean governments argue that by basing the economy on foreign investments and production for export to the imperialist countries, the standard of living of the population will increase.

Yet, the boom in textile exports (one of the largest export items) led to a 24.3 percent decline in the real wages of textile workers, according to *Korea Communique*, published by the Japan Emergency Conference on Korean Problems.

## Poverty in the South

Referring to the "economic miracle" in the South, the *Wall Street Journal* recently claimed that the per capita yearly income there now exceeds \$1,500.

Average figures like these, released by the South Korean government, do not take into consideration the extremes in income between the rich minority and the poor majority.

Seventy-nine percent of all non-agricultural workers made \$90 or less per month in 1977; 60.6 percent made between \$40 and \$60 per month, or \$480 to \$720 annually.

By way of contrast, some 1.5 percent of the population made \$400 or more per month (\$4,800 annually), and at least one businessman reported making \$16 million a year.

Furthermore, the income figures don't account for the inflation rate, which has averaged between 20 and 30 percent over the last few years. This has cut deeply into the buying power of working people.

The South Korean government's Office of Labor Affairs reported in 1976 that the minimum requirement for the average family was \$142 per month, out of which comes food, housing, medical care, and education expenses. In 1977, 84 percent of all non-agricultural workers earned below this official minimum standard, according to a paper prepared for the Conference on Japanese and U.S. Parliamentarians on Korean Problems.

Women, who make up between 70 and 90 percent of the workforce in many of the large export companies, earn an average of 44 percent of what male workers earn.

The textile and garment industries, two of the largest exporters, are almost totally female. In 1975, some 300,000 women in these industries earned an average of \$50 to \$60 a month for working six-to-seven days a week, ten hours a day. Often workers cannot stand upright on these jobs because additional floors have been built to maximize work space.

This kind of exploitation in the "showcase of the developing world" is not usually reported in the United States because both Washington and the U.S. textile and garment industries are complicit in it.

Over the past twenty-five years, the United States has provided 98 percent of South Korea's raw cotton. Of this, \$390 million worth was subsidized by the Food for Peace Program. More than 30 percent of textiles produced in South Korea are sold to U.S. corporations, and some twenty U.S. textile and garment companies have agencies or branches there.

## Free health care in North

In contrast, North Korea's per capita income in 1979 was \$1,920, or \$160 per month, according to a Japanese scholars' delegation that visited the country.

Unlike the South, North Koreans do not pay any taxes, Aidan Foster-Carter states in *Korea, North and South*, published by Monthly Review Press.

Gavan McCormack, who visited North Korea in 1980, reported in the December 1981 *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* that medical care and education are free. Food and clothing are relatively inexpensive, and according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1978 Yearbook*, rent takes up between 2 and 3 percent of a worker's monthly income.

Fred Carrier, a professor at Villanova University, visited North Korea in 1974. He reported that workers often receive such benefits as a free lunch program and subsidized vacations. After retirement, Carrier said, economic and social needs are paid for by the state.

In North Korea, moreover, everyone is guaranteed a job. In the South, unemployment (which includes people not working a forty-hour week) is estimated by McCormack at 30 percent. It is higher in the capital city of Seoul, where some 2.5 million people, many of them destitute peasants looking for work, live in squatters' huts on the edge of the city.

In 1970, 74 percent of the population of North Korea worked in industry, up from 16.8 percent in 1946. Only 26 percent worked in agriculture, down from 63.5 percent in 1946.

In South Korea, only 17.8 percent of jobs in 1974 were in manufacturing and mining. Some 49.8 percent were still in agriculture and fishing, and 34.5 percent were classified as being in the "service" sector. This latter category includes maids, porters, carriers, tour guides, peddlars, shopkeepers, day laborers, and prostitutes.

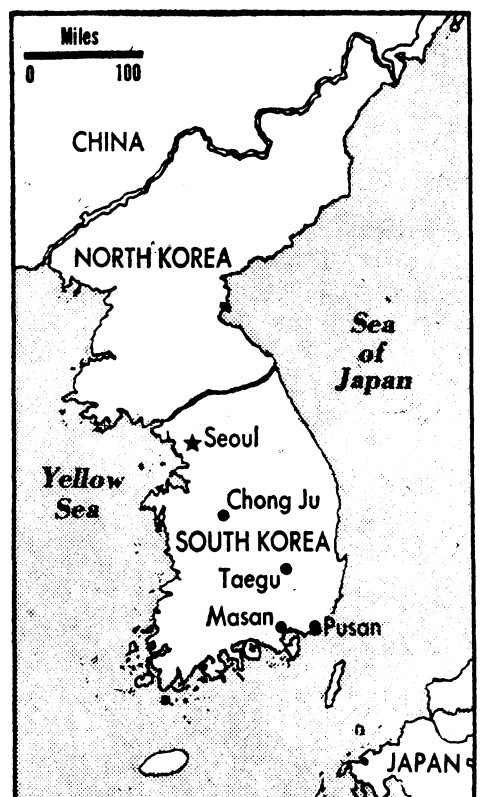
Prostitution, according to McCormack, is big business in South Korea, encouraged by the government as a way to bring hard currency into the economy from male tourists. Estimates of the number of prostitutes range as high as 200,000, and their availability is part of the tourist promotion campaign. In addition, many women are induced to go to Japan to sell their bodies.

The South Korean government also sends young women and men abroad to fulfill work contracts in other countries and bring in additional hard currency.

In North Korea, women are not forced into prostitution or low-paying dangerous jobs to make a living. Some 85 percent of women under the retirement age of fifty-five work outside the home, according to an American Friends Service Committee fact sheet.

By 1971, AFSC reports, 80 percent of all babies were taken care of in an extensive system of nurseries and kindergartens.

While the pinnacles of progress in South Korea, as in most American cities, are the big office buildings, the most





splendid ones in the North are the schools, universities, hospitals, clinics, kindergartens, meeting halls, sports centers, theaters, and public libraries.

The priorities of the North are quite different from the South. There are 23.3 doctors per 10,000 people in North Korea, according to McCormack. The *Far Eastern Economic Review Asia 1980 Yearbook* reports that there are only 5.7 doctors per 10,000 people in South Korea, 15.5 per 10,000 in Australia, and 12.4 per 10,000 in Japan.

The ratio of population to hospital beds in South Korea is one of the worst in the world. In 1981, there were 1,310 people per hospital bed, as compared with 1,125 in Burma, a much poorer country, according to the 1982 *Hammond Almanac*. In North Korea, there were 333 people per hospital bed.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that, as of 1974, the South was unable to deal with easily preventable diseases such as polio, plague, typhus, and scarlet fever.

As a result of the health care system in the North, life expectancy has risen from thirty-eight years in 1945 to seventy-three years in 1980, McCormack reports. In the South, life expectancy is sixty-eight years.

North Korea has gone from 80 percent illiteracy before 1945 to near universal literacy. In 1980, one million people graduated from 162 universities, McCormack states.

As of 1975, there were 600 specialized schools other than universities, 4,100 senior middle schools, 4,700 primary schools, and 60,000 nurseries and kindergartens in a country with a population of 17 million.

Also in 1975, an eleven-year universal compulsory education program was instituted. College students receive free tuition, medical care, and housing and a state stipend. A total of 8.69 million people, half the population, are involved in one or another phase of education.

As a result of these programs, there are one million technicians and specialists in North Korea and 200,000 teachers, one for every twenty-five students, as compared with one for every seventy-one students in the South.

#### Difference in agriculture

During the Korean War, the U.S. military destroyed the agricultural system in North Korea — as it did in Vietnam — by deliberately bombing the dikes, which provided water for 75 percent of the country's rice production.

Yet today, with a harsh climate and only 17 percent of the land able to be cultivated, North Korea is not only self-sufficient in rice production, but exports it.

The average rice yield of 7 tons per chongbo (2.45 acres) in 1979 is one of the highest in the world. In addition, 6.3 tons of corn per chongbo were harvested in 1979, and fruit production rose above 1 million tons.

Prior to division, southern Korea helped feed the northern half of the country, and was an agricultural exporter. Now, the South has lost its ability to produce a surplus. In 1976, the South had a rice yield of only 5.4 tons per chongbo. The country has had to depend on large-scale food imports, which have increased from 6 percent of its needs in 1962 to 35 percent in 1975.

In 1946, the government of North Korea instituted a land reform program that confiscated over half the land (some 2.5 million acres) from the wealthy landlords. It was turned over to 750,000 farm families for individual ownership, but with prohibitions against sale, rental, or mortgage, according to the U.S. government's *Area Handbook for North Korea and Communism in Korea*, by Robert Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee.



**Top:** Woman harvests rice in North Korea. Agriculture there is highly mechanized and very productive. **Bottom:** Some 80 percent of all infants in North Korea are cared for in a system of nurseries and kindergartens.

The reform was carried out relatively smoothly because 20 percent of the land was owned by Japanese landlords who fled after World War II. Other landlords fled to the South. Those who remained were offered the same amount of land as the small farmers, and relocated in other parts of the country.

After the devastation of the Korean War, when massive funding and effort were immediately necessary to feed the population, the government reorganized the land into cooperatives and state farms between 1954 and 1958. Families on these collective farms retain small plots for vegetable growing and for raising chicken, pigs, and sheep.

State resources were invested to mechanize and modernize the new system. A 1978 CIA study reported that "agriculture is quite heavily mechanized, fertilizer application is among the highest in the world and irrigation projects are extensive." Soil, water, plant, fish, and animal life are constantly monitored to assess the environmental consequences of the heavy fertilization.

Major accomplishments toward electrification of the countryside, have been achieved, and rice transplant machines were introduced in 1974. These have helped make agriculture more produc-

tive and freed people up for industrial work.

Unlike the North, the agricultural policies in the South are similar to those followed by other countries dominated by imperialism, such as Iran under the

shah. These countries were forced to give up their food producing capacities and become dependent on American food commodities.

In the case of South Korea, the government forced down prices for domestic rice by flooding the market with cheap American grain surpluses, purchased with the help of U.S. government loans. This made South Korea one of the fastest-growing markets for U.S. foodstuffs in the Far East.

This policy caused terrible hardships for South Korean farmers. In 1966, rural income was 83 percent of urban income; by 1970 it had fallen to 59 percent. Millions of destitute farmers migrated to the cities in search of work, creating a large, unemployed, urban labor force that is used to keep the wages of all workers down. In Seoul, for example, from 1964 to 1970 the population doubled from three to six million.

Of the peasants who have remained on the land, some 43 percent are full- or part-tenant farmers. These families are among the poorest in Korea, using 40 to 60 percent of their crop to pay for rent.

This comparison of North and South Korea, which has relied primarily on the evidence of scholars and government reports hostile to the North Korean regime, shows the benefits of a society that has eliminated capitalism.

The picture that emerges of the South — a country of grinding poverty and tyranny for the majority — explains the continued opposition to the military dictatorship that has been going on ever since Washington put Syngman Rhee in power in 1948.

During the most recent revolt in South Korea, in Kwangju in May 1980, an armed population took over the city, setting up popular committees. Only the use of government troops ordered into Kwangju by U.S. General John Wickham, brought an end to the rebellion.

The South Korean masses are fighting for an end to the repressive regime and for freedom from U.S. imperialist domination. Like their sisters and brothers in the North, moreover, they want a reunified Korea.

This struggle points in the direction of eliminating capitalism in the South and forming a unified Korea based on nationalized property relations and a planned economy. This is the path already taken by Vietnam, which had suffered a similar division and exploitation.

Such a united Korea would be a tremendous step forward for Korean workers and farmers in both North and South, and an inspiration to the toilers in Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, who suffer the same kind of imperialist exploitation as the people in South Korea today.

## Gisela Scholtz, 1935-1982

The following obituary is scheduled to appear in the March 8 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris.

\* \* \*

Our comrade Gisela Scholtz died on February 14 in Paris. Her comrades and friends deeply regret her premature demise and the loss of a courageous and devoted activist.

Comrade Gisela was born in 1935 in Germany; her youth was difficult due to the hardships of the war. She was involved in the struggle of the student movement in its heyday and was active in the SDS [German Socialist Students Union]. Thereafter she joined the Fourth International, fulfilling her tasks both in the Belgian section — of

which she was a central leader for several years — and on the international level. In April 1969 she was a delegate for the Belgian section to the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International.

Gisela Scholtz was active and appreciated in her professional field as a researcher and journalist. She worked on German television for a period and was involved in several films for it, including a remarkable one on the children of Belfast, Northern Ireland, a city ravaged by endemic civil strife.

Her comrades and friends mourn with her family and companion Ernest Mandel. They will not forget her. They will remember her contribution to the struggle for the renewal of the workers movement and the building of a revolutionary International.

From *Intercontinental Press*

# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Oops** — Fragments of a U.S. air-to-air missile were found in a West German hayloft after a



Harry Ring

farmer reported a hole in his barn roof. An Air Force jet fighter had lost the live missile during a drill five days earlier.

**Doin' what comes natural** — Security and Exchange Commission probers established that Citicorp illegally transferred millions in profits from bank branches in Europe, where taxes are high, to the Bahamas, where they're low. But the SEC refused to act, advising that Citicorp's pursuit of illegal profit was merely "reasonable and standard business judgement."

**And rightly so** — The SEC also held that Citicorp had no obligation to divulge the im-

proper activity of its senior managers since the bank had never represented to stockholders that these officials had "honesty and integrity."

**Obviously subversive** — Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense League, noted that if Defense Secretary Weinberger gave up his private Pentagon dining room, a million school children could get back their mid-morning snack. And, in the ultimate impertinence, she suggested a bit of paring of White

House life style, which last year cost \$800,000.

**Early warning system** — The government sent out a million cards to youth warning that if they failed to register for the draft they could be jailed. Among the recipients was Perli Shaplow of New York. Perli is three feet tall and weighs but thirty-nine pounds. She's three.

**Yes indeed** — What with cutbacks, New York's scholastic sports programs are increasingly financed by private fund-

raising activity. Responding to criticism of this, a city official opined, "Philosophically I agree. But in the real world we have to train kids to use the free-enterprise system. That's part of citizenship training."

**Balanced approach** — A saturation ad campaign is under way to let folk know that unlike other, unhealthful, soft drinks, 7-Up contains no caffeine. The ad campaign is bankrolled by 7-Up's parent company, Philip Morris, the coffin-nail makers.

## —CALENDAR—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*.** Sat., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Wayne Williams Verdict: Its meaning.** Speaker: Reba Williams, National Black Independent Political Party; others. Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**Grenada: Black Revolution in the Caribbean.** Speaker: Melvin Chappell, *Militant* staff reporter and national leader of Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., March 7, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

**Women's Rights: Is There Life After Reaganomics?** Panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Sat., March 13, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Women and the Fight Against War.** Speakers: Judy Freiwirth, Mobilization for Survival; Valerie Johnson, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Local 264; representative, National Organization for Women. Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Victory For Democratic Rights: Public Act 94 Struck Down.** Speakers: Howard Simon, executive director, Michigan Civil Liberties Union; Ron Reosti, attorney; Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sat., Mar. 13, 8 p.m., party to follow. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**Defending Abortion Rights — How Do We Fight Back?** Speakers: Hilde Edler, St. Louis Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Women's Liberation: the Struggle for**

**Women's Rights in the U.S., and What We Can Learn from the Struggles of Cuban Women.** Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Fri., March 12, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West. Donation: \$3. Ausp: New York-New Jersey Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

#### Schenectady

**International Women's Day: Women in Struggle.** Panel discussion and slide show. Fri., Mar. 12, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Two Classes on Women's Liberation.** Sat., Mar. 13; Marxist analysis of women's oppression, 10 a.m.; Women in Cuba, 2 p.m. 323 State St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Reagan's Big Lie: Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador.** Speakers: April Brumson, recently returned from Nicaragua; Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for 28th Congressional District. Fri., Mar. 19, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally: Why the Democrats Won't Stop Reaganism.** Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber, SWP candidate for 5th Congressional District in N.C. Sat., March 20, 6 p.m. banquet, 7:30 p.m. rally. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$5 banquet and rally, \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Reagan's Attack on Central America and the Caribbean.** Speakers: Joe Lombardo, member of Central America Task Force and Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., March 14, 7 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Film: *The Emerging Woman. A Historical Review of Women in America.*** Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**The State of Nuclear Power in 1982: A Debate.** Speakers: Dr. Bernard Cohen, professor of physics, University of Pittsburgh; Paul Behers, representative of Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Jerry Gordon, coordinator of Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; Doug Hord, rail worker. Fri., March 12, 7:30 p.m. University of Pittsburgh, Cathedral of Learning, Room G-24. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 488-7755.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Alan Epstein, member of United Auto Workers Local 276 and Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., March 6, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

#### San Antonio

**The Case of the Legless Veteran.** A film by

Howard Petrick. Sat., March 13, 7:30 p.m. 1001 E. Commerce, La Quinta Motor Inn. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

### UTAH

#### Price

**The Fight Against Nuclear Power.** Speakers: Paul Gooris, New Mexico chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility (org. for identification only); Cecilia Moriarty, member, Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers Local 2176. Sun., March 7, 7 p.m. Gomer Peacock Lounge, Student Activities Center, CEU. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Educational Conference on the Russian Revolution.** Sat., and Sun., March 6-7. Three classes: "The History of the Bolshevik Party," Sat., 1 p.m.; "Imperialist War and the Second International," Sat., 4:30 p.m.; "The Alliance of the Workers and Peasants in Russia," Sun., 12:30 p.m. Film: *Ten Days that Shook the World*, Sat., 3:15 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1 per class, film \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

**Rally to Defend Your Political Rights.** Speakers: John Studer, national secretary of Political Rights Defense Fund; Mojgan Hari-Vijeh, Iranian student fighting deportation; David Keil, fired shipyard worker, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Steelworkers Local 8888; Miesa Patterson, 1980 SWP candidate for Virginia governor; Elton Manzione, branch delegate, Industrial Workers of the World, Columbia, South Carolina; Eli Green, 1982 SWP candidate for Newport News City Council, member of Steelworkers Local 8888. Sat., March 6, 8 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**The Family and Women's Liberation.** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, history and women's studies faculty, Evergreen College, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Film: *El Salvador, Another Vietnam.*** Speakers: representatives from Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Socialist Workers Party; speaker from Guatemala. Sun., March 14, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**The State of the Black Struggle Today.** Panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Sun., March 21, as part of weekend conference, "Black Revolutionaries, Yesterday and Today." Antioch Law School, 2633 16th St., N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Campaign Rally: Mel Mason for Governor of California.** Meet Mel Mason at this statewide gathering. Other speakers will include Rosa Maria Rivera, cofounder of ANDES (National Association of Salvadoran Educators). Sat., March 13, 7 p.m. refreshments, 8 p.m. program. Casa Romano, 124 Montecito Ave. (near Grand Ave. and 27th). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

## Bellecourt speaks out for Nicaragua

BY MIKE ZUKOWSKI

VIRGINIA, Minn. — "These are remarkable, strong young people. If the U.S. would leave them alone to run their revolution, they would be all right," said American Indian Movement leader, Vernon Bellecourt, of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Bellecourt was the featured speaker at a meeting of seventy-five on February 19, sponsored by the Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador.

Bellecourt and other AIM leaders recently returned from a tour of Nicaragua where they attended a UN-sponsored conference on racism and agrarian reform. He said Nicaragua was chosen as the site of the conference because of the revolutionary government's excellent record on human rights. "How they deal with the indigenous people will set an example for the entire world," said Bellecourt.

Bellecourt reported how the CIA is attempting to recruit Miskitu Indians in Nicaragua as counterrevolutionaries and is building a counterrevolutionary army of ex-Somocistas in Honduras. However, he added, Nicaraguans, including the indigenous populations, will fight to defend their revolution.

Bellecourt urged American workers to speak out against Reagan's war

moves in Central America. "They will drag your children into a war to kill those young people down there. . . ."

Bellecourt announced that AIM leaders were so impressed with revolutionary Nicaragua that native Alaskan fishermen volunteered to go to the Atlantic coast to teach their skills.

In the question period a reporter from local radio station WHLB played a taped comment by U.S. Congressman James Oberstar who was touring El Salvador. Oberstar stated that Duarte was the "hope of the country," and that the March 28 elections would settle the issues.

Bellecourt responded that if Oberstar repeats this when he returns from El Salvador "then we should reject Oberstar." Bellecourt stated that the elections have no meaning without the participation of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and no kind of democratic election could be held in El Salvador while government troops cut off the heads of anyone who supports the revolutionaries.

Other speakers included Father Mark Hollenhorst of the Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church in Hibbing, and Barbara Simons of the Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**1982 Massachusetts Socialist Workers Campaign Kickoff Rally.** Speakers: Bernie Sanders, socialist mayor of Burlington, Vermont; Harry Ring, staff reporter for the *Militant*; Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts; Art LeClair, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Jane Roland, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., March 13, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. Live jazz, refreshments. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. Donation: \$2.50. For more information call (617) 262-4621.



# 'Missing': what is the State Department afraid of?

**Missing**, A Universal Pictures and Polygram Pictures release, directed by Costa-Gavras.

BY HOLBROOK MAHN

Costa-Gavras's first Hollywood film is premiered. Before even reviewing it, the *New York Times* devotes the front page of its Sunday entertainment section to a blistering attack, written by one of its top political analysts.

Then, in an unprecedented move, the State Department issues a three-page statement challenging the film's accuracy.

Sounds like the film must have merit. It does — a great deal.

*Missing* is based on the true story of the disappearance and execution of Charles Horman, an American writer and filmmaker, during the coup in Chile in September 1973.

Horman had discovered too much information about the United States role in the overthrow of the

U.S. Ambassador to Chile from 1971-73, Nathaniel Davis. During his tenure as Ambassador to Guatemala from 1968 to 1971, when 20,000 Guatemalan peasants were massacred under a "pacification program," Davis gained some experience in covering up the kind of butchery that Costa-Gavras so vividly depicts in *Missing*. Davis is currently a faculty consultant at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island.

A particularly telling scene in *Missing* takes place at the airport after the Hormans learn the truth about the execution of Charles and are leaving the country. Ed Horman, anxious to leave the nightmare of the last few weeks behind him, is badgered by the U.S. Consul, who keeps reminding him that Charles's remains won't be sent unless the charges for the crate and shipping are paid first. (It took seven months for the remains to arrive, by that time they were too badly decomposed for an autopsy.)

## U.S. government objects to film

The State Department and Lewis object to the strong implication in *Missing* that the U.S. government was involved in both the murder of Charles Horman and in the overthrow of Salvador Allende.

As for the assertion of complicity in the Horman murder, if the State Department played no role and has nothing to hide, why don't they simply release the documents about the Horman murder that they are hiding behind the phony rubric, "Classified — National Security."

They refused to release these materials in a suit the Horman family brought against Henry Kissinger et. al.

Thomas Hauser's book, *The Execution of Charles Horman: An American Sacrifice*, upon which the movie was based, has been reissued in paperback under the title, *Missing*. It offers overwhelming proof of the U.S. government's role in the Horman murder and is well worth reading to supplement the movie.

Diane LaVoy was a member of the Senate committee established to investigate covert activity in Chile (the Church Committee) and was responsible for investigating the Horman case. She said "I don't think Charles Horman could have been killed without some rather full cooperation from some Americans."

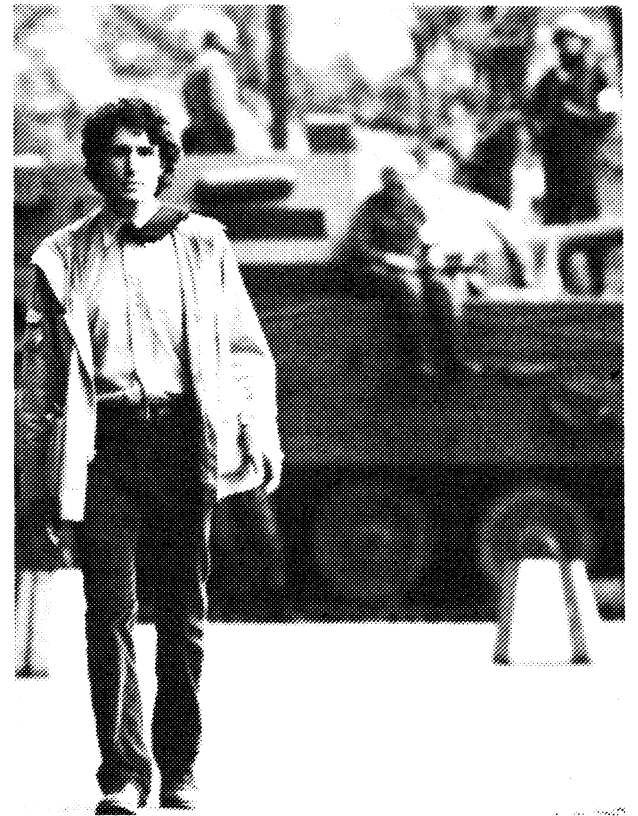
## 'Film seemed plausible'

After viewing *Missing*, Senator Frank Church said, "Our hearings dealt with a different time period [pre-coup], but from what we learned then, the film seemed very plausible."

Of even greater concern to the State Department than the charge of U.S. complicity in the Horman murder and the overthrow of Allende is the graphic portrayal of the brutal regime that Washington installed in Chile.

It is not really a matter of debate that Pinochet was put in power to protect the \$1 billion U.S. corporations had invested there and to reestablish their right to expropriate 80 percent of the copper mined in Chile each year. The Church Committee report, "Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973," and Hauser's book, *Missing*, provide substantial proof of U.S. involvement in the 1973 coup.

The real worry of the Reagan administration is



Charles Horman as played by John Shea in *Missing*. Before Horman could leave Chile following overthrow of Allende, he was arrested and murdered.

that the record-breaking audiences seeing *Missing* will make the connection between the Pinochet regime in Chile and the Duarte regime in El Salvador and see the true face of U.S. foreign policy.

## Reagan continues destabilization programs

A further touchy point for Reagan is how closely his plans to destabilize the Nicaraguan economy parallel those used in Chile to set up conditions for the coup.

One of the key figures in the destabilization was Deane R. Hinton who was the director of the Agency for International Development in Chile from 1969-71. Previously he held the same position in Guatemala during the "pacification program" there. He is now U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador.

One of the strong points about *Missing* is that the inhumane brutality depicted in it can be generalized to other countries. Chile is not even mentioned by name in the film. "Members of the audience who follow world events will know where they are. But there is a feeling that it could happen anywhere. At any time. To any of us. There is no ending for a story that continues into real life," Costa-Gavras says.

This is what is so disturbing to the State Department. *Missing* strikes too close to home. As Reagan tries to whip up pro-war sentiment, *Missing* shows how the U.S. government operates in foreign countries and what the regimes of our "friends" like Duarte and Pinochet, are really like. Besides being a very good movie *Missing* will help to fuel the antiwar sentiment in this country.

## FILM REVIEW

democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. A military coup, promoted by Washington, had led to Allende's ouster on September 11, 1973, and the installation of the murderous military dictatorship headed by General Augusto Pinochet.

Costa-Gavras, whose other films include *Z*, *The Confession* and *State of Siege*, graphically depicts the vast carnage in the aftermath of the overthrow of Allende.

He emphasizes this horror by making a central part of *Missing* the development of a strong, emotional relationship between Charles's father, played by Jack Lemmon, and Charles's wife, played by Sissy Spacek, as they search for Charles.

Lemmon's and Spacek's riveting performances and Costa-Gavras's masterful direction move the action forward by reconstructing the events surrounding Charles's disappearance bit by bit through flashbacks, the recollections of witnesses, and Charles's notebook.

In *Missing*, Costa-Gavras drives home the fact that Washington was complicit in Horman's execution, by making central to the film the transformation of Ed Horman, a well to do businessman, who has his faith in the U.S. government shattered as he discovers the truth about the murder of his son.

## Indifference of U.S. embassy

The Hormans run into the calculated indifference of the U.S. Embassy at every turn. The officials are well portrayed as lying bureaucrats whose false sympathy wears thin as the Hormans begin to unravel the truth about Charles's disappearance and murder.

The State Department statement and the *New York Times* attack by Flora Lewis complain that Costa-Gavras maligns the American officials in *Missing*.

At a preview showing, Costa-Gavras answered this complaint by explaining that the Hormans said in real life the American officials were four or five times worse than portrayed in *Missing*.

One person the Hormans had to deal with was the

## DIRECTORY

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 612 SW 2nd St. Zip: 32601. Tel: (904) 376-0210. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, Activities

Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30209. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 475-2255.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State Col-

lege: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## Indians in Nicaragua ... and the U.S.

Nicaragua's revolutionary government is carrying out "atrocious genocidal actions" against its Miskitu Indian population, Secretary of State Alexander Haig charged February 19.

He said a photograph in the French right-wing newspaper *Figaro* illustrated this. (On March 2 *Figaro* admitted that the photograph had been misused and was actually from a scene in 1978 before the Sandinistas took power.)

It is unparalleled hypocrisy for a high official of the U.S. government — whose troops massacred untold numbers of American Indians in the last century — to make such a charge.

The alleged anti-Indian campaign in Nicaragua is Washington's latest frame-up of the revolutionary Sandinista government there. It is another effort to win support in this country for U.S. military intervention in Central America.

In his speech to the Organization of American States February 24, President Reagan accused the Nicaraguan government of carrying out a "forced relocation" of Miskitus, and of burning their communities "to the ground."

United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee March 1 that Sandinista "assaults" on the Miskitus were "more massive than any other human rights violation that I'm aware of in Central America today."

Meanwhile, a counterrevolutionary opponent of the Sandinista regime, Steadman Fagoth, was flown to this country from Honduras to spread more lies about the Nicaraguans' policy toward Indians. Fagoth told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee February 25 that Miskitus had been "murdered, burned, and buried alive" by the Sandinistas.

The truth is that since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, through a popular revolution that established a workers and farmers government, life for the Indian population there has improved. Before the revolution, under the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, they were at the mercy of foreign mining and lumber companies. The Atlantic Coast region where they live was the most underdeveloped in the country.

The new workers and farmers government took important measures in the Atlantic Coast region: nationalization of the gold mines and improvements of wages and working conditions; a literacy drive in both Spanish and Indian languages; extension of credit and other measures for farmers; and guarantees of the Miskitus' right to practice their own culture and organize their own communities.

The Miskitu population had not taken part in the revolution itself, which was fought out mainly in the western part of the country. Thus, the Sandinistas did not have a base there when they took power. Counterrevolutionary forces have tried ever since to exploit the language and cultural differences to turn Miskitus against the new government.

Steadman Fagoth, originally elected by the Miskitus as one of their representatives to the new government, turned out to be a paid informer for the Somoza dictatorship. In May 1981, he fled to Honduras, tak-

ing 3,000 Miskitus with him. Ever since, he has been collaborating with the Honduran military.

From November of last year, the Atlántic Coast has been the target of terrorist bands crossing over from Honduras. They have pillaged, tortured, and killed. Both Miskitus and Sandinista soldiers have been murdered.

The counterrevolutionary attacks fit the pattern of a recently released CIA plan to give U.S. backing to military attacks on Nicaragua through Honduras.

In February 1982, the Sandinista government decided to order an emergency evacuation of 8,500 Miskitus and others to protect their lives.

The Miskitus have been resettled near the mining town of La Rosita. They have been given agricultural aid, emergency medical care, and teachers.

Contrast this to the treatment of Indians in the United States.

Today, American Indians still have the highest unemployment and shortest life span of any sector of the population.

The extreme poverty they suffer is illustrated by the living conditions on the Navajo reservation spread across Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico. Unemployment is more than 70 percent. More than half the homes have no electricity, and 25 percent have no running water. The number of families below the official poverty level jumped from 61 percent to 87 percent in the last few months.

Many Navajos who used to work in the uranium mines have lost their jobs due to mine closings. And they are denied the right to tax the energy companies that extract minerals from their reservation lands.

The effects of Reagan's budget cutbacks are particularly devastating because so many Indian families depend entirely on federal aid programs to survive. Another \$130 million to \$150 million will be cut this year from programs on the reservation, including Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds, money for education, and health programs.

These are *real* human rights violations against the Indian peoples. It is this kind of exploitation — on an even higher scale — that Reagan is defending in Central America, and that revolutionary governments like that in Nicaragua are trying to overcome.

Recently, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) — which has fought for years to improve the lives of Indians in this country — visited Nicaragua. They sought facts on the revolution and its effects on the Indians there.

AIM leader Vernon Bellecourt, upon returning, said his organization "would do all it could to expose the truth about the role of U.S. imperialism and explain that the revolution should be supported by all Americans."

Bellecourt explained the U.S. government wants to destroy the revolution in Nicaragua because it is a "model" for the oppressed including Indians.

AIM's campaign to get out the truth adds an important voice to the efforts to stop U.S. intervention against Nicaragua and the revolutions throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

## The Emancipation of Women: V.I. Lenin

*The Emancipation of Women.* V.I. Lenin. International Publishers, 1978. 135 pp. \$1.65.

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

"The experience of all liberation movements has shown that the success of a revolution depends on how much the women take part in it."

These words are part of a speech given by Lenin at the First All Russia Congress of Working Women held in Moscow in November of 1918. Attended by over 1,100 delegates from both the urban and rural sectors, this conference showed the deep sentiment felt among women in Russia for the one-year-old Bolshevik revolution in which Lenin was the central leader.

Excerpts of this speech by Lenin can be found in *The Emancipation of Women*, a collection of speeches,

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

articles, and interviews spanning the years 1899 through 1922.

This collection of articles testifies to the understanding that Lenin had of the oppression of women under capitalism, and how the abolition of capitalism would lay the material foundation for the eradication of female oppression.

The book documents, through Lenin's speeches, the far-reaching measures that the Bolsheviks took upon the seizure of power.

As Lenin explained in the pamphlet, *A Great Beginning*, published in July of 1919, "not even the most advanced bourgeois republic has done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we did in our very first year in power. We really razed to the ground the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality; restricting divorce and surrounding it with disgusting formalities; denying recognition to children born out of wedlock, enforcing a search for their fathers; etc., laws, numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilized countries."

But, he explained at another time, laws alone are not enough. "It is necessary for national economy to be socialized and for women to participate in common productive labor."

Community kitchens, public dining rooms, laundries, kindergartens, children's homes and educational institutions were all set up to free women from the drudgery of housework and to shift these functions from the individual household to society. The scope and pace of these measures were limited by the economic and social backwardness of newly-liberated Russia.

Lenin also explained that women have to become involved in all political matters, especially in insuring that these types of institutions are maintained and expanded.

The book contains excerpts from *My Recollections of Lenin*, by the German revolutionary leader, Clara Zetkin.

In 1920 Zetkin held two lively discussions with Lenin, in preparation for the report on the draft theses on work among women for the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921.

Lenin explained to Zetkin that "the theses must emphasize strongly that true emancipation of women is not possible except through communism. You must lay stress on the unbreakable connection between women's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production." Our aim, he went on to elaborate, is to bind the women's movement "firmly with the proletarian class struggle and the revolution."

The book begins with an introduction, written in 1933, by Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, for many years a leader of the Bolshevik party and Lenin's companion. The introduction lends credence to the view that the government of the Soviet Union in 1933 was a continuator of Lenin's policies as they applied to the advancement of women.

This is false. With the rise of Stalin and the degeneration of the Soviet Union under bureaucratic rule, many of the far-reaching advances made immediately following the Russian Revolution of 1917 were undermined. Laws prohibiting abortion and restricting divorce were introduced. Instead of the government leading by introducing measures that would move in the direction of the full emancipation of women, they carried out a policy of restricting women's role in society. Instead of relieving women from the confines of the home, the Stalinist regime glorified the family.

This book, much of which was written over sixty years ago, is a valuable contribution to the discussion taking place in the women's movement today. It helps to clarify the road that is necessary for women to travel to achieve our liberation.

## One million refuse draft registration

Continued from Page 1

suit. Hundreds of thousands refused to register as long as its legal status remained ambiguous. But even after the law obtained the stamp of approval from the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1981, registration continued to decline. In California, the figure for those not registering was nearly 50 percent. In predominantly Black Washington, D.C., it was 46 percent.

So when Reagan extended draft registration he also announced a grace period, until March 1, during which the hundreds of thousands who had failed to register could comply with the registration law. Those not registered by that date would be subject to up to five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

But as the March 1 deadline came and went, the Selective Service System admitted that more than 900,000 still had not signed up. It now says that it will take up to eight weeks to begin to notify the non-registrants. And some officials are even talking about making failure to comply only a misdemeanor instead of the felony it is now.

It remains an open question at this point as to how rapidly the administration will be able to prosecute resisters, or whether it will be able to do so at all. Antiwar forces must be ready to vigorously defend anyone prosecuted, if and when the government moves.

The massive defiance of registration, in spite of the

threat of stiff penalties, occurs in a climate where the overwhelming majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. In fact, it reflects the depth of the growing opposition to war in Central America.

This opposition can be strengthened by the national demonstrations planned on March 27 in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast. The protests will oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador. They will denounce the draft.

No draft, no war! U.S. out of El Salvador!





# Garment workers don't buy piecework, speed-up

BY MAGGIE McGRAW

In the shop where I work, hourly employees make \$3.70 per hour. We get a ten-minute break in the morning, a one-half-hour lunch break, and no break in the afternoon. Only about half of us who are pieceworkers ever "make piecework." Making piecework means making enough pieces to earn more than the legal minimum the boss has to pay anyway. Low

## UNION TALK

quality thread and material, machines that don't work well, and the machine down-time all cut into making piecework. Many of those who make piecework do it by working through their break and at least part of lunch.

So it's no surprise that when the boss left some pamphlets on our sewing machines and trimming tables they weren't too well received. They had titles like "Time is Money — Don't Waste It" and "Extra Effort Gets Big Results." They told us: don't abuse the bathroom privilege, don't overkill the coffee break, say thank you, and work with management. They were all in English but the message was clear to everyone, no matter what language we speak. By lunch almost all the pamphlets were in the dumpster.

One friend who doesn't read English took the pamphlet home for her ten-year-old son to read for her. The next day she told us he had said, "Mommy, this is shit." We all agreed.

The pamphlet I received was called "Profits are an Employee's Best Friend." It explained the hard times companies are having making a profit, claiming the average company only earns 5 percent profit. It encouraged workers to do things better, faster, and more efficiently. And at the very end it warned, "when profits vanish so do jobs."

I thought this was pretty ironic. I had just read two articles on the garment industry that painted a different picture.

The January 7, 1982, Newark *Star-Ledger* reported on seventeen northern New Jersey sweatshops convicted by the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry. Just these seventeen sweatshops alone had profited by ripping off their employees for \$82,244 in unpaid wages. The violations included illegal distribution of homework, failure to pay minimum wage and overtime, and the use of child labor.

The December 14, 1981, *Barron's* carried an article called "Rags to Riches, Apparel Makers Prosper Despite Recession." It reported that in 1980 apparel sales totaled \$90 billion. In 1981 the industry is expected to grow 8 percent, well ahead of its annual growth over the last ten years. Industry spokesmen

say some sales *have* fallen off on less expensive clothing because their purchasers are effected by the slump first. As one owner put it, "customers on a limited budget haven't been buying."

This reminded me of a friend of mine who said she saw an ad in the newspaper for the blouse she makes cuffs for. The blouse sells for over \$38 — over a quarter of her weekly take-home pay.

The article also reported that the fastest growing segment of the market is the higher priced apparel with designer labels. For example, Manhattan Industries, which produces the Perry Ellis designer collection, projects sales of \$400 million next year. Another quickly growing company is the Abe Schrader Co., whose net sales since 1979 have doubled, and whose net has grown from \$63,000 to \$3.5 million. Chairman Abe Schrader explained this growth, "people that buy \$500 suits still have the money."

With facts like these, it's pretty hard for the bosses to convince us that extra effort and working together benefits us all, or that companies make only a tiny profit. The favorite saying in my shop is still "Mucho trabajo, poco dinero" ("much work, little money"). "Profits are an employee's best friend" just hasn't caught on. And I don't think it will either.

Maggie McGraw is a sewing machine operator in Hoboken, New Jersey.

## LETTERS

### Sol Babitz

Sol Babitz, an early southern California Trotskyist, died in Los Angeles February 18, 1982. He was seventy.

Sol came from a family of social democrats and union organizers. His mother was active in underground radical politics in Russia during Czarist times. His father was an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York and Canada in its early days.

Sol was in Germany studying the violin when Hitler was making his bid for power. He became interested in the escalating struggle and was attracted to the ideas of the Trotskyists in Berlin.

When Hitler took power, Sol left Germany and went to Paris where he continued his musical studies. Returning to California, he became one of the early members of the Trotskyist organization, then called the Communist League of America. He was active in its work for a period of about fifteen years.

Sol's musical studies led him to look into the field of baroque music, to study original manuscripts during several trips to Europe, and eventually to develop new methods of playing the music of this period. He was a founding member of the Los Angeles musicians union.

Although Sol dropped out of day-to-day political activity because his musical work claimed all his time, he remained a sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party and often gave concerts to help raise money for the party.

Sol died from Huntington's (sometimes called the Woody Guthrie) disease. His many friends in California and all those who knew him and heard him play in many parts of the United States and Europe will miss the virtuosity that he brought to the violin.  
Milton Alvin  
Los Angeles, California

### Pleasant surprise

I wasn't expecting the new format of the *Militant*, but I was pleasantly surprised.

The basic reorganization of the paper is more professional looking, appealing to the eye, rationally organized, and flexible for use of shorter articles

from different cities. I went back over some back issues, and there really is more article space in this new format. I also think the change in headline typeface is more eye catching in the inside articles. Having a brief "Table of Contents" is good as well on the front page, as is avoiding boxed articles and shaded items on the front page.

My personal opinion is that the front page could have a more bold headline on the lead article, without really cramping article space. Inside, there are far more portrait photos of people than action pictures — a better balance would be better.

David Cahalane  
Indianapolis, Indiana

### Nicaragua's coast

The letter by Mark Heinecamp about the Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast (1/29/82) states incorrectly that the Sandinist government has isolated the Indians by insisting on a Spanish literacy campaign in the Indian communities.

Contrary to isolating them or imposing a Spanish-only policy as Heinecamp asserts, the Sandinist government has instituted a revolutionary bilingual program designed to meet the educational needs of the Indian and English speakers while preserving their native languages and cultures. Educational programs call for the first three years of primary school instruction in the child's native language. The native language is to be maintained throughout the educational program, so children emerge fully bilingual.

Charles Cairns  
New Hyde Park, New York

### 'Mismeasure of man'

The political point of Claire Moriarty's "Can human intelligence be measured?" (*ISR* February 1982) is well taken: Prejudice often masquerades as science and serves as a rationale for injustice. It is our responsibility to combat this.

The problem of reification is wisely noted. No one is immune from it. Good citizen Hegel reified his Prussia as the ideal society. Marx caught Darwin in the act.

The question of "intelligence" is a worrisome one. But wishing it away does not dispose of it.

Thought neither occupies space nor has weight, yet it exists, as an attribute of certain forms of matter.

We advocate social and political equality. But, thanks to Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program," we do not require equality of ability, health, "intelligence" or effort as its basis.

Even the physical sciences are affected by ideology. Sciences dealing with social life are even less mediated from the influence of society, ergo: more susceptible to political reaction. Science will progressively "depoliticize" as classes wither away.

Questions of intelligence, instinct, genetics, and of our relation to non-human animals are valid scientific concerns, but we will probably have to wait until after the revolution, when Marxism attains intellectual hegemony, to see any real breakthroughs in these fields of knowledge.

Russell Pelle  
Houston, Texas

### Federal regulations

The report in the "Great Society" column on proposed toilet fees in national parks (*Militant*, 2/26/82) had me laughing so hard I almost wet my pants. But the more I thought about it the more I got p.o.'d to see a move like this coming from the same bunch who vows to cut an alleged steady stream of federal regulations down to a dribble.

This latest in a barrage of kidney punches to the workers and poor has all the earmarks of the continuing assault by those who believe in "trickle-down."

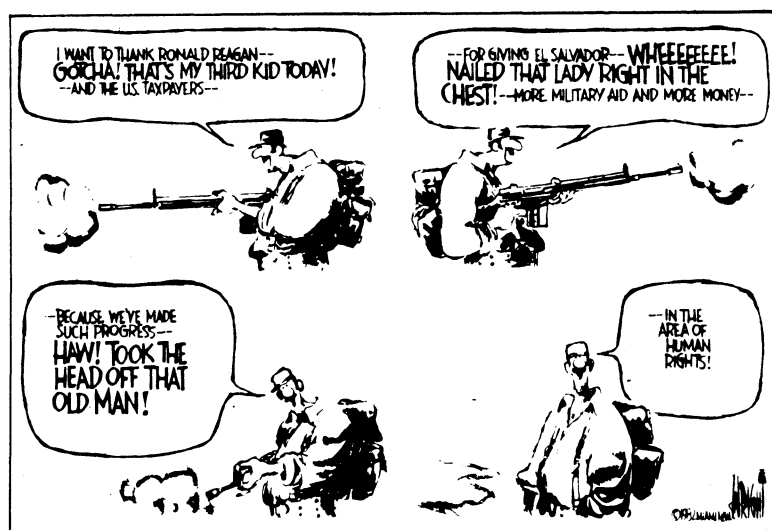
I guess now Smokey will have to change his slogan to "Only the rich can prevent forest fires."

Tom Pontolillo  
New York, New York

### What is poverty

I really enjoyed the article in your February 19, 1982, issue by William Gottlieb. It was very informative on "Why unemployment will not go away under capitalism."

But I have a question on a statement in the article. It referred to America being the richest country in the world, yet the cities are in decay, poverty is widespread and getting



worse, which I don't question at all. It's the statement he made "and what is poverty if not the absence of material wealth?"

Material gains are just things, and things don't bring any kind of happiness, or add to your well being, they're surface things.

Poverty to me would be the lack of good basic rights, basic needs, like decent medical care, shelter, human rights, that would be poverty.

Pati Whitley  
Seaside, California

### Thanks

I wish to renew my yearly subscription to your excellent newspaper and also purchase a copy of your bulletin, *Education for Socialists* "The National Black Independent Political Party."

Thank you very much for your series and may you be ever successful in your great efforts to help rid our nation of corruption, racism-sexism, poverty, and injustice.

Coleman Chauncey  
Ypsilanti, Michigan

### Professional sports

I wanted to call the attention of *Militant* readers to the case of Paul Mulvey, a twenty-three-year-old forward for the Los Angeles Kings hockey team, who was run out of "major league" hockey for refusing his coach's order to leave the bench and join a fight.

His case illustrates the absurd logic of "professional sports" — in this case professional hockey. The concept of sport for profit reduces talented athletes to commodities and entertainers whose major role is to

dance to the bosses' tune.

After refusing to heed his coach's demand that he be "a designated assassin who just comes off the bench to fight," Mulvey was reprimanded verbally, placed on waivers, and soon after sent to the Kings' minor league farm club in New Haven. This is tantamount to being "blacklisted" from professional hockey at age twenty-three.

As publicity around the situation increased, a local radio station announced it was dropping broadcasts of Kings games at the end of the season, the National Hockey League Players Association filed a grievance, players have publicly supported Mulvey's action, coach Perry was suspended for fifteen days, and the Kings were fined \$5,000 by the league office.

Michael Lux  
New York City, New York

### 'Militant' a must

I would like to notify you of a change in my mailing address. Your coverage of national and international news stories highlighting the repulsiveness of capitalist society and the moral bankruptcy of capitalist ideology make the *Militant* a newspaper that should be read by every household.

Peter Felton  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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.

## Georgians march to demand justice in lynching of Black GI

BY MACEO DIXON

MONROE, Ga. — "Reagan Reagan have you heard, this is not Johannesburg"; "Reagan Reagan he's no good, send him back to Hollywood." With these chants, 1,000 mostly Black demonstrators began an eleven-mile march February 20 from Social Circle to Monroe, Georgia. The march and rally were organized to protest the lynching of the Black GI Lynn Jackson. Jackson's body was found December 8 hanging from a tree near Social Circle.

He had disappeared in August. Jackson was on leave from the Army. The protest was also in response to a number of unsolved murders of Blacks in the area since 1946. By the time the protesters reached Monroe the march had swelled to over 2,000. Demonstrators were mostly from Walton County. Young and old joined the march. Students from various campuses also were present. There were unionists from the Teamsters, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and the United Auto Workers, as well as textile, garment and chemical workers.

Political and civil rights groups, including the NAACP, National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), Workers World Party, and the Socialist Workers Party were also present. The protesters were especially angered by a coroner's jury verdict on the cause of death of Jackson.

Rising anger among Walton county residents forced officials to impanel a jury to investigate the cause of death. Blacks felt that county officials were dragging their feet and were not willing to get to the bottom of the murder.

The coroner's jury of three whites and two Blacks held hearings on February 15 and 16. On the first day of hearings, Walton County District Attorney John Strauss tried to imply that family members killed Jackson for insurance money. But this wouldn't hold water.

On the second day the jury ruled that Jackson committed suicide because of a "borderline personality disorder aggravated by the use of illicit drugs, marijuana." Angry jeers by Blacks went up from the packed courthouse.

State Representative Tyrone Brooks responded angrily, "Too many times we have seen the word suicide used conveniently in the death of too many Black people."

Residents of the area feel that there are still too many unanswered questions. Why was grass around the tree burned the day after Jackson's body was found? Was it done to destroy evidence? How was it possible for Jackson to climb twenty feet up the tree, especially considering that the day before he disappeared he was involved in an auto accident and injured his leg? Why didn't he leave a suicide note?

On February 19, Brooks announced that an ad hoc citizens group was putting up a \$1,000 reward for information leading to arrests in the case. Brooks has asked Georgia's Governor George Busbee to match it with another \$1,000. Busbee hasn't responded. Brooks is also a founder and leader of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement that has called for a federal investigation of the case.

During the march Brooks explained that "it was important for us to send a message to President Reagan to impanel a federal grand jury. The coroner's jury was nothing but a whitewash. If we don't march the violence will continue."

The Ku Klux Klan used the lynching

of Jackson to rally its forces. The night before the march the media reported that 500 to 1,000 Klansmen rallied in the area. As Blacks assembled in Social Circle, about 100 Klansmen gathered as well. About half were clad in the Klan regalia of white hoods and robes. The Klan heckled and jeered the protesters.

All along the highway to Monroe white families displayed various racist paraphernalia. These included Confederate flags and racist signs. One resident displayed a toy monkey dangling from a tree with a hangman's noose around its neck.

Some whites were jumping up and down imitating monkeys and shouting that Blacks should go back to Africa. Once we reached Monroe a throng of nearly 200 young Black men joined the march.

They were militant and combative. They were in no mood to be cowed as we went through a gauntlet of nearly 400 Kluxers.

The air was charged. The mood was tense. But there were no violent confrontations. Along with Brooks, Rev. Ralph Abernathy spoke. Abernathy is

also a leader of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Movement.

Reba Williams Dixon from the Atlanta chapter of the NBIPP also spoke. In introducing Dixon, Brooks made the point that if it hadn't been for the NBIPP the turnout from Atlanta would not have been so great.

The crowd went wild when Dixon shouted "Lynn Jackson was lynched; this was not a suicide, it was a cold-blooded murder."

The action was a powerful indictment against the coroner's suicide verdict.

## Pitt. labor turns out to support striking electrical workers

BY LISA KANNENBERG

PITTSBURGH — Nearly 2,000 people turned out here February 23 for a rally in support of the striking Westinghouse Air Brake Company workers.

The 3,800 WABCO workers are members of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 610. Their strike against WABCO, a division of American Standard Corporation, is now in its fourth month.

Folksinger Pete Seeger set a militant tone for the rally with songs commemorating great labor struggles of the past, many of them in the Pittsburgh area.

Leaders of the Pittsburgh labor movement turned out in full force to demonstrate their solidarity with the striking electrical workers. Speaker after speaker rose to denounce corporations in general and American Standard in particular, and to praise the WABCO strikers for their determination to resist the company's giveback demands.

Paul Stackhouse, president of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Council, noted that the WABCO strike has inspired workers in industries up and down the Monongahela Valley. Calling the strike a "classic struggle," he stated that "a strike of this sort reminds us that, no matter what our organizational affiliation, when it comes right down to it we're all one union."

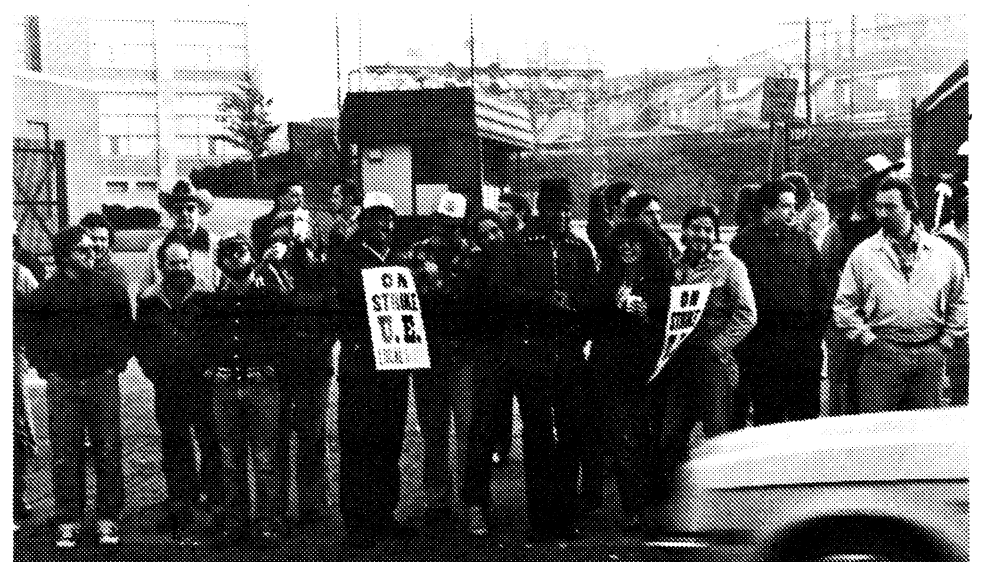
Dick Grace, president of United Steelworkers Local 1408, expanded on the solidarity theme. He spoke of the tremendous unity and potential power that union workers demonstrated in Washington at the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration, and called for similar action in Pittsburgh.

Other speakers represented locals of the Steelworkers, the UE, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), Teamsters, Service Employees International Union, the United Auto Workers, and the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers.

The unions donated over \$10,000 to the strike fund.

The high point of the rally was a speech by Ed Hunt, representing UE Local 558 in Hamilton, Ontario. Local 558 recently concluded a nine-month strike against WABCO, winning significant improvements in wages and benefits. American Standard officials had tried to downplay the victory of the Canadian WABCO workers to undermine the morale of the WABCO strikers in Pittsburgh.

Knowing that the company was misrepresenting their struggle to workers in Pittsburgh, the Canadian WABCO



Pickets at WABCO's Union Switch and Signal plant last December. Strike by United Electrical Workers Local 610 is now in fourth month.

workers decided to set the record straight. They sent a strong message of support and took up a collection for Local 610 from their first post-strike pay. The 275 workers donated \$2,400.

When this figure was announced at the rally, the entire crowd rose, cheering, clapping, and weeping at the extraordinary generosity of the Canadian brothers and sisters.

The rally was the first step toward mobilizing the tremendous support that exists in Pittsburgh for the WABCO strikers. Media reports here have begun to use words like "traditional" and "classic" to describe the WABCO strike. They also note that Local 610's refusal to cave in to company demands runs against the current of concessions in recent labor negotiations.

## Socialists win Mich. ballot suit

BY BILL ARTH

DETROIT — A victory for democratic rights was won in a decision by the Michigan Supreme Court announced on March 1. By a five-to-two vote, the court ruled Public Act 94, Michigan's election law, unconstitutional.

The law required "minor parties" to gather over 18,000 signatures in order to appear on the ballot in a primary election. "Minor parties" were also required to obtain approximately 5,000 votes in the primary to have the right to appear on the general election ballot.

Since Public Act 94 was enacted in 1976, no working-class party has succeeded in meeting these stringent requirements. The Socialist Workers Party and other parties had unsuccessfully tried to have the law overturned in a suit filed in 1975.

The SWP again filed suit in 1980, but received a negative decision in Wayne County Circuit Court. This ruling was appealed to the Michigan Supreme Court and overturned.

The Supreme Court ruled that Public Act 94 violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments, as well as the equal protection clause of the state constitution. The court also ruled that the law, in effect, gave preference to some parties over others, thus violating the "purity of elections" clause in the state constitution.

The American Civil Liberties Union provided support and funds for the case, and attorneys Ron Reosti and Margaret Winter handled the legal work.

Tim Craine, a member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers and the SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, called the court decision "a victory for workers in Michigan and nationally. It gives us a chance to have a real alternative in the elections."

Craine invited all supporters of the suit to attend a victory celebration on Saturday, March 13, at 7 p.m. at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters, 6404 Woodward, Detroit. For more information, or to help with the 1982 campaign, call (313) 875-5322.