Antidraft protests spur march on D.C.

New forces back March 22 action

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

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

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

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

Among the reasons for Winpisinger's vote, his Washington office told the Militant, was the conviction that registration would inevita­bly lead to full-scale military conscription. During the Vietnam war it took several years before any of the AFL-CIO leaders dared object to the official pro-war line. It is signifi­cant that this time voices have been heard at the outset.

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

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

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

Winpisinger, who warned that the AFL-CIO can youth, said as much. "One, two, three; four; they get richer. The socialists point to the working people of Cuba and Nicaragua who are improving their lives, expanding social services. Why not in the United States?"

Carter's Iran fiasco
Carter administration officials feigned as­tonishment when the Iranian government called again for the immediate release of the hostages and declared support to the students occupying the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

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

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

But armless, legless, and blind people who come in busloads to Tehran and wait in the snow to testify about the shah's torture have another view. Carter refuses to admit that the Iranian demands are just. "There's no way the Pana­marians are going to turn the shah over," a White House aide arrogantly stated.

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

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

Despite press speculation that he is cracking down on the students, Carter's Benjarut top­pled on top of the embassy wall February 25 to address thousands at a mass anti-imperialist rally. He called the students "young patriots" and praised the action of the Iranians see Carter's refusal to turn over the shah as a threat of U.S. intervention. They know that the CIA moved in during a previous revolution to put the shah back on the throne in 1953.

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

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

Send back the shah!
Antidraft protests across country build momentum for march on Washington

By August Nimtz

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

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

Lowery explained that the U.S. Army is now 53 percent Black, and that Blacks make up 47 percent of the combat divisions. "Now who’s going to die in war?" he asked the virtually all-Black audience.

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

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

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

If Blacks had been making foreign policy, he went on, the U.S. would not be in the trouble it is in Iran. "The shah couldn’t have fooled us." Referring to the CIA-backed coup in 1953 that put the shah in power, Lowery said that the American hostages were taken in Tehran because "U.S. foreign policy reigned the reign of the corrupt despot" over the Iranian people.

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

SCLC leader speaks out against the draft

The committee produces placards and hangs a banner: "No registration, no draft, no war!" But it also strongly urges local groups to bring their own signs and banners.

Union support

The New York delegate assembly of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, adopted a resolution February 21 stating that "all efforts to reinstitute military registration and the draft be rejected and opposed by this union."

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

Portland march

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

The highly spirited demonstration featured such slogans as "Employment, Not War!" "ERA Yes, Draft No!" and "1-2-3-4, We Won’t Fight in Exxon’s War!"

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

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

"15,000 calls & letters"

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

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

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

Albany students

About 350 people chanted spirited antidraft slogans as they marched from the Navy recruiting center to downtown Albany on February 10.

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

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

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

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

West Coast & Midwest actions

Southern California antidraft activists who can’t make it to Washington, D.C. on March 22 can rally instead at MacArthur Park in Los Angeles. The antidraft rally was decided upon by a February 25-24 membership conference of the Southern California Alliance for Survival.

Northern Californians will march and rally in San Francisco on March 22. The demonstration, decided upon by the West Coast Mobilization Against the Draft, will demand, "No registration, no to the draft, no war!"

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

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

Miami rally

About 100 antidraft protesters rallied in downtown Miami February 24 in a demonstration sponsored by CARD and the American Friends Service Committee.

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

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

Ann Arbor boycott

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

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

(This week’s draft news was sent in by Militant correspondents Ray Kehoe, Jim Callahan, Betsy Cummings, Mark Stemple, and Darren Crow. Compiled by Gus Horowitz.)

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What do New Hampshire primaries show?

By Fred Feldman

Elections in the United States provide a distorted image, at best, of the thinking of American working people. This is especially true of primaries, where a small minority of people—mostly from better-off and older sectors of the population—even chooses the candidates.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some months ago Carter was being presented as a bumbling incompetent, while Kennedy was described as a dynamic leader who might pull the country out of its serious troubles.

Neither candidate experienced any major breakthroughs. Both are just trying to find a way to show their opposition to Carter's policies.

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

Carter won the primary, but Kennedy and Brown won enough votes to stay in the race. They will use this as a basis for showing Carter either that he’s faltering—or if big business changes its preference again.

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

Events in Iran and Afghanistan led both candidates to focus on nuclear power plants. Neither would decide any policies at all from the standpoint of working people. Both are just trying to get nominated and then elected to office.

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

The ruling rich may not like everything that Kennedy or Brown says in the scramble for votes, but they are glad that these candidates are helping to keep opposition to Carter’s policies bottled up in the capitalist parties.

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

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

By David Marshall

MANCHESTER, N.H.—Three days before the nation’s first primary, 300 New England antiddraft activists marched through downtown Manchester by denouncing Soviet moves in Afghanistan.

The two-mile march, which was sponsored by the New Hampshire Committee Against Registration and the Draft and the New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union, reminded demonstrators that the “children of the ruling class will always find a way out of the draft,” while working-class youth would run all the risks.

University of New Hampshire stu­dent Cindy Katz spoke for millions of draft-age women when she said that “drafting us to fight and kill for oil is unacceptable.”

Both candidates are working to block the draft or stop building nuclear power plants. Neither would decide any policies at all from the standpoint of working people.

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Birmingham reopens church bombing case

By Lee Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Woods's sentiments were echoed by the Rev. Franklin Tate, another SCLC leader. Tate said he was gratified that the case has been opened but it isn't new. He said it still remains to be seen whether justice will be done.

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

"The people of my community are fed up," with the delay in justice in this case, Carruba said. He urged that all the relevant police and government files be opened to speed conclusion of the case.

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

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

Pulley tours for upcoming Mass. ballot drive

By John Rees

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

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

Pulley also spoke to 400 high-school students during a three-day mock convention at Keene Regional High School in New Hampshire. Campaign supporters sold sixty antidraft buttons, and one hundred other campaign buttons to the students.

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

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

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

"The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party plans a four week petitioning campaign beginning in late March. The drive will include four massive weekend petitioning efforts, in addition to regular daily petitioning. "Socialist Workers will use the petition drive to take the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign to all the major population centers in the state. The campaign committee intends to go well over the 50,000 target set by the state officials."

Schneider urged everyone present to help with petitioning. He reminded his listeners that the $50,000 goal was to be raised to $100,000 if the drive is successful.

"This is a battle to win the right of the working people of Birmingham need the facts so we can force the government to stop protecting these racist murderers and bring them to justice."

Socialist Workers Campaign sets $50,000 goal

By L. Paltrineri

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

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

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

$50,000

$40,000

$30,000

$20,000

$10,000

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

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

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

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

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

Because the capitalist parties do everything they can to stack the electoral process against working people who are going to be easy. It requires collecting more than half a million signatures, paying filing and other fees, and being prepared to meet official attempts to deny Pulley and Zimmermann their right to a place on the ballot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The strike has closed all Consol mines in north-central West Virginia, one of the nation's highest coal-producing regions. A powerful show of solidarity, miners working for Eastern, Republic, Bethlehem, Southern Ohio, and Bradford companies also refused to go to work. It is the most significant job action since the end of the 1910-19-contract strike in March 1978.

Consol officials at the Four States mine provoked the walkout when they suspended, "subject to discharge," Local 4000 President Mike Zaramick and two members of the mine committee. The trumped-up charges were "instigation, acting irresponsibly, and instigating a work stoppage."

One of the picketing miners here told the Militant that Consol "framed the mine committee. "If they're allowed to get away with what they're doing, the mine committee that's been around for a long time will not be a committee union officer's job that is safe at any mine in this district," he said.

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

‘Silent muggers’—oil workers expose companies

By Jana Pellusch

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

"The community as a whole is being silently mugged," he said on February 11 at a union-sponsored meeting held at the University of Houston. "During a strike, the area around a refinery becomes one big toxic dump. The regulatory agencies are not doing their job.

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

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

"A member of local 4-228 in Port Neches recounted an incident in which the driver of a tank truck loaded with liquefied petroleum gas noticed a stream of vapors coming out of the relief valve on top of the truck. He had to drive outside the city limits, escorted by the local sheriff, so that fire fighters could spray the truck with water to bring the pressure down and close the valve.

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

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

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

"Dr. Sharon Itaya, Occupation Health Specialist for OCAW District 4, reported that union members were being fired by local pollution control offices that standards had been suspended for plants where the workers are on strike.

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

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

"Mazocco also pointed out company responsibility for long-term health hazards in the oil industry. OCAW and working with the National Cancer Institute, has documented the high cancer risk in Texas counties where the petrochemical plants are located. OCAW is also studying the connection between work exposure to hazardous substances and subsequent birth defects."

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

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

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

Calif. labor plans strike support

By Jeff Mackler

OAKLAND, Calif.—Forty-one top officers of the California labor movement, including John F. Hening, the Executive Secretary Treasurer of the California Labor Federation, and the heads of the Central Labor Councils in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Mateo counties, issued an appeal to rally all union members and strike against the Refiners. Auto, steel, longshore and maritime union leaders also signed the appeal. In a letter sent to mobilize support from 800 unionists and labor organizations in the Bay Area, the labor officials explain that "the leaders and members of OCAW are digging in for a long, hard battle. We want to help the OCAY members now, during these crucial days when they need such help, in order that the involved companies will well understand that no union or union members in the San Francisco Bay Area need ever walk alone."

The appeal was warmly welcomed by the striking oil workers. OCAY President Joseph Balanoff, executive secretary of OCAW Local 1-10, reported the news to a meeting of 200 strikers in Martinez, California, saying that the labor movement in the Bay Area represents all unionized employees that are not going to fight in the conventional manner. "The labor movement in the Bay Area is going to work together, when they see us begin to mobilize our allies, when we reach out to the women fighting for the ERA and to the environmentalists, and when we go into the streets and explain our ideas in mass meetings, then you'll begin to see a crack in their armor."

The first meeting to plan Bay Area labor solidarity actions was set for February 26.
Steel strike vs. Tories

By Gus Horowitz

The British steel strike, now almost two months old, is shaping up into a major test of strength between the British National Party (Tory) government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Unions. The strike by 100,000 workers at the government-owned British Steel Corporation (BSC) has been in existence nearly 85 percent of the country's output, is the first national strike by steelworkers in over a decade, and general strike by all workers in Britain.

Key issues in the strike are jobs and wages.

The workers, organized mainly by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, want a 2 percent wage increase, while the BSC has offered 8 percent (originally only 2 percent), with an additional 4 percent linked to productivity increases.

The issue of jobs, however, is even more crucial for the steelworkers. The BSC is seeking to eliminate 29,000 jobs, a third of the total work force. With the steel market in a decline, the margin of profit is 6 percent. The BSC, which is 70 percent under leveraged, is being approached with offers to buy by British and foreign companies.

Tenneco, the company, which produces more than 85 percent of the country's output, is the first national strike by steelworkers in over a decade, and general strike by all workers in Britain.

Militant.

Forcing a decertification election to ensure the continuation of the strike to the private companies. Such an extension, Tenneco, had ruled, would turn the strike into a political conflict between the two private firms and the public authority. It has been clear from the beginning, however, that the strike was eminently political, a defensive battle caused by the Tory anti-labor offensive on wages and jobs.

On February 14, workers in eleven of the BSC's yards voted to keep the strike going after an earlier vote of union leaders to end it. The yard President Edward Campbell said. The day steelworkers went on strike at Hadfield's, a private company, ringing the plant with 1,000 police cars.

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

Militant.

The line steel workers cut off the plant with 1,000 police cars.

Newport News: Contract talks stalled

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Newport News Shipyard made its negotiating statement to the government's Labor Department Local 8888 public on February 14. It was anything but a Valentine.

The new contract expired at a meeting of area business executives, shipyard President Edward Campbell made it clear that the contract the Steelworkers seek won't come easy.

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

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

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

Campbell reported that the shipyard increased profits last year to $82 million, a jump of more than 228 percent decrease from the $4 million loss of the five-day strike for union recognition.

But, Campbell said, "we've got a long way to go."

Tennessee, the olivarch owner of the yard, has assets of nearly $14 billion. Its 1979 net was 24 percent up over 1978.

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

The need for a serious wage increase was the talk of the yard the morning of February 15. Members of Local 8888's negotiating committee explained to unionists going to work that the yard's economic package was totally unacceptable.

"We heard Tenneco offered a 7 percent increase," a union official said.

"Everyone in my shop was talking," a young pipefitter told the Militant. "We heard Tenneco offered a 7 percent increase (breaking the union's package was totally unacceptable.)

"We need at the bottom line $1.50 an hour up front to catch up with living expenses," a welding repairman told the Militant.

"Tenneco doesn't give a damn about working people," a pipefitter told the Militant.

On February 23, USWA District 95 Director Bruce Thrasher told the me that "details will be thoroughly discussed at a Local 8888 membership meeting March 7." Many union members were pessimistic about the March 7 meeting.

A shipbuilder put it this way: "We've been fighting for almost a year. I don't think Tenneco thinks it can do it as we did to the designers. But they're wrong. This is our most important meeting ever."

Zimbabwe elections:

Racists fear results

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

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

The following statement was released February 6 by the London-based George Houser and Tilden Le-Melle, members of a team of Americans in Zimbabwe to observe the upcoming elections. Houser is executive director of the American Coalition of Organizations and Le-Melle is a professor at Hunter College in New York City and ACOA treasurer.

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

Guns are everywhere—the Rhodesian army; the so-called auxiliaries, some 22,000 representing politicians and the mass for [Bush Abol Muzorewa]; some guerrilla groups still at large outside the main area, such as the Bush fighters carrying rifles and revolvers as they travel around.

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

Britain:
Coal miner runs for governor

Tom Moriarty
W.Va. race against oil-rich Rockefeller

By Pat O'Brien

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

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

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

Tom Moriarty, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1348 in Fairmont, West Virginia, became the first declared candidate for governor at a news conference in Charleston February 13.

HELP US CAMPAIGN
For more information on the Socialist Workers Party's West Virginia election campaign—or to lend out what you can to help, contact the SWP campaign committee at 957 S. University Ave., Morgantown 26505. (304) 296-0555.

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

The fact that a coal miner is challenging an oil billionaire in the midst of an energy crisis that has victimized every working person in this state—wages, prices and profits—hundredfold—"the oil companies have no right to absolute control of our natural resources," says Moriarty, "mine fatalities were the highest in six years and we've got more than 10,000 West Virginia miners are out of work."

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

"So far the commission's deadline has been extended twice and the only thing it has done is to endorse Carter's energy policy," says Moriarty. "These policies supposedly include stepped-up use of coal—at some point in the future. Meanwhile, specific actions have included decontrol of gas prices and expanding nuclear power production.

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

Nationalize energy
The Socialist Workers campaign calls for nationalizing the energy industry. As a genuine public utility, every aspect of the energy industry—financial books, meetings, all decision-making processes—should be opened to public inspection. "I don't mean having them open to 'inspection' by some government bureaucrat who's already in the back pocket of the oil industry," says Moriarty. "I'm talking about a nationalized energy industry managed by an elected board that is closely watched by unions and consumer groups."

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

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

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

Rockefeller's stand on safety in the mines is rione too good either. He has consistently called for expanding the power of the state Coal Mine Health and Safety Board, which is dominated by coal operator interests. The UMWA has had to fight a constant battle in the last few years against the board's attempt to "interpret" away safety legislation.

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

Attack on all workers
Working people from coast to coast face problems similar to those of West Virginians, the socialist candidate points out. "Chrysler workers were forced to take less than their brothers and sisters at Ford and General Motors. Massive layoffs have hit both the steel and auto industries. Payrolls, by fuel price hikes, the official inflation rate jumped the highest in January since 1973."

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

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

Moriarty calls for abolishing the inflationary $112 billion military budget, and using the money instead to meet human needs here at home, such as health care and housing.

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

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

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

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

Labor party
On all these issues, Moriarty explains, the Democrats and Republicans share. "We've got to fight for an alternative—a labor party based on the unions."

"In West Virginia, a labor party could be based on the fighting capacity of the UMWA. We've got millions of votes and can win and fight—and so it's time to politics as well as on the picket line."

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

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

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

Excerpts from the Speeches of Raul Castro

Women and the Draft
Women & the draft

President Carter is pushing to reinstitute draft registration and extend it to women. Carter says that his move to include women comes from concern for women's equality. Nothing could be further from the truth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But plenty of Black and Latino GIs learned from bitter experience that being sent to Vietnam in the "new action Army" didn't make anyone's democratic rights be violated—"equally!" This reactionary stand completely undermines the Equal Rights Amendment by identifying it with the equal rights of working people to show what they think of Carter's proposal.

Women's fight for equality is a struggle to keep the ERA from being defeated for all working people.

The liberation struggles in Cuba, Vietnam, and El Salvador have taken to the streets to oppose drafting women for the draft in 1973, is a big obstacle to Washington's plans for using U.S. troops to police the world.

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

Why did Carter propose also registering women for the draft? In addition to passing off the draft as a step toward women's rights, he is also trying to divert the debate over the draft into a debate over drafting women.

This has succeeded in sowing confusion among some foes of the draft. For instance, the American Civil Liberties Union says it opposes the draft as a violation of democratic rights. But it threatens to sue the government because it gave the land of some Shahs, Somozas, and Afghan landlords befalling Carter's pretense of concern for women's rights as much as his support to these Afghan reactionaries. The CIA-backed guerrillas are trying to topple the Kabul government because it gave the land of some rich landlords to poor peasants—and because it began to teach women to read and write, and eliminated the sale of female children as brides.

Carter wants to be able to use young working women and men to prop up dictators like the Shah and Somoza. He couldn't save those arch-criminals, but he hopes to do better in salvaging the bloody military junta in El Salvador. The administration recently announced plans to send 800 U.S. military "advisers" to that country to prevent "another Nicaragua." Vietnam started with the sending of "advisers" too.

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

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

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

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The Castro Leadership’s Drive Against Bureaucracy in Cuba

Introduction by Harry Ring

In this issue, we present extracts from three major speeches by Raul Castro. In these speeches, he discusses the problem of bureaucracism in Cuba, and proposes a fight against it. The Cuban revolution has more than demonstrated the worth of a planned economy and a socialist government that puts human needs before profits.

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

Effects of U.S. Blockade

Unemployment, illiteracy, and bad housing have been virtually eliminated. Medical care is provided for all and average life expectancy has increased by twenty years. Racism has been uprooted and sexism is being combated. It’s been a hard, uphill fight all the way. The U.S. economic blockade has not succeeded in its aim of strangling the revolution, but it has made economic progress much more difficult.

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

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

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

Recalling world inflation has hit Cuba particu-
larly hard. Cuba’s principal export is sugar. And while the prices of the commodities Cuba imports have gone sky-high, the price of sugar has remained relatively low.

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

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

The Faint-hearted

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

This added pressure on Cuba, Raúl explains, bears down on the politically “faint-hearted.” And, he adds, the faint-hearted are particularly to be found among those concerned with protecting their bureaucratic privileges.

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

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

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

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

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

“Who they are seeking is a status-quo deal with imperialism that can be achieved only at the expense of the world revolutionary struggle. They seek not simply coexistence between states, but collaboration and peace between enemy classes.

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

Moscow’s policy toward Vietnam has provided glaring examples.

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

The Soviet rulers, as bureaucrats, viewed the Vietnamese revolution as little more than a bargaining chip in their search for an all-round
deal with Washington. Peking’s policy followed the same principle. When first Nixon and then Carter showed an interest in forging diplomatic and economic ties, the Peking bureaucrats responded with outright support of imperialism against Vietnam—culminating in last year’s invasion of Vietnam by Peking’s troops.

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

Bureaucrats and Work Discipline

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

Raul discusses the problem of bureaucratism in its various expressions.

There is the issue of maintaining vitally needed discipline and productivity norms among the Cuban workers. Bureaucrats, Raul observes, hardly set an example in this sphere. And, he adds, those concerned with their posts are not too likely to meet the problem of shirkers head on. At first reading, working people in the United States, or other capitalist countries, may have a negative reaction to complaints that workers are not doing their jobs properly, not putting in enough time and effort, and even finding ways to goof off.

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

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

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

And he gets at the heart of the problem when he says that the workers cannot in conscience blame this alienation among the workers to the “managers and functionaries ... using and abusing the prestige they have, and creating the climate that goes with their posts ... to solve problems of their own and their friends. They have no standing when it comes to being de­

ized into the role of classical bureaucrats.

The Escalante Case

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The problem of work discipline will be resolved in Cuba. (Read the following section and the next one.)

The task proved impossible. Cuba did not have the technological means to produce the 10 million tons. The leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela, the leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

But the problem of work discipline will be resolved in Cuba. (Read the following section and the next one.)

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

To the extent that the masses of workers are actively involved in the political debate and the decision-making process, they will prove the great legitimizing force against bureaucratism.

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

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The editorial explained that so long as class distinctions, the state, and the bourgeoisie persist, the class outlooks exist, so too will the danger that “a special stratum of citizens will form in the heart of the bureaucratic apparatus ... which can convert bureaucratic posts into comfortable, stagnant or privileged positions.”

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

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

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

The 10 Million Tons

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

Engagement of large amounts of people in the project, important development projects in other areas had to be postponed. All resources had to befunneled into the drive for the 10 million tons of sugar.

The task proved impossible. Cuba did harvest a record 8.5 million tons of sugar that year. But it was an exercise in futility. Such a project could not succeed, and the resulting neglect of other economic needs, it was a defeat.

In several speeches, Fidel offered a thorough explanation of what happened. He explained why the 10 million tons had been decided on and
what had gone wrong. It was not a problem of cutting the cane, but of understimating the technical resources and personnel needed for refining the sugar after the cane was cut. And, in assessing the failure of the plan, Fidel emphasized that responsibility rested squarely with the leadership, not the masses.

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

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

In the July 31, 1970, Militante, we reported Fidel's analysis on the failure of the 10 million ton project. We noted that when the drive for the ten million was being developed, qualified people in Cuba had expressed reservations about the realistic-ity of the goal. And, we added, if there had been "at the time an established arena for a full public discussion of such a momentous project, it was possible that those who saw the problems and difficulties more clearly might have had greater influence in shaping the plan."

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

People's Power

In the decade since that setback, Cuba has moved forward in terms of involving broader layers of people in the governmental process. One such advance has been in the development of the National Assemblies of People's Power. On both a local and national level, reports indicate, these elected assemblies have assumed responsibility for a growing number of public services, from schools, hospitals, housing, others. They also play a role in formulating economic development plans for their areas.

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

The tasks of breaking the hold of bureaucraticism are not intended as a step toward democratic councils of workers and peasants such as existed in the early years in the Soviet Union. This is the case of the Castro leadership's reliance on the conscious and mobilized support of the workers and peasants. But something else is needed.

Workers Against the Faint-hearts

Robert Fauri has written of the importance of the "faint-hearted" and the honest and enlightened that are essential in the development of the fighting class.

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

And Cuba's support to the Nicaraguan revolution has been equally exemplary. Citing Camilo Cienfuegos’s early declaration that "all those who fight, no matter where, are our brothers and sisters," Raul declared that Camilo would today "be a defender of the revolution's foreign policy."

And, on the basis of Camilo's record, Raul could have added that he would have been in the forefront of the fight against those who "vacilate" in the face of the imperialist pressure. It is wrong, Raul declares, to "underestimate these symptoms, much less to live with them or limit our reaction to moral condemnation."

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

Debate in Press and Party

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

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

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Debate in Press and Party

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

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

Rich political discussions are always going on in Cuba, at all levels. But couldn't their edifica-
ties, with those who violate work discipline, cover up wrongdoings, behave in an arbitrary fashion and have a petty-bourgeois concept of criticism. That is, the type of people who agree with the need for criticism and defend it openly at all times, as long as the criticism is of substance.

Within the general context of popular support for the statements of the Party and Comrade Fidel, there will be those who timidly call for primitive and vain against imaginary excesses. They themselves are the most calm and cautious people, but the same cowards who are feverishly demanding the Party’s ability to act in a firm and thoughtful way.

It is not a question of initiating a campaign. There will be a process aimed at putting certain things straight and recuperating some values that have been seriously compromised. The only voice that will be listened to is that of the people, who constantly call for efficient and far-reaching solutions.

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

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

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

From speech delivered October 28:

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

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

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

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

Battle with Imperialism

Where we last crossed, we were already in confrontation with the imperialist government of the United States, and future developments were clearly outlined. It was the beginning of “the Cuban Revolution’s original sin” when we decided to put an end to neocolonial domination and develop as a free and independent nation.

Now, 20 years later, it seems as if those who do not resign themselves to respecting or coexisting with that sovereign decision are the dominant ones among our neighbors to the north. This is the elementary conclusion that can be drawn from the provocative and hostile actions of the present Washington administration.

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

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

After displaying a series of bogeymen whose clothing, curiously enough, was “made in USA,” and having raised a tremendous rumpus with obvious electoral aims, the U.S. administration set up a general headquarters in Key West as command post for its so-called mixed forces, a corps aimed directly at the growing desire for social progress and democracy that exists in the Caribbean and Central America. They legalized and are speeding up some quick-landing force composed of more than 100,000 soldiers, a project they have been working on for many years now and which is tailor-made for military interventions in the Persian Gulf. The project is now one of the series of measures Carter announced on October 1st; they invaded Caribbean waters with a fleet of 25 warships, their idea being intimidation. And, lastly, they gave one more demonstration of their scorn for the sovereignty of the nations of this hemisphere with the recent landing of marines in the Guantánamo naval base.

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

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

Well-founded irritation

But there is something even more important, which is that we, as well as the people, believe that the time has come to delay no longer in carrying out concrete measures and to be decisive in solving problems that are hampering develop-
ment, obstructing the normal development of society and causing well-founded irritation in neighborhoods, work centers, hospitals, schools, everywhere (APPLAUSE) there has been an outbreak of irresponsibility, disorganization and a very undemanding attitude toward oneself and others. There can be no putting this off any more.

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

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

Some of our most pressing difficulties and problems are well known. First, through the 'revolution of the 8th Plenary Meeting of the central Committee and immediately after rough the speech given by Comrade Fidel in the last session of the National Assembly of people's Power, where he made a critical denunciation of the proliferation of breaches of labor discipline, the undemanding attitude on the part of managers as subjective factors that, along with other difficulties, disorganization and objective unknowns. Some of these stems from the world capitalist crisis which inevitably has a bearing on our economy, and there are other economic and natural phenomena that have recently adversely affected crop yields and have considerably reduced the quantity of cane available for the next sugar harvest, all of which will inevitably be reflected negatively in 1980 and even in 1981.

No Easy Victories

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

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

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

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

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

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

Twenty years later these seeds have borne fruit and are now creating our country's priceless legacy, one of the staunch pillars of the Cuban Revolution: the faith, trust and confidence the working class has in the Party (APPLAUSE) and in the future of our socialist homeland.

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

Cause of Faint-heartedness

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

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

At the time I concluded that these cases did not necessarily come from fear of death, but rather from being overwhelmed by the problems, the defeatist tendencies adverse affected crop yields and have certainly reduced the quantity of cane available for the next sugar harvest, all of which will inevitably be reflected negatively in 1980 and even in 1981.

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

Raúl Castro

Distortions Not Inevitable

We are not a long a historical fortress; we have overcome the political isolation and survived the economic blockade; the solid and growing prestige of our country in the socialist community, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and among the countries of the so-called Third World has been clearly demonstrated; and in general we have the recognition and respect of the international community. And yet, while our people have been the protagonist of the Revolution and also been capable of upholding and implementing the principles of internationalism and solidarity, this does not mean that same weaknesses of the poverty of spirit and timid psychology of the faint-hearted which flourishes in times of trouble (APPLAUSE).

We Cubans revolutionaries who have rightfully earned for ourselves the fierce hatred of imperialism and world reaction are convinced that building socialism on the doorstep of the center of world imperialism cannot indulge in viewing such distractions as inevitable. Victory could only lead to inertia and encourage indifference. In short, it is incompatible with the moral standards and principles which have been set by the great majority of our people and on whose behalf extraordinary men like Camilo Cienfuegos, Che Guevara and countless other sons and daughters of our working class get their difficulties (APPLAUSE).

It would be completely inconsistent on our part to on the one hand call on the people to face up to
The severe difficulties and complex problems which lie ahead, to redouble their efforts and consciously take on the sacrifices that are inevitable if we are to develop the spirit of selflessness and promote the well-being of all, and on the other hand to stand idly by in the face of problems of this sort.

We have enough evidence to safely say that some Party and state cadres are shying away from the problems of this sort. They are not punctual or frequently absent from work, those who live like parasites off the back of others. (APPLAUSE) We are convinced that our Party has every right to be demanding in a calm and mature manner. (APPLAUSE) But this situation should by no means be used to excuse the Party from tackling the problems. It is not a case of undertaking a campaign; it is precisely the socialist regime that permits us to unite the efforts of all and overcome the most difficult problems. (APPLAUSE)

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

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

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

When we speak of applying definitive measures, we realize the need to make a detailed analysis of the factors involved and their complex interaction in order to make sure that what we will do in reality will lead to real, concrete, global solutions and not simply promote superficial, transitory camouflage, something which we have shown ourselves on occasion to be capable of making thorough analysis. The comrades in charge of the mass media must bear in mind the responsibility that goes with their respective roles, since we have learned that no isolated attempts, no unilaterals, can change the appearance of making spectacular, demagogic attempts to mitigate the population's irritation. (APPLAUSE) something which is completely foreign to socialist society and the Marxist-Leninist principles that shape the ideology of real Communists.

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

No Witch-hunts

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

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

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

Who is to Blame?

Sometimes the criticisms are expressed in such a way that one cannot tell whether they are denouncing something that was done, condemning a practice or simply making fun of those involved. Discipline must be restored at all costs and in all spheres, and to do this we must start at home and start from the top. (APPLAUSE) It is not exactly the workers who are to be blamed. In the present situation, the Revolution will show that the thing about the rope always breaking at the weakest point—of which we still haven't rid ourselves completely in reality—will once and for all be something of the capitalist past.

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

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

The Managers and Functionaries

But the main ones to blame for all these weaknesses and the lack of work discipline are not the workers but the managers and functionaries of enterprises who, we know, do not set up the most adequate work and salary mechanisms and pretend to be demanding when they have not done, production that hasn't been done, using and abusing the prerogatives that go with their post and the resources of their enterprise to solve the problems of their own and of their friends. They have no standing when it comes to being demanding of others. (APPLAUSE)

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

We are working hard to round off economic mechanisms for boosting production, especially agricultural production. We are also working to modify labor legislation within the framework of the economic management system. When fully operational, this should spur on the productive forces which are at present vexing on stagnation, idleness and subutilization as a result of excessively rigid procedures being applied. Management administers the economic policy outlined by the Party and the higher state and organizational bodies. The development needs are a strong, prestigious and firm. Nobody wants to burden our functionaries; nobody wants to make them pay for what they haven't done. The contrary, measures will be introduced to increase their powers and responsibilities. Enterprise heads and managers should have the powers to take action where workers who do not meet their social duty are concerned, because the managers
represent the interests of the people and in defense of those interests should have the ways and means of confronting indolent workers who are out to get as much as possible from society while putting as little as possible in. But the Party and government leadership cannot tolerate some functionaries losing prestige by not going about their duty. We must not hesitate to call to account all those who prove to be inert, lazy and weak-spirited; we must demand they be held materially and administratively responsible.

Living a Modest Life
The authority administrators have come from a job done well, a life given over to work, a work style that is far removed from fraudulent bydysm and warping tolerance, and from living a modest life in living with their means.
To be modest means knowing how to relate to one's work collective, being open to criticism, working hard, demanding of others and oneself, cultivating friendships on a principled basis, being close to the people and above all living according to the renunciation received for one's contribution to society. (APPLAUSE)
It isn't a question of petty bourgeois egalitarianism and demagogy, which would be in contradiction with the functional efficiency of leaders who were not paid in keeping with the responsibilities they take upon themselves and the qualifications needed to hold one post or another. All our people understand that functionaries and cadres at a certain level need certain minimum conditions for their work, which in many cases involves the use of a car, say, as an essential work tool. It's a question of not abusing those prerogatives that go with the job and the position, not using them as if they owned what the people had created and paid for with their sweat and toil. (APPLAUSE)
What is under their control and administration is to be used for work and the social good, not for their own or their family's comfort. (APPLAUSE)
To the memory immortal of our glorious heroes, in the name of Fidel and the Party, we call on the people of the Cuban Maestro and on all our people to wage this battle. (APPLAUSE)
It's up to Santiago people, their Party and their mass organizations to speak up. It's up to all our people, our Party members, and members of the Young Communist League and all mass organizations. Let dignity and decorum, courage and manliness, spirit and revolutionary honesty take the floor. (APPLAUSE)
Let criticism of defects be a constant and be directed at all alike. We are referring to correcting criticism, well-founded, healthy, constructive criticism at the right time and place and formulated in the right way.
We must become aware of the need to be much more demanding and wage a much harder battle against the shortcomings in our medical services: (APPLAUSE)
We must fight against the revolutionary criticism of the masses; we should stimulate it. (APPLAUSE)
We should not brake the revolutionary criticism of the masses; we should stimulate it. (APPLAUSE) It is sometimes argued that we should not publicize our defects and our errors because in doing so we are helping the enemy. This idea is completely false. To not be open and frank in facing up to our errors and shortcomings in a courageous, resolute way is what makes us weak and helps our enemies. (APPLAUSE)
The constant fight against our defects and weaknesses is, in fact, a fight against our enemies; and we must always be on the ready.
The Party, the Young Communist League, the unions and the other mass organizations bear a large part of the responsibility in this, and we call on them to wage this battle along with our people.

The national elected body in Cuba is the National Assembly of People's Power. During its meeting this past July 4, a report was given on problems in the nation's passenger transport system.
During the discussion, Fidel Castro took the floor, insisting that the report did not offer any basic solution to the problems pointed out. It's a case of services provided by those parts of the system, the National Assembly of People's Power. We must get to the heart of the issue. We must make ourselves aware of the shortcomings of our political consciousness. It exists for some things that are incredible, admirable, marvelous. If one day we want everybody to make such and such sacrifices, we must do so in a day, that specific day. The same goes for a voluntary work mobilization or a political consciousness is reflected in some things. But in others, where it is required on a daily basis, it is not reflected.

The constant fight against our errors and weaknesses is, in fact, a fight against our enemies. (APPLAUSE)
On this anniversary of the November 30 uprising it is yet again evidenced that "when it comes to taking part in work of historical magnitude such as the Revolution, for time to come, nothing and nobody is forgotten." (APPLAUSE)
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who had latched onto the rejection of the dialectics of nature and the accusations against Engels put forward by the early Lukacs. The older and wiser Lukacs explicitly denied Sartre's contention that dialectics is located only in society, a view, wrongly—and wrong-headedly—attributed to Marx. Lukacs writes: “Since for Marx dialectics is not only the principle of knowledge but a law governing all of reality, this sort of dialectic cannot exist nor function in society without having had an adequate notion of the dialectics of nature and the accusations against Engels put forward by the early Lukacs. The older and wiser Lukacs thereby ratified the classical Marxist conception that the three great modes of being cannot in reality be disjoined from one another. Such a separation is the source of the error that

LETTERS

Einstein

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

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

Our inability to observe trajectories without changing them does not itself in any way require calling into question the existence of individual trajectories, however. Whether or not trajectories are involved, it is hard to see how laws of science and probability could be enough to account for behavior and causality in individual events. These mathematical laws merely describe and foresee, on the basis of data on multiple events, where individual observation and prediction are impractical.

While we can rely on statistics to predict the overall outcome of a day's play at the roulette wheel, no scientist would try to tell in advance the exact path and endpoint of one roll of the ball. The ball is like an electron in that one respect. But we do not conclude that the causality itself is "probabilistic" or "statistical" here. Each bounce of the ball follows known deterministic laws.

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

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

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

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

Cliff Conner replies

Is the same true of electrons and other microbeings? If I shoot a bullet directly at a target, I can be sure the bullet will hit the target if that was not true of electrons? Experiments have shown that is not true. If I shoot an electron at a target, it might hit it and it might miss to the left or right or above or below. Everyone is agreed that at present electron motion cannot be strictly predicted. But that leads to a curious contradiction at this level of the material world that can only be comprehended by dialectical logic.

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

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

When the wave-particle duality was first discovered, many physicists found it strange and difficult to understand. They tried to explain it as a fundamental contradiction at this level of the material world that can only be comprehended by dialectical logic.

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Engels, Lukacs, and the Dialectics of Nature

By George Novack

A bizarre book, entitled *The Tragic Deception: Marx Contro Engels*, was published in 1975. The author, Norman Levine, spurned the thesis that, despite forty years of the closest collaboration, the two creators of dialectical materialism were separated by major differences, above all in philosophy. Levine’s book, he declared, was “the first revisionist to distort and misrepresent the ideas of Marx. That tradition of Marxism which became mecha­
nistic materialism, social positivism, instrument­al rationality and the morality of the Puritan work ethic and self-denial in the dress of socialist productivity, found its point of origin, its genesis, with Engels.”

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

The assertion that Engels falsified the teachings of his partner is of course contrary to fact and absurd from its conceptual premise to its farthest-fetched conclusion that he should be held responsible for Stalinist totalitarianism. In judicial terms this would be regarded as a frame-up. It is also a slander against Marx to insinuate that he kept silent during his lifetime about the present because he leaned upon Engels for financial support.

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

Levine recognized his own affinity with their line of thought in the preface where he writes: “It is the case that Marx’s conclusion independently yet I note that a creative generation of Marxist schol­ars perceived the contradiction between Marx’s materialism and Engels’s mecha­nistic materialism during the 1920s. The published works of

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

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

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

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

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

The understanding that “objectivity was the primary material quality of all things and relations” shattered his previous “idealistic pre­judices,” he said. On this basis he was eventually to undertake a major refutation of the position recurrently held, and not away from, the materialist foundations of Marxism.

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

Lukács ruefully commented: “It is precisely those parts of the book that I regard as theoret­i­cally false that have been the most influential.”

Most widely discredited are those that “strike at the very roots of Marxist ontology. I refer to the tendency to view Marxism exclusively as a theory of society, as social philosophy, and hence to ignore or repudiate it as a theory of nature.”

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

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

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

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

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

4. Jean-Paul Sartre (1905- ). French philosopher; novelist, and playwright, is the best-known advocate of nonreligious existentialism in our time. Sartre proposed a doctrine of personal responsibility for human action in a world without purpose. His most famous philo­sophical work on this theme is *Being and Nothingness.*

5. Friedrich Engels

in “Prolegomenas to the Ontology of Social Be­ing.”

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

Consequently, it is impossible to determine the essence and peculiarity of social existence “with­out taking into account the general problems of existence, or more precisely the three great forms of Being (organic and organic nature, society, in their interconnections and differences).”

The ontology of society has as its precondition a general or natural ontology. There is no possible being that is not existentially rooted in one way or another in inorganic nature.

This runs counter to the position held by the Left Existentialists headed by Jean-Paul Sartre,

Continued on page ISR 11
Bankers debate Chrysler bailout plan

By Frank Lovell

Debate over the generous use of public funds to subsidize private losses, prompted by the $3.1 billion government bailout of Chrysler Corporation, has not ended. Every indication now is that the debate will continue for the next several years, as more and larger corporate structures begin to collapse.

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

Despite all the professed misgivings of the “business community,” the pressure of Chrysler’s heavy banks and carriers forced the U.S. Congress to undertake further loans.

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

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

Rohatyn became publicly prominent in the 1975 financial rehabilitation of New York City as chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation. He says by Congress to bail out Chrysler has resolved the question of whether it is “in the public interest to avoid large bankruptcies or should the market place take its toll, come what may?”

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

What is new about the Chrysler bailout is the form of the grant. The Chrysler loan bill established a three-member government board, made up of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board’s chairman, and the Comptroller of the Currency to monitor the loan guarantee program. The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Transportation will be nonvoting members. The following is an account of an action by two Harvester locals.

By Kevin Dwire

INDIANAPOLIS—Three hundred workers on strike against International Harvester demonstrated here January 28 to show they are willing to work the days before and after a holiday to avoid the possibility of another layoff. The strike occurred when the Harvester “put operations on hold,” complained another striker after the demonstration.

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

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

“Tie are just holding our wages and benefits hostage,” complained another striker after the demonstration. Another pointed out that “the company has been trying to starve us out during the cold weather and the holidays.”

McDaniels said that while the strike has been prolonged in Indianapolis, the company has prepared a pamphlet on how to use the police to intimidate strikers. In fact, the January 28 demonstration ended as several police patrol cars pulled up to the scene.

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

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

THE MILITANT/MARCH 7, 1980

Harvester strike firm against forced overtime

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

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

At a recent meeting in Chicago, Archie McCandill, Harvester chairman, assailed the members quarterly dividends despite claims of a strike-caused loss of $222.2 million.

McCandill explained: “We consider contributions and solidarity messages can be sent to: UAW Region 4, Strike Assistance Fund, $5202 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

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

In the wake of 1979’s record profits, Harcourt debts demanding contract give backs to the UAW to improve the company’s lot.

McCandill stated, “During the recent three-year contract we earned about $70 million in profits. But had we had what we are asking for now, we would have earned about $2 billion.”

During the course of the strike, auto workers have organized demonstrations at plant gates and the company’s international headquarters. The following is an account of an action by two Harvester locals.

By Kevin Dwire

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

The strikers here are members of the United Auto Workers locals 98 and 571.

Local 98 President Jack McDaniel said the Militant that Harvester “put operations on hold” as if no other company involved in the current round of negotiations put on people. Those are demands we haven’t heard for twenty to twenty-five years.”

Harvester, a giant truck and farm implement manufacturer whose profits were up 95.4 percent last year, is demanding compulsory overtime and attacking benefits that Harvester workers won during the 1960s.

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

The union has also demanded that the new contract return to the policy of forcing employees to work the days before and after a holiday to be paid for the holiday. In the last contract, workers were required to work only two days in any week in which a holiday fell to get holiday pay.

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

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

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Strikers hear antinuclear report

Members of the Paddlewheel Alliance in Indianapolis presented a program on the dangers of nuclear power to about 400 striking International Harvester workers on February 7 and 8. The slide show was presented to the weekly strike classes organized by UAW locales 98 and 226.

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

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

—K.D.
U.S. arms in El Salvador will sharpen repression

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

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

Romero charged that U.S. shipment of $200,000 worth of tear gas, gas masks, and bulletproof vests last November, as well as a U.S. military training team for Salvadoran police, has already led to an increase in the bloodshed. Several hundred people have been murdered by police and rightist just since the beginning of the year. "The security forces, with better personal protection and effectiveness, have repressed the people even more violently, using deadly weapons," Archbishop Romero said.

Meanwhile, the U.S. House of Representatives, for only the second time in 150 years, held a secret session February 25 to hear CIA reports on "communist influences" in Nicaragua.

Members of Congress were sworn to secrecy in the effort to kill the already insufficent $7.5 million aid package to war-devastated Nicaragua.

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

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

225 attend Northeast Nicaragua conference

By Gary Cohen

In Boston yesterday 225 people attended a Northeast Regional Conference on Nicaragua at Boston University February 23.


Donations and sales of posters and literature collected from those present from Nicaragua brought $800 for the country's National Literacy Crusade.

The keynote speaker was Hilde Sequeira, Nicaraguan consul in Washington, D.C. She described her country's literacy campaign and the drive there to step up production to get Nicaragua's economy back on its feet. Sequeira criticized Carter's plan to impose economic sanctions and use the grain embargo, as well as the U.S. military visits from Western Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

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

The Boston Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, sponsor of these events, has set a goal of raising $3,000 for the literacy drive.

The conference included a tour stop here by Sonia de Chamorro, founding director of the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade. She spoke to 100 people at Harvard University. The meeting raised $300.

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Hugo Blanco is presidential candidate

Peru’s left runs united slate for elections

By Priscilla Schenk

Under the pressure of growing struggles by workers and peasants and widespread opposition to continued military rule, the Peruvian government has scheduled general elections for May 18. The aim is to get a government in office that will be better able to impose economic sacrifices on Peru’s working people in the interests of imperialist banks and corporations.

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

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

On January 18, Blanco, was greeted in the capital city of Lima by an enthusiastic crowd of thousands of people from factories, the university, and the Revolutionary People’s Organization of shantytown dwellers. Galvanizing in front of the National Election Court (CNE) at its headquarters, Blanco called for a government without generals or bosses. They came to show support for the ARI as the only party to assure Blanco a place on the May ballot. Committees to support the ARI have been formed spontaneously in the poverty-stricken shantytowns around Lima. One recent poll showed that nearly a quarter of the residents of these slums intended to vote for Blanco.

The formation of the ARI builds on the unity established in the 1975 elections for Constituent Assembly. In these elections Blanco ran as a candidate of a broad alliance of left groups called FOCEP. The Democratic People’s Union (UDP), a bloc of some Maoist and centrist groups, also ran a candidate, as did PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party), a Trotskyist organization affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, also ratified the agreement and is now part of the ARI.

The only organization on the left that refused to participate in the ARI was the PST (Socialist Workers Party), a group that supports the Bolivarian Front which recently split from the Fourth International. This unity among revolutionary groups is a valuable step toward uniting workers and farmers represents a threat to the ruling class, but the campaign has been sabotaged on every way it can. The state-controlled radio and television launched a campaign of slander against Blanco’s party, the FTP. The government has declared that the PST—renamed as “an international operation of Trotskyism and the Fourth International.”

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

Left groups win ballot status

In a victory for the Peruvian working class, all the left-wing parties that make up the ARI have achieved legal status as a result of the order issued by the headquarters of the National Election Court in Lima. Blanco was demanding an end to the regime’s austerity program, which has been a failure. The Peruvian government has implemented a savage austerity program, which has been a failure. The Peruvian government has implemented a savage austerity program, which has been a failure. The Peruvian government has implemented a savage austerity program, which has been a failure. The Peruvian government has implemented a savage austerity program, which has been a failure. The Peruvian government has implemented a savage austerity program, which has been a failure.
What ‘March for Survival’ didn’t protest

Kampuchean refugees held captive by rightists

By Fred Feldman

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

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

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

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

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

Food stations closed

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

Those stations, which were not under tight control of the Thai army and the rightists, played a part in sending famine in the wake of the collapse of Kampuchea. The Heng Samrin government encouraged Kampuchean refugees to get food at those stations.

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

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

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

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

Khem Serei camps

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

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

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

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

The fight over dividing the spoils is getting increasingly vicious. In a recent report, Nations notes: "that the self-styled Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose own armed group was operating a camp near Camp 007, was murdered inside Kampuchea last week after an argument over his assistant delivering food to Phnom Penh."

The fight over dividing the spoils is getting increasingly vicious. In a recent report, Nations notes: "that the self-styled Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose own armed group was operating a camp near Camp 007, was murdered inside Kampuchea last week after an argument over his assistant delivering food to Phnom Penh."

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

"The armed force in Nong Samet—estimated by the Thais to number 2,000—assumed the role of a front against the coalition of, among others, former Khmer Rouge soldiers and ex-Lon Nol officers. Politics in the camp polarized between those following the Thai line on unity against the Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei captors!"

The tip-off is Nations' account of how many innocent refugees keep out of the cross fire between the two gangs of bandits, but he describes it as a "civil war" in which refugees and the Vietnamese are "bucket" (as they are often charac­terized), the Cambodians are still being used to try to continue an "engineered war against Kampuchea."

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

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

Even ‘Time’ admits truth about Kampuchea

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

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

A tour of the Thai­land-Cambodia border last week by Time’s foreign bureau chief, Marsh Clark, found that conditions have changed little since the past 13 months that the Western public’s perception of Cambodia is a mix­ture of fact and fancy. Clark’s re­port:

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

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

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

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

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

FACT: Most visible evidence suggests this is not true. While relief stores have piled up at the port of Kampong Som and at Phnom Penh, there is no proof that

Hanoi or Phnom Penh is deliber­ately obstructing delivery. Distribu­tion delays appear to be due to the lack of Cambodian administrators, the shortage of transportation, and continued fighting in Cambodia. The Vietnamese and forces loyal to the deposed Pol Pot regime.

FANCY: The whole world has been alerted to Cambodia’s plight and huge amounts of food are being channelled into the country; there will soon no longer be a need for an aid effort.

FACT: Only about 200,000 tons of additional food must reach Cambod­ia, and 40,000 more tons of pesti­cides and seeds, if a major famine is to be avoided later this year.

How compassionate can you get?—Describing the floods in the Palm Springs area, AP reported that two high schools had been made into emergency shelters for the homeless, and, "the many hotels and motels in the area lowered their rates for flood victims."

Teach, man—A Miami high school principal ordered $1,000 in gold-plated plumbing with school funds, reportedly for a home he's building. He says it was for a "plumbing" class, but there's no teacher or students enrolled for such a class. The fixtures went into the school records as "basketball uniforms and equipment." The local school board voted full confidence in the principal.

Logic dept.—President Carter's explanation that having registration is the best way to avoid having the draft suggested to us the thought that the best way to avoid having a baby is to get pregnant.

Jesus saves—The Southern Baptist Convention reported that 1979 contributions, for the first time, topped the $2 billion mark. The property value of Southern Baptist churches and agencies, the report said, is now $86.6 billion.

Where's he been?—The New York Times provided a guest column space to an ex-diplomat who argued the government should start using propaganda to promote its global interests.

Credibility gauge—A small but steadily diminishing number of Americans have "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in Congress, reports the New York Times/CBS News Poll. A solid 18 percent of those polled have such confidence, as compared to 34 percent found by the Gallup poll ten months ago.

Spiritual warmth—We've always been skeptical of the stereotype of religious figures as other-worldy. For instance, it was reported that Swami Mukhtananda will marry thirteen couples in a traditional Indian ceremony. The knots will be tied at the swami's "winter retreat" in Miami Beach.

Thought for the week—"Why is everything at the cost of poor people all the time?"—Henry Parades, a New Hampshire tool designer who rejects Carter and doesn't buy Kennedy.

UAW strike forces Budd to back down

This week's column is by Elizabeth Ziers, a auto worker at Ford's River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan.

DETROIT—During last fall's auto contract negotiations, the "Big Three" auto companies—Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler—declared war on auto workers and our union.

Their strategy to ensure continued profits was to force the burden of the economic crisis on auto workers and the entire labor movement.

Takeaway was the name of the game.

The companies demanded that the union give back even more to "save the company" and along with it some jobs.

The companies threatened plant shutdowns and closings. In an effort to pit one auto worker against the strike, it was rumored in my plant that we would shut down because of the Budd strike.

However, Budd had anticipated a walkout. Inventories were stockpiled. Shifts were shortened. Daily layoffs occurred prior to the strike date. And the company threatened plant shutdowns and closings. In an effort to pit one auto worker against the strike, it was rumored in my plant that we would shut down because of the Budd strike.

Budd strikers had no intention of taking a Chrysler solution and were willing to stay out as long as necessary.

On February 2, twenty-six days, Budd backed down. The February 2 settlement—with a few exceptions—is basically on a par with Ford and GM. The exceptions include slightly lower pensions; auto; probable closing of the Gary, Indiana, plant; and no guarantee of full seniority rights for workers transferring to new plants.

One of the biggest takeaways was defeated. Budd wanted to reduce health protection. Not only was it maintained, but maternity disability was improved. Previously, women received only six weeks. Now, they can get fifty-two weeks of benefits with possible extensions.

The ability of Budd workers to turn back some of the company's takeaways is a plus for auto workers and the entire labor movement. It is a glimpse of what is possible when workers stand up to corporate blackmail.

INDIANA
INDIANAPOLIS
NO TO THE DRAFTS! Speakers: Paul Hunt, member of Peaceletters; Kari Reddington, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: $1.50. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 293-6149.

MISSOURI
ST. LOUIS

OREGON
PORTLAND

WASHINGTON
SEATTLE
NO DRAFT! ANOTHER VIETNAM? FOR WHOM? Speakers: Mary Neil Buschel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sun., March 1, 7 p.m., 7 p.m. reception. 1304 8th St. Donation: $1.50. Ausp. SWP campaign. For more information call (206) 267-0422.

OREGON
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WHY WOMEN NEED MEDICAID FUNDS FOR ABORTION. A panel discussion. Lourdes Sorcini, American Civil Liberties Union; Roberta Paradis, a New Hampshire tool grinder who rejects Carter and doesn't buy Kennedy. Sat., March 8, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: $1.50. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7255.

Utah Salt Lake City 'With Babies and Banners': A film about union women in the 1930s United Auto Workers strike. Sun., March 7, 7 p.m. 677 7th St. Donation: $1.50. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-0422.
Chicano Moratorium: 1970

In a torridal downpour on February 24, 1970, more than 6,000 Chicano women and men took to the streets in East Los Angeles to protest U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. This action emerged apart what Fred Hallstead, in his authoritative account of the movement against the Vietnam War, Our Own War, called "the largest and most significant action of any oppressed nationality in the U.S. against the war in Vietnam"—the Chicano Moratorium.

Like Blacks and Puerto Ricans, Chicanos weren't impressed with the claims that the U.S. rulers wanted them to fight for democracy in South Vietnam. They saw little democracy at home. Some identified with the Vietnamese as a non-white people fighting U.S. domination.

But it was the disproportionately greater burden that the war imposed on the Chicano, Black, and Puerto Rican soldiers. This action helped spur what Fred Halstead, in his authoritative account of the movement against the Vietnam War, Our Own War, called "the largest and most significant action of any oppressed nationality in the U.S. against the war in Vietnam"—the Chicano Moratorium.

A few weeks later at the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, the NCMC was successful in getting the conference to call for a national demonstration in Los Angeles for August 29. This action would be preceded by antivivisection actions throughout the Southwest to build the national demonstration.

Among the places in California where Moratoriums were held were Coachella, San Francisco, San Diego, and Stockton. Additionally, more than 25,000 marchers and thousands of supportive onlookers. Participants included all sections of the Chicano community. The spirited participants marched under banners like, "Our Fight is Against the Draft" and chanted "Chicano Power." As the rally was just getting under way after the march, Los Angeles county deputies brutally assaulted the demonstrators, resulting in the death of three and injury to scores of others. One of those murdered was a leading Chicano journalist, Rubén Salazar.

As the attack was an attempt to prevent the spread of this example of mobilization by oppressed national minorities against the war, it focuses on the repression of the Chicano community.

—August Nimtz

Truth on Afghanistan

Workers against draft

Our Revolutionary Heritage

On the draft

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—August Nimtz

Workers against draft

Recently some of my co-workers and I have begun to do work in opposition to the draft at the Twin Cities Ford Assembly Plant in St. Paul. We are circulating a petition against the draft which is also being distributed by students at the University of Minnesota. At the end of our petitioning we intend to hold a press conference before we send the petitions to our congressional representatives in Washington, D.C.

We are also keeping our co-workers informed as to what students are doing to oppose the draft and we will be publicizing the March 32nd anti-draft protest in the plant. In turn, we are letting students involved in anti-war work know how workers at Ford feel about the draft. Jeff Pills

St. Paul, Minnesota

Olympic optometry

Speaking at Toledo University on February 19, former U.S. Olympic Skiing Champion, James Abourezk reflected and refracted the U.S. government's departure from its anti-apartheid stance when he said, "I didn't know that the African countries had boycotted this Olympics because of South Africa four years ago until the other day. And believe me, I read the news frequently." John M. Pilli

Toledo, Ohio

On the draft

Anyone born after January 1, 1960, must suffer punishment for a denied economic opportunity. This is simply because good jobs do not usually go to those who cannot refuse to be drafted. One can only wonder about Mr. Carter's right to lead a free people.

It is one of the requirements of a legal government to protect the lives and liberties of those under it. Has not Carter freely abrogated his government's claim to legality over those opposed to its twenty? I suggest someone with a legal background check on this one.

Would not the victims of such oppression have the right if not the obligation to refuse to register and refuse any oath or pledge of allegiance to him? Since the document that gives this nation its legality—the Declaration of Independence—gives the offended people the right to seek the right to abrogate any government that they feel determines their existence, would these people, especially the young people, have the right to engage in a nonviolent protest (who were mostly teenagers) in order to bring that about? Gary Lee Canarsky

Kansas City, Missouri

Letters

Corporate hooligans

The coverage in your pages of the anti-draft movement has been excellent, and it has especially been valuable in exposing the connection between multinational desires and official U.S. foreign policy.

Now more than ever we have to direct our attention to revealing corporate hooliganism in the world and the resulting foreign policy priorities in order to compensate for the excesses in question.

We have to shift our main focus away from attacking corporate-controlled legislators to one of making known the real danger of the congressional stage, the multinationals.

Like Mobil Oil used to say, quit watching the hole (Congress), instead of the Saturday Night Live (multinationals). Christopher Townsend

Gulfport, Florida

A renewal

I thought I would drop you a brief note to tell you how much...
Learning About Socialism

Abortion rights - working-class issue

The Supreme Court decision ordering the resumption of Medicaid payments for abortions, while the court decides the constitutional issues, is a gain for women's rights and for all working people.

Now a campaign is needed to help ensure a favorable decision by the high court, in keeping with the Hyde Amendment is constitutional. That reactionary statute, first approved by Congress in 1976 after a long federal funding battle, has been repugnant to people who can prove that the woman's life is in danger. Or if she has certified proof that her pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.

Abortion radicalization will continue to be a major struggle in the years ahead. The right needs to be stopped. And that's why, seven years after the legalization of abortion, we're still fighting for a simple constitutional statement that women have equal rights.

Abortion rights now has no friends among the "right to life" forces. The stakes are high in the fight to scrap the Hyde Amendment.

The 'right to life' argument is as phony as the "right to work" argument. The one is no more important in the right to life than the other.

Both are aimed at restricting the rights of working people, to inhibit their ability to fight back. For the same good reasons, labor now adds its strength-and the self-interest-to fight for jobs for all. It's the same people who support the war drive, the death penalty.

The Hyde Amendment was passed with the full assent of the Democratic majority and Republican minority in Congress.

President Carter declared his support for such a statute in February 1976 campaign. He declared: "I don't think we ought to tax people like myself, who feel very strongly against abortions, to finance abortions through the federal government."

We wonder if the president would favor the same anti-tax approach for those who oppose the military budget? It is mobilizing support for full elimination of the Hyde Amendment, it is important for the women's and labor movements to stress that the issue is not abortion or no abortion.
**THE MILITANT**

**Women steelworkers map ERA drive in Illinois**

By Markie Wilson

CHICAGO—Despite a big snowstorm, some 400 delegates and observers gathered at the third annual women's conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers. Held in Merrillville, Indiana, February 15, the gathering reflected the determination of women steelworkers to advance women's rights and to protect their hard-won gains in the face of layoffs and cutbacks.

District Director James Balanoff opened the conference by pointing to the accomplishments of the District 31 Women's Caucus. He credited the Women's Caucus with helping to win legislation extending disability insurance to cover pregnancy, with winning new washroom facilities for women in several locals, and with helping to defeat the Weber challenge to affirmative action. He also cited the election of Alice Puerela of Local 65, the first woman president of a basic steel local.

Balanoff singled out ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as a major goal. "We must leave no stone unturned," he declared, "to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment for Illinois." 

A unanimously approved resolution concluded: "BE IT RESOLVED THAT: The District 31 Women's Conference go on record in support of a winning strategy for the ERA in the state of Illinois, a key state for ratification, by actively supporting a conference in March of steelworkers, other labor unions, women's rights groups, and others, followed by a massive march on Mothers Day, May 11, in Chicago."

Although the proposed march are still tentative, there has been discussion among key women's groups, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), National Organization for Women (NOW), the ERA ratification project of NOW, and various labor groups.

An Illinois Labor Conference for the ERA, still in the planning stage, is slated for April 26.

A big inspiration at the District 31 conference was the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference held in Virginia last year and the successful labor-sponsored ERA march there January 13.

Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president for human affairs, opened his remarks to the conference by saying, "I recently spoke at a Newport News, Virginia, labor rally in support of the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. I am here to offer you any help that I can in your battle to make Illinois the thirty-sixth state whose legislature has ratified ERA."

Lynch charged there is an alliance between opponents of the ERA, and the union-busting "right to work" forces. He said it is no accident that most of the states that have failed to ratify ERA are also "right to work" states.

"The enemies of the rights of working men, women, and Blacks always march together," Lynch declared. "And so must we—against them!"

Addie Wyatt, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and vice-president of CLUW, was the keynote speaker on ERA.

Recalling the "fantastic demonstration" in Virginia, where thousands turned out, Wyatt told the conference, "It gave us the opportunity to say to Virginia and the world that women and men must be treated equally. We need women and men together to get the better world we need." Pat Grogan, a member of the Local 65 Women's Committee, asked Wyatt for more information on the projected Illinois labor conference and Mothers Day march. "We're going to run and get organized for this," Wyatt said. Wyatt said the April 26 conference would bring unions together from across Illinois to work for ratification.

On Mothers Day," she added, "we usually give candy. What we're suggesting is that this year, we get the churches, the unions and other organizations to give ERA to our mothers...We'll be marching to express our concern for the ERA and our determination to get it."

District Director Balanoff pledged that "our district will go all out for that conference and march." Marcella Kitching, co-chair of the Local 65 Women's Committee, told the Militant, "The ERA labor conference is a great thing. I went to Virginia for the LERN conference. It will educate our members, all of us.

"The men have to stand behind the women. If not, they'll end up getting less pay too. It teaches them to see that ERA is for everybody."

"If we lose the ERA, everything else we've won will be in jeopardy. This conference will show that labor in Illinois is for ratifying ERA. And we have to be out in force on May 11." (Coverage of the District 31 Women's conference, including discussions on ERA, affirmative action, layoffs, sexual harassment, and the draft, will continue in next week's Militant.)

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**Detroit unionists back Ill. ERA fight**

By Martha Dowling and Jim Burfeind

DETROIT—"I pledge to you today my wholehearted support and that of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO to achieve ratification of the ERA."

So spoke Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, at a Detroit-area conference on "Labor's Case for the ERA."

Steelworkers and other unionists attended the February 16 conference at United Steelworkers Local 1289 hall. It was organized by the United Steelworkers District 29 Women's Council and co-sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

Floyd Chambers of the USWA civil rights department pledged that the union will be "in the forefront of the fight to ratify ERA."

Susan Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and coordinator of Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), described the impact of the January 13 Virginia labor march for ERA.

Kelly emphasized that ERA was "a working people's issue and a minority people's issue." Turner also declared that the ERA fight "has to involve all of us in the labor movement, working together with our traditional allies in the civil rights movement, the religious, academic, and youth groups."

He called for stepped-up education on the ERA, including in labor publications and conferences. Also, he said, "We must continue to give financial assistance to such groups as LERN and similar efforts in other non-ratified states."

Eunice Stokes, representing Local 216 of the United Auto Workers, spoke eloquently of the stake of Black women in winning ERA. "We are confronted," she declared, "by a twin-headed monster—racism and sexism—which prevents us from being complete human beings." The high point of the day was the announcement of the spring campaign for ERA ratification in Illinois. NOW representative Ruth Whitney said this drive would culminate with a national ERA march in Chicago this May. She said support for the action was already building in the labor movement and among other supporters of ERA.

She stressed the importance of participation and support by labor in other states for the Illinois action. In addition, Whitney, along with Detroit councilwoman Maryann Mah-afsey, spoke of NOW's stand on draft-youth.