

THE MILITANT

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7,000 protest KKK violence

N. Carolina march is victory for civil rights, labor



Militant/Lou Howort

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Students from North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University lead February 2 demonstration against murder of five anti-Klan protesters last November.

By Andy Rose

GREENSBORO, N.C.—It was a chanting, stamping, singing, shouting victory march here February 2 as 7,000 antiracist protesters demonstrated against Ku Klux Klan violence.

They came together from every state in the South and from many parts of the East and Midwest to protest the brutal KKK-Nazi murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators, members of the

Communist Workers Party, who were gunned down in Greensboro last November 3.

Also commemorating the student sit-ins here twenty years ago that helped launch the mass civil rights movement of the 1960s, the marchers cheered calls for new struggles in the 1980s to combat all forms of racism and oppression.

The turnout for this broadly spon-

sored action was an impressive victory.

A victory over the Klan, which didn't dare show its face on the streets of Greensboro, much less assault the demonstrators.

A victory over the cops, who had stood by and allowed the November 3 massacre but were forced to cooperate with the organizers of the February 2

march and to muzzle their Klan collaborators.

A victory over the state and city authorities, who had done everything they could in the weeks before the action to sabotage it, resorting to red-baiting and baseless warnings that violence would occur (see story on page 5).

Last but not least, the demonstration

Continued on page 3

Students map action campaign against draft

New Mexico prison rebellion

We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed.
—from the statement of the rebels at New York's Attica prison, September 9, 1971.

The Attica prison rebellion nine years ago exposed to millions of people the struggle for rights and dignity by the much abused victims of the American prison system.

Their words could be echoed today by the angry rebels at New Mexico State Penitentiary.

Victims of overcrowding, brutality by guards, arbitrary and illegal restrictions on mail and visitation rights, denied adequate recreation, education, and medical facilities, the prisoners at New Mexico State finally said, enough! They rose up to air their legitimate grievances and press their legitimate demands.

What was the response of the capitalist media and of the government authorities?

The same as at Attica.

The media has filled the air with grisly stories of alleged savagery by the angered inmates, stories similar to the lies told about the Attica rebels. Some of the falsehoods spread about the New Mexico rebels have already been exposed (see story on back page) and more will be as time goes on.

The sensationalism, lies, and exaggerations of the capitalist media serve a function: to suppress the truth about the prisoners' grievances; to habituate people to think of prison-

ers as a subhuman species, to whom human justice should be denied; and to cover up for the daily brutality and violence inflicted on the prisoners by the agents of capitalist law and order.

The capitalist authorities and media can never tell the whole truth about prison rebellions, or about the prisons because the prisons are a mirror of the capitalist society that they uphold.

The prisons express in sharpest form the degradation of human potential imposed by this irrational system, and the naked terror and violence that is used against those who refuse to put up with it, who rebel against it.

It is only when capitalism is eliminated, when it is replaced by a socialist society that aims to provide for human needs, that the brutal and degrading prison system can be eliminated.

Some get caught

It's the grease that moves the wheels of Congress, state legislatures, and other government agencies, and it comes in brown paper bags, envelopes, and briefcases.

It's pay-off money—tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars passed to Democratic and Republican representatives and senators, who then scurry off to do the bidding of the rich.

Big business—including organized crime—has always found this kind of lobbying to be virtually surefire.

But unfortunately for at least one U.S. Senator, seven members of Congress, the mayor of Camden, New Jersey, and assorted other public figures, it seems that cameras and tape recorders were rolling as these rites—sacred to most capitalist politicians—were being performed.

They were caught up in an FBI operation aimed at setting up a few bribe-taking politicians (mostly Democrats, so far) for public exposure and possible indictments.

The eager-handed politicians include certified "friends of labor" like Sen. Harrison Williams and Rep. Frank Thompson of New Jersey, and blatant reactionaries like Rep. John Murphy, known for his defense of the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua.

Williams is said to have accepted an offer of mining stock in exchange for agreeing to help

a firm get military contracts. And he is said to have boasted of the help he gave an Atlantic City gambling casino in avoiding conflicts with the law. His wife turns out to be an \$18,000 a year "consultant" to the firm owning the casino.

Other representatives took tens of thousands in bribes to help an "Arab sheik" avoid deportation proceedings. (Imagine what chance a real Arab or Mexican would have if they got into trouble with immigration.)

And the mayor of Camden (a member of the New Jersey state legislature) reportedly asked \$400,000 as a bribe for his help "in purchasing Atlantic City land, building a casino, and operating the resulting business."

And that's only the surface of the garbage pail!

"Abscam"—for "Arab Scam," the name of the FBI's bribery investigation—has shown that American capitalist politics haven't changed much since Watergate. Greed, corruption, and utter contempt for the rights and needs of ordinary people remain the rule at the top.

There's no indication that these legislators have to be bribed to vote to draft young people or break strikes. Those votes come straight from the heart. But on most other things, they apparently need a little incentive.

"Abscam" is also a reminder that the FBI hasn't gotten any less racist since the late J. Edgar Hoover.

"Abscam" was an attempt to further popularize the stereotype of Arabs as oil-rich "billionaire sheiks," and as the source of corruption. (No right-thinking American businessman—an oil company executive, for instance—would think of buying a congressman, right?)

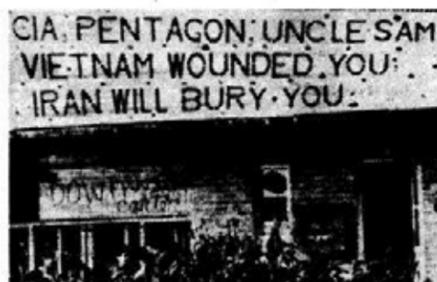
The accused representatives—and some of their colleagues who didn't get caught this time around—are now yelling about FBI entrapment.

Of course these legislators were silent when the FBI was using burglary, forgery, murder, and frame-ups to repress honest people who disagreed with the government. And they are pushing for a charter that will allow the FBI to commit more of the same. No, they have no moral basis for complaint.

Their squawks bring to mind the title of the old W.C. Fields movie—"You Can't Cheat an Honest Man."

Militant Highlights This Week

- 6 Antidraft protests spread
"Militant" sales
- 7 Americans want debate on draft
- 8 Nicaragua solidarity activities
Zimmermann goes to Nicaragua
- 9 Pulley tours N.Y. auto plant
- 10 Cuba 'Dialogue' figure switches sides
New Orleans SWP office attacked
- 19 Nicaraguan miners celebrate
- 20 Calif. rally against plant closing
- 21 Oil strikers point to safety hazard
- 22 Farmers to demonstrate in D.C.
- 23 U.S. feminist on Iran revolution
- 24 In Brief
What's Going On
- 25 The Great Society
Women in Revolt
- 26 Letters
Our Revolutionary Heritage
- 27 Learning About Socialism
- 11-18 International Socialist Review



Crisis of imperialism

This month's *International Socialist Review* features an article by Doug Jenness on the deepening revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and what this means for American working people. **Page 11.**

Pulley visits GM plant

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley gets an enthusiastic reception from a group of auto workers in Tarrytown, New York. **Page 9.**



Chicago teachers hit the bricks

A meeting of 10,000 Chicago Teachers Union members votes to strike against banker-imposed cutbacks. **Page 7.**

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...anti-Klan protest

Continued from front page

was a victory over North Carolina employers, who seek to use KKK terrorism and intimidation to keep Black and white workers divided and to block union organizing efforts.

'An injury to one . . .'

The February 2 action dealt a blow to the myth that a Klan "resurgence" is sweeping the South. It gave expression to the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of working people—Black and white, in the South and nationwide—against racist violence and for equality.

Especially viewed together with the labor-sponsored action in Richmond, Virginia, two weeks earlier—at which 5,000 people marched for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment—the Greensboro demonstration provides evidence of the new moods of struggle among working people in the South.

In directing their murderous gunfire last November against the Communist Workers Party, the Klan and its backers clearly hoped that broader civil rights and labor forces would not rally to the defense of the relatively small and isolated group of radicals.

But this divide-and-conquer gambit failed. More than 300 organizations and prominent individuals endorsed the February 2 Mobilization Committee, the coalition that organized the protest.

The united action by such authoritative civil rights groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), some chapters of the NAACP, some union locals, and religious figures, together with students and leftist political groups, showed how deep is the conviction that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The successful action adds substantially to the political pressure on local authorities to seriously prosecute the fourteen Klanners indicted for the November 3 slayings. It gave the lie to cop and news media slanders that have tried to blame the CWP for "provoking" the murders or even starting the shooting.

The fact that the anti-Klan march,

which included a contingent of more than 200 CWP supporters, proceeded peacefully and without incident showed once again that the real source of violence is the racists and their government and big-business accomplices.

'Freedom march '80'

Marchers began arriving at the assembly site in the chill, early morning on February 2. Many had ridden through the night on chartered buses and church buses from Atlanta; Birmingham; Memphis and Knoxville, Tennessee; Cincinnati, Dayton, and Yellow Springs, Ohio; Richmond, Norfolk, and Newport News, Virginia; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; New York; Newark; and other cities. Cars and vans rolled in from scores more areas.

Vendors did a brisk business in hot coffee and in t-shirts reading "Reject KKK" and "I was there—freedom march '80."

A brief rally was held before the march stepped off. Rev. Ralph Ross from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (A&T) gave an invocation that was short and to the point. "Lord," he said, "we are tired of this terror. We can't take it anymore."

Rev. C.T. Vivian of SCLC sounded what became one of the day's major themes: "We are here to begin the decade of the 1980s with a new movement. . . . We're not going to just sit down again. We're going to stand up and fight for our rights."

Half or more of the marchers were Black. The big majority were young.

Behind a thirty-foot banner that read "Unite! Stop Klan-Nazi Terror!" hundreds of students from A&T, Atlanta University, and other Black campuses made up the front ranks. Their militant spirit set the tone.

Throughout the four-mile march in sub-freezing temperatures, old civil rights songs such as "We Shall Overcome" and "We Shall Not Be Moved" mingled with chants of:

"We're fired up—Stop the Klan!"
"What do we want? Freedom! When do we want it? Now!"



Photos by Lou Howort/Militant and Michael Baumann/Intercontinental Press-Inprecor

"We say no, we say no, we say no to racism!"
"Hey hey, ho ho—KKK has got to go!"

Signs of the times

A big contingent of Black students came from North Carolina Central University with their own hand-lettered signs:

"What about our future—Stop racism!"

"Students of NCCU—1980s—We are not afraid!"

"1960 sit-ins—1980 a new movement!"

Several busloads came from the Tidewater area of Virginia, bringing their own huge banner and percussion instruments that kept up a lively beat. Norfolk's Black Vanguard Resource Center had printed signs: "Smash the Klan! Now!"

A group of NAACP members brought stenciled placards:

"Speak and act against all forms of racism."

"No threats, no Klans, nothing will stop us. Forward, never never back."

Some unions brought banners, including the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, National Organization of Legal Services Workers, and New York Public Library Guild Local 1930. Members of Communications Workers of America Local 3204 from Atlanta had a big sign: "Disconnect the Klan."

Many signs identified where participants came from:

"SCLC—Birmingham chapter—Freedom Now!"

"Floridians Against the Klan."

"Providence R.I. says no to the Klan."

"Winston-Salem [North Carolina] Cares—Human Rights in the 1980s."

Others highlighted the many issues of concern to demonstrators. There were signs against nuclear power and the draft, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and for gay rights.

Matilde Zimmermann, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, headed a contingent of supporters on the march.

Other political groups participating in the march included the Communist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Southern Conference Education Fund, Revolutionary Communist Party, Revolutionary Socialist League, International Socialist Organization, National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, and supporters of the *Guardian* newspaper.

Reclaim civil rights gains

At the concluding rally at Greensboro Coliseum, speakers again stressed the need for renewed civil rights struggles.

"We are here because we must reclaim the ground that we took in the civil rights struggles of the '50s and '60s," said Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a national SCLC leader from Cincinnati.

He condemned the role of the police in allowing the November 3 massacre of anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro and warned the cops to heed the lesson of earlier civil rights battles in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma: "You

Continued on next page



LUCIUS WALKER
Militant/Nelson Blackstock



BEN CHAVIS

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A&T: '60s sit-ins inspire '80 marchers

By August Nimtze

GREENSBORO, N.C.—On February 1, 1960, four Black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College sat down at the Woolworth's lunch counter to protest segregation. Their action helped spur the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Twenty years later, the students and their struggle were honored in a week-long series of activities here.

The high point came on Friday, February 1, when the four former students—Joseph McNeil, David Richmond, Franklin McCain and Jibreel Khazan (formerly Ezell Blair, Jr.)—returned to Greensboro.

In the morning they were guests for breakfast at the Woolworth's where they sat-in. Later in the day, the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce presented awards to the four and the city unveiled and dedicated a highway marker and plaque to mark the site of the 1960 sit-in.

The student governments at predominantly Black A & T State University and Bennett College, an all-women's institution, also scheduled a number of activities. Chief among these were afternoon addresses by former U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young and Rev. Ben Chavis.

The welcome mat that the city administration and business interests laid out for the four sit-in protesters reflects the profound changes that

have taken place in the South as a result of the civil rights movement. It indicates, for instance, that segregation is no longer acceptable to the broad masses of workers, white or Black, in the South.

The commemorative activities also reflected the growth in support for the February 2 anti-Klan march and rally. The city administration saw the commemorative events as a means for channeling Black opposition to Klan violence into simply a celebration of past gains for Black rights.

Rather than defusing that opposition, however, the commemorative events became a springboard for building the February 2 action in the Greensboro Black community, especially at A & T and Bennett, where classes were called off to honor the 1960 protest.

Black students were able to learn, many for the first time, about the history of the civil rights movement. Students at Bennett College learned with pride that Gloria Brown Wise, an alumna, helped plan the 1960 sit-in with the four A & T men and joined them on the second day of the protest, and that other Bennett students actively participated in the sit-ins.

The speeches of Andrew Young and Ben Chavis had the greatest impact.

Speaking to a standing room only crowd of more than 3,000 in Moore Gymnasium at A & T in the early

afternoon, Young began by recounting the history and gains of the civil rights struggle. He stressed the importance of mass actions and said that "the job of creating human dignity and human rights" is not over.

Young said that we "need to celebrate the gains of yesterday tomorrow through a massive march." Drawing the biggest applause of the afternoon, he declared, "I don't know about you but I don't fear any Ku Klux Klan. I hope you will be a part of the number than no man can number at the march tomorrow."

Ben Chavis, who spoke at a late afternoon convocation, hammered home the political importance of the march.

"The resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan," Chavis said, "is only the tip of the iceberg." The Klan represents the more entrenched and less visible racist forces that run America, he asserted.

To gigantic applause, the Wilmington Ten leader said, "We're not going to let the Klan or Nazis drive us out of our communities. They'd better understand that."

Chavis then told the enthusiastic audience, "Everybody get some rest tonight because I want you all to be up early tomorrow."

When Chavis finished, the chair announced that students who wanted to volunteer to be marshalls in the next

day's march should assemble immediately after the convocation.

Nearly 100 students came forward. Virtually none had ever been in a demonstration. The next day more than 100 A & T students helped marshal the protest.

The endorsement of the anti-Klan march by Young and Chavis was the featured story on the TV news; it was a front page story in the morning newspaper. One news report described Young's speech as having given the march "a shot of adrenalin."

The example of the four students in 1960 had become a source of inspiration to students to take part in the February 2 march.

This sentiment was expressed by Yetta Harper, an A & T student, after the march. "Listening to the speeches yesterday by Ambassador Young and Ben Chavis," she told the *Militant*, "they were saying to keep your freedom, you have to fight for it. And that's what I was doing today."

Another A & T student, Renee Simon, explained her reason for marching: "I'm here for the civil rights movement because I feel that we're just being mistreated. And it's time for us to take a stand."

Wendy Woods, a senior at Bennett, was inspired to serve as a volunteer marshal. Asked if this was her first demonstration, she said "yes, and it won't be my last."

...anti-Klan protest

Continued from preceding page

cannot stop a people who are determined to be free. And we will be free, so help us God!"

"Somebody sold us on the mistaken idea that the time for marching was over," Shuttlesworth declared. "But you better put on your marching shoes. We must march together!"

SCLC President Joseph Lowery added that police inaction when KKK violence erupted in Decatur, Alabama, last year encouraged the racists to kill in Greensboro.

Global consciousness

Lucius Walker, director of IFCO and the central organizer of the February 2 action, urged protesters to develop a "global consciousness."

"We have to see the relationship between Nazi terror here, Klan activity here, the abuse of power by state forces and corporate interests here, and the ways that they are oppressing people abroad," Walker said.

"In the case of Iran, we have to stop soft-pedaling the fact that it is the U.S. that has been an oppressor in Iran from the moment it instituted the dictatorship. We must realize that persons who are oppressed find new and different ways to struggle. I certainly am concerned about the hostages, but I also recognize that what the U.S. has done in Iran has been to create a condition of war.

"In El Salvador, in Chile, Guatemala, all over the world the U.S. is

playing a role of oppression. Our linkage must be with people who are oppressed, we must join with them to make a worldwide social change."

The most enthusiastically received speaker of the day was Rev. Ben Chavis, one of the defendants in the Wilmington Ten frame-up case in North Carolina. Chavis was released from prison last December after serving nearly four years of a thirty-four-year sentence on fabricated charges of arson. The very mention of his name was enough to bring cheers and applause from the rally.

Chavis thanked those present for coming to his defense. "You have opened the prison doors in North Carolina," he said. He paid tribute to the slain members of the CWP, and urged a united defense of CWP leader Nelson Johnson and other CWP members facing frame-up trials in Greensboro on charges stemming from the November 3 Klan shooting.

No draft!

Then Chavis declared he wanted to "send a message to Jimmy Carter:

"There ain't going to be no reinstating the draft!"

To a thunderous ovation from the largely draft-age audience, he continued:

"We're not going to fight no more wars for capitalism!

"We're not going to fight no more wars for imperialism!

"But I tell you what we are going to

do. We're going to be drafted in the freedom struggle. We're going to march. We're going to keep on marching. We're going to tear this system down!"

Chavis also called for joining with the struggles of the oppressed around the world against U.S. domination.

"The reason why people burn that flag down around the world is because we the people have allowed our government to wreak suffering on millions of people. In Iran and Afghanistan and anywhere else in the world where the U.S. is in trouble, we're only reaping what we sow."

Klan in 3-piece suits

The march also reflected the impact of new moves toward union organization in the South, in which Black and white workers are fighting side by side against labor-hating bosses and "right to work for less" laws.

A number of speakers pointed out that the Klan is the enemy not only of Blacks but of working-class whites and the labor movement. As Skip Robinson, leader of the United League of Northern Mississippi, put it, "the Klan that wears the white robe" is merely the tool of "the Klan that wears the three-piece suit—the ones that rule this nation. They are the ones who use the Klan to divide us."

February 2 Mobilization Committee leader Anne Braden, a veteran activist in labor and civil rights struggles in the South, spoke for the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice.

While the KKK terrorists are "dangerous men who must be brought to justice," she said, "they are not the cause of our problem, they are the result. The real danger today comes from the people in high places, from the halls of Congress to the boardrooms of our big corporations."

Braden said these powerful forces are trying to create "a scapegoat mentality among white people," blaming affirmative action and other gains by Blacks for the problems facing white workers.

"The truth is," she said, "that the limited gains that Black people made through the struggles of the last two decades never took a thing away from the white people of this nation. Rather, they opened up the doors to a better life for all the people, especially poor and working-class white people."

Dick Greenwood spoke representing William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

The American labor movement has gotten into trouble, he said, since labor officials "began to think that maybe we had more in common with corporate America, with our employers, than we did with the weak, the poor, the suffering, the disinherited, and the dispossessed."

Anti-union attacks by big business have dispelled that notion, he said. Urging an alliance between labor and civil rights forces, Greenwood declared, "We know we can't go it alone. We're in trouble and we need help. Into the 1980s for economic and social justice!"

The rally also heard from Phil Thompson of the Communist Workers Party; Jesús Moya, Texas Farm Workers; James Haygood, Paintmakers and Allied Trades; Rev. Iberus Hacker, Council of Southern Mountains; Fay Bellamy, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rev. William Brown; Robert Locklear, representing the Lumbee Indian Nation, a North Carolina tribe that has fought Klan violence; and Kevin Buncum, president of the Student Government Association at A&T.

Buncum pointed to the historic role of students in the civil rights and antiwar movements, and noted that students are still struggling both to desegregate schools and to save Black colleges from efforts by racist state officials to destroy them.

"We are here today and we are not apathetic," he declared. "We have not acquiesced. We are once again ready to take on our role in the struggle against oppression."

That spirit of readiness to struggle was the hallmark of February 2. It was successfully expressed because the wide range of organizations supporting the march, despite great differences in their political views on many questions, agreed to join forces in action to fight racist violence.

If the unity so dramatically displayed February 2 can be maintained and extended to draw in broader forces—notably from the labor movement, which is up against the same right-wing, big-business opponents—the potential is great for building what the marchers in Greensboro saw as urgently needed: a powerful new antiracist movement in the 1980s.

SWP candidate joins rally

Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, headed a contingent of SWP and Young Socialist Alliance members in the February 2 anti-Klan march.

In addition to speaking to many other marchers, Zimmermann and her campaign supporters distributed 2,500 campaign brochures and 1,000 copies of presidential candidate Andrew Pulley's pamphlet, *How I Became a Socialist*.

Three hundred copies of the *Militant* and 139 of the *Young Socialist* were sold, along with more than 200 "No Draft" buttons recently printed by the YSA.

Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina, and Jeffrey Miller, SWP candidate for Congress from the state's Fifth District, met a friendly response from anti-Klan fighters as they circulated petitions for a place on the November ballot.

Gov't disruption plan

How sabotage of Feb. 2 action was foiled

By Andy Rose

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Rev. Ben Chavis drew cheers from the anti-Klan rally here February 2 when he declared, "Despite how the media have tried to destroy this occasion, despite how the law enforcement has tried to prevent this event, despite all the adversaries—we made it today."

This victory for the right to protest was won over concerted opposition from state and local cops, government officials, and capitalist news media, who spared no effort to sabotage the action.

The coalition organizing the demonstration applied for a parade permit and for use of Greensboro Coliseum, the only suitable rally site, a full month in advance. But authorities gave them a lengthy runaround.

With the aid of attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York-based group associated with attorney William Kunstler, the anti-Klan coalition successfully went to court to win its right to obtain a march permit.

But using a loophole in the court ruling, the city next insisted that the coalition raise a \$6,500 rental fee for the coliseum and find \$100,000 worth of insurance. The money was raised and the permit finally granted—but not until the day before the march. These stalling tactics were designed to put a question mark over whether the march would be allowed to proceed legally.

This in turn paved the way for the violence-baiters. The State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) began interrogating student leaders across North Carolina. In addition to demanding information about those who might attend the anti-Klan action, the SBI agents "warned" that Communist Workers Party members would be armed and that violence would result.

Buses blocked

The coalition filed suit to stop the SBI harassment. It introduced sworn statements by student leaders about the SBI's intimidation, along with evidence that the SBI was trying to block local coalitions from renting buses in the Raleigh-Durham area and in Norfolk, Virginia.

At the same time, the local press kept up a steady drumfire of propaganda branding the march as the work of "outsiders," "Communists," and violence-prone individuals and groups.

To further whip up a crisis atmosphere, North Carolina Gov. James Hunt called up the National Guard. Greensboro Mayor E.S. Melvin proclaimed a limited State of Emergency on the eve of the march.

These attempts to wreck the march were part of the ongoing government coverup of police complicity with the November 3 massacre of five CWP members at an anti-Klan demonstration. The cops, who had told the KKK and Nazi gunmen where to find the protesters, disappeared from the scene shortly before the racist killers opened fire.

Fourteen racists were indicted for the slayings, including several for first-degree murder. But police and news media have persistently tried to shift responsibility for the violence onto the victims, suggesting that the CWP "provoked" the Klan or even fired the first shots. Three CWP members were arrested on trumped up charges of inciting to riot and resisting arrest.

Police intimidation was successful in forcing cancellation of an anti-Klan demonstration and a memorial service planned last November to protest the killings. The same red-baiting and violence-baiting were unleashed against the February 2 action.

Outrage at the November 3 killings and overwhelming public opposition to the Klan in North Carolina and na-



February 2 march brought together groups and individuals of many different political viewpoints in united action against racist violence.

tionwide were the crucial factors that made it possible for the February 2 Coalition to overcome the sabotage campaign. Support for February 2 grew from student groups, established civil rights forces, union locals, and prominent individuals, making it more and more difficult for city officials to openly violate the rights of anti-Klan demonstrators.

As the city's official backing for the commemorations of the 1960 sit-ins showed, Greensboro officials have no illusion they can simply return to brute force suppression of civil rights activities. To the contrary, they seek an image of being enlightened supporters of equality and the right to peacefully protest.

Persistent explanation by the February 2 Mobilization Committee that the march would be peaceful and nonviolent added to pressure on the city. Coalition supporters from across the country sent telegrams to the mayor demanding that the city stop its threats against the demonstration.

Central to the government's disruption plan was to single out the CWP as "violent" and thus sow division among march organizers.

In fact, from the time the action was called at a conference last December in Atlanta, the CWP had agreed that it should be a peaceful, legal, nonviolent protest.

Nevertheless, the government's divisive efforts had some effect inside the coalition, even to the point of jeopardizing the success and safety of the march.

Expulsion of CWP

On Monday, January 28, leaders of the February 2 Mobilization Committee held a news conference to announce that the CWP had been expelled from the executive committee of the coalition. The stated reason was the CWP's refusal to make a public statement renouncing the carrying of arms on the march.

According to the CWP, it had agreed at the Atlanta conference not to bring

arms to the February 2 march. But it insisted that a public statement to that effect would mean renouncing the constitutional right of self-defense and would invite attack by the racists.

The CWP's insistence on not saying publicly what it in fact agreed to—that the marchers should not be armed—was clearly wrong under the circumstances of the government-media violence-baiting campaign. It undercut the ability of anti-Klan forces to expose these slanders.

But to exclude the CWP from the coalition on this basis was a serious mistake. It lent credence to violence-baiting of the CWP and—since the CWP would obviously participate in the march anyway—of the march itself. If the cops had felt free to arrange a provocation at the march, going after demonstrators for allegedly carrying weapons, they certainly would not have limited themselves to CWP members.

The exclusion of the CWP was seized on by the media and city officials to shift public attention away from the Klan massacre and the city's stifling of democratic rights.

At the same time, the coalition's move against the CWP hampered ef-

forts to convince the CWP, through discussion, to make a public statement of their position.

Fortunately, in the final days before the march, important steps were taken to overcome these divisions.

In Friday's Greensboro *Daily News*, CWP leader Nelson Johnson was quoted reaffirming the group's intention to make sure the demonstration was nonviolent. "The CWP has no interest in committing violence," Johnson said. "Instead the CWP is the target of violence."

The *Daily News* continued, "Johnson said the party is committed to the right of armed self-defense but that does not imply the CWP necessarily will march with weapons."

The same day's papers quoted Lucius Walker, the chief organizer of February 2, saying the CWP was welcome at the demonstration and that he did not believe they would come armed.

The night before the march, CWP leaders were introduced immediately after a coalition news briefing to restate their position on the peaceful, legal, and nonviolent nature of the march.

"If there is any violence or disruption it will come from the city, state, or Klan," declared Nelson Johnson. "Everyone else is coming for a peaceful, legal protest."

The success of the united march the next day dealt a big blow to the cop and media slanders.

The widows of the slain CWP members were introduced at the coliseum rally and a CWP leader was among the speakers.

A powerful appeal for unity was made by Ben Chavis, who dedicated his remarks to the five slain CWPers—Jim Waller, Bill Sampson, Sandy Smith, Cesar Cauce, and Mike Nathan.

"It matters not what their political ideologies were," Chavis said to thunderous applause. "It matters that they have given their lives for everybody in this building, for everybody in Greensboro, for everybody in the world today."

Chavis also introduced Paul Bermanzohn, who was wounded in the attack, and urged solidarity with Nelson Johnson, who faces serious frame-up charges.

Chavis called on "brothers and sisters, whether they're in the CWP or SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] or IFCO [Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization] or the UCC [United Church of Christ] or regardless of what organization you're in . . . we'd better come together and stand up against racism." The crowd roared its approval.

They knew better than anyone that this expression of the unity of antiracist forces to defend victims of Klan violence was, as Chavis declared, "a victory for all the people who want freedom, for all the people who want justice."

Defend N.C. frame-up victims!

Three anti-Klan protesters face frame-up charges of inciting to riot and resisting arrest in the wake of the KKK-Nazi murder of five demonstrators last November in Greensboro. The trials of Nelson Johnson, a leader of the Communist Workers Party, and demonstrators Willena Cannon and Rand Manzella are set for February 20.

The charges against them are part of the government's attempt to turn the victims of the November massacre into the criminals and to whitewash the crimes of the Klan.

Telegrams demanding that all charges against the three be dropped should be sent to Mayor



NELSON JOHNSON

E.S. Melvin, 210 N. Greene, Greensboro, North Carolina 27402.

Antidraft protests spread across country

By Suzanne Haig

Protests against Carter's call to reinstate draft registration continue to mount across the country. In addition, planning meetings for future actions are spreading on the campuses.

The University of California Student Body President's Council, which includes student presidents of all nine UC campuses, has called a statewide day of "protest and education" February 11 to consist of teach-ins, rallies, and marches on campuses throughout the state.

The call was announced at a press conference February 4 by Jerry Kurland, undergraduate student president at UCLA.

Also present at the press conference were representatives of Students for Economic Democracy and Tom Hayden, who stated that "there should be no war in the Persian Gulf for big oil."

Building is already under way at the nine UC campuses and, in addition to a UC Berkeley rally, actions have spread to San José State University and to San Francisco campuses.

At the UC San Diego campus, 100 people met February 4 to map out plans for their action. The student government has offered all its facilities to build February 11 and activists plan to fan out with leaflets to the community, factories, and work places in the area.

In addition, 100,000 leaflets have been printed to build a candlelight vigil, February 8 in front of the Beverly Hills Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles.

Protesters will be out in the street demanding, "No war," "No draft," and "No nuclear weapons," while Rosalyn Carter addresses a \$1000-a-plate Carter fund-raising dinner inside.

On the East Coast, 1,000 people demonstrated February 2, in bitter cold at Boston's Government Center. Sponsored by the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft, the action included Boston high school students and students from campuses throughout New England: Harvard, Radcliffe, Tufts, Boston University, University of Massachusetts in Boston, Brown University in Rhode Island, and others.

Speakers included Tony Van de Meer, a national leader of the Black Student Association; antinuclear activist and scientist Helen Caldicott; feminist poet Karen Lindsey; and others.

In New York City a rally demanding, "No draft, no registration, and no war drive," sponsored by the New York Coalition Against the Draft, will be held February 9. It will begin at the Times Square Recruiting Center at noon with a march to Carter's New York campaign headquarters at Madison and Fifty-fourth Street. Speakers



1,000 turned out for rally January 30 at University of Minnesota.

include Sam Meyers, president of Local 259 of the United Auto Workers; Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front; and former Congresswoman Bella Abzug. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed at high schools and campuses in the city.

Many areas that have already had one antidraft protest are planning additional ones.

In Detroit the Wayne State University Student-Faculty Council passed a resolution against draft registration. On February 4, 200 people attended an antidraft forum on that campus. Speakers included Jim Lafferty, a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement and currently a professor at Wayne State, and representatives from the Michigan chapters of the National Organization for Women and American Civil Liberties Union.

In the evening, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) held a planning meeting to

form a greater Detroit chapter and to organize a rally at Wayne State for February 7. That rally will be followed by another planning meeting.

"Hell no, we won't go" and "One, two, three, four, we won't fight Exxon's war" were two of the chants shouted by more than 200 people who marched against the draft January 31 west of Detroit in Ann Arbor.

Organized by CARD, whose members include a number of high school students, the protesters marched from Ann Arbor's Community High School, through the University of Michigan campus, and then to the Federal Building for a rally. Speakers included representatives from the University Women's Studies Program, CARD, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Young Socialist Alliance, and Youth Against War and Facism.

Royd Buchele, organizer of the rally

and an Ann Arbor high school student, spoke about the "militarization of the schools" preparing youth for war. This was the second antidraft rally held in Ann Arbor and others are planned.

Eight hundred students rallied February 6 at the Champaign-Urbana campus of the University of Illinois. Sponsored by the Stop the Draft Committee, the rally had been called out of a planning meeting of 300 people held January 31 on three days notice.

In Chicago, CARD is sponsoring a march February 9. Beginning at noon at the Daley Plaza, protesters will march to Thorne Hall at the Northwestern University downtown campus, 740 North Lake Shore Drive, for a memorial meeting at 2 p.m. It will be dedicated to "the 55,000 people who died in the Vietnam War and the tens of thousands who will die in future wars if the draft is reinstated."

CARD has also called a February 16 meeting at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo to set up a midwest regional network of antidraft organizations.

A northeast regional planning conference with workshops and plenary sessions is scheduled for February 9-10 at Wesleyan College in Middletown, Connecticut.

In Philadelphia, a teach-in featuring Dave Dellinger is planned for February 7 at Temple University.

In Olympia, Washington, a planning meeting organized on three days notice brought out 450 students on January 31 at Evergreen State College.

This is only a partial list of the many actions that have and will take place. Opposition to the draft is deep, and as these protests spread they can attract more and more high school and college students and trade unionists.

'We just don't trust the government anymore'

A group of seniors at Roosevelt High School in East Los Angeles had a discussion on world affairs following Carter's call for reinstating draft registration. The views of the students, many of them Chicanos, were reported in the January 28 *Los Angeles Times*.

When their teacher, Howard Shorr, asked whether they believed the draft should be reinstated, the answer was: "No way, José."

"Why don't you want a draft?" asked Shorr.

"I don't want to die," said most. "What about national honor? Tradition? Pride?" Shorr asked.

"It's just money and oil that they want," replied Monica Flores. "Oil takes precedence over people. They just use national honor as a front."

"Our attitudes have changed because of Vietnam," said Rene Santiago, editor of the school paper. "You're confused because you believe in this country, but you see what it's doing wrong here and you see what it's doing wrong overseas."

"I was brought up with ideals, like police are real nice and you're supposed to trust them. Now, I see reality."

"We just don't trust the government any more," said Everado Aguilar.

On foreign policy students opposed the proposed Olympics boycott because "politics and sports don't mix." They feared that a war with the Soviet Union could end in a nuclear holocaust.

On Iran some students felt that

the U.S. should never have supported the shah. "Remember," said Diane Carrillo, "he was an American puppet."

Aguilar, however, argued that the shah was a "necessary evil" enabling the United States to get Iran's oil.

"But the U.S. didn't do anything about the people who were killed and tortured by the shah," said another student named Zumaya. "It's like what we've done in Chile, Argentina, and the Philippines with our puppets there."

Aguilar summed up what is on the minds of these and millions of other high school students throughout the country; "I'm just wondering: Will I see my eighteenth birthday?"

Brisk sales of 'Young Socialist' & 'Militant'

By Peter Seidman

"We sold sixty copies of the *Young Socialist* and seventy *Militants* in less than an hour," Socialist Workers Party organizer Anne Chase reported after one thousand Bostonians demonstrated against the draft February 1.

Despite the ten-degree weather, "it was incredibly easy to sell. Almost everyone on the demonstration was either a high school or working youth," Chase explained.

"They were eager to learn about Afghanistan and Iran. They just grabbed up the papers."

Members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance from coast to coast report similar results.

Carter's moves to reinstate the draft have provoked both anger and "a real hunger for the information and ideas in the *Militant* and *YS*."

That's how Danny Booher described the mood at an antiwar forum of nearly 300 people held February 4 at Indiana University in Bloomington.

"People there didn't buy the government's lies about the Middle East," Booher said. "Many nodded in agreement as speakers pointed to blows against imperialist profiteering in Iran and Nicaragua—and not the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—as the main reason for stepped-up U.S. war threats."

Socialists sold about fifty *YS*s and *Militants* at the meeting.

Opposition to the draft is a strong sentiment on the job also.

Sales, especially to young people in the plants, are "definitely much easier," Sparrows Point steelworker Norton Sandler reports from Baltimore.

"We've sold five subscriptions in just the last ten days. *Young Socialist* sales are also going well."

This is true for women as well as men, according to another Sparrows Point worker. "I sold three *Militants* in the locker room to women who were talking about how they wouldn't go either," she said.

Cleveland socialists report a similar response.

George Chalmers, a member of United Steelworkers Local 4333 at Cleveland Crane, sold three subscriptions so far this week. Altogether, socialists at this plant sold nearly fifteen subs in the last three weeks alone.

And the young workers buying the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* at Cleveland Crane want to go into action. One who just bought a subscription is planning to join a newly formed antidraft group at Cleveland State University.

A group of nineteen- and twenty-year-olds there is putting together a resolution against the draft to present at the next union meeting. They're busy circulating it through the plant for signatures. "This is the discussion here," one of them reports.

Antidraft sentiment among working-class youth in the United States is a key obstacle to Carter's threats against revolutionary struggles in Afghanistan, Iran, and Nicaragua.



Selling at February 2 anti-Klan march

While building these actions, socialists can help educate a new layer of antiwar fighters by paying careful attention to stepped-up sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*.

Americans want debate on draft, foreign policy

By Fred Feldman

Carter's announcement in his State of the Union address that draft registration will be reinstated has spurred debate, discussion, and questioning throughout the country. It is making Americans—and youth in particular—in every home, community, school, and workplace think about Iran, Afghanistan, and the Middle East as potential life-and-death questions for themselves and their families.

Initial polls taken by the capitalist media showed mixed results, wide variations, and many divisions.

An Associated Press-NBC News poll released February 2 claimed that 62 percent of those polled favored the draft. "The only significant exception is young people, those 18 to 24 years of age," added an AP dispatch. "They opposed the draft by a margin of 40 to 55."

Other polls claimed to find a majority of draft-age youth supported reinstating the draft. But the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported January 31 that its poll of Northern California voters found 59 percent opposed to the draft. It is hardly surprising that many

working people give some credence to Carter's claims, especially given the nearly unanimous support for his war preparations by the media and Republican and Democratic politicians.

But even many of those who are initially inclined to support the president are plagued by doubts. They don't trust the government.

William E. Stevens described a typical reaction in the February 3 *New York Times*: "Mrs. Cerre worked herself into tears over the situation the night President Carter drew the line and called for draft registration, not only on [her son] Ken's account, but for her daughter Kathy, 19. 'I don't want them to go,' she said, 'but I'm the mother. I'd feel more comfortable in this situation, though, where it was really in our national interest, rather than a Vietnam.'"

The fear that Carter and the U.S. rulers are trying to maneuver us into another Vietnam haunts tens of millions of working people, regardless of their initial views on Iran, Afghanistan, or the draft. They don't take it for granted that Carter is right. They are eager to hear both sides.

Some of these feelings were given voice by Richard Cohen in a column in the January 31 *Washington Post*.

"Once I was a gullible kid, young and sure that we had to stop them—the commies—somewhere. I heard all that talk about how they would wind up in San Francisco if we didn't stop them in Saigon and I believed it—honest. I believed it even after others were in the streets demonstrating.

"All during Vietnam, the government lied to me. All the time. Watergate didn't help matters any. More lies."

Cohen continued, "Maybe Afghanistan is important. I somehow think it is. . . ."

"[But] a lot of us want a debate. We want to hear the issues aired. . . . I don't like to be rushed. I got rushed once, and a lot of men died."

The knowledge that the government lies and the demand that Carter prove his case show that the lessons of Vietnam have taken deep root in the minds of Americans. When President Carter calls on them to rally to the "national interest," they don't take it for granted that he is really defending the majority of this nation.

They don't want to be stampeded into the draft or into a new Vietnam.

They want to find out whether it is the people in Afghanistan and Iran that threaten us, or the fact that the U.S. government is once again backing corrupt, reactionary forces against popular struggles.

They want to know whether it is the Soviet Union that threatens peace, or the Carter administration's determination to surround the USSR on all sides with deadly nuclear weapons.

And they want to discuss the price they are being asked to pay.

But a debate is the last thing Carter wants. He knows that the massive antiwar sentiment that took hold during the Vietnam war has not been reversed. That's why the rulers, after

Student group calls teach-ins

The United States Student Association (USSA) has announced plans for a National Antidraft Teach-In Project consisting of a series of teach-ins on college campuses and at community meetings around the country from late February through April.

These teach-ins offer an important opportunity to engage in discussion and debate over the draft and U.S. foreign policy.

According to project coordinator Jack Calhoun, "The USSA will be educating and organizing students to fight back against the draft."

For more information contact: USSA, 1220 G St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; or call (202) 667-6000.

trying to chip away at opposition to war for years, have now begun a concerted drive to try to turn it around.

Carter and the ruling rich know that what they are trying to do in Iran and Afghanistan won't stand the light of day, any more than what they were doing in Vietnam a decade ago could stand the light of day.

And they know that the price that they intend to exact from us for their war drive won't stand much scrutiny, either.

So they are trying to suggest that debate and discussion are divisive and unpatriotic. But that's not going over very well.

Whether or not the rulers want the American people to know the truth, the American people have a right to know it.

On with the debate!



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Chicago teachers strike against cutbacks

By Brenda Brdar

CHICAGO—"On strike for our contract" reads the slogan on the Chicago Teachers Union picket signs. By a margin of three to one the union membership voted February 3 to make its week-long walkout an official strike until three conditions are met.

One, the board of education must rehire 683 of the 1,675 teachers and aides it recently cut.

Two, the board must provide a full thirty-nine-week school year as agreed to in the union contract.

Three, the board cannot reopen negotiations on the union contract until it expires in September 1981.

The vote followed a membership meeting of more than 10,000 CTU members.

Robert Healey, president of the CTU, explained what was at stake. The board of education wouldn't budge on the issue of rehiring the 683 newly cut teachers and aides unless the CTU agreed to changes in their two-year contract, which included an 8.5 percent raise this year and 8 percent next year.

"The board said, 'Give up the dental. Give up a week's vacation pay. Give up family hospitalization. Take a straight 4 percent cut in salary.'" Shouts of "No! No!" went up from the audience as Healey listed these concessions demanded by the board.

Healey went on to denounce the bankers as sharks. "I was wrong to call them bloodsuckers. They're more like sharks. They encircle their victim and then chomp up big chunks. Their purpose is not to see that kids get an education," he went on "but to make money, to make a profit."

Brenda Brdar is a striking teacher and a member of the Chicago Teachers Union.

The mass meeting, chaired by Black CTU Vice-president Jacqueline Vaughn, also heard from Robert Gibson, president, Illinois AFL-CIO; James Wright, assistant director, Region 4 United Auto Workers; Albert Shanker, president, American Federation of Teachers; and past presidents of the Chicago Teachers Union. Chicago Federation of Labor President William Lee sent a solidarity message.

Robert Gibson charged that "the corporate business and financial interests are influencing every school decision." He lent his support to the CTU struggle on behalf of 1 million members of the Illinois labor movement.

James Wright discussed the ninety-four-day International Harvester strike and pledged support from the UAW. "The board of education is trying to break your union. You have the power to make the board of education say yes when it wants to say no. The UAW is with you. Our 155,000 members in the Chicago area are with you. We'll stick together and you'll do what you need to do to win."

Albert Shanker, president of the New York United Federation of Teachers, which lost 15,000 jobs during the 1975 New York City crisis, said, "The issue is whether or not you'll have a union."

The Chicago Teachers Union is establishing a committee of volunteers to gain support for the strike from the community and labor movement.

Lee Artz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and a member of United Steelworkers Local 15271, said in a statement:

"I do not believe we have to accept any cutbacks or layoffs in Chicago. If anything we should be discussing how to expand education and vital social services.

propose a broad conference of labor, Blacks, Latinos, and others who are suffering from the cuts. Such a conference is necessary to discuss the crisis from the point of view of working people, not the banks and corporations.

"The crisis is not one of money, but who controls the money. I believe the solution is clear: no cutbacks, no layoffs, no school closings, no interest payments to the banks. Tax the corpo-

rations, not homeowners. Federal money for the schools, not new Vietnams.

"To put this program into action the labor movement needs its own political representation, a labor party based on the trade unions. A party which represents us. The Democrats and Republicans represent the banks and corporations.

"The conference I propose could discuss these and other ideas to lay out a program of action for working people."

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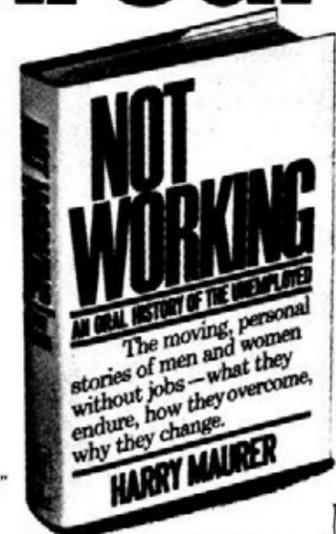
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Nicaraguan leaders to speak in U.S.

By Nancy Cole

Solidarity groups across the nation are planning a variety of activities this month and next to correspond with Nicaragua's commemoration of the assassination of Augusto César Sandino.

These events will be highlighted by tours of four representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), reports the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

The tours from February 20 through March 4 of two FSLN members each will hit about fifteen cities, which tentatively include Chicago, Madison, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

Sandino, a former oilfield mechanic and mine worker, led a national liberation war from 1927-1934 against the occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. marines. He was assassinated on February 21, 1934, on the orders of Anastasio Somoza García, father of the recently ousted dictator.

The Nicaraguan people will have plenty to celebrate this February 21: democratic rights unheard of under Somoza, such as the right to organize unions; the government takeover of Somoza's vast wealth and its use for the benefit of the Nicaraguan people; and an all-out FSLN-led drive to educate Nicaragua's illiterates, half of the population.

But the revolution also faces serious problems, and herein lies the critical importance of the U.S. solidarity movement and its fund-raising and educational activities in the near future.

Nearly a half century of Somozaism left Nicaragua in a severe economic crisis. Somoza's military forces destroyed schools, hospitals, and industry. Medical supplies and equipment are

virtually unobtainable inside the country. Planting of crops was disrupted, threatening devastating food shortages.

And there is the ever present danger of a U.S.-engineered military attack against the revolution.

The FSLN tours and other solidarity activities this month and next will go a long way toward getting the truth about Nicaragua out to the American people and enlisting their aid in reconstructing that country.

The solidarity events began this month with the tour of Sonia de Chamorro, fund-raising director for the National Literacy Crusade.

In Detroit, correspondents report that her meeting (see box) will be one of the most broadly sponsored in that city in some time. Besides the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, Chamorro's meeting cosponsors include Vince Bruno, education director for United Auto Workers Region 1-A; Latin American Task Force of Detroit; AMISTAD/Detroit Cuba Friendship Association and the following Wayne State University groups: Student Faculty Council, Chicano-Boricua Studies Department

of Adult and Continuing Education, College of Education, La Union Estudiantil, and Association of Black Students.

Two regional conferences scheduled represent big steps forward for the U.S. solidarity movement. The first on February 23 in Boston will feature an address by Hilde Sequeira, Nicaraguan counsel in Washington, D.C.

On the West Coast, a regional conference in San Francisco on March 14-16 will offer the first chance for Western activists to share experiences and plan future activities.

Schedule of solidarity activities

- | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--|---|
| <p>FEB. 12: DETROIT. Report from Sonia de Chamorro. 7:30 p.m. Wayne State University. Sponsored by Detroit-Area Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. For more information call (313) 579-2100.</p> | <p>FEB. 15: LOS ANGELES. Fund-raising event for Sonia de Chamorro. 8 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. Eighth St. Sponsored by National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, L.A. chapter. For more information call (213) 224-2878.</p> | <p>FEB. 23: BOSTON. Northeast Regional Conference. 11 a.m. Boston University, 871 Commonwealth Ave. Sponsored by B.U. Free School and Nicaragua Solidarity Committee of Boston. For more information call (617) 547-3810.</p> | <p>FEB. 24: NEW ORLEANS. Speakers, slide show. Rogers Chapel at Tulane University. Sponsored by New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization.</p> | <p>FEB. 27: MILWAUKEE. Fund-raising rally featuring FSLN representative. Sponsored by Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy. For more information call (414) 344-7900.</p> | <p>FEB. 29: PHILADELPHIA. FSLN representative, Janel Melvin, and Jack Hart, international representative for United Electrical Workers. 8 p.m. Antioch College Extension.</p> |
| | | | <p>MARCH 1: LOS ANGELES. Rally with slide show. 7:30 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium. Sponsored by National Network.</p> | | |
| | | | <p>MARCH 14-16: SAN FRANCISCO. West Coast Conference. Mission Adult Center, 262 Capp St. Sponsored by Casa Nicaragua and NICA. For more information call (415) 824-9728.</p> | | |

For more information on other activities including the FSLN tours, contact the National Network, 1322 Eighteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 223-2328.

Socialist candidates on visit to Nicaragua

On February 6 Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann left for Nicaragua on a fact-finding tour. Accompanying her were four SWP candidates for U.S. Senate: George Johnson from California, Lee Artz from Illinois, Victor Nieto from New York, and John Powers from Ohio.

Bill Arth, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Michigan, and Sharon Grant, SWP congressional candidate from Virginia, are also in the delegation, as is Mohammed Oliver, the socialist candidate for Birmingham, Alabama, mayor in last fall's election.

Byron Nelson, who is running for federal parliament in the upcoming Canadian elections on the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire ticket, is also on the trip.

Below is the statement released by Zimmermann as the delegation departed for Nicaragua.

Today, I and eight other socialists will leave for Managua, Nicaragua, to begin a fact-finding tour. The delegation includes steelworkers, auto workers, and shipyard workers.

We will have the opportunity to visit with members of the Nicaraguan trade union movement, the farmworkers union, youth, and women's organizations. We will be able to see the work that the Nicaraguan people, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), are doing to reconstruct their devastated country.

We are going as supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution. When we return, we will use our experiences to report to American working people the truth about what is happening in Nicaragua.

American workers have a stake in supporting the struggles of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. The same

big business and banking interests that are attacking and driving down our standard of living are trying to starve out the Nicaraguan people and prevent them from building a society based on the needs of people, not profits.

The United States backed dictator Anastasio Somoza to the hilt and trained and armed his National Guard, which shot down thousands in cold blood. Somoza absconded with the national treasury after his troops devastated factories and farms. The damage totals in the billions.

The U.S. government must bear the blame for the suffering of the Nicaraguan people.

Although the U.S. poured funds into Nicaragua to bolster the hated Somoza regime, today the imperialists hedge and threaten when Nicaraguans ask for help to reconstruct their country. A bill now in Congress calls for a paltry

\$75 million in aid, far short of what is required. The bill empowers President Carter to cut off aid if he should decide that Nicaragua is getting too friendly with Cuba, the Soviet Union, or other countries imperialism opposes. It would give \$5 million to the dictatorship in Honduras, which is harboring exiled units of Somoza's National Guard, poised for intervention.

The way the Carter administration is treating the Nicaraguan people is an outrage. Contrast the response of revolutionary Cuba which, despite limited resources, sent hundreds of doctors and teachers to Nicaragua with no conditions.

The United States must give Nicaragua massive, immediate aid—with no strings attached. The attempt to use aid as a bargaining chip to compel the Nicaraguan people to do what the imperialists want is nothing but economic blackmail. This must stop.

The way Nicaraguans are reconstructing their society can be an inspiration to U.S. working people. While New York and Chicago announce cutbacks of their already rotten school systems, Nicaragua is launching a literacy campaign to teach 900,000 people to read and write and providing an education for another 600,000.

When we return we are going to participate in the National Week of Solidarity with Nicaragua which starts on February 17 and runs through the 23rd. This is a week of actions in local areas across the country, called by the national Nicaragua Solidarity Conference, which has as its purpose bringing the truth about Nicaragua to the American people and demanding maximum, unconditional aid.

I urge everyone who supports the concepts of fair play and social justice to get involved and help build Nicaragua solidarity activities.



Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president, is touring Nicaragua with delegation of SWP candidates from across U.S.

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Socialist candidate visits New York GM plant

By Betsy Farley and Robert Miller

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—January 17 was not just a regular work night for second-shift auto workers at the General Motors assembly plant here. That night Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, broke the monotony of the assembly line.

Pulley's visit to the plant was organized and publicized by a group of campaign supporters inside the plant, so workers were expecting him that night. Whether Pulley would be allowed in the plant or not was a big topic of discussion as the shift began.

Then at 7:00 p.m., Andrew Pulley made his way down the stairs into the chassis department. From the motor line all the way to the high line, heads turned as workers said to each other, "That's him," and "There's Pulley." Many recognized Pulley from his picture on the leaflet. Some waved as he went by—others raised clenched fists.

"Hi, I'm running for president of the United States," Pulley said, introducing himself to a Black woman working on the chassis final line. "Damn right!" she replied.

As they shook hands, she asked about his chances of winning. Pulley explained, "I'm running because we, the working people, produce everything, and we should run the country—not a handful of super-rich. Our unions have to stop supporting our enemies, the Democrats and Republicans, and build our own party, a labor party."

"Good," she answered as she went back to her job. "We need a brother to do something like this."

From 7:00 p.m. to the 9:00 p.m. lunch break Pulley toured up and down several lines, shaking hands, and talking to hundreds of workers in the chassis, trim, and cushion departments. He was accompanied by Reba Williams-Dixon and Robert Miller, SWP congressional candidates in New York's Nineteenth and Seventeenth districts, and Maceo Dixon, chairperson of the SWP national campaign committee. Miller works at the Ford Metuchen plant in Edison, N.J. Williams-Dixon is a production worker at the Tarrytown plant.

As the socialist campaigners entered the soft trim department, one young worker came running from his job several lines over to meet Pulley. "I've



SWP candidate Andrew Pulley speaks to workers from the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York.

heard a lot about you, and I want to shake your hand," he said. They chatted for a few minutes, and before the worker had to run back to catch up with his job, as it moved down the line, Pulley said, "Check out our meeting tonight after work."

"I'll be there," the worker replied. Another worker shook Pulley's hand, explaining he had wanted to meet him for a long time. "I read your pamphlet, *How I Became a Socialist*, and being from North Carolina, I know about the things you talk about like picking cotton." This worker subscribes to the *Militant* and helped get the word out about Pulley's visit to Tarrytown.

The high point of the evening was a meeting after work at 2:30 a.m. at a nearby bar. The meeting grew out of months of campaigning by supporters in the plant, since the Socialist Workers Party announced its ticket in August of 1979. GM workers regularly buy twenty to forty copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* each week. More than thirty have subscriptions to the *Militant*, and forty have purchased Pulley's pamphlet.

Hundreds of leaflets for the meeting had been distributed outside the plant and many found their way inside.

From 2:00 a.m. on, workers began to drift into the bar. Some chatted with Pulley before the meeting began, while others browsed through the display of

books, pamphlets, and literature about the campaign and the socialist movement set up for the event. Many bought literature, and some signed up as Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann on the endorser cards.

Thirty people in all attended the meeting at the bar, most of them GM workers. One participant was a day-shift worker at a nearby battery company who had heard about the meeting from a friend at GM. Two Puerto Rican college students heard about the meeting and decided to come by.

Pulley gave a short presentation, followed by a discussion session that lasted past 4:00 in the morning. Pulley pointed to Cuba and Nicaragua as examples of working people taking control of society and explained that in those countries health and education are top priorities.

Questions ranged from what to do about the dangers of war and nuclear power, to the fight against Ku Klux Klan terror in Greensboro, North Carolina.

One worker asked about the Iranian crisis. "If we send the shah back, won't that encourage other countries to take hostages and try to blackmail us too?" Pulley responded that it is the banks, corporations, and bloodsucking landlords that Iranian and Afghan workers are fighting, not American workers. This prompted a discussion of who the

shah really is, his crimes against the Iranian people, and the U.S. government role in placing him in power in the first place.

Most of the discussion centered on the question of how to make change in American society and the role of the unions. One worker who had helped publicize the meeting asked, "I agree with all your proposals to change things, but how can we do it?"

Other participants pitched in to answer his question, pointing to the need to get involved in struggles going on right now, like the fight to ratify the ERA, and the Greensboro demonstration against Klan violence. Pulley added that the best way to do that is to join the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party.

After the meeting a twenty-five-year-old Black worker who supports the SWP campaign said he was interested in joining the YSA.

"When I first started working at GM I thought you socialists had a lot of good ideas," he explained, "but I didn't have the hope that you could really do anything to make any change. I agreed with you, but I saw GM as a big powerful monster. But over the past nine months I've seen people's attitudes change, and I've seen workers begin to stand up for each other."

"I still don't know if we can do anything to make those changes, but I can see a ray of hope, and that's why I decided to join."

Back in the plant now it's clear the Pulley tour made an impact. Workers ask campaign supporters more often now how Pulley is doing, and some who never bought the *Militant* before have begun reading it to keep up with Pulley's answers to the Carter administration's war drive. Some have been following the progress of the SWP ballot drive in North Carolina. Several workers who didn't get a chance to meet Pulley heard about his visit and have approached campaign supporters to find out more about the socialist campaign.

One older worker remarked after Pulley was gone that this was the most exciting thing to happen in the twenty-seven years he had worked in the plant. "Nothing like this has ever happened before," he said. "It's a good thing you young people are here to stir things up."

Get this pamphlet free!

This pamphlet, "How I Became a Socialist," by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley is yours free with the purchase of a subscription to the *Young Socialist*, the monthly paper of the Young Socialist Alliance, or the *Militant*.

Pulley, a steelworker and member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, describes in this 45-page story why he decided to become a socialist.

It started, he says, with his experiences growing up in the Jim Crow South, where segregated schools like his were the norm. When he was eight he went to work chopping cotton, just so the family could get by.

Pulley describes the impact of political events on his life—the Korean War, the civil rights movement, the Cuban revolution, the assassination of Martin Luther King, then the Vietnam War.

Pulley entered the army when he was seventeen—in 1968. There, he explains, he found out how to fight back against the war and racism in the army. He also found out about socialist ideas. He soon joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Pulley's pamphlet is must reading for anyone who is looking for a way to fight back—against the

draft, Carter's war threats, layoffs, cutbacks. Get your copy today.

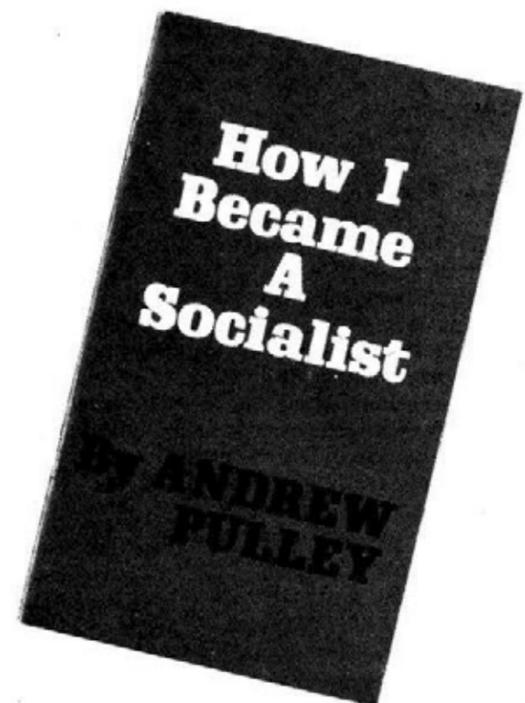
Just fill out the coupon below and we'll send your free pamphlet.

- Enclosed is \$2.50 for a 10-week subscription to the *Militant*.
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- Please send me more information about the Socialist Workers campaign.
- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
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Echoes right-wing terrorist line

Partisan of Cuba dialogue switches sides

By Harry Ring

In a sudden about-face, a leading figure in the movement for normalization of relations with Cuba has launched a scurrilous smear attack on the movement, branding its participants as Cuban "spies."

The totally unsubstantiated and patently absurd charges were levelled by Rev. Manuel Espinosa, a Miami-area minister who had been an early supporter of the dialogue that has developed between the Cuban government and the Cuban community abroad.

Espinosa's attack on the Committee of 75, which initiated the dialogue, coincides with a step-up in government-inspired terrorist attacks by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles.

It fits in with moves by the Carter administration to whip up new hostility toward Cuba and to thwart the developing rapprochement between revolutionary Cuba and Cubans in this country.

Espinosa named more than twenty-five participants in the dialogue as Cuban "spies." These included the president of a Miami bank, a priest, and a veteran of the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

He also levelled his fire at those involved in the travel agencies which have made possible visits to Cuba, members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and declared partisans of the Cuban Revolution.

Espinosa made his initial allegations to the media January 30. He elaborated on his absurd charges the next day at a press conference carried live over Spanish-language radio in Miami. The *Miami Herald* described it as "a rambling three-hour speech."

A number of the targets of the smear attack responded. All branded the charges nonsensical. Some suggested the reverend was in need of psychotherapy.

"Our work will continue," declared Albor Ruiz, executive director of the Committee of 75. "Our office is still open," he said. "We are used to these kinds of attacks. They are nothing new."

Rev. Andres Reyes of Union City, New Jersey, a leader of the Committee of 75, responded, "He has to prove it. It's a very delicate accusation. I don't understand why he would say something like that."

Another committee member, Marcos



Rev. Manuel Espinosa addressing October 12, 1979, rally welcoming Fidel Castro to UN.

Raúl Correa, said, "I have never denied that I am a socialist, but I have never been a Cuban agent or an American agent."

Tomás Morejón responded tersely, "Espinosa is crazy."

Espinosa asserted that he had never believed in what he was saying or doing to promote the dialogue, but had assumed a pose to "infiltrate the enemy." He called for "all-out-war" against Cuba.

He asserted he had pretended friendship for Cuba only in order to win the release of political prisoners.

The idea that the release of prisoners was contingent on one individual's friendship—real or pretended—is also patently absurd.

The dialogue did result in the release of 3,600 prisoners who committed crimes against the revolution. But the decision by the Cuban government to free them had nothing to do with Espinosa's professed friendship. It was done to help promote the dialogue with Cubans abroad.

The dialogue was initiated when Fidel Castro, in 1978, invited representatives of the Cuban community to come to Havana to discuss matters of mutual concern. He proposed that the delegation include a representative range of the U.S. Cuban community. The only requirement was that no active counterrevolutionaries be included and that the United States government not be involved.

The Committee of 75 that resulted includes many business and professional people who are not sympathetic to the Cuban revolution, as well as people who are its avowed partisans.

In addition to the freeing of prisoners, the dialogue agreement provided for Cubans abroad visiting their homeland.

In 1979, some 100,000 Cubans living in the United States travelled to Cuba.

These major political developments directly countered the anti-Cuba campaign of the Carter administration. The dialogue also evoked a venomous response from the counterrevolutionary terrorists who correctly saw the situation as exposing the reality that they are an isolated minority within the Cuban community.

Buttressed by Washington's hate-Cuba campaign, and confident of immunity from arrest, the exile killers stepped up their deadly work.

On April 28 of last year, Carlos Muñiz was murdered in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Muñiz was the head of a travel agency that arranged for Cubans abroad to visit their homeland and a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

On November 25, 1979, Eulalio Negrín, a member of the Committee of 75, was gunned down in Union City, New Jersey.

"Omega 7" took credit for the assassination. Cops say this as well as "Comando 0," the name used in the

Muñiz killing, are front names for the Cuban Nationalist Movement, an ultraright outfit with public headquarters in Union City.

This same outfit is believed to have committed other murders and many bombings, including two recent explosions at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. Last March 26 it set off an explosion at a Union City pharmacy that ships drugs to Cuba. Another explosive device was detonated there January 30.

Members of the Cuban community have provided federal and local authorities with leads on the murders and bombings. There have been no arrests.

When Espinosa held his press conference to hurl his bucket of mud at those favoring peace and friendship with Cuba, FBI agents attended, according to the *Miami Herald*.

"We're always looking and investigating to find out who's who in the community," one of them explained.

Indeed, they're always "looking and investigating." But somehow they can't find the right-wing thugs whose activity coincides with Washington's hate-Cuba campaign.

To the bombs of the Washington-inspired thugs has now been added the stench bomb thrown by Rev. Espinosa.

Wild allegations about "spies" in the Cuban community will only be welcomed by Washington and the anti-Cuba media as a diversion from the real threat to the Cuban community—the right-wing thugs that are trying desperately to stifle support for normalization of relations with Cuba.

The real illegal force in the Cuban community is not some mythical "spy" ring but these reactionary assassins.

With his present charges, Espinosa is lying through his teeth.

But he was telling the truth last October 12 when he addressed a UN demonstration welcoming Fidel Castro.

At that demonstration, Espinosa had declared:

"They say the anti-Castro demonstrators speak for the Cubans in this country. . . . But those terrorists don't represent anything! They don't even represent 1 percent of the Cuban community! They're a small minority, although they're well-organized and aided by you-know-who. . . .

"We are a majority! Those who oppose the blockade are a majority!"

Shots fired at New Orleans SWP office

NEW ORLEANS—The presidential campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here was the target of gunfire February 4.

At least eighty-five pellets from a shotgun or air

Solidarity voiced

NEW ORLEANS—Immediately following the attack on the socialists' hall a number of unionists and civil rights activists urged a full investigation of those responsible.

Their statement noted that the Socialist Workers Party "is a part of the labor movement, part of the movement to repeal 'right to work,' part of the struggle against Klan violence. . . ."

Signers included: Barney Morel, past subdistrict director, United Steelworkers, District 36; Lena Craig Stewart, past secretary, New Orleans Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Gretchen Hollander, director, Louisiana ACLU; Prof. Raphael Cassimere, Louisiana NAACP; John Gunther, professor, Southern University; Ron Chisom, member, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Raynelle Rolling, Civil Rights for the Brotherhood of Humanity; and Rev. Horace Dyer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

rifle were fired into the storefront window of the campaign offices.

Action by the mayor and police department was demanded at a February 6 press conference.

Greg Nelson, Louisiana SWP gubernatorial candidate in 1979, said police had been called in, they surveyed the damage, and said, "There's nothing we can do about it."

Nelson insisted that the authorities arrest and prosecute the attackers. He demanded a full public investigation of the right-wing terrorist groups responsible for similar acts, noting that the cops have informants in all these groups.

These demands were reiterated by Maceo Dixon, a spokesperson for the SWP's national campaign committee.

Explaining that he had just returned from Greensboro, North Carolina, where 7,000 people had demonstrated against Ku Klux Klan violence, Dixon recalled that "On November 3, the nation watched in shock as thirty-five Klanners and Nazis gunned down five anti-Klan activists in cold blood."

The fact that the bullets fired into the SWP offices were targeted at the posters of the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates was particularly ominous, Dixon said. "It is, in effect, a death threat against our candidates," he warned.

He added that the attack came at a time of increased right-wing violence. He pointed to the two recent bombings of the Cuban Mission to the UN

and the assassination of two proponents of normalized relations with Cuba.

Dixon added that the attack on the SWP was not made "just because we're socialists. It's because of what we stand for as socialists."

"They are attacking our opposition to Brian Weber," he said. "They oppose our support to the Equal Rights Amendment, our support to the oil workers strike and our opposition to the draft."



Greg Nelson examines bullet holes in campaign office window.

international **socialist** review



The Crisis of Imperialist Domination

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

How Workers Can Make Foreign Policy

Heads of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) responded to Carter's war-like talk about Afghanistan with war moves of their own against the Soviet Union.

On January 9 Thomas Gleason, president, and Anthony Scotto, vice-president of the union, announced a boycott of all Soviet ships and cargoes, in retaliation for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

This expanded the trade embargo ordered earlier by President Carter. Almost all cargo between the United States and the Soviet Union moves by ship from ports organized by the ILA.

Gleason and Scotto apparently thought a super-patriotic gesture might get some heat off the gangster-ridden ILA bureaucracy. Scotto was just sentenced to five years in jail for taking \$200,000 in payoffs from waterfront employers. The ILA chiefs bought a full-page advertisement in the January 28 *New York Post*.

"To the more than 100,000 members of ILA," the ad stated, "the abbreviated letters of

CHANGES

The editorial board of the 'ISR' has been dissolved. George Novack, a former member of the editorial board, will serve as contributing editor.

the union title are also an abbreviation for the term I LOVE AMERICA. As a result, the ILA has consistently supported through collective action the consensus of expression by individual members as occurred recently in the union suspension in handling Russian ships and Russian cargoes in ILA ports."

The ILA boycott was not voted on, debated, or discussed in a democratic way by the union membership. It was decided by the "expression of individual members"—as the advertisement politely calls the top bureaucrats. An open debate among ILA members might have turned up quite a few who don't have the same idea of patriotism as Scotto, Gleason, and the waterfront employers.

The State Department announced January 10 that "we hope foreign policy decisions will be left to the chief executive and his branch of government and not be made outside of it."

The *New York Times* complained in a January 14 editorial about "dockworkers apply[ing] their own foreign policy to foreign cargoes. . . . It is intolerable for foreign policy to be thus mortgaged to a strategically poised trade union."

The government supported shipping and stevedore companies in court actions that forced ILA officials to allow some grain

cargoes for Russia to be loaded.

The ILA bureaucracy's boycotts don't do ILA members a bit of good. Scotto and Gleason are just playing a part in Carter's attempt to soften up working people for new Vietnams. The price for union members is steep.

Carter presented part of the bill in his State of the Union speech. It included draft registration to prepare the way for ripping young workers, and the children of workers, out of their homes, jobs, and schools, and sending them off to war.

It included "realistic" increases in the price of gasoline and heating oil.

It included inflation eating away at our living standards, and wage ceilings to make sure we don't catch up.

The boycott is Scotto's and Gleason's way of strongarming union members onto the wrong side in Iran, Afghanistan, and other places where working people are challenging the interests of the ruling rich.

No doubt Gleason and Scotto feel a certain kinship with the dope pushers and loan sharks who head up the counterrevolutionary gangs in Afghanistan.

But dockworkers, along with the large majority of other workers in the United States, have a lot more in common with the Afghans who are fighting this scum with Soviet help.

Despite the vast differences between the two countries, American workers share similar aspirations with the Afghan masses who are fighting for better pay, medical care, decent housing, the right to an education, more rights for women, and the right to till the soil without paying exorbitant rent to a landlord.

Gleason's and Scotto's opposition to the Afghan people's struggle is an extension of their cozy and lucrative relationship with the waterfront bosses against the interests of dockworkers.

Why then the squawks from the government and a ruling-class mouthpiece like the *New York Times*?

Because times are changing. The rulers know that if American working people get the idea that they should make their own foreign policy, the results are not likely to bear much resemblance to the foreign policy of Gleason and Scotto.

The rulers are afraid that some workers would rather boycott Chile and South Africa than the Soviet Union or Iran. They are afraid that some may want the unions to oppose economic blockades against Cuba, Vietnam, or Kampuchea (Cambodia).

They are afraid workers will want unions to take action against the draft and other attempts to make us pay for Carter's war preparations.

What they really fear was signaled by their reaction when Black leaders began to hold discussions with officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization and criticized Washington's pro-Israel policy. The cry went up, "Blacks should keep their noses out of foreign policy"—just what the *Times* says today about unions.

There was a time when dockworkers did begin to carry out a foreign policy in the interests of working people, rather than those

of the employers.

In 1919, for instance, the Seattle local of the ILA boycotted military shipments to reactionaries and U.S. army units that were seeking to overturn the Russian revolution. Opposition among working people to this war move reached such a height that U.S. forces were pulled out and the counterrevolution went down to defeat.

American workers are doing a lot of thinking about foreign policy today. Vietnam taught them to look with a critical eye at attempts to drag them into war. They came to realize that the U.S. war in Indochina served no interest of theirs.

The ruling class has been shaken by setbacks in Indochina, Nicaragua, Iran, and Afghanistan. It has launched an ideological war to overcome what they call the Vietnam syndrome—the tendency of workers to think for themselves rather than swallowing the line handed down by Washington and the media.

Despite hourly proclamations in newspapers and on television about "national unity," the reality is a long way from what the rulers want.

But the union officialdom is falling into line as they did around Vietnam, when the AFL-CIO hierarchy continued to support the war long after most union members came to oppose it.

This is part of the officialdom's policy of collaboration with the employers. This policy ties unions to the Democratic and Republican parties, which are carrying out the drive for war and austerity.

Union subservience to these parties leaves workers without a voice in foreign policy, just as it leaves them without a voice in face of the big-business assault on our living standards.

With Democratic and Republican politicians united on an antilabor course, discussion of these questions takes place largely outside the framework of the two-party election contest.

That is why Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, are campaigning for the formation of an independent labor political party. Such a party, based on the unions, could take up the real concerns of working people and force these issues into the center of the campaign.

A labor party could voice the opposition of millions of working people to a new draft and new war moves.

A labor party could bring together the unorganized, the unemployed, Blacks, women, working farmers, and other potential allies of the union movement in a common fight against the government's austerity drive.

A labor party could tell the truth about Iran and Afghanistan, instead of helping big business try to whip up hatred among American workers for their struggling brothers and sisters in other lands.

This perspective—of independent labor political action in the interests of all the oppressed and exploited—is being advanced in the 1980 elections by Pulley, Zimmermann, and SWP candidates across the country.

They deserve the support of all who want to see labor's power used effectively in the fight against capitalist austerity and imperialist war.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review 2

The Crisis of Imperialist Domination By Doug Jenness 3

Cover Photos:
(Clockwise from left) A group of students at a school in Managua, Nicaragua. Antidraft rally at Columbia University in New York City on January 30. A woman escapes from Qsar Prison in Tehran during February 1979 revolution. Banner in front of U.S. Embassy in Tehran. Victorious Kampuchean women soldiers after fall of Pol Pot.



Editor: Fred Feldman
Contributing Editor: George Novack

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The Crisis of Imperialist Domination

By Doug Jenness

The new crisis of imperialist domination, which was ushered in by the defeat of the U.S. rulers in Vietnam, has deepened considerably in the past year.

Four developments indicate the scope of the change.

Four victories

First, the Vietnamese government moved about 200,000 troops into Kampuchea (Cambodia) a year ago to help overturn the hated Pol Pot regime. Pol Pot was linked to the Thai military dictatorship and Peking in a campaign of military pressure against Vietnam that was being orchestrated by Washington.

The Vietnamese then successfully beat back Peking's invasion, which was designed to force them to pull out of Kampuchea. And the social transformation in neighboring Laos deepened.

Second was the overthrow of the shah of Iran following a year-long series of huge mobilizations by the toiling masses. Now, the confrontation with Washington over the occupation of the U.S. embassy has deepened anti-imperialist consciousness and mobilization.

Third, the Somoza dictatorship was toppled by a popular insurrection and civil war. A workers and farmers government has been established in Nicaragua, opening up the prospect of establishing a second workers state in our hemisphere.

Fourth was the use of Soviet combat troops to block an imperialist-inspired counterrevolution in Afghanistan. This was the first Soviet military move into a capitalist country since just after World War II.

The setting for these events was the struggle of tens of millions of oppressed workers, peasants, and other toilers advancing their interests against imperialism.

The imperialist response

What was the response of the imperialists, the U.S. imperialists above all?

The American ruling class has assembled the greatest military force the world has ever seen. It has a massive nuclear arsenal capable of killing everybody on earth many times over. It has intercontinental nuclear missiles, jet bombers, a huge navy, a massive standing army, and the most technologically advanced weaponry ever devised.

But Washington calculated that the political costs were too great, or the chances of success too low, to use this formidable power—or even any important part of it—against the four biggest anti-imperialist offensives of the last year.

Fifteen years ago, in 1965, Washington quickly sent 35,000 marines into the Dominican Republic to crush a revolt. This was during a major escalation of the aggression in Vietnam.

But in 1979 a workers and farmers government emerged in Nicaragua, and the U.S. rulers found it politically impossible to send a single combat soldier to stop it.

Ten years ago, in 1970, when Washington still had 40,000 troops in Vietnam, Nixon launched the invasion of Kampuchea and carried out saturation bombing of Kampuchea and Laos.

But in 1979, when Vietnam sent troops into Kampuchea and when CIA-organized mercenary armies were receiving decisive blows in Laos, Carter was reduced to siphoning aid through

Doug Jenness is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. This article is based on a report given to the January 5-9 plenum of the Socialist Workers Party's National Committee.

Jenness is the author of the pamphlet, 'War and Revolution in Vietnam.' He edited and contributed to the Education for Socialists booklet, 'Marxism and the Working Farmer.'

Thailand and instigating the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, a move that ran aground in seventeen days.

(As one Western diplomat, quoted in the January 5 *New York Times*, put it, Chinese officials "now recognize" that the invasion "was a disaster.")

Five years ago, only a few weeks after the U.S. had been driven out of Indochina, Kampucheans captured the U.S. ship *Mayaguez* in their waters. Washington's response, in total disregard for the lives of the American crew, was to strafe the port where the ship had docked and send in the marines. Forty Americans died.

But in Iran today, the Carter administration figures the political costs of sending in a raiding party would be unacceptably high, since it would result in the death of many hostages and a world outcry against U.S. imperialism.

So we have to write new lyrics for the marine corps hymn: From the halls of Montezuma,

ing." During the 1970s, the article asserts, "seven nations—South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Afghanistan—joined the Soviet camp thanks to the force of arms." They mean that these seven countries went far down the road of challenging imperialist domination. "Politically," they go on, "the influence of the United States has declined to the point where we can be humiliated without end by an ayatollah." (December 31, 1979.)

This crisis of imperialist domination is the central feature of world politics today.

Oppressor and Oppressed Nations

"The characteristic feature of imperialism," Lenin explained to the Comintern in 1920, "consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces." (*Collected Works*, Vol-



Young supporters of Sandinista government in Nicaragua hail victory over Somoza (top). Iranian youth, carrying effigy of shah, denounce U.S. imperialism.



where mass pressure forced the López Portillo government to prevent the shah's return to Mexico; to the shores of Tripoli, in Libya, where hundreds of demonstrators ransacked the U.S. embassy last month; the U.S. marines have not been able to fight the employers' battles.

The inability to use its great military power has created the biggest crisis for American imperialism since World War II. There are reams of articles by bourgeois journalists and politicians bemoaning this as an "age of vulnerability," and describing U.S. capitalism as "Gulliver among the Lilliputians." And they are not optimistic about reversing the situation.

The *Wall Street Journal* wrote a New Year's Eve balance sheet called "Clouds of Debacle?" The article said: "As the decade turns, the nagging fear persists that for all their agonies the 1970s were the good old days. As we enter the 1980s, the clouds of debacle seem to be gather-

ume 31, page 240.)

The conflict between oppressor and oppressed nations has its own dynamic that is not identical with but is part of the overall class struggle. This is what's behind the descriptions commonly used today, such as the North-South conflict, developing and developed nations, the rich and poor, the haves and have-nots, the third world.

Aside from the workers states, the world today is divided into twenty-one imperialist nations, only a minority of which have substantial economic power and only one of which really has world-strategic military power; and more than 120 oppressed nations. The vast majority of the world's population—about three billion human beings—live in the oppressed nations. The big majority in the oppressor nations are white; most peoples of the oppressed nations are non-white.

Regardless of size; regardless of formal status as colony or independent state; regardless of the nature of the regime, the level of economic development, or possession of oil resources; all of these countries—from Argentina to Puerto Rico, from South Korea to Saudi Arabia—have one thing in common: they are oppressed by imperialism.

Imperialism depends on its control over these nations in order to:

- 1) Export capital and exploit cheap labor to reap super profits;
- 2) Sell commodities at monopoly-rigged prices and at unequal exchange rates;
- 3) Have sources for essential raw materials.

Imperialism's dependence and vulnerability are greatest in the last area. All the imperialist countries have become increasingly dependent on imports of raw materials from the semicolon-

ial world. And not only oil. By 1985 the United States will depend on imports for more than one-half of its supplies of such basic minerals as iron, lead, tungsten, bauxite and nickel.

Debt slavery

Not only are the colonies and semicolonies oppressed as nations, they are exploited as well.

By requiring the semicolonial countries to pay stiff interest on the loans they need, the imperialists milk these countries of billions of dollars each year. Thus the oppressed nation is exploited in its entirety, and all of its classes are plundered.

The debt is jumping at an alarming rate: from \$74 billion in 1970 to \$335 billion in 1978. Some \$40 billion per year is spent just to service this debt.

The International Monetary Fund, which serves as a clearing house for the imperialist banks, lays down conditions for new loans to prevent default on old ones. It demands that governments devalue their currency, impose austerity, and increase taxes—as they did in poverty-stricken Peru, Jamaica, and Zaïre. The closest analogy in American experience is the capitalist exploitation of working farmers by the banks. The farmers have to go into debt in order to produce, and they have to pay high interest rates on these debts. They never get out of debt.

The oppressed nations have become debt slaves to imperialism. That is why Fidel Castro received such a huge ovation at the United Nations last October when he said that these debts "are burdens impossible to bear, to which no solution can be found. They must be cancelled."

Human suffering

Imperialist oppression and exploitation lead to abominable conditions of hunger, malnutrition, and disease; to high infant mortality rates, enormous unemployment and pervasive illiteracy.

Over one-half of the people in the world cannot read or write, something most of us take for granted. Take three countries where revolutions have occurred this year: in Nicaragua, the illiteracy rate is over 60 percent; in Iran, over 70 percent; in Afghanistan, more than 90 percent.

Last month the Presidential Commission on World Hunger, which probably understates the matter, reported that the number of hungry people in the world is 800 million, and is increasing even after several consecutive years of what were considered good world harvests. Two straight years of bad harvests in any major grain-exporting nation, the report said, would bring "widespread famine and political disorder" to poor nations and would "disrupt a fragile world economy already weakened by energy shortages and rampant inflation."

Repression is the rule

These evils are a permanent condition of semicolonial countries. They are exacerbated by the deepening world capitalist crisis, by the sharpening inter-imperialist competition to maintain profit levels, and by contrived oil and food shortages. The 1974-75 depression was a crushing blow.

There has been significant industrialization in many semicolonial countries over the last several decades, though of a low-level and lopsided character (tailored to the needs of the imperialists). This has led to important growth in the size and weight of the industrial working class in

many of these countries, as well as to a massive migration to the cities and a mushrooming growth in the number of urban poor. The political result has been to strengthen the working-class role as the leader of all the toilers and poverty-stricken in the struggle against imperialism. This gives greater impetus to the dynamic of permanent revolution.

Imperialism's need to squeeze the oppressed nations increasingly limits its ability to grant concessions. Thus, the primary way they try to maintain stability is through dictatorship. To keep the semicolonial slaves in line, the iron heel, not the democratic regime, is the norm. This is true even in the most developed semicolonial countries like Argentina. And with dictatorship goes corruption: the vast corruption of the shah and Somoza are commonplace throughout the semicolonial countries.

There was a time when people pointed to Uruguay, Chile, or India as showcases of democracy in the semicolonial world. But no more. The shah and Somoza were not exceptions in their use of brutality and torture. Washington helped train and finance these dictators, as it does throughout the world.

Bourgeois democracy in imperialist countries partly rests on the bloody repression, wretched poverty, and base corruption in semicolonial countries.

These miserable conditions are the principal reason why the colonial masses strive to free themselves from imperialist bondage, why they struggle so relentlessly to control their own countries. The imperialists' refusal to give up control and domination over these countries is the principal cause of war today.

Afghan peasants celebrate receiving deeds to land in first land reform in Afghanistan's history, 1978. Counterrevolutionaries backed by Washington aim to return land to landlords.



Up through World War II, the main source of war was the conflict between the imperialist powers for domination of oppressed colonies and nations. Secret treaties were made between allies over how the booty would be divided if their alliance was victorious. Entire countries—land, mineral wealth, and people—were transferred to new masters. Outside the framework of war, the colonial peoples were sometimes bought and sold like slaves on the auction block. In 1917, for example, the United States bought the Danish West Indies—what are now called the Virgin Islands—and all its inhabitants for \$25 million.

Faced with the military and economic strength of the workers states and the struggles of the semicolonial masses, the imperialists have subordinated their rivalries, at least in the military sphere, to the struggle against the colonial revolution and its tendency to become socialist.

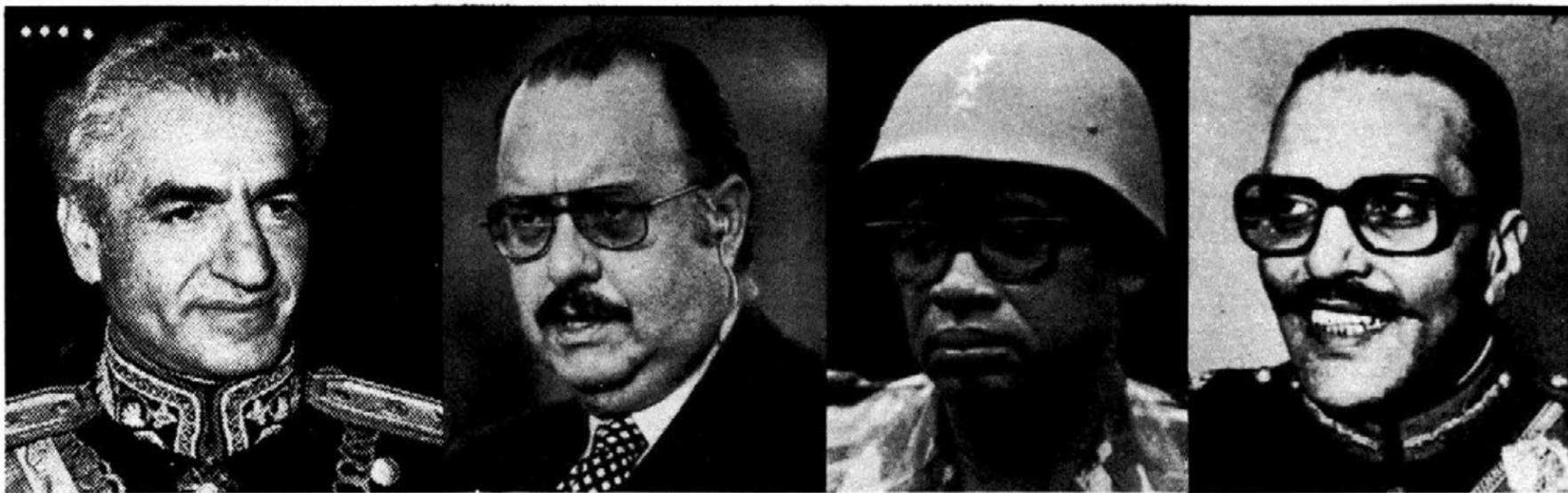
The big clashes in the world today are not over redivision of the world between the imperialist masters, but struggles by the toiling masses to take their own lands away from the masters, to break the chains that bind them in slavery.

World War II was really three wars in one: an inter-imperialist war, which was the dominant feature; the war of the imperialists against the Soviet workers state, which continued later in the form of the "cold war"; and the imperialist war against the colonial revolution, most sharply seen in the Japanese war against China.

When World War II ended in 1945, the *Militant's* banner headline read, "There is No Peace." That was exactly right, because the war against the colonial revolution has continued. There has not been a day of peace in the past 35 years. The number of people killed, wounded, maimed, tortured, made homeless, and driven into refuge is greater than either World War I or World War II. Millions of toilers have faced the most fiendish weapons the world has ever seen, including saturation bombing, napalm, and torture equal to anything the Nazis devised. The toll, including tens of millions killed, is staggering.

In spite of the human cost, in spite of major defeats like the one in Indonesia in 1965, the masses in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have exhibited an amazing ability to rebound. Big gains have been won. More than 100 countries have won formal independence. Revolutions in China, Cuba and Vietnam have torn these lands out of the capitalist system entirely; they have become workers states. The relationship of forces has become more favorable for the colonial masses. And events since the victory in Vietnam have taken this general trend to a new stage.

The *Communist Manifesto's* ringing appeal, that proletarians of the world have "nothing to lose but their chains," has an immediate meaning for the masses in the oppressed nations. This is an irrepressible conflict. In the words of the Second Declaration of Havana, "This great mass



Shah of Iran (left) and Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua (second from left) were typical of dictators installed and supported by Washington. Others include Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre and Zia Ul-haq of Pakistan.



of humanity has said 'enough' and has begun to march."

This is what lies behind the Iranian revolution, the Nicaraguan revolution, and events in Afghanistan.

The Afghan revolution

In April 1978, Afghan workers and peasants began to march. Long-simmering discontent was ignited by the assassination of a popular anti-government figure. This sparked some large demonstrations, including at the U.S. embassy. On the crest of these, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) toppled the Daud dictatorship through a military insurrection.

This was not the result of a sustained battle, as in Nicaragua or Vietnam. The PDPA—while it had won respect as an opponent of the old order—did not have a strong mass base.

The new government that came into being had to deal with big problems, because Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world. The average income is \$160 a year and half of all children die before reaching the age of five.

The new government wiped out the remnants of the monarchy. It released thousands of political prisoners. It began to implement a thirty-point program of social reforms.

It constructed 600 schools and launched a literacy campaign. It reduced the dowry, or bride-price, and eliminated child marriages. It allowed cultural and education rights to the Turkomen, Uzbeks, Baluchis, Nuristanis, and other national minorities, enabling them to publish materials and have radio programs in their own languages. It initiated the first land reform in Afghan history. It abolished debts to landlords and parcelled out land to 298 thousand families last December. And it upheld freedom of religion.

These measures naturally provoked the resistance of landlords, rich mullahs, usurers, dope smugglers, and others who profited by exploiting the Afghan people. Thousands of them fled to Pakistan. They organized a reactionary, counter-revolutionary guerrilla struggle. Ten to twelve different reactionary organizations, including monarchists, are backed and financed by the Pakistani dictatorship and by American imperialism.

American imperialism was bitterly hostile to the Afghan revolution from the beginning, and cut off all U.S. aid to that country. In June 1978, a high-level NATO symposium was held in Annapolis to discuss Afghanistan. Out of this and other discussions came a concerted U.S.



Afghan rightists pose for publicity photo. Counter-revolution is partly financed through international heroin trade.



Zbigniew Brzezinski at the Afghan-Pakistani border February 3. He promised more arms for Pakistani regime, Afghan rightists.

effort to bring down the new government and crush the revolution.

While there is absolutely no indication that Moscow initiated the revolution—it's not Stalinist policy to promote revolution anywhere—the Kremlin did begin helping the fight against reaction. They did not want to allow the possibility of a U.S.-backed hostile beachhead along their thousand-mile border with Afghanistan.

Attempt at counterrevolution

Why was it then that the Afghan revolution seemed to falter and had trouble dealing with the counterrevolution?

The counterrevolutionary attempt was inevitable, of course. The effort to change the old order in Afghanistan was up against powerful forces. World imperialism, the Pakistani regime, and

traditionally entrenched ruling classes in Afghanistan were bound to resist social changes in the interests of the workers and peasants with all the violence they could muster.

And it was also inevitable that the Afghan workers and farmers would want large-scale help from abroad, and would look to the Soviet workers state for much of this. For Afghanistan is an economically poor and militarily weak country.

The industrial working class in Afghanistan is very small. It numbers no more than 330,000 in a population of 20 million. The PDPA did not have a very strong base in the urban working class or among peasants. Its primary strength was among teachers and civil servants.

One of the main tasks of the new government was to organize the support that existed for revolutionary change. The PDPA had authority, won in the struggle against Daud, but in order to advance the revolution it was necessary to organize the masses.

The PDPA did this to an extent. The first unions were formed, along with organizations of women and youth and committees to defend the revolution. But evidence indicates that the PDPA failed to organize as much support as it could have.

A Stalinist party

The PDPA was a Stalinist party; that is, class-collaborationist in its outlook and fearful of broad mass mobilizations which might prove difficult for a bureaucracy to tightly control. It is thus not surprising that some of its policies made it easier for the counterrevolution to organize.

One of the immediate tasks of a revolution in Afghanistan was to dismantle the existing state apparatus in order to move forward. This was done only partially, by removing the main generals from the army; the PDPA kept much of the old officer corps. It had a base of support in the army, but it didn't arm the masses that supported the revolution. When the counterrevolution arose, there were a lot of defections.

In addition, at least two purges occurred, reflecting the rampant factionalism inside the PDPA. These, too, promoted disorganization.

The Karmal government claims that the Amin government used brutal methods, not only towards big landlords but also towards ordinary peasants who resisted, were hesitant, or didn't understand the land reform.

In any case, the regime lost some support and the counterrevolution gained some ground, although there is no evidence that the counterrevolution is really widely supported.

A more favorable situation

The presence of Soviet troops, by barring the road to the counterrevolution, creates a new and more favorable situation.

In saying that, we don't say we support all the methods used by the Soviet bureaucracy—for example, the way they executed Amin, charging him with being a CIA agent, and replaced him with Karmal.

But we recognize the fact that if Soviet troops help the new regime score victories over the reactionaries, this takes pressure off the Afghan revolution and encourages and inspires the struggle for social revolution in that country.

It strengthens the hand of the anti-imperialist fighters in Iran. And it even buys time for the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, halfway around the world. Needless to say, the impact will be great in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Turkey. It will also politicize workers in the Soviet Union, especially the troops and their families who are largely Turkomen, Uzbeks, and Tajiks—oppressed national minorities who speak the languages of the people in Afghanistan.

Reflecting the pressure of the revolution, the Karmal regime issued a statement asking for help from Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, and Palestine. It reads like part of the revolutionary honor roll of the past year. He also issued a statement declaring support for the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran—a shift from the sectarian posture of previous governments.

These statements, and Washington's reaction, demonstrate that Soviet troops were not sent to crush the Afghan revolution in the interests of détente or SALT II. As much as the Soviet bureaucracy wants and presses for agreements like SALT II, it has interests that are more important; one of these is self-defense against direct imperialist moves to tighten the military encirclement of the Soviet Union.

Saying this does not change by one iota our view of the fundamentally class-collaborationist strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy. Their strategy is defense of bureaucratic privilege in the name of "socialism in one country." That includes defense of the Soviet workers state, as perceived by and with means expedient to the bureaucracy. Within this framework, the Stalinists carry out a pragmatic policy whose overall goal is a long term live-and-let-live arrangement with world imperialism. But in the conflict between the Afghan masses and the imperialist-inspired counterrevolution, Moscow's self-interest lay in stopping the counterrevolution.

The real forces

The Soviet bureaucracy is not the main actor in the struggle in Afghanistan, or in social conflicts on a world scale. The real actors are the working masses and the imperialists. The Soviet bureaucracy maneuvers, taking one side or another in defense of its own privileges. But it is not a decisive force.

In Afghanistan, workers and peasants began a revolution that is part of the colonial and world revolutions. Imperialism moved in to stop them. This was the context in which the Kremlin bureaucrats decided their course of action, a context created and governed by clashes between other, more powerful forces.

Carter's countermoves

Carter's response is still unfolding. But there has not been a serious move toward direct American military intervention or the use of troops. Carter will beef up U.S. aid to Pakistan, even though this is unpopular in India. He delayed the SALT II accords (which were already in bad shape). He has stopped the sale of computers and other high-technology items to the Soviet Union and cancelled the grain agreement.

that the revolutionary contagion may infect their workers and farmers.

The Soviet dissident leader Andrei Sakharov and others have said that the use of Soviet troops in Afghanistan could touch off an escalation leading to World War III. The opposite is true. Each new advance for the colonial revolution, including the use of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and Soviet troops in Afghanistan, has brought us further from World War III, not closer; further from nuclear war, not closer.

An obstacle to World War

The victories of the colonial revolution create crises for imperialism and buy us time. Each new limit placed on the imperialist warmakers slows them down.

Similarly, the fact that the Soviet Union has achieved nuclear parity deters Washington from using its nuclear capacity. Last year the Brookings Institution, which does a lot of research on the question of war and political strategy for the ruling class in this country, issued a report. It noted that the United States has used explicit nuclear threats against the Soviet Union and China at least nineteen times between 1946 and 1975, but that the threats became less frequent as American strategic superiority over the Soviet Union declined.

The report went on to say that whenever the Russians were heavily committed, and had used or threatened to use their own military power, Washington's objectives were not likely to be obtained, even in the short run. This report simply confirms the point that wherever power is applied judiciously it makes things more difficult for imperialism.

Of course, the more imperialism is pushed onto the defensive, the higher the stakes become. They're not going to surrender the entire semicolonial world without a fight. Interventions that

when they can. For the Stalinists the road to peace is "detente," not class struggle.

But detente cannot stop the class struggle. This is what we saw in Afghanistan. Events escaped the control of the Stalinists. The actions of the masses went outside the detente framework. The Afghan masses began to rise, the counterrevolutionaries tried to strike back, and the Kremlin felt forced to send troops.

The Soviet workers state was strengthened by this move, of course, but this does not mean that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR became stronger. On the contrary, it is when imperialism makes gains that the Stalinist bureaucracy is strengthened, and becomes more able to carry out its counterrevolutionary program. But when the relationship of forces is on the side of the oppressed masses, then the Stalinist bureaucracy comes under growing mass pressure and is weakened.

That's one of the reasons why the Stalinists generally shrink away from bold moves, for fear of provoking imperialism and upsetting their own stability.

Right sectarianism

Many petty-bourgeois radicals—the *Guardian*, for instance—have a view similar to that of the Stalinists. They fear that war may be imminent because they believe that the struggles of the oppressed provoke the imperialists.

When the hostages were taken in Iran, when Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan, their main preoccupation was with the "growing danger of war." They feared that anti-imperialist actions provided the imperialists with a pretext to "lash out" militarily in response.

What this amounts to is a belief that the struggles of the oppressed lead to provoking war, when actually the opposite is the case: such struggles make the imperialists less able to lash out.

Some radicals make the mistake of focusing primarily on the limitations of the various leaderships of the colonial revolution. They concentrate all their fire on the errors, bureaucratic functioning, or false ideas of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, instead of keeping their eye on the position of the masses and how they can move forward, even with less-than-perfect leaderships. Struggles against imperialism are a diversion, in their view, from the "real struggle," which is against Khomeini, Karmal, or whoever.

One small group, the Spartacist League, used pseudo-leftist diatribes against Khomeini to put themselves in the imperialist camp on Iran.

Many socialist workers have had experience in the past with left sectarians, people in and around the workers movement who used ultra-revolutionary-sounding arguments as an excuse for abstaining from the living class struggle. But today there is a certain growth in right sectarianism in such circles, exemplified by the cases I've just described.

Right sectarians abstain from the anti-imperialist struggle, and are increasingly open in expressing their fear of and hostility to this struggle.

Cuba's revolutionary course

The revolutionary, anti-imperialist line of the Cuban government stands in sharp contrast to the faint hearts. The Castro government unconditionally supports anti-imperialist struggles. It doesn't make the error of reducing the anti-imperialist struggle solely to the class struggle, but actively participates in and helps give leadership to the anti-imperialist fight. The Cubans demonstrate where they stand by sending troops, material aid, teachers, doctors. Cuba has sent more doctors throughout the world than the United Nations World Health Organization. The victories that the Cubans have scored have enhanced their prestige, and helped shift the world relationship of forces.

In many semicolonial countries some capitalist politicians have moved to the left under the pressure of the masses. There's a more radical, more hopeful, less despairing atmosphere among intellectuals in the semicolonial countries than in the imperialist countries. All this reflects the shift in the world relationship of forces.

This shift is also reflected in the meetings of "Non-Aligned nations." There has been a shift to the left, demonstrated by Castro's assumption of the leadership at the Non-Aligned Conference in September. All of these countries have something in common—their oppression by imperialism. Cuba's moral standing on this issue won it the



The slogan 'Two, three, many Vietnams' expresses Cuba's internationalism. Cuban leaders use position as chair of Non-Aligned grouping to further anti-imperialist struggles.

He is suspending some cultural agreements, and trying to organize a boycott of the Olympics.

But the main thing the U.S. rulers have done is launch a propaganda campaign to justify their continuing efforts to beef up U.S. military forces and to reverse antiwar feeling in the United States. Playing on the unpopularity of Vietnam among American working people, they say this is "Russia's Vietnam."

First of all, they say, there never was a revolutionary process in Afghanistan. (They never did say there was one, although they acted like there was one. They always referred to it as a coup.)

Second, they portray themselves as champions of the "Muslim rebels" against atheistic Moscow. This hypocrisy is a bit transparent, given the pervasive anti-Muslim propaganda that they fostered around Iran.

Third, they are trying to isolate the Soviet Union from the colonial world, taking advantage of the unpopularity of interventions in general, and the fear of many semicolonial governments

now seem too costly or too risky may be more acceptable at a later stage. Ultimately, the threat of war will continue to exist until the American workers disarm the American rulers. Right now the toiling masses of the world are buying us a little time to better prepare for the showdown.

The Stalinist line

We believe that the struggle of working people against their oppressors and exploiters is the only road to peace. This approach is the opposite of the Stalinist line of collaborating with the ruling classes to keep a lid on this struggle. The Stalinist bureaucracy and the parties that follow it want stability, not revolutions, not offensives by the colonial masses. In their view, these only rock the boat.

The Stalinists use their influence in mass movements to divert struggles away from challenging imperialism. They generally refuse to aid, or give insufficient aid to anti-imperialist or revolutionary struggles; they sabotage them

leading position. The Cuban government uses this position to expose imperialism, to educate the toiling masses of the world, to explain the need for a new international order, and to help break down the isolation of the Cuban revolution. This was the significance of the Non-Aligned Conference and of Castro's speech at the United Nations.

The Cuban government is the first since that of the Bolsheviks to conduct foreign policy in a revolutionary manner, to use state power to advance the world revolution.

Lenin and Amanullah

The Bolsheviks sought to forge ties with oppressed nations struggling against imperialism. Their first formal diplomatic agreements were with Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. Afghanistan was the first country to recognize the new Soviet government.

In 1919, after a long struggle with British imperialism, Afghanistan won its independence. Replying to a letter from Amir Amanullah Khan, the new reigning monarch of Afghanistan, Lenin said: "In reply to the first message to be issued by Afghanistan as a free and independent nation, conveying greetings to the Russian people and announcing Your Majesty's accession to the throne, we hasten to convey the greetings of the Workers and Peasants Government and the entire people of Russia to the independent Afghan people, who are heroically upholding their freedom against foreign imperialism. I wish to congratulate Your Majesty on your accession to the throne on February 1, 1919."

Note that Lenin didn't say, "Down with the monarchy" or "Speed up that revolution." He simply welcomed Afghan independence as a victory against imperialism.

"The Workers and Peasants Government," Lenin went on, "has granted genuine equality and liberty to all the nations comprising the Russian Republic and, in keeping with its declarations, has firmly adopted the internationalist principle of unity of all the toilers against the exploiters."

"May the desire of the Afghan people to follow the Russian example be the best guarantee of the strength and independence of the Afghan state." (V.I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 218-19.)

The Baku Congress

The Communist International and the Soviet government also tried to promote anti-imperialist struggles in the East. The first Congress of Peoples of the East was held in Baku in 1920, bringing together anti-imperialist fighters from all over Asia. There were many Turks and Iranians; some Chinese, Kurds, and Arabs; there were many Armenians and Georgians and others from the Caucasus and Central Asian parts of the former Czarist empire. Zinoviev gave the main speech, and it is reported that he said:

"Comrades! Brothers! The time has come when you can start on the organization of a true and holy people's war against the robbers and oppressors." A "holy people's war" he called it. Most of the fighters at the meeting were of Muslim background and were sensitive to the Muslim tradition of the jihad, or holy war against the infidel. The Soviet government saw that there was an anti-imperialist content in the concept at that time, and identified itself with the holy people's war against the robbers and oppressors.

"The Communist International," Zinoviev went on, "turns today to the peoples of the east and says to them: 'Brothers, we summon you to a holy war, in the first place against English imperialism!' [Stormy applause. Prolonged hurrahs. The members of the congress rise from their seats and brandish their weapons. The orator is unable for a long time to continue his speech. The delegates stand up and clap applause. The cry rings out: 'We swear it!']"

"May today's declaration be heard in London, in Paris, in all cities where the capitalists are still in power! May they heed the solemn oath, taken by the representatives of tens of millions of the toilers of the east, that in the east the might of the oppressors, of the English, the capitalist yoke which weighs on the toilers of the east shall be no more!"

"Long live the brotherly union of the peoples of the east with the Communist International!" (E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Volume 3, page 263.)

There can be no doubt where Lenin would stand on the struggle in Iran today.



Soviet leaders sponsored a congress of the peoples of the East in Baku in 1921. They called for 'holy war' against imperialism. Right, Karl Radek addresses the congress. Above, Congress of the Peoples of the Far East, sponsored later by the Communist International, addressed by Japanese Communist Sen Katayama.

It is apparent that the role of Islam is important today in the anti-imperialist struggles throughout the Middle East and Asia. Socialist workers are not partisans of any religion, of course. We reject all religious ideology as obscurantist. But we also have seen in Iran how religion can serve as a cloak for anti-imperialist, nationalist struggles, and we are sensitive to that. It's not the first time, and it won't be the last time that this will happen. When it does, our attitude is basically the same as the Bolsheviks'.

The general approach that the Bolsheviks took concerning the alliance between the proletariat and oppressed nations was succinctly expressed by Lenin in a speech to a Moscow party meeting in 1920:

"Today we speak not only as representatives of the proletarians of all countries, but also as representatives of the oppressed nations. The Communist International recently issued a magazine called *The People's of the East*, in which it advanced this slogan for the Eastern peoples: 'Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Nations, Unite!' One comrade asked, 'When did the Executive Committee decide on a change of slogans?' Indeed, I cannot remember any such decision. And, of course, from the standpoint of the *Communist Manifesto* this is wrong, but then the *Communist Manifesto* was written under totally different conditions. From the standpoint of present-day politics, this slogan is correct. Relations are more acute. The whole of Germany is in a state of ferment, and so is Asia. You read the report of how the revolutionary movement is taking shape in India. In China there is a furious hatred of the Japanese and of the Americans. In Germany there is a seething hatred of the Entente, which can be appreciated only when compared with the German workers' hatred of their capitalists. This result has been to make Russia the direct spokesman of all the oppressed of the world. Developments are teaching the peoples to regard Russia as the center of attraction." (*The National Liberation Movement in the East*, p. 271.)

Cuba is playing this role in today's context. Cuba is seen by oppressed peoples as their natural ally. That is why Castro could legitimately speak on behalf of the semicolonial countries that are members of the Non-aligned movement, and say to the United Nations: "We are ninety-five countries from all the continents, representing the immense majority of humanity." It is only by becoming part of the anti-imperialist struggle, participating in it, leading and influencing it, that the revolutionary leadership of a workers state can ever hope to advance the struggle for the world socialist revolution.

The same holds in regard to building revolutionary parties around the world. Without a clear view of the character of anti-imperialist struggles; without being part of them, identifying totally with them; without being in the battles together with the anti-imperialist fighters, there is no chance that the Fourth International can build revolutionary parties around the world, or that we can build one in this country. And this is our unique role and responsibility. For all the strengths of the Cuban leadership, they have not built a revolutionary international.

The Socialist Workers Party, and other organizations that collaborate with or are part of the Fourth International, have the program, perspective, and a nucleus of cadres to advance the building of such an international.

We can help build an international movement provided that we recognize and identify with the struggles that emerge and establish fraternal relations with the revolutionists of action, who may not be full-fledged Trotskyists or Leninists at the beginning, but who have earned the right to be regarded as revolutionary leaders by their actions. We must be able to solidarize with them, collaborate with them, learn from and help influence them. That's the only way a mass international party is going to be built. That's what we have to contribute to the whole revolutionary process, as we link up with revolutionists of the Castro and FSLN type.

U.S. hands off!

Now that Washington's options are limited and the large-scale use of combat troops is unlikely, at least in the immediate period, should the demand, "U.S. Hands Off" revolutionary struggles be stressed so much by socialist workers?

First, Washington is not going to let the colonial revolution advance unchallenged. There are many military moves that it can make, short of outright war: show-of-force operations, quick strikes, building up counterrevolutionary forces, organizing coups d'etats, or establishing military bases.

These are all part of a continuing attempt to probe, to find weak spots, to score a victory here or there, in order to begin somehow to reverse the relationship of forces. Whenever the U.S. threatens to make any military move we should sound the alarm; it is an elementary obligation.

But at the same time, the axis of socialist propaganda today will be around solidarity with and education about colonial revolutions. During the Vietnam war we described the social revolution and sought to win support for it, but the axis of activity was around antiwar demonstrations

and the demand for self-determination: "Out Now."

The main threat *right now* is not the use of U.S. combat troops. In fact, the most effective weapon that the American ruling class has today is the economic boycott: attempting to sabotage economies and starve the masses into submission, as they have tried to do to Cuba for twenty years. This is the approach they have taken in Southeast Asia, Nicaragua, Iran, and Afghanistan when revolutions took place. Even against the Soviet Union, the strongest weapon they have used is cutting off grain shipments. (It won't have the same effect there as in Nicaragua.) To counter the imperialists, we must campaign for aid from governments and from mass organizations.

Working people vs. the 'food weapon'

American working people don't like to see people in other countries starve, even if they don't agree with everything that is happening in those countries. Their response to the threat of famine in Kampuchea showed this. American workers think it's wrong for food to be used as a weapon; and they think the use of this weapon against very poor peoples is especially repugnant.

American farmers see food production, and how food is used, as important questions. Cutting back production and preventing people from obtaining food offends their morality. Thus, many farmers were opposed to Carter's cutoff of food to the Soviet Union; they were not willing to sacrifice for it. And not just for economic reasons. The U.S. ruling class tries to say it isn't really using food as a weapon against the Soviet Union, that the grain is only feed for livestock. But that livestock consists of milk cows, the source of beef. The boycott will hurt the people of the Soviet Union. And it may affect other nations that get food from the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to convince American workers of the justice of the struggles of the oppressed masses around the world. The facts show that the interests of American steel workers, auto workers, miners, and farmers are not the same as those of the employers' government. The American workers have interests in common with oppressed fighters in other countries.

Big business drive

That is because the big business drive to increase profit rates at the expense of working people is international. They fight to keep impoverished Afghan peasants or Zairean copper miners from getting a little more, just as they fight to get rid of the miners' medical coverage or cut into the wages of the Chrysler workers.

When they appeal for us to sacrifice so that Washington can strengthen its military position, they are saying, "Eat less, be colder in winter, pay more rent, let real wages and working conditions deteriorate, let your health decline because you can't afford a doctor—all so big business can make things even worse for working people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

The gains made by freedom fighters in the colonial countries weaken our exploiters and buy time for working people in this country to organize our struggle. They help show the way forward for American workers by their example of struggle, by their exposure of U.S. foreign policy goals, by showing that the American government supports the worst kinds of dictators, monarchs, and tyrants.

Educating about imperialism

Castro's speeches and the activities of Cuba help to educate American working people. The Cuban government, after achieving positive results from the dialogue it initiated with Cubans in this country, sees the need to pay more attention to openings in American politics.

The Nicaraguan revolution, which has a revolutionary leadership and a government that acts in the interests of the toiling people, can be pointed to as an inspiring example. We should explain to our fellow workers what's happening there, show them the actions that the government of Nicaragua is taking, in spite of tremendous odds.

Iran provided an unparalleled opportunity to get into discussion and debate. The actions of the Iranian masses around the embassy occupation stimulated one of the most sustained and intensive political discussions in the working class of this country in recent years.

The antiwar sentiment of the American people is not necessarily a sentiment against any and



Militant/Kris Huger

Young people protest draft in Ann Arbor, Michigan, (above) and at Columbia University in New York City (left). Draft registration is only the first installment of the price working people and youth will be asked to pay for Carter's war drive.

all U.S. interventions. It doesn't mean that the rulers can't get working people to support certain quick moves by American imperialism. What exists is suspicion of the government.

This was shown clearly in the discussions that socialists and their co-workers carried on in the plants. At first there was a degree of war hysteria, in response to the anti-Iran campaign whipped up by the ruling class. But as discussion began to unfold, people were willing to listen to arguments. There was genuine debate and a developing awareness of what Washington had done to Iran by backing the shah. People could be convinced.

If American imperialism has to debate the issues, that is not very good for its purposes. They were not able to whip an obedient working class into blind acceptance of the official line on Iran. And as the crisis goes on, it becomes more difficult.

Certain actions of the Iranians—the release of the women and Black hostages, the sustained mobilizations of the Iranian masses that people could watch on television night after night—have had an effect. As the facts come out about the shah—how country after country doesn't want to allow him in, how there are massive demonstrations against him in Panama when he moves there—American working people become more aware of the truth.

The same can occur around Afghanistan, although it may take more time. The key is to bring the facts out into the open: the nature of the oppression of the Afghan people, their struggle to try to break their chains, to push aside landlords and big-time dope dealers, and the imperialists' attempts to keep them in bondage.

Blacks and Latinos

Black workers in this country begin with a heightened consciousness. There is a greater feeling of solidarity with the colonial struggles. This is to be expected. In the United States, Blacks are an oppressed people. And most of the oppressed nations are populated by non-white peoples. So there is a further connection.

Recognizing this, some of the colonial fighters have made direct appeals to Blacks. The effort of the Palestine Liberation Organization to win support from the Black movement in this country was extremely important. It not only helped to educate Blacks in this country, but white workers as well.

Similarly in Iran, the release of the Black hostages was a conscious appeal for support. Iranian television has covered the American Black struggle; it did a feature on Martin Luther King, and presented "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pitman."

Latinos, like Blacks, are oppressed here. As

Brown people and often Spanish-speaking, they are more aware of the anti-imperialist struggles in other countries—particularly in Latin America.

All of this helps the process of education and solidarity. And the fact that a component of the American working class is more advanced has an impact on the working class as a whole.

The progress of the American revolution is totally interconnected with the struggle of the semi-colonial masses against imperialism. The colonial revolution is a real test for the American working class. If American workers and their vanguard party are not clear on this, there will be no socialist revolution.

International class solidarity

The U.S. ruling class has a big problem. They must find a way of being able to use American combat forces once again against the colonial revolution. To do this, they must try to break the prevailing antiwar sentiment. They are using every kind of gimmick and argument. They say that American workers are going to be hurt if we can't get oil from the Middle East; that the Vietnamese are responsible for the famine in Cambodia; that the Communists are responsible for problems in the Middle East. They use every kind of ideological argument to try to break down the American workers' resistance to getting involved in another Vietnam-type war. Socialist workers have to expose those lies.

There can be future U.S. interventions. The fact that sentiment exists against another Vietnam doesn't mean that American imperialism can't get away with military probes, commando raids, even a direct intervention somewhere. But they also know that unless they can reverse antiwar feeling in this country, they have to think ten times before risking another Vietnam or Korea-type war.

Our job is to make it impossible for the ruling class to win this ideological campaign. We must organize solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles, explain why solidarity is needed, and help make the American working class more politically conscious, more anti-imperialist.

The challenge before socialist workers is to popularize the struggles of the oppressed throughout the world. And we will meet that challenge. We will tell the truth about what's happening in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Iran. We will defend these revolutions as we did the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions.

The main job of socialist workers right now is explanation, patient explanation. This is the way to do our part to help prevent imperialist interventions and to prepare for mass struggles whenever they occur.

Nicaraguans celebrate: 'Mines belong to people'

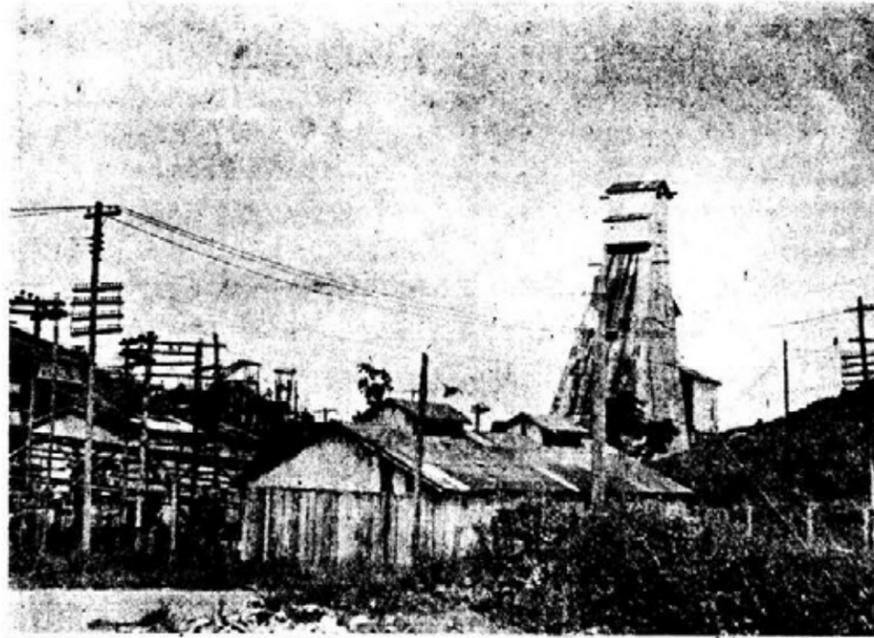
The following article by Manuel Pereira appeared in the January 6 English edition of 'Granma,' the Cuban newspaper. Titled 'The People's Gold,' the article describes the reaction of Nicaraguan miners to the recent nationalization of gold mines formerly owned by U.S. companies.

They are nationalizing the mines of Bonanza, Rosita and Sluna, and a mass of people listen, attent and euphoric, to the voice of the Revolution. The miners with their hard hats and their women with black umbrellas. Under heavy downpours and sweltering suns, [Sandinista] Commander Daniel Ortega visits the mines and manufacturing installations, reading decrees and improvising speeches on the dais that the workers are still hammering away at when the ceremony begins.

The surrounding jungle quivers. Shots go off. Sirens wailing, songs, applause, dancing, and even the church bells are peeling. The miners, almost all Mosquito Indians, who for half a century have been mining gold for next to nothing, are celebrating. "I've been working here for 50 years," a smiling miner with three teeth tells me, "and I've watched this hole grow." It's an enormous open mine. Whose grave will this be for? The miners? Or will it be that the workers are going to bury foreign capital here?

The banana: from Nicaragua . . . and gold as well. The engineers, the geologists, the foreign foremen over there, in their bungalows, on the inaccessible hill where nothing is wanting, are a bit too silent and elusive. Down there, on the other side of the fence, are the crowded huts of the miners. True phalansteries [cooperative communities], with so much washing hung on the porches that it's impossible to see the smiling Mosquitoes coming out to watch the group of new supervisors pass by.

The traces, the lacerations, the wounds, the scars left by capitalism on the faces of the men are evident. These miners, malnourished, worn out and emaciated, look more like walking corpses. At least 90 percent of these workers suffer from tuberculosis and silicosis, the miners' occupational diseases. "Look, look," says the toothless miner, "that little one over there is



Nationalized mine in Nicaragua

Barricada

missing a lung, and the one with the red hard hat also lost one."

Gold has its shine, but it also has its dark side. Workers who come out of the tunnels with lungs perforated by the residue of gases and who received no compensation from the company. And if they did get anything—after being fired—it was 500 córdobas, about (50 dollars) to go and die on the banks of the River Coco. There's the famous case of the Mosquito called Skeleton, who refused the Yankee boss' money, telling Mr. Robert Byrd that he preferred to starve to death than be humiliated.

There's as much rage in these men as there is gold below the ground. Which is why an excited Mosquito climbs on the platform and, ignoring the microphone, shouts out: "This belongs to the people now, not to the gringos!" He says it first in Mosquito, then in Spanish. And it's curious that in his bilingual harangue the word revolution is always pronounced in Spanish, because this was a concept unknown to the Mosquitoes and, therefore, they had no word for it.

The veins of his neck bulging, the Mosquito miner shouts: "The Yankees haven't trampled on us with their boots; they have trampled on us with our salaries, our food, our health and our homes. They'd cheat us for a

miserable tamale!" How different these Mosquitoes are from those of Waspan [a city on the northeast coast of Nicaragua]. These, having been proletarianized, have a higher level of consciousness and politization.

The countryside around here is beautiful. The mines are in the heart of the jungle, surrounded by mountains with patches of cleared land. You can see the mills and the well towers that look like the tips of weird Gothic cathedrals. And in the other direction, as deep as the mountains are high, flashes of gold shine out in the darkness from the depths of the earth's surface.

And there's gold elsewhere, as well. I go to get a drink of water in a distant river and I find there, in deep holes knee-deep in mud, another type of "miner" panning for gold with their rustic sieves. I go over to talk to them and discover that they form part of the "army of unemployed." Men who could never get jobs in the factory and eke out a living on the residues of gold that come from the mine and are lost in the sand of the rivulets. "We have to keep at it all week, stuck in this mudhole, killing ourselves to pan a penny of gold," one of these river miners tells me. I learn that a penny of gold is about the size of two beans and goes for 100 córdobas, or ten dollars.

"But there are no dollars here," says

one of the men in the mudhole, "and 100 córdobas isn't anywhere near enough to live on."

And now that the mines are Nicaraguan, wouldn't you like to work in them? "Of course," he answers "they earn more there, and the work is better than fishing around in the sand for tiny grains of gold."

Looking at the sparks of gold in the riverbed, I think of the false, but beautiful theory of the alchemist Michel Majer, who declared that gold was nothing but the product of the millions of times the sun had rotated around the Earth, spinning gold around the planet. For the Aztecs, on the other hand, gold was the sign of the everlasting. This is why they placed in the mouths of the dead a precious stone that would live on after the body was burned. And legend has it that Quetzalcoatl's mother who had to swallow a nugget of gold in order to conceive him afterwards.

It's an old story, that of gold—old and at times odious—that goes back to that phrase in Christopher Columbus' journal: "From gold one gets fortune and whoever has it can do whatever he pleases in the world and can even buy his way to heaven." They came looking for cinnamon and pepper, and soon stumbled on gold. And from then on they acted like wild beasts, driving their swords into Indian flesh until they came upon the shiny mineral. "A smile would come over their faces . . . they were like monkeys grabbing it . . . they thirsted after gold like a bunch of squealing pigs . . ." wrote the native informants of Sahagún, when describing the conquistadores.

Such is the story behind the gold of all Our America, and whose true outcome is now being verified in Nicaragua. Because the old trick of trading the Indians bells for gold did not end with independence, or the Republic, but was prolonged under other forms, until our times, giving the workers silicosis in exchange for gold. Gold that will no longer go to enrich foreign societies that live high at the expense of our hunger. Because this gold—from the mines now in Nicaraguan hands thanks to the Sandinista Revolution—will be transformed into social and material justice. It will be turned into light. It will stop being the gold of others to be the people's gold.

Medical supplies urgently needed in Nicaragua

A vital part of the solidarity campaign for aid to Nicaragua is providing medical supplies. The health situation in Nicaragua was the subject of an interview with Dr. Jean-Michel Krivine that appeared in the December 14-20 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*.

Dr. Krivine spent a week in Managua as a representative of the France-Nicaragua Solidarity Association.

"For several months," he noted, "the Sandinistas have stressed their deep concern about the health-care situation in Nicaragua and asked that international aid in this be given top priority."

While in Nicaragua, Krivine saw first hand how the country is trying desperately to provide medical care despite inadequate facilities and supplies. He visited two hospitals and a health center in eastern Managua. The center, the largest in the city, provides medical attention for 40,000 families.

"When you enter," Krivine told *Rouge*, "you can see that it is very well organized and that everyone will eventually be examined. While there is a sufficient supply of vaccines, the center lacks syringes, antibiotics, and

medicine for diarrhea and respiratory infections."

Managua's hospitals have 1,200 beds for 500,000 inhabitants. "The shortage of medication and medical equipment is so great that only urgent cases can be taken care of," Krivine said.

One institution, the Mother and Child Hospital, has only 420 beds. Sometimes two children and at times two women are in each bed.

"There are forty to fifty births a day at this hospital—a total for which the facilities are just barely adequate. At times the number of deaths there from nutrition-related diseases are quite high—as many as nine a day.

"At Manolo Morales P. Hospital in eastern Managua, the best equipped hospital in the country, there is no more film for X-rays, lab work has had to be cut in half because of a shortage of litmus paper, there is no more anti-coagulant or cortisone in stock, very little in the way of antibiotics—and yet the emergency room receives 400 patients a day."

Despite promises from the major capitalist countries, Krivine noted that there has been "little concrete aid

apart from that from Cuba and, I think, Sweden. I saw packages of American gauze stamped with the date 1957.

"The French government has been hailed on television for having sent two tons of medical supplies. But that amounts to only about four or five cubic meters of supplies.

"France has promised to help in the construction of a hospital. UNICEF has distributed packets of rehydration salts made available by Sweden, an extremely useful medication for combating infant toxemia."

Aid is particularly needed to help equip rural health-care centers, which are almost totally without supplies and serve a large population.

Krivine urged that Nicaragua solidarity committees undertake to provide the following for each medical center:

- A set of surgical instruments.
- A blood-pressure gauge and stethoscope.
- Portable sterilization equipment, the kind that can be fired either by wood or petroleum-based fuel.
- A small stock of indispensable drugs, such as penicillin, aspirin, and anti-diarrhea medicine.



Member of Sandinista Defense Committee administers antipolio vaccine.

1,670 UAW members out of work

L.A. workers rally against Ford plant closing

By George Johnson

LOS ANGELES—Auto workers here are outraged at the closing of the Ford Pico Rivera assembly plant.

More than 300 workers rallied January 22 to protest the shutdown.

With the closing of Pico Rivera, scheduled for February 8, 1,670 workers will be out of jobs. Ford told the workers of the closing only on January 10.

The Pico Rivera workers will join thousands of California auto and steel workers who are on indefinite or permanent layoff.

General Motors South Gate plant in Los Angeles laid off its second shift, 1,800 workers, in September.

GM's Fremont plant laid off 3,100 second-shift workers at the same time. Ford's Milpitas plant is now down to one shift, idling 1,500.

Pico Rivera workers were stunned by the callousness with which Ford was turning them out of work. "They just left us hanging," said the wife of one worker.

At the rally, Pico Rivera workers told me of their uncertainties about the future. Jim Coll has been an assembler for nine years. "Only skilled jobs are open," he said. "I really don't know what I'm going to do. I've been to unemployment, but I can't work for \$3.10 an hour. I live by myself with three kids. I need the same money [as at Ford]."

Winston Johnson has been an assembler at Pico Rivera for fifteen years. What will he do, I asked. "I don't know, but I'll feed my kids." He has

George Johnson is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California and a member of UAW Local 1364 laid off from General Motors Fremont assembly plant.

two. Supplemental Unemployment Benefits may last him up to a year—if the fund holds out that long. It is already dry for thousands of Chrysler workers.

"I don't really understand what's happening," Johnson said. He thought imports of foreign cars should be stopped. This is the position of Douglas Fraser, United Auto Workers president.

We talked about the gas lines last year, and the oil companies' responsibility for the "shortages." We talked about Ford's and GM's overseas operations. It's the big auto corporations—not foreign auto workers—who are to blame for closed plants in this country.

Johnson expressed sympathy for auto workers in Europe and Japan, and did not want to see them laid off. "That would mean a world-wide recession," he said.

Johnson complained that during the years of high profits the auto corporations had not invested in newer technology. That was also cited by Betty Murphy, a member of the executive board of UAW Local 148, at the giant McDonnell-Douglas aircraft plant. She has worked since 1942 at the plant, which now employs 13,000 workers.

The Pico Rivera plant is a case in point. Ford refused to invest in water-base paint processes, and the cool-down required for oil-base paint limited the plant to one shift to meet antipollution requirements. Ford, of course, blames the environmental requirements, not their own shortsightedness and greed, for their decision to close the plant.

Murphy also said Ford "should retool and build small cars here." That is a widely shared opinion among auto workers. A number of UAW locals, including my own at the Fremont plant, have long called for this conversion.

But the auto barons disagree, be-

cause the larger cars are more profitable. A GM spokesperson told the *Los Angeles Times* that while sales of bigger gas-hogs are down, "we may be going through only a temporary slowdown. . . . Buyers are a little pessimistic. We're predicting that as the world economy and political turmoil gets straightened out, and the public can get a measure of certainty with regard to the oil supply, then in the spring the market should begin to strengthen."

GM anticipates, the *Times* wrote, "that Americans will return to the practice of buying big cars."

Bigger cars, with their more numerous options, are profitable enough that GM scrapped retooling of its South Gate plant for the smaller Chevette several years ago in order to retool again for Chevrolet Impalas and Caprices and Cadillacs. Not a single Chevette had been assembled, despite the fact that the plant had been completely readied for them.

With the second shift laid off, South Gate workers are worried. "We're next," I was told by Al Belmontez, president of UAW Local 216. "Our neck is already in the rope." Sales of

the bigger cars are off 20 percent or more from last year.

The rally at Pico Rivera marked a step forward in labor solidarity. For one thing, Local 923, in organizing the rally, reached out to other UAW locals, to steel, rubber, electrical, and other unions, and to community organizations, including the NAACP. César Chávez, head of United Farm Workers, was there with dozens of UFW supporters.

It was evident that the Pico Rivera workers have the sympathy of their neighbors. I talked with workers from other plants nearby who came to express solidarity. One was a worker in a cosmetics warehouse who faces seasonal layoffs. Another was a Teamster driver out of Oakland.

Three busloads of students rode by, from the Montebello and El Rancho school districts, cheering the rally.

It was announced at the rally that Local 923 is going to sponsor a rally in Sacramento against plant closures. Several union officials pledged support at the Pico Rivera rally for the Sacramento action. Gail Powell, president of Local 148, said her local would send at least two buses.

SWP candidate's stand

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of George Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from California, distributed a campaign statement to auto workers during the Pico Rivera rally.

The statement called for: union-scale wages for all jobless workers; a shorter workweek with no pay cut; no forced overtime; an end to war spending; a public works program; opening the books of the

auto and energy companies; and nationalizing these industries.

The statement also pointed out that working people need a labor party based on the unions to represent their interests.

The statement was passed out to everyone at the rally. A number of workers expressed surprise and pleasure that "one of us is running for office."

Tenneco files anti-labor suit against designers

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Tenneco is out for the blood of United Steelworkers Local 8417, which represents Newport News Shipyard's marine designers.

The oil-rich owner of the yard escalated its union-busting efforts on January 28, filing suit against the National Labor Relations Board in federal district court here.

The suit seeks a court order for a decertification election of the embattled Steelworkers local.

On January 24, the Washington, D.C. office of the NLRB refused to overrule the decision of its regional director rejecting demands by anti-union designers for such an election.

These pro-company employees, working hand-in-glove with Tenneco, won the bosses' hearts by scabbing on Local 8417's thirty-month strike against the shipyard. The union's picket lines came down last September, when the Steelworkers were forced back to work without a contract.

Tenneco was content to stay behind the scenes until recently, allowing its flunkies to do the dirty work. Now, the shipyard brass are openly financing and organizing the effort to crush the union, and the ex-scabs are contemplating becoming "interveners" in the bosses' war against the Steelworkers.

Last August, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Tenneco to bargain with the then striking designers, finding the shipyard guilty of unfair labor practices. Tenneco "obeyed" the order long enough to back Local 8417 into a corner. The job protection provisions of the court ruling ended October 1. Faced with the loss of their jobs, the strikers returned to work. Tenneco conducted face-



Marine designers, represented by Steelworkers Local 8417, struck Tenneco for 30 months. They joined fellow steelworkers of Local 8888 during recognition strike last year.

saving "negotiations," only to stop them to oblige the politely termed "dissident designers" decertification push.

Now the charade is over. Despite the courage and determination shown by the Steelworkers in their thirty-month strike against Tenneco, the toll of the action was heavy on the union.

Many strikers, embittered by Tenneco's abuse of their rights, and sensing a seemingly endless battle with the shipyard, had gotten or were seeking jobs elsewhere by the time the union went back to work.

Local 8417 is now preparing to reorganize and sign up new members.

Tenneco's stonewall against the yard's first Steelworkers local has been harder to crack because pro-company labor laws allow the bosses to drag the union through miles of red tape in their fight for justice.

The shipyard's whole game plan in "obeying" the court order to bargain was, it is now evident, part of its strategy to smash the union.

On January 14, Local 8417 filed two unfair labor practices charges against the shipyard for discrimination against the union in Tenneco's newly

implemented seniority benefits and vacation program. The latter program is a cut in vacation time.

A third charge was also filed in behalf of a union member the Steelworkers charge was discriminated against for union activity.

Tenneco is cynically claiming to stand for "the wishes of the majority" of an alleged 407 designers who have signed the decertification petition. The fact that nearly half of them don't work in the shipyard doesn't matter much to Tenneco's democratic-minded management.

And democracy didn't count for much with Tenneco when the design department voted nearly four-to-one to affiliate with the Steelworkers in February 1977. The shipyard recognized the union and promptly provoked a strike, refusing to seriously negotiate, up to today.

Those same union-haters are now faced off against negotiators for Local 8888, which represents the shipyard's production and maintenance employees. These Steelworkers, inspired by the tenacity of Local 8417, feel a special kinship for the smaller, pioneer shipyard union.

The contract Local 8888 forces out of Tenneco will have a big impact on the fate of the Steelworker designers. It can help inspire non-union designers to sign up with Local 8417.

At the same time, Tenneco's bushwhacking of the designers union serves notice on Local 8888 that the shipyard is by no means at home with any Steelworkers, regardless of public relations pledges about "honorable" labor-management relations.

The real message of Tenneco's "destroy the designers" mission is this: leopards don't change their spots.

Oil strikers: company tactics are safety hazard

Texas

By Jana Pellusch

Houston—Six complaints have been filed with the National Labor Relations Board by locals of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers on behalf of workers at Amoco, Charter, and Marathon oil refineries in Texas. These oil companies have stopped paying their share of premiums for employees insurance policies. Gulf Oil stated February 1 that it will also stop such payments.

Meanwhile the strike spread as 400 workers at the Ideco division of Dresser Industries in Beaumont struck due to expiration of their contract and 750 workers at Amoco production company's West Texas/Eastern New Mexico division joined the walkout February 4.

OCAW's national oil policy committee has approved settlements reached with a handful of independent oil companies. Jerry Archuleta, OCAW spokesman, said these agreements cover only about 1,200 of the 60,000 striking oil workers.

Members of the Petrotex group in Local 4-227 voted to raise the union dues by \$5 a member a month to help out the 2,000 members of the local who are on strike.

One of the members of the local who lives near the USS Chemical plant, which is being struck, reported that a neighbor of his called the local pollution control office to report noxious pollution belching out of the plant. He was told that the struck plants are not being held responsible for pollution problems since the plants are "forced to operate with unskilled labor" during the strike. Union members are checking into this.

The OCAW District 4 office in Houston is planning a public forum to warn the public of the dangerous conditions inside the struck refineries and of the threat posed to the surrounding community.

The forum will take place on Monday February 11, at 10:00 a.m. in the Houston Room of the University Center, University of Houston.

The nearly fifty workers at the GATX loading facility have returned to work after being fired for honoring a picket line set up there by Amoco strikers. GATX returned the OCAW members to their jobs on condition

that the pickets come down. Letters of reprimand were placed in each worker's file, and GATX is threatening further action against two committeemen. This is yet another example of the oil industry's effort to smash solidarity.

Indiana

By Mitchel Rosenberg and Steven Ashby

GARY, Ind.—More than two thousand oil workers on strike in the Calumet region have come up against police and court action favoring the oil companies.

At Amoco, where 1,400 workers are striking, picket lines of 100 or more were set up to demonstrate that "people are getting fed up with the company's attitude and want to show they support the strike," according to Local 7-1 Maintenance Representative and Strike Committee Chair Ron Yorke.

Militant OCAW pickets blocked tank trucks and outside contractors from the plant's entrances. But after three days, Lake County Superior Court Judge Cordell Pinkerton slapped a temporary restraining order on the Amoco pickets, restricting them to three at each gate. Police, supplemented by off-duty cops, had also attacked the picket lines in an effort to break them, arresting two unionists in the process.

Many of the "off-duty" cops were working for a private security company hired by the oil companies: Industrial Security Management Corporation, owned by East Chicago Police Chief Stephan R. Stiglich and former Hammond chief George Wise.

To back up his pro-company ruling, Judge Pinkerton also hit OCAW Local 7-210 members with an injunction limiting picketing to three at a gate at the other big oil company in the area, Energy Cooperatives, Incorporated, even though mass picket lines had not even been set up at ECI's gates.

The capitalist press has joined the forces of "justice" in lining up behind the oil companies. The Hammond *Times* states: "If the oilworkers are so fearful for the public's safety while they are off the job, perhaps they should not have left." The Gary *Post-Tribune* asks, "Is the strike really worth it?"

OCAW has won a lot of support, however, by focusing on the callousness with which the petroleum companies pursue their profits in the face



Militant/Stu Singer

Striking oil workers at British Petroleum terminal in Linden, New Jersey.

of extreme safety hazards to the surrounding communities. According to Local 7-210 President Nancy Regashus, "the city of Whiting has homes a half block from American Oil refinery; the city of East Chicago has homes and two schools 300 yards from the refinery."

Regashus was speaking at a press conference called by the two OCAW locals and three area locals of the International Association of Firefighters (see the *Militant's* February 1 issue). Known fires have occurred about twice a week since the workers went out, and they suspect there are more they can't see from the picket lines.

Fires and explosions are not new to these refineries; a serious fire broke out at Amoco last February. The Amoco refinery was almost destroyed in a well-remembered blaze in 1955 that blew out a number of blocks of nearby homes. Local 7-1 executive board member Yorke termed it "one of the worst refinery fires in history."

Kansas

By Marty Pettit

KANSAS CITY, Kan.—Izabella Listopad and I interviewed George Whitehead and Robert Sales, two Black OCAW strikers who were on picket duty at the Phillips refinery here.

"Insurance is the main thing in the strike," Sales said. "It means a lot to us; it's \$50 or \$60 that comes out of

people's checks. I really don't think that's asking too much. Most major companies pay health insurance."

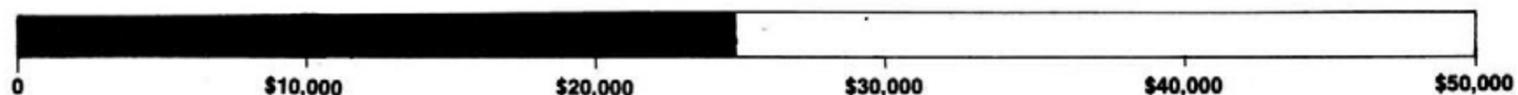
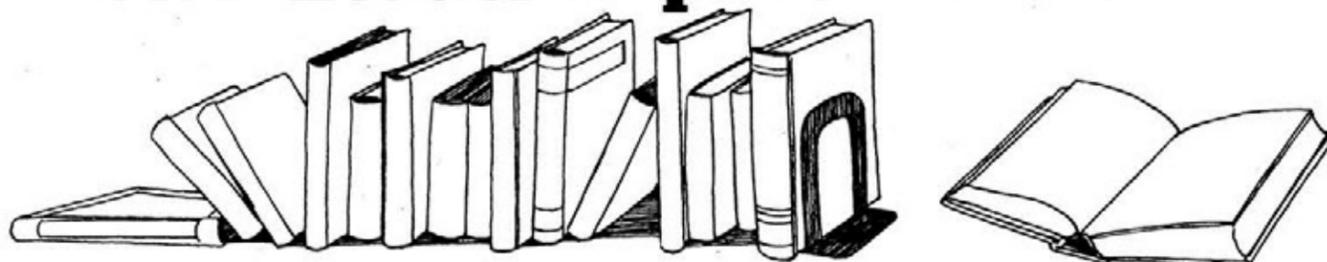
Wage increases were very important, Whitehead explained. "I'm not a greedy man, but I like to keep my nose above water. The only ones who get hurt are the working men. Anyone who punches a clock—they're the ones getting hurt by these wage guidelines. It's an uphill struggle every year. Any wage increases under 20 percent, and you won't catch up."

Sales agreed. "And whatever happened to that rebate we were supposed to get if we stuck to the 7 percent guideline? I haven't heard anything about that since. I think we just got screwed out of some money, that's what I think."

Both men, who said that they didn't expect a resumption of negotiations for a few weeks, said they were looking for other jobs so they could hold out. "There's not way you can agree on anything with your mouth closed," Sales said.

In a separate interview before the strike, L.B. Davis, president of Local 5-604, told *Militant* correspondent Lisa Hickler that the OCAW workers "feel we have support from the other unions because we are all in the same boat, and if one doesn't support his own people, then who is he going to support? Basically we feel that if the labor class of people would stick together it would be better for everyone concerned."

SWP Leadership School Fund



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

Eugene V. Debs once said: "The sound education of the workers and their thorough organization, both economic and political, on the basis of the class struggle, must precede their emancipation. Without such education and organization they can make no substantial progress."

The Socialist Workers Party, sharing Debs's view, has decided to set up an SWP Leadership School, which will begin March 1. It aims to free SWP leaders from their

heavy daily responsibilities for five-month sessions of Marxist study. The \$50,000 fund drive to launch the school now stands at \$24,871—just short of half of our goal!

Fund-raising social events are planned by the SWP in Detroit and Los Angeles on Saturday, February 16; and in the New York/New Jersey area on Saturday, February 23.

The fund is appealing for special donations from those who receive income tax refunds. This is a way to turn money that the government had earmarked for the war budget into building the socialist movement that will put an end to war and poverty.

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

I want to contribute:

\$1,000 \$500 \$200 \$100
 \$50 \$10 other _____

Make checks payable to:
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Farmers to demonstrate in Washington, D.C.

By Osborne Hart

For the third straight year, farmers will drive through the streets of Washington, D.C. to protest government farm policy and rising production costs.

The American Agriculture Movement, a national farmer organization, has called a demonstration on the Capitol Mall for February 16. The AAM has been in the forefront of farmer protests during the past several years.

The farmers are demanding government action to offset the effects of inflation; rising fuel, machinery, and production costs; and the decline in farm income of 10 to 20 percent projected by the Department of Agriculture for 1980. The AAM plans a two-day conference in Washington February 19-20 to discuss farmers' economic problems and proposals on the 1981 Farm Bill.

In addition, farmers have expressed anger and disgust at the grain embargo imposed by President Carter on the Soviet Union.

Marvin Meek, a Texas farmer and AAM chairperson, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview about plans for the upcoming farmer demonstration. When asked about the embargo, Meek

replied, "It didn't hurt anybody but us. Grain companies are not going to be hurt."

After a month, farmers are feeling the effects of the embargo on their living standard. They are forced to hold onto the unsold grain thereby lowering their income.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Micki Nellis, co-editor of the AAM's newspaper *American Agriculture News*, said the embargo "has cost farmers 10 to 15 cents a bushel. [Carter] buying up the grain is not seen as a solution. It's seen as the bailout of the major grain companies."

Despite the government's claims that it plans to help cushion the loss, farmers are suffering.

Meek offered one example of government's "help."

Because of the income loss, he said, "The FmHA [Farmers Home Administration] is foreclosing on literally hundreds of farmers across the nation."

Last year, nearly 3,000 farmers paraded tractors around the Capitol to dramatize their plight and demand action from the Carter administration.

For more information on the February 16 farmer protest and conference call the AAM Washington, D.C. office at (202) 544-5750.



In 1979, some 3,000 farmers demonstrated on the Capitol grounds against Carter's farm policy.

Copper miners' strike challenges Chile junta

A strike by 9,000 workers at one of Chile's largest copper mines, El Teniente, has developed into the biggest political challenge to the reactionary military government since it took power in a savage coup in 1973.

The strike began when the smelter workers union, which represents more than 1,200 workers at the facility voted on January 18 to reject a contract offer from the state copper company by a margin of 1,050 to 50. On January 24 workers represented by the mine and mill union rejected a second company offer two-to-one.

In voting to strike, the copper miners and smelter workers dealt a blow to the

government-appointed union officialdom as well as to the company and the government. Guillermo Medina, the handpicked head of the union, had recommended acceptance of the company's initial offer.

The Chilean labor movement suffered a tremendous defeat in the 1973 coup that overthrew the government of Salvador Allende. All workers parties and independent unions were abolished, and thousands of militant workers were murdered, imprisoned, or exiled.

In addition, the Chilean workers confront the government's new "labor plan" adopted last July. While the

regime tried to portray this measure as a reform, the labor code actually outlaws all picketing and solidarity strikes, and compels striking workers to pay all social security contributions, including the employers' share, while on strike.

Under provisions of the code, employers can begin to hire back individual strikers after a stoppage has gone on for thirty days; after sixty days on strike, all employees are legally considered to have resigned their jobs and employers are free to hire a new work force. Workers who have lost their jobs can collect only \$25 per month in unemployment benefits.

Copper workers, among the best paid Chilean workers, average about \$300 a month in wages in a country that has undergone ruinous inflation.

Management at El Teniente is trying to intimidate the workers with threats that workers in the leadership of the strike will be turned over to the authorities. Juan Von Christmars, the head of the company negotiating committee, told the press that "these elements have been totally identified and their activities have been made known to the competent authorities."

The strike has cut daily production of copper, Chile's chief export, by one-third.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Guatemalan regime increases repression

Some thirty Indian peasants, along with seven Spanish embassy personnel and two Guatemalan politicians, were killed January 31 when Guatemalan security forces stormed the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City. The Indians had occupied the embassy to demand that representatives of the military dictatorship meet with them to discuss army repression against the Indians in El Quiché province.

The government of Spain immediately broke relations with Guatemala, terming the police assault "brutal." According to a February 1 Reuters dispatch from Madrid, the statement issued by the Spanish government explained that Ambassador Máximo Cajal y López had informed it that "the occupation could be solved peacefully."

Cajal told the Spanish radio that after failing to persuade the Guatemalan police to leave the embassy, he and thirty of the occupiers retreated into the ambassadors' office. The cops then broke down the door with machetes. Shooting broke out and a peasant hurled a gasoline bomb at the police.

The embassy occupation is symptomatic of the growing involvement of the Indian population in the struggle against the military government. About half of Guatemala's 6.5 million people are Indian. They maintain their traditional languages and customs in the country's highlands. Several million others have been forced to migrate to the coastal areas to work on the cotton, coffee, and sugar plantations. Despite its size, the Indian population has traditionally been isolated from

Guatemalan political life.

But under the impact of the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua and the upsurge of the mass struggles in El Salvador, opposition to the Guatemalan military regime has been growing in strength and has begun to involve large numbers of Indians.

Social conditions are explosive. One percent of the country's families owns a full 55 percent of the cultivable land. Half the population earns less than \$100 per year. Illiteracy, malnutrition, and disease run rampant. In the cities the unemployment rate is over 30 percent.

According to Amnesty International there have been at least 2,000 political murders since May 1978, and in the decade between 1966 and 1976 more than 20,000 people, most of them opponents of the regime, were murdered for political reasons.

A Guatemalan professional, critical of the military regime, summed up the situation to Terri Shaw of the *Washington Post*. "We have no political prisoners here," he told her. "Here they just get killed."

The government of Gen. Romeo Lucas García, backed by a well-equipped army of 20,000 troops, has the support of the U.S. government. Washington, however, is worried about the impact of events in El Salvador and Nicaragua, as Alan Riding noted in a January 21 *New York Times* dispatch from Guatemala City:

"Deeply concerned that Guatemala may soon be engulfed by violent popular unrest, Washington has been working to strengthen the center and isolate

the political extremes here. 'Its problem is finding the center,' a foreign diplomat noted. 'All the viable centrist leaders have been killed.'"

Two substantial guerrilla groups are carrying out operations throughout the country—the Guerrilla Army of the Poor and the Organization of the People in Arms.

Over the past year, according to Riding, the guerrillas have temporarily occupied at least seventy towns, organizing political meetings where the struggle against the dictatorship is explained in Spanish and in Indian languages.

Faced with the growing insurgency throughout 1979, the military is float-

ing rumors that a civilian will be installed to head the government in 1982. As one Christian Democratic politician pointed out, "If the next president is not a civilian there will be a civil war. The people are fed up with military rule."

Similar considerations led elements in the military to overthrow Gen. Romero in neighboring El Salvador and install a joint military-civilian junta in his place last October. That move did not, however, quiet the mass struggle in El Salvador. And it is unlikely that Guatemala's workers and peasants will be appeased by a cosmetic change that leaves the social conditions in the country untouched.

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U.S. feminist speaks out

'Iran revolution was great advance for women'

Carol Downer, a longtime feminist, spent eleven days in Iran in December 1979, along with other Americans on a fact-finding visit. Downer is the founder of the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center and is also on the board of directors of the National Abortion Federation.

'Militant' staff writer Janice Lynn interviewed Downer upon her return to the United States. Following are excerpts of the interview.

Question. Who did you meet and talk with in Iran?

Answer. We had an opportunity to talk with several groups, including a Moslem group of women who put out the magazine called *Zan-e Ruz*.

We talked to the women from *Zan-e Ruz* quite a bit about the *chador* [veil]. They feel that when they wear the *chador*, or modest dress—actually women in this group were wearing a scarf and modest dress—by doing this they refuse to be made sex objects by men. Men are forced to deal with them on an intellectual basis and respond to them in terms of their ideas and their personhood.

We talked to them about how in the

United States, or the Western world, how disgusting it is that women's bodies are used for advertising and how constantly degraded a woman feels in this culture.

They brought out that their mode of dress is a rejection of Western values, Western dress, and a way of showing solidarity with the revolution.

During International Women's Day last year, 100,000 women demonstrated and marched to protest the demand that it was compulsory to wear the *chador*. And they won their point immediately. The government backed right down. Whereupon many of them went right back to wearing the veil or the scarf.

I think this is the part that maybe a lot of people in the United States don't realize. Their point was not to say that they wouldn't wear the veil, it was that it was compulsory and they wanted a choice.

The women talked about how the revolution had changed their lives. They had a feeling of optimism and progress, of the promoting of human values.

One woman mentioned how she was fired because she wore the scarf during the shah's time.

The shah didn't liberate women—he forced them to dress in a certain way. I think American women should know that. It's a whole different feeling having someone tell you you cannot dress in a way that your own moral and religious guidelines tell you you should dress.

Q. What do you think of the media campaign in this country that portrays women as being worse off now than under the shah?

A. It is just ludicrous to think people would say that under the shah's regime, which was so brutal and so repressive and impoverishing, that it was improving the lives of anyone except him and his family and their cohorts.

Everyone in Iran just scoffs at such a notion that women were "liberated" under the shah. Especially the women themselves. They do not think that this was true, whatsoever.



Millions of women participated in revolution that overthrew shah. Many wore veil in protest of shah's attempt to impose alien cultural dress and as show of solidarity with fight against imperialism.

They think that during the revolution many women got in the act. They participated a lot—in demonstrations and also on a community level. In the committees that were set up, women played a large role in these. They feel as though the revolution has been a great advance for women—to have gone through this experience.

Q. Did you visit the U.S. Embassy?

A. Yes. The students gave us documents found in the embassy. These are very revealing. You just get a sense of how the CIA was working day and night to try and take away those people's revolution and their independence and get them back under the U.S.'s thumb.

I went over there feeling like it was understandable how they could react to letting the shah into the United

States—that that was a huge insult to them.

But after I got there I realized that it went a lot deeper than just an insult.

Q. Do you think the shah should be sent back?

A. Oh absolutely, for sure. Forthwith!

There is a final point I want to make to women in this country, particularly those who are involved in the women's movement. I think we should go right on working for women's rights.

However, I don't think we should do that exclusively. As women, we need to incorporate an international understanding about what's happening to women and all people around the world and support and identify with these revolutionary struggles.



Militant/Janice Lynn

CAROL DOWNER: 'Everyone in Iran just scoffs at such a notion that women were liberated under the shah. Especially the women themselves.'

Rail local takes stand against nuclear power

By Robbie Scherr

LOS ANGELES—In December my union, United Transportation Union Local 32 on the Southern Pacific Railroad, passed the following resolution:

"We oppose the continued development of nuclear generating facilities and the continued unsafe transportation of nuclear material by rail."

This is one resolution that won't be filed with the minutes and forgotten. Because the men and women who work on the railroad are reminded constantly, just in the course of doing our jobs, of the potential danger in every car marked "radioactive."

Local 32 represents engineers and other engine service workers. We see derailments nearly every day. Only the worst are reported in the newspapers—a flammable car that explodes or a chemical car that breaks and forces a town to evacuate. But as if these tragedies aren't enough, the railroad insists on hauling nuclear material.

Unlike even the most serious fire, radioactivity can't be "put out" for 250,000 years!

Last November concern over the issue of nuclear power led three other members of Local 32 and myself to attend a meeting of the Alliance for Survival's labor task force. One member of Local 240 and two "rails" from the Santa Fe were also present. Following the general meeting we met to discuss the specific relationship of railroad workers to this issue.

The next week, I gave a little report in our union meeting on the issue. Following the report, local members contributed an avalanche of information about the transportation of nuclear material based on their own personal observations.

One engineer reported working a local that leaves cars marked radioactive on a siding in a residential

neighborhood. The cars stay there for days at a time, right opposite a playground, and are never inspected.

Another pointed out that railroaders may actually get more radiation hauling these cars than nuclear power plant workers, because unlike them we are never examined. He noticed how "we pull into industries where the workers are all dressed to the hilt in protective clothing. But we have nothing because we're on a train!"

Mention was also made of a recent article in the *UTU News* citing an accident in North Carolina where it took eight hours for seventeen government agencies to even find the "radioactive" cars and determine that they were not leaking.

The discussion became so lively that we voted to have our legislative representative (safety chairman) prepare a more thorough report for the December meeting. In addition, everyone wanted to think over some questions that had been raised about the local's position on nuclear power. One worker, for example, thought we should just take a stand for safe transportation of nukes, not against nukes themselves.

The next month, Paul Bigby, our legislative rep, gave the promised report and again a rich discussion followed. This time, however, much of the discussion focused on the antiunion drive of the energy companies who are developing nuclear power.

In their efforts to weaken unions like the United Mine Workers and the UTU they reject the most logical answer to the energy crisis—expanded coal production. As these energy barons explain in a pronuclear ad in the *Los Angeles Times*, coal is not a feasible alternative "because of the dangers of strikes and transportation problems."

So we discussed the fight against nukes as a fight to defend our union as well.

By holding these discussions in Local 32, the resolution which passed unanimously really meant something to the members who participated. Hardly just "another motion," it reflected the collective thinking and attention to a common concern.

Brakewoman killed

Koral Watters, a twenty-four-year-old brakewoman on the Burlington Northern railroad, died January 23 of ammonia inhalation resulting from a derailment near Ridgefield, Washington. Two officials of the National Transportation Safety Board said Watters is believed to be the first woman crew member killed in a train accident on the job.

The derailment occurred January 14 when a hillside collapsed about fifteen miles north of Vancouver. Four engines, two cars carrying deadly ammonia gas, and thirteen other cars were derailed. Watters and engineer Charles Maughlin suffered severe respiratory injuries when they inhaled ammonia leaking from one of the cars.

Watters became yet another victim of the profit-hungry railroads, which operate deteriorating and unsafe trains and tracks and then claim innocence when accidents occur. It also points to the growing dangers of rail shipment of hazardous cargo.

The safety board is investigating the derailment. The railroad, of course, claims the landslide is to blame.

In Brief

SEATTLE PROTEST HITS VICTIMIZATION OF IRANIAN STUDENTS

The Committee to Defend Iranian Students picketed the Seattle offices of the Immigration Service January 19 protesting hearings aimed at deporting twenty-seven Iranian students.

They had their visas scrutinized as part of Carter's program of investigating all Iranian students in the country.

In almost all cases, the students are being charged with minor technical violations of the conditions of their student visas.

For example, at the picket,

one student passed out copies of the INS letter to him. The letter states he changed his college major and this is presented as being done simply to prolong his stay here.

CONGRESS CUTS BENEFITS FOR THE DISABLED

Billions for weapons of war. Billions for big business profiteers. Slash benefits for those unable to work.

That's the program of the U.S. Congress.

The Senate voted February 1, 87-1, to push back disability benefits. The House approved a similar bill last year.

There are a few dollars difference to be reconciled between the two bills and then it goes to the White House for approval.

Under the House measure, a disabled worker with three dependents who had been earning \$880 a month on the job would have benefits reduced from \$720 a month down to \$595. That's less than \$150 a week to feed, clothe and shelter four people.

Said Sen. Russell Long (D-La.): "Beneficiaries do not have to pay taxes on these benefits. They have no work expense. They do not take transportation to and from work. They do not have to launder their

clothes as often. They can stay home."

And if they drop dead, the overhead is even lower.

AMERICAN CYANAMID SUED BY 13 WOMEN ON STERILIZATION

Thirteen women workers filed a sex discrimination suit against the American Cyanamid Company, charging they were pressured to undergo sterilization to keep their jobs.

According to the plaintiffs, the company said that fertile women could not continue working in the lead pigment division of the plant at Willow Island, West Virginia, because they would be exposed to lead dust that is dangerous to unborn children.

To hold on to their jobs, four of the women had themselves sterilized.

The company did not tell the women they must become sterile. It merely informed them they would be out of work if they weren't.

PAPER TO PUBLISH STORIES ON NUKE PLANT

A Pennsylvania paper got the go-ahead February 4 to publish articles on the Three Mile Island nuclear plant. Metropolitan Edison Company, owner of the plant, tried to block the articles, charging that they would be a threat to "national security." Met Ed's lawyer claimed, "We don't want to have made public the specific details of the security system."

Judge John Dowling of Dauphin County Court said the request could not be granted. "The experience of our founding fathers," he explained, "and which was reinforced throughout history, suggests the press must be left free to report the news without prior restraint."

The articles were written by Robert Kapler, a reporter for the *Guide*, a local weekly with

a circulation of 117,000. Kapler got a job as a security guard at Three Mile Island. He wanted to get an inside view of what is going on at the nuclear plant, which has been shut down since a nuclear accident there March 28, 1979.

The *Guide* planned to begin publication of the articles on February 5.

AGENT ORANGE VICTIM WHO FILED SUIT DIES OF CANCER

Edmund Juteau, who incurred cancer after being exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam, died February 3. He was thirty.

Juteau had filed a class action suit seeking \$4 billion damages for veterans exposed to the deadly chemical which the U.S. war machine used as a defoliant in Vietnam.

He filed the suit against the government and five manufacturers of the poison.

In 1979, he forced the government to reverse itself and admit his cancer was the result of exposure to Agent Orange.

The suit he initiated is pending. If successful, the money will be used as a trust fund for the U.S. families and victims of the chemical warfare program.

ANTI-SHAH T-SHIRTS GET WOMEN DISQUALIFIED

Two athletes at the Women's National Powerlifting Championships in Culver City, California, were disqualified from competition after wearing "Send the Shah Back" t-shirts to the events.

The women, Eileen Schnitger and Becky Chalker, members of the Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles and Orange County, were thrown out on the grounds that "only a nation or club's emblem on sports attire could be worn, and no other markings."

Chalker said they wore the t-



Daily Californian/Pritzkat

What's Going On

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

EYEWITNESS REPORT FROM NICARAGUA. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 1609 5th Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

MARXISM IN OUR TIME. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 16, 6 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. program. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN. Speaker: Georges Sayad, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission) Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN.

Speaker: Louise Armstrong, chairperson of San Francisco Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission) Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

INDIANA

TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Speakers: Dave Ellis, Socialist Workers Party and member United Steelworkers Local 2937; Liz Sommers, Young Socialist Alliance and member USWA Local 2937. Sat., Feb. 9, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

MEET ANDREW PULLEY. Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Fri., Feb. 15, 2:30-3:30 p.m. Bennett Street Gate, General Electric Plant, Lynn. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CAMPAIGN RALLY AND RECEPTION. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; others. Sat., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. reception followed by rally. Community Church, Boylston St. Ausp: SWP Campaign. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

'BURN.' A film showing and fund raising activity for Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. Fri., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Boston Univ. Free School. For more information call (617) 547-3810.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

NICARAGUAN OFFICIAL SPEAKS: OUR FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY. Speaker: Sonia de Chamorro, fundraising director for Nicaragua's National Literacy Campaign. Tues., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. Room 275, Student Center Building, Wayne State University. Ausp: Detroit Area Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. For more information call (313) 579-2100.

LABOR'S CASE FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Charles Younglove, director, United Steelworkers District 29; Suzanne Kelly, president, Virginia Education Association, coordinator for Labor for Equal Rights Now; Tom Turner, president, Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO; Maryann Mahaffey, president pro-temp, Detroit City Council; Eunice Stokes, recording secretary, United Auto Workers Local 236; member of National Organization for Women ERA

Action Team. Sat., Feb. 16, 2 p.m. USWA Local 299 Hall, 11424 W. Jefferson Ave., River Rouge. Ausp: USWA District 29 Women's Council and Michigan NOW. For more information call (313) 388-1300.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE FOR U.S. CONGRESS. Speakers: Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th District; Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Warren Simons, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. Miners Memorial Hall, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

OREGON PORTLAND

REVOLUTION AND COUNTERREVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN. Speaker: Joel Shapiro. Sun., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS DALLAS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Lea Sherman, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th C.D., Dallas, member Communications Workers of America Local 12260; Anthony Gonzalez, SWP candidate for Congress, 20th C.D., San Antonio, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1019; Jana Pellusch, striking member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-2227. Houston. Sun., Feb. 17, 6:30 p.m. 5442 E. Grande Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

No to the draft!

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DRAFT. Speakers from women's civil rights, student, and socialist movements. Thurs., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. Mesabi Community College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

NO TO THE DRAFT! A panel discussion. Sun., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE DRAFT. A panel discussion. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Dona-

tion: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

NO TO THE DRAFT! Speakers: Terry Applegate; Young Socialist Alliance and member of IUE, others. Sat., Feb. 16, 3 p.m. 5811 N. Broad. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (715) 927-4747.

COLORADO DENVER

SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DRAFT. Speakers: Pat Silverthorn, Young Socialist Alliance; Rabadi, Black Student Alliance; others. Wed., Feb. 13, 12 noon. Room 254 Student Center, Auraria Campus, 9th and Lawrence. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

S.F. cops attack El Salvador march

By Juan Martínez

SAN FRANCISCO—Police attacked a demonstration in solidarity with the people of El Salvador here February 2, arresting five of the key activists in the sponsoring coalition.

Two hundred people were on the march organized by the Solidarity Bloc with the Struggle of the Salvadorean People. The action demanded no U.S. intervention in El Salvador and no aid to its ruling junta. The march received a warm response along its one-mile route through the Latino Mission District of San Francisco.

March organizers charge the police tried to divert the march several times from its prearranged route. Then with only one block left before reaching the rally site,

cops waded in equipped with riot gear to try to push the march onto the sidewalk. In the midst of the confusion, they moved to arrest two leaders of the Solidarity Bloc who were acting as march monitors.

I witnessed police shoving demonstrators aside in order to single out and arrest one of these organizers. In all, five people were arrested and several protesters bruised by the police charge.

The march culminated with a picket line of 100 at the police station to protest the arrests. The five were later released on their own recognizance and are set to appear in court February 7.

Charges against them reportedly include battery, resisting arrest, interfering with an officer, and inciting to riot.

shirts to make a political statement. "Sports like everything else are now very political, especially when we see the actions of the United States leading us down the path of another world war."

TENNESSEE BACKS ABORTION BAN, DENIES DEBATE

The Tennessee House of Representatives approved January 30 a resolution calling for a Constitutional Convention to outlaw abortion. The vote was fifty-nine to thirty-two. The State Senate had approved the resolution last March.

After a half hour of maneuvering, the house decided to cut off discussion. No one favoring the right to legal abortion was allowed to speak.

NO CLASS STRUGGLE FOR CANADIANS?

Class Struggle has been banned in Canada. Not the reality, but the game.

Eaton's, Canada's biggest department store, decided to stop handling the game even though it was selling briskly. Why? A customer complained it was "subversive."

The customer apparently saw the illustration on the game box showing Karl Marx arm wrestling Nelson Rockefeller, with the explanation that Class Struggle offers "preparation for life in Capitalist America."

Prof. Bertell Ollman of New York University, who invented the game, says the banning provoked "a mini-furor in the Canadian press," with a dozen news articles and an editorial in the *Globe and Mail* which suggested Eaton's might be more secure about selling the game if it was rigged so Rockefeller won nine out of ten.

Prof. Ollman issued a statement declaring, "Class Struggle Inc. takes full responsibility for the fall of the Conservative government in Canada."

PELTIER SENTENCED TO SEVEN MORE YEARS

Native American activist Leonard Peltier and co-defendant Bobby Garcia were sentenced to maximum terms of five years for escaping from prison. Both are already serv-

ing two consecutive life terms. Peltier was given an additional two years for possessing a weapon when he was captured. The new sentences are added consecutively to their life terms.

Peltier was railroaded to prison originally for "aiding and abetting" in the deaths of two FBI agents who started a shootout at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975. No one charged Peltier himself ever killed anyone.

Peltier said he escaped from prison after learning of a government plot to kill him. The judge refused to allow testimony on this.

STEELWORKERS PROTEST YOUNGSTOWN SHUTDOWNS

On January 28 Youngstown, Ohio, steelworkers marched down the hill from the Local 1330 union hall to the U.S. Steel Corporation offices to protest the planned closing of the Ohio Works plant there.

Two hundred steelworkers reportedly occupied the company offices for six hours until company officials agreed to meet with them to discuss the closing.

Two paintings of steel mills were removed by the workers from the company building. One of them was raised to the roof, "to show the world what our ancestors built and what we are going to have taken from us."

Another worker was quoted as saying: "They won't save our jobs, but they're getting ready to send us to fight another war."

HIRING QUOTA UPHeld IN CALIFORNIA

The California Supreme Court has upheld an affirmative-action hiring quota aimed at giving more jobs to women and minorities in the Sacramento County district attorney's office.

The same court had rejected affirmative-action quotas in medical school admissions in the *Bakke* case in 1976. Its new ruling followed the precedent set by the *Weber* case last year, in which the United Steelworkers union successfully defended an affirmative-action plan for hiring and training skilled workers.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Doing the best they can—Babcock & Wilcox, the folks who brought you Three Mile Island, haven't sold any nuclear reactors lately, but they say business has perked up a bit. For one thing they have a good number of staff engineers and technicians trying to repair TMI. And a few other plants are doing some redesigning.

Working both ends—There were, the government reports, a little over two million marriages in 1978 and a little over one million divorces. Apparently alert to sociological trends, the California legislature is readying a bill to hike marriage license and divorce filing fees.

Conservation, anyone?—The U.S. armed forces are the nation's biggest single user of fuel. The military machine devours 80 percent of all federal energy consumption.

Sales appeal—A number of journalists for major papers and TV stations were shook up when they got cards in the mail, inscribed "In Memorium" [sic] with their names and the suggestion, "It pays to think about it." Tracked down to an ad agency, assurances were given that they were not death threats, just a first-part teaser ad for life insurance. "It was meant to have strong emotional appeal. To make people think," a spokesperson said.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Women & antinuke fight

On January 24 the specter of a nuclear catastrophe again surfaced when a powerful earthquake shook northern California, causing a leak of radioactive water at the Livermore nuclear weapons facility east of San Francisco.

And as if that were not enough, a report of an investigation sponsored by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission on Three Mile Island was released the same day. It noted that the March 1979 accident had actually come within thirty to sixty minutes of a catastrophic core meltdown.

Women have a vital stake in joining the fight to stop this nuclear madness. The health, if not the survival, of humanity depends on it.

On April 26 women will have an opportunity to join with thousands of other people in a march on Washington.

Nuclear power is killing people *right now* even without accidents. Thousands of cancers are caused today by radiation which emanated from a variety of sources: radiation in the atmosphere from atomic testing and the manufacturing of nuclear weapons; small but deadly amounts of radiation that constantly escape from nuclear power plants and add to the dangerous radiation level in the atmosphere; spills and emissions that occur throughout the nuclear fuel cycle from mining of uranium, milling, fuel rod production, to waste reprocessing, transportation, and storage.

The possible genetic mutation of future human generations is a real possibility.

Although the reproductive organs of both men and women are vulnerable to radiation, the effects of which can be passed on to offspring, women face special dangers when pregnant. Radiation substances entering a woman's bloodstream through air or food are transmitted to the fetus. The rapid growth of the fetus makes it more sensitive than adults to small doses of dangerous chemicals and radiation.

Unfortunately this grim fact has already been shown in a number of scientific investigations. In one, Dr. Ernest Sternglass, director of the Department of Radiological Physics at the University of Pennsylvania, noted that infant mortality, which had decreased in the U.S. during the 1930's and 1940's as a result of

better health care, began to rise again in the 1950's. Sternglass and others connected this to the atomic fallout from bomb testing.

Sternglass has also made several studies showing a connection between infant mortality in areas where nuclear plants are functioning. His studies and those of other scientists are documented by antinuclear activist Anna Gyorgy in her book *No nukes: everyone's guide to nuclear power*.

It's no coincidence that some opponents of women's rights are also nuclear enthusiasts. Anti-ERA figure Phyllis Schlafly, who subscribes to the "Dr. Strangelove" position that a nuclear war is winnable, favors more nuclear weapons.

But Schlafly isn't the only one in favor of beefing up the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Carter's new war budget includes developing more nuclear weapons and bombs.

Even if these weapons are not used for mass destruction, they are lethal, as the Livermore accident shows.

Polls show that even more women than men oppose nuclear power. A *New York Times*/CBS news poll released last spring showed that 56 percent of women and 36 percent of men opposed further construction of nuclear plants. The opposition has undoubtedly grown since then.

This was illustrated at the January 13 Equal Rights Amendment march in Richmond, Virginia. When the marchers passed the office of the Richmond electric company, which had a pronuclear display in its window, they burst into a spontaneous chant of "No Nukes!"

The women's movement can play a vital and needed role in organizing this sentiment into active, visible opposition to nuclear power and weapons.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Organization for Women, and other women's organizations can mobilize and educate their members on this issue. April 26, which is part of international protests, can be a focal point for this campaign.

Just as the activity of women's organizations helped to win justice for the children and relatives of Karen Silkwood—slain for her efforts to expose nuclear dangers—so women today should continue the struggle that she died for.

Origin of 'peacetime' draft

Carter's recent call for reinstatement of draft registration has touched off widespread protest. Young people especially fear this move is the first step toward being forced into new wars.

During the Vietnam War, the Young Socialist Alliance played an important role in antidraft actions as a part of the movement to end the war. In an article which appeared in the December 1966-January 1967 issue of the 'Young Socialist,' Doug Jenness discusses the origins of the post-World War II peacetime draft and the purposes it served for U.S. imperialism. Excerpts follow:

For most people of our generation it comes as a surprise to learn that compulsory military conscription, except during major wars, is a relative newcomer to American life. Before World War II the draft would have been unthinkable to most Americans and almost impossible to have imposed upon them.

Many Americans were immigrants who had left Europe because they wanted to escape the militarization in their homelands. Even after World War II had begun, but before U.S. entry into the war, opposition to the establishment of a selective service law was very strong.

During World War II opposition to the draft was restricted to a small handful of militant pacifists. Most Americans certainly did not welcome the war, but nonetheless believed it was necessary in order to defeat fascism.

After the victory of the Allied powers over Japan and Germany in 1945, almost everybody thought the war was over, that the troops would be brought home, and that conscription would be ended. The American rulers, however, had other plans. They wanted to take advantage of America's position as the top military power in the world and the only nuclear power to impose their rule throughout the world and make the world safe for American investments.

The GIs, who were tired of the war and eager to get home, resisted the attempts to distribute them around the world as occupation forces. Large scale revolts broke out in both the Pacific and Europe with the troops demanding that they be brought home.

These revolts played a significant role in preventing the United States from immediately crushing the rising colonial revolutions and possibly invading Eastern Europe and the USSR.

The World War II conscription law expired in 1946 but was extended until 1947 and then extended again until the Selective Service Act was passed in 1948. This was America's first peacetime draft law. The Act has been extended and amended numerous times since it was passed.

It's impossible to understand why the

American rulers wanted so desperately to establish peacetime conscription, despite its unpopularity, without examining the origins of the cold war.

The cold war did not emerge as a result of a misunderstanding between the USSR and the United States; nor was it due to "violations" by the Soviet Union of post war treaties, or to a 'betrayal' by Truman of FDR's wartime alliance with the USSR. It was the direct consequence of the incompatibility between two hostile socio-economic systems.

The American rulers hoped that through their military strength and nuclear hegemony they would be able to prevent the abolition of capitalism in Eastern Europe and roll back the gains made in Russia by the 1917 Revolution.

World War II also unleashed a revolutionary wave in the colonial world as one colony after another broke away from its imperialist masters. The thrust of this struggle was anticapitalist and brought it into direct conflict with the United States—chief defender of world capitalism.

Senator Gurney, Republican from South Dakota, expressed the attitude of the ruling politicians on June 3, 1946, when he spoke in favor of extending the wartime draft. "Far from being at peace," he said, "we are confronted with a world containing more explosive elements than at the time World War II was started. It would be literally easier to go to war now than then. . . ."

To back up their aggressive cold war foreign policy the American rulers badly needed a standing army. There was no chance whatsoever that the military needs could be fulfilled by a volunteer army. The population was too sick of war for that.

Therefore, to be ready to intervene wherever the capitalist order was threatened, a conscript army was needed.

The Truman administration not only hustled through a Selective Service Act but it took steps to regiment the entire society in many other ways, a policy actually begun under the Roosevelt administration.

In March 1947 Truman launched his program requiring all government employees to sign loyalty oaths, thus taking the first big step in what became a vicious decade-long witch hunt during which radicals were driven out of the trade union movement as a conservative bureaucracy was whipped into line to serve government policy.

The conscript army is not a crusading army carrying the spirit of democracy around the world. Rather, as post war history affirms, it is a counterrevolutionary dagger aimed directly at the rising colonial and socialist revolutions. American military intervention in Korea, Lebanon, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Vietnam bears witness to this fact.



Castro speech

I am a faithful reader of your paper, and I would love to have a personal subscription if at all possible.

However, I mainly desire a copy of the pamphlet *Fidel Castro at the UN* with the speech he made last year. Please rush it to me.
A prisoner
Ohio

Afghanistan & Finland

Fred Feldman's article on Afghanistan and self-determination [February 1 *Militant*] reminds me of another Russian intervention in 1940 in Finland. There the action was spurred by the direct threat to the Russian state presented by the reactionary Mannerheim regime which collaborated openly with Hitler.

Despite its fascist character the Finnish government was supported by liberals and social-democrats against the Russian intervention.

Today hardly anyone would deny the validity of that Russian action in self defense. Historical perspectives reveal more clearly the underlying significance of world events not involving direct confrontations between the major powers.

Hindsight is better than foresight. But foresight is possible and Trotskyists correctly understood the Finnish events.

Unfortunately the bureaucratic character of the Soviet regime beclouds a clear appreciation of the significance of the Afghanistan events.

Critics proceeding from the negative premise that the bureaucracy stifles democracy formalistically apply it to every such situation, deriving only negative conclusions.

But as Gus Horowitz clearly explained in his article in a previous issue of the *Militant* [January 25], Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan are very different situations. What are of decisive import are the class relations involved. In Czechoslovakia the Russian bureaucracy intervened to stifle a threat against themselves as a bureaucracy. That was an attack on workers democracy.

In Afghanistan Russian intervention clearly is supporting a social revolution against a counterrevolution.

This fact demonstrates the contradictory character of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is forced to defend threats to the social structure of the USSR. In so

doing it adopts fundamentally progressive policies under extreme circumstances. There will be no fascism in Afghanistan because of the Russian intervention.

Every progressive thinker must thereby welcome that action.
N. Simon
Miami Beach, Florida

'Total disasters'

Your Iranian and Afghanistan policies have been total disasters!! You've thrown away the chance to extend your influence in this country.

You should have stuck to attacking (Der Angriff) the oil companies and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy! You were on *solid ground* then!!
Ron Harner
Washington, D.C.

Tyrant capitalism

We, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, will not stand idly by and watch our livelihoods be drained away by "inflation" into the pockets of the politicians and corporation owners. Rebellion is afoot. This city has raised sales taxes by dictatorial means. There are Social Services Workers, church members, older and normally highly conservative people willing to listen to whatever sound of protest I can get up the guts to raise. They'd respond in a way they never were willing to before because TYRANT CAPITALISM HAS ISSUED A DEATH WARRANT FOR THE POOR.
Martin Halbrooks
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Einstein

I want to congratulate you and thank you for the fascinating article by Cliff Conner on "Albert Einstein and the Revolution in Modern Science" (December *International Socialist Review*.) It was a delightful surprise to pick up a socialist newspaper and find an article which explains the most exciting developments in twentieth century science. Since I have practically no science background I found the article took a lot of time and attention to read but was well worth the effort.

Like many people, I have found materialism to be a relatively easy concept to grasp but dialectics a difficult

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Learning About Socialism

Trotsky on Soviet interventions

concept, since we are not trained to think dialectically. Conner's article has brought me closer to an understanding of dialectical materialism. It's inspiring to see how principles of Marxism are confirmed in physical science as well as in human history.

I applaud the decision to devote so much of the article to the straight rendering of scientific theory; this laid a strong foundation for the polemic that followed. I hope we can count on the *ISR* for more theoretical articles of this caliber on art, literature, and science.

Helen Duffy
Chicago, Illinois

Protest prison brutality

There is a petition regarding the bad conditions here at Clinton Correctional Facility. Only 14 people (inmates) signed it. Around 800 would like to sign it but they are afraid of the repercussions. In other words, "severe bodily harm."

We would like you to publish this letter in your next issue. This way some organizations that read your articles may read ours and give us a hand.

Here are some of the things these people here get away with: eating the inmates' food in the mess hall; beating and harassing inmates at random; taking away our recreation when they feel like it, taking home steaks, chicken, ground beef, and other foods that are supposed to be given to us; making inmates crawl and bark like dogs in their special housing unit while the doctor shoots them up with drugs so the officers can take advantage of them; slavery in the tailor shops; etc., etc., etc. If I kept writing the abuses, it would probably take up three or four of your pages.

A prisoner
Dannemora, New York

Wants to subscribe

I was an avid reader of the *Militant* up until the time that a fellow inmate was transferred.

I don't have any way of finding the real news and current events except through your newspaper.

I am an inmate and, like most of us, I don't have the necessary money to subscribe. If it is at all possible, may I have a free subscription?

A prisoner
Ohio

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

At the opening of World War II in 1939, the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland, and the Soviet invasion of Finland were the pretext for an outpouring of anti-Soviet and pro-war propaganda in the United States.

The imperialists used these events to soften up the antiwar sentiments of American working people, in preparation for full-scale U.S. participation in the war.

The media decried the fate of "poor little Finland," which was actually an outpost of British imperialism under an ultrareactionary regime.

When workers and farmers in Eastern Poland (actually part of the Ukraine) took advantage of the Soviet occupation to put an end to landlord-capitalist domination, the capitalist media kept the news quiet.

As is happening today around Afghanistan, the capitalist media proclaimed that the Kremlin's goal was world conquest. Speculation centered on "where Moscow will strike next."

A minority in the Socialist Workers Party led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman folded in the face of the war drive.

They proclaimed the Soviet state to be a new imperialist power aiming at world hegemony. They said that the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule was incapable of progressive actions. And they speculated about the alleged danger that Stalin would next invade India, or take over the country by subverting the movement for national independence (India was then a British colony).

As a leader of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky participated in the debate in the SWP from exile in Mexico. He defended the Soviet Union in its conflicts with imperialism despite his opposition to the methods and policies of Stalin and the bureaucracy he headed.

Trotsky argued that the Soviet Union was still a workers state. Its planned and nationalized economy represented a qualitative advance over capitalism and a necessary condition for building a socialist society.

Trotsky explained that the Stalinist bureaucracy, unlike the imperialists, was far from seeking world conquest. Instead, Stalin's goals were to reach a live-and-let-live agreement with world imperialism at the expense of the struggles of working people against capitalism and landlordism. The imperialists, however, were still out to undermine and destroy the Soviet Union.

At that time, Stalin was covering up for Hitler in exchange for guarantees against a Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. The moves in Finland and Poland were intended to further secure Soviet borders.

Trotsky explained that Stalinist policy in the world arena was fundamentally conservative and defensive, not imperialist or expansionist.

It was not "Soviet aggression," Trotsky explained, but the Stalinist policy of supporting imperialist governments in exchange for diplomatic and economic deals that represented a danger to struggles of working people around the world.

Trotsky's main contributions to this discussion are collected in *In Defense of Marxism* (Pathfinder, \$4.45).

Trotsky took up speculation about India in a December 1939 letter to Selina M. Perera, a Ceylonese socialist who

was sympathetic to the Fourth International.

It is reprinted below, in abridged form, from *Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1939-40* (Pathfinder, \$6.95).

Both *In Defense of Marxism* and *Writings of Leon Trotsky: 1939-40* are available from the bookstores listed below.

Dear Comrade Perera,

The question about the possible military intervention of the Red Army in India (not to speak about Ceylon) has been launched absolutely artificially by some of the American comrades. The possibility is not excluded, but it is not this question that is now on the order of the day.

The Red Army is not an independent political factor but a military instrument of the Bonapartist bureaucracy of the USSR. Military intervention would be only the continuation of political intervention, and the political intervention of Stalin's Comintern [The Communist International] is developing in India as elsewhere every day. But our task is not to speculate about the possibilities of a future military intervention—rather it is to learn how to fight against the present political intervention. Every fight demands a correct appreciation of all the factors involved.

The first thing is not to forget that the direct enemy of the India workers and peasants is not the Red Army but British imperialism. Some comrades, who in the last period have replaced Marxist policy by anti-Stalinist policy, forget the political realities in India and imitate the Stalinists of yesterday who proclaimed—before the Stalin-Hitler pact of course—that the main enemy in India is . . . Japan.

The Stalinists in India directly support the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois national parties and do all they can to subjugate the workers and peasants through these parties. What we must do is create an absolutely independent proletarian party with a clear class program.

The general historic role of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their Comintern is counterrevolutionary. But through their military and other interests they can be forced to support progressive movements. We must keep our eyes open to discern the progressive acts of the Stalinists, support them independently, foresee in time the danger, the betrayals, warn the masses and gain their confidence. If our policy is firm and intransigent and realistic at the same time, we would succeed in compromising the Stalinists on the basis of revolutionary experience. If the Red Army intervenes we will continue the same policy, adapting it to military conditions. We will teach the Indian workers to fraternize with the rank and file soldiers and denounce the repressive measures of their commanders and so on.

The main task in India is the overthrow of British domination. This task imposes upon the proletariat the support of every oppositional and revolutionary action directed against imperialism.

This support must be inspired by a firm distrust of the national bourgeoisie and their petty-bourgeois agencies.

We must keep a suspicious eye on the temporary ally as well as on the foe.

If we follow seriously these good old rules, the intervention of the Red Army would not take us unawares.

Yours comradely,
L. Trotsky

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THE MILITANT

Behind New Mexico prisoner rebellion Inmates' relatives speak out

By Mark Curtis
and Dick Geyer

SANTA FE, New Mex., Feb. 6—Packed in overcrowded cells, intolerably mistreated, angry inmates rose in rebellion at the New Mexico State Penitentiary here February 2.

The thirty-six-hour uprising ended when state and local cops, backed by the national guard, stormed the prison.

When it was all over, thirty-three prisoners lay dead and about fifty were in hospitals. State officials expect to find more bodies in the rubble.

The rebellion was national news—"The worst prison rioting in modern American history," declared the *New York Times*, helping lead the sensationalist reporting.

Television and newspaper accounts have been filled with gruesome tales of torture and mutilation inflicted by drug-crazed prisoners on each other: arms and legs severed; beheadings; castrations; an iron bar stuck through the head; blowtorches used on people's faces, people being burned alive. The lurid reports handed out by New Mexico police and government officials were dutifully reported as fact from coast to coast.

Medical examiner's report

But Dr. James Weston, the forensic pathologist in charge of the medical examiner's office in Albuquerque, where all the bodies were sent for examination, told a different story to the press on February 5.

"I personally saw three cases in which there was what you would call 'mutilation,'" he said, after examining the thirty-three bodies found so far. "The injuries indicated there was a great deal of rage, but not what I would call mutilation. It's more what I would call overkill, more injury than what is necessary to kill a person."

Weston also said there was no way to determine whether any of the victims had been tortured before they died.

Most died as a result of being struck, stabbed, or a combination of the two, he said. A few died of carbon monoxide poisoning. Drugs may have been involved in two or three deaths, but he had not yet performed tests for drugs, according to the February 6 *Albuquerque Journal*.

The examiner's discrediting of the police accounts of the deaths and injuries will surely fire the anger and skepticism of the families of the prisoners. Many do not accept the official version of the events, as we found out yesterday when we talked here with relatives waiting outside the prison for news of their loved ones.

"I blame the penal administration, not the prisoners, for all this," said Joseph Jaramillo, brother of an inmate, voicing the sentiment of all the other relatives we talked to.

Tony Sandoval, who has a son and a brother-in-law in the prison, blamed overcrowded conditions for the uprising. "I wouldn't treat my animals the way they [the prison authorities] treat those people," he said.

Relatives abused

The fiery anger of the prisoners' families was stoked further by the way they themselves had been treated by the authorities as they stood for hours or days by the road outside the prison waiting for news. They didn't know if their relatives inside were dead or alive, and when, hearing nothing, they



New Mexico State Penitentiary in Sante Fe. Inmates, watched over by National Guardsmen, have been held incommunicado since rebellion.

stood in the roadway to protest, they were shoved back by the national guard. So, here they stood, bitter, facing the guardsmen, as a state trooper read through a list of names, the same incomplete list that had been read over and over again.

The relatives, like a former inmate we talked to, and like the prisoners themselves, could point to the statistics that back up their charge of overcrowding in the prison: 1,136 inside at the time of the uprising, one-third over the prison's capacity.

"We have ninety, sometimes plus, individuals living in a single dormitory, which is approximately 32 x 48 feet," one inmate wrote in a letter that was published in the *Albuquerque Tribune* on February 2.

"We sleep almost like sardines," one prisoner had complained to his wife before the uprising. "Something's going to happen."

Terry Seaton, who had been imprisoned here for six and a half years before public pressure brought about his release in 1978, confirmed that overcrowding was a chief source of prisoner complaints. The prisoners were also victimized by the staff, he said, which was hired through nepotism and was little concerned with the prisoners' welfare.

Seaton, who is Black, also told us that the prison authorities continually sought to foment racial divisions in the prison, where 58 percent of the inmates are Chicano, 10 percent Black, and 1.5 percent Indian.

Almost all the dead, according to newspaper reports, were Chicano and Black.

The uprising came as no surprise, Seaton told us. "It wasn't anything the authorities didn't see coming," he said. "They had hearings, court decisions, etc. which said, 'do something!' about the intolerable conditions."

Lawsuit against conditions

In fact, the American Civil Liberties Union had filed a class action suit two years ago on behalf of the inmates at the prison. Chief demands were for an end to overcrowding, for an end to the arbitrary

restrictions on mail and visits, and for an end to mistreatment.

But except for a federal court order last year easing the mail restrictions, nothing was done.

"The state penitentiary is pretty far down in the bureaucratic process," was the attitude, as summed up a few weeks ago by Brian Sanderoff, an aide to Gov. Bruce King.

That legitimate grievances were at the root of the uprising was shown by the prisoners' demands, eleven in all, most of them paralleling the issues raised in the ACLU suit.

These included demands for an end to overcrowding, for improvement in educational and recreational facilities, for better visiting conditions, and for a change in the composition of the disciplinary committee. The prisoners also demanded that the news media be allowed into the prison.

Indications from most of the media reports are that another big issue angering the prisoners was the mistreatment they had suffered as a result of informers used against them.

The state officials, acting in accordance with a prearranged strategy, made some fake concessions—stating they would take up the matter of overcrowding, recreation, and education in the state legislature; that they would "take a long hard look" at the prisoner complaints about harassment; that they would even raise prisoners' wages above the present twenty-five cents per hour!—in order to obtain the release of the guards who had been taken hostage.

When their release had been achieved, Governor King, citing the lurid stories that the police and state officials themselves had been circulating, ordered police and national guardsmen to storm the prison.

And in the sensational stories that followed, the prisoners' grievances were buried.

What really happened at the state penitentiary? That will be fully established only when the prisoners themselves are permitted to speak.