

THE MILITANT

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

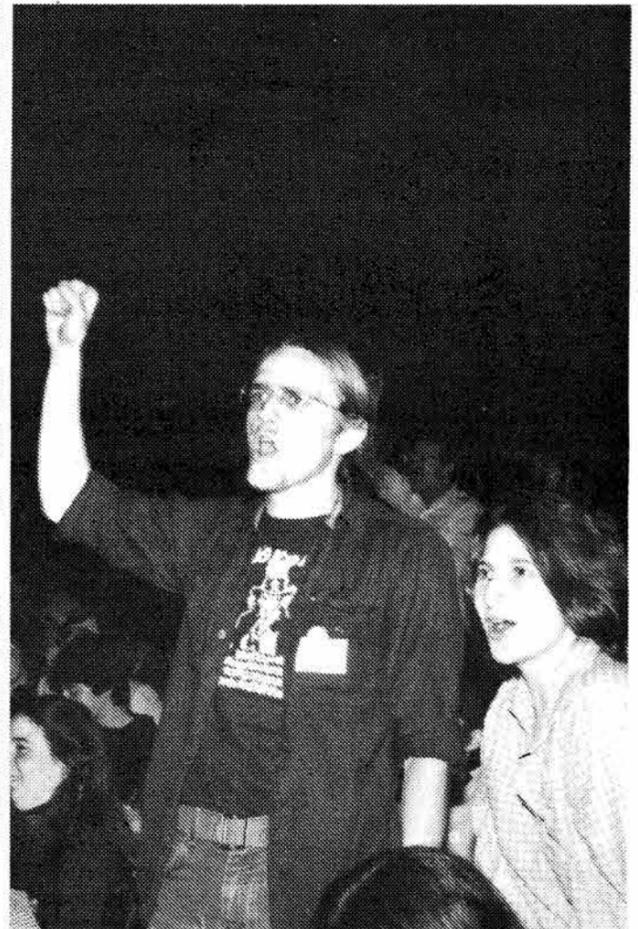
Antidraft conference backs labor march on Harrisburg, Pa.

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Militant/Agnes Chapa

1,200 people attended Detroit antidraft conference February 13-15. Right, part of audience during standing ovation for representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front.



Militant/Suzanne Haig

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When the socialist revolution
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Outcry blocks Chi. court deal with FBI, CIA

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Their plan and ours

In a report to Congress February 18 President Reagan laid out proposals to escalate the attack on working people. Painting a picture of high unemployment, double-digit inflation, and falling real wages, he promised that all would be set right if his program was adopted.

His "solution": deep cuts in social programs, tax cuts that will further shift the burden of taxation onto the shoulders of working people, and a massive increase in military spending.

He proposed cuts in Medicaid, school lunches, education, and the Trade Adjustment Assistance payments that help tide auto workers and steelworkers over layoffs.

The proposed cutbacks will hit Blacks and Latinos most savagely. The racist themes of Reagan's propaganda were evident in his use of code words about "welfare," "fraud," and "state's rights."

He proposed reducing government regulation—that means further devastation of the environment and of workers' job safety.

Despite campaign rhetoric about balancing the budget, a White House "fact sheet" admitted that the national debt will rise \$122 billion in the next three fiscal years.

The main cause of this is the fast-rising arms budget, which will make up 32 percent of the budget (up from 24 percent) if Reagan has his way.

Reagan's budget will mean more inflation and deeper economic difficulties for working people.

To make sacrifices more palatable, Reagan

promised pie in the sky in 1985 (after his term expires): 13 million new jobs, an 8 percent increase in real wages, a balanced budget, and rapid economic growth. Workers know what such promises are worth.

Reagan's bipartisan congressional audience applauded the most openly reactionary parts of Reagan's speech. These well-fed crooks were particularly ecstatic over his promise to deeply cut the food stamp program.

The Republican and Democratic legislators jumped to their feet to hail his description of this antilabor, racist program as "our plan." It is *their* plan, the plan of big business and its parties.

Reagan challenged critics to provide an alternative. He knows that the Republican and Democratic officeholders neither can nor desire to do so.

But the working class isn't swallowing Reagan's poison. The fight against the big-business program has already begun with the call by major unions for a rally March 28 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, against nuclear power, for jobs, and in solidarity with the United Mine Workers Union.

The working-class alternative to Reagan's proposals is simple: No to the war budget! Human needs before profits!

Media diversion on El Salvador

The capitalist media is waging a divide-and-demoralize campaign against the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and its supporters internationally.

For instance, in a February 11 dispatch from Managua, *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding suggests that Nicaragua's revolutionary government, alarmed by the suspension of U.S. economic aid, is now pulling back from solidarity with the Salvadoran liberation fighters.

Four days later, in a report from Mexico City, Riding pronounced the "failure" of the revolutionary offensive against the Salvadoran dictatorship. He asserted that as a consequence, several Latin American governments are reconsidering their "previous unconditional support" to the Revolutionary Democratic Front, which leads the insurgent forces in El Salvador. A careful reading shows no concrete evidence for the assertions.

Partly, this is simply sleight-of-hand.

"Although the Sandinist leaders have publicly denied such a role," says Riding, "they have reportedly told Salvadoran guerrillas in private that they could not risk a permanent cut-off of American economic aid by providing support for a new offensive" (emphasis added).

To give added weight to predictions of doom for the Salvadoran guerrillas, Riding quotes Nicaragua's Interior Minister Tomás Borge as agreeing that the offensive had failed. Borge categorically denied having made any judgement at all on the military situation in El Salvador.

Riding quotes Borge as saying that Nicaragua favored a "political solution" in El Salvador. If true, this hardly constitutes pressure on the Salvadoran fighters. They have long said they are open to such a solution.

Neither the Nicaraguan people nor their leadership have retreated from their support to El Salvador.

For example, the week of February 15, 1,120 volunteers setting out to help with the cotton harvest agreed to donate their pay to a fund for El Salvador.

In a statement to the *Militant* in Managua, the *Times* slander was sharply attacked by Irving Dávila, the representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's Department of International Relations.

"The position of our government toward El Salvador," Dávila declared, "is solidarity, political and moral."

Referring to Nicaragua's alleged call for a negotiated settlement, Dávila said, "Our leaders have no reason to tell the Salvadorans how to do things. . . . We have never suggested any kind of solution."

Nicaragua's solidarity, he emphasized, "maintains itself in spite of all the pressures of North American imperialism."

Nicaragua's real stand is a far cry from the cynical distortion passed along by Riding. It was summed up by Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega February 13: "We are not going to sell ourselves for bread or for \$15 million or a \$1,000 million."

Dávila put his finger on the purpose of the *Times* reports: "This is a campaign to undermine confidence or split the solidarity groups."

While Washington asserts that the revolutionary offensive has "failed" in El Salvador, it belies its own assertion by its hastily accelerated shipment of weapons to the beleaguered junta.

Similarly, the antidraft and solidarity movements must accelerate their efforts to mobilize against stepped-up U.S. intervention.

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International Socialist Review Guatemala: A People Awake

Aníbal Yáñez describes the struggle for human rights and socialism against one of the most repressive regimes in this world. He traces the roots of this brutal government and the revolutionary struggle back to the events leading to the CIA-organized coup in 1954. Page 11.

The Militant

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.
Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.
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1,200 attend Detroit antidraft conference

By Suzanne Haig

DETROIT—Some 1,200 high school and college students, Blacks and Latinos, trade unionists, and other antidraft activists gathered here February 13-15 for the first National Antidraft Conference. Sponsored by the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), the conference was held at Wayne State University.

A proposal for action, jointly submitted by Detroit CARD, national SANE, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, was overwhelmingly approved.

The proposal called for CARD to support and actively build the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This will be a march against nuclear power, for jobs, and for support to the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract.

Conference participants voted to make this action the next major focus for CARD. Not only was there strong opposition to nuclear power, but participants recognized that March 28 was the best way to expand union support for the antidraft movement.

Initial sponsors of the March 28 action include the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, United Food and Commercial Workers, International Chemical Workers, and the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

As the action proposal stated, March 28 "presents us with the opportunity to reach out to potential allies of the antidraft movement and to link the questions of nuclear power and nuclear weapons with the government's militaristic war drive."

In addition, the conference called for national demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco May 9. "No registration! No draft!" "Stop the U.S.

war buildup!" "Fund human needs not war!" and "U.S. out of El Salvador!" were cited as demands for the action in the joint proposal.

The conference also voted to build local antidraft actions April 4-11 and to participate in the national days of protest against U.S. military involvement in El Salvador, March 24 and April 18, called by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Opposition to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and solidarity with the workers and farmers in their struggle against the murderous junta was a galvanizing force at the conference.

When Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador was introduced at the conference rally Friday night, the audience exploded in applause, jumped to their feet and chanted, "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" in an electrifying standing ovation that was repeated when he finished speaking.

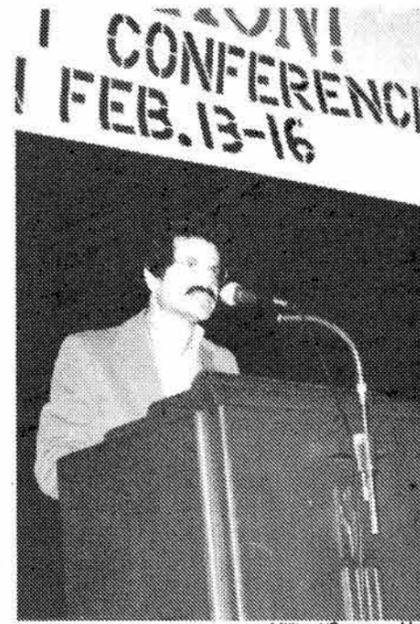
"This," Ramos said, "is the most moving salute the people of El Salvador have received from an American audience."

"We are here because your society and our society are locked in a deadly embrace, which, if not stopped immediately, will turn the Caribbean into a senseless conflagration parallel to and perhaps worse than the tragedy in Vietnam...."

"We need the active solidarity of the American people in this very difficult moment in our history."

Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, was also enthusiastically received.

"I want to tell you tonight," he said, "that we need your support. We need you to mobilize. We need a big presence of the antidraft, antiwar movement together with us, marching with workers



Arnaldo Ramos, representative of Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

and environmentalists, in Harrisburg March 28.

"No ally is more important than the labor movement, which must be won to the side of the antidraft movement."

Pointing to one of the demands of March 28, "Jobs for all: a shorter workweek and massive public works programs," Gordon said, "No social movement that addresses itself to any question on the political horizon can be the

ostrich and ignore the jobs fight of millions of Americans.

"We have to tie together jobs with antidraft, with nuclear power, and all the other issues," he said to loud, sustained applause.

Bokeba Enjuenti, Detroit co-coordinator of the National Black Independent Political Party, was continually interrupted by cheers and applause.

Addressing the struggle against the draft and for jobs in the Black community, he said, "We feel there is a direct relationship between economic recession, high unemployment, and the military industrial war machine in this country."

Dick Greenwood, international representative and special assistant to the president of the International Association of Machinists, also spoke about jobs at the rally.

"There are 10 million idle minds marking time in the army of the unemployed, pressed into the service of the nation in a holy war against inflation," Greenwood said. Instead of unemployment, "let's crack down on the oil companies, which want us to go to war to save their interests."

Other speakers at the rally included: Erma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council, who read a resolution passed by the city council greeting the conference; Joseph Blanding, United Auto Workers international representative; Rev. Barry Lynn, chairperson, NCARD; Luis Vasquez, Association in Solidarity with Guatemala; Mike Morgan, South African Military Refugee Aid Fund; Dave Dellinger; and others. U.S. Rep. John Conyers spoke Sunday.

New Jersey unions build Women's Day

By Chris Hildebrand

NEWARK—International Women's Day will be observed here on Sunday, March 8, with a festival sponsored by a coalition of New Jersey unions and women's organizations.

"Women: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" is the theme of the march beginning at noon from Military Park in Newark. It will end at Essex County Community College with a rally and festival highlighted with entertainment, films, and ethnic food.

Speakers will include Crystal Lee Sutton, the real "Norma Rae," and Kathy Andrade of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Hispanic Labor Committee.

Sponsors include: Coalition of Labor Union Women, New Jersey chapter; National Organization for Women, New Jersey; United Auto Workers New Jersey Women's Council; and others.

For further information contact: Georgia Kampf, UAW Region 9, 16 Commerce Drive, Cranford, New Jersey, or call (201) 272-4200.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Three thousand supporters of women's rights, representing eighty organizations, in-

cluding the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and United Food and Commercial Workers unions, converged on Capital Hill February 4. They served notice to the new Congress and administration that women will not permit our gains to be eroded and are willing to fight for our demands.

Billed as Women's Rights Day in Congress, the activities included attendance at various congressional hearings, a spirited mid-day rally, and late afternoon group lobbying of senators and representatives.

Black women made up a very high percentage of the participants. Signs identifying unions were prominent in the rally.

Speakers at the rally included Gloria Steinem; National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal; Adrienne Critchlow of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Maggie Kuhn, convenor of the Gray Panthers; and former congresswoman Bella Abzug.

Figures such as Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and actress Mary Tyler Moore also participated.

Feminist singer Kristen Lems led the rally in the "Ballad of the ERA" as well as traditional labor songs.

Miners strike, win rehiring

By Tom Moriarty

MORGANTOWN, W.Va.—After a three-day strike and a rare pro-union arbitration decision, on February 4 Consolidation Coal Company was forced to reinstate a miner they had fired from Blacksville #2 mine in northern West Virginia.

The miner, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1702, was fired January 28. Accused of a dischargeable offense, the worker denied it and asked to see his mine committeeman.

In violation of the contract, mine management failed to call the committeeman to the scene. When the midnight shift arrived the next night, the miners decided to go out in protest.

By February 1, Consol had obtained a back-to-work order from the courts. When the 400 strikers had not returned by February 3, a

federal judge ordered Local 1702 to pay a \$3,000 fine for each shift missed, and individual miners to pay \$25 for each day out.

The miners reported back to work and the arbitrator ruled in the union's favor that afternoon.

Consol is notorious in the coal industry for refusing to settle disputes at the mine site. Instead they seek quick victories from judges and arbitrators.

Last spring, Consol forced all of its District 31 miners out on strike by firing eleven members of Local 4060 at the Four States mine, not far from Blacksville. The miners returned to work after five weeks without being able to win back these jobs.

Consol's president, Bobby Brown, is chief negotiator for the Bituminous Coal Operators Association in the current contract talks with the UMWA.

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Harrisburg march gains union support

By Osborne Hart

Labor support for the March for Safe Energy and Full Employment, scheduled for March 28 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is gaining momentum.

The Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee, which is organizing for the demonstration, held an orientation session February 9 to train volunteers to speak before unions. Representatives from the Machinists, Garment Workers, Furniture Workers, and Pennsylvania Social Service Union attended the session.

The following day, the regular business meeting of the committee heard Matt Miller, United Mine Workers COMPAC national field director. Miller read a statement that appeared in the February issue of the Pennsylvania COMPAC newsletter explaining the importance of March 28.

The statement read in part: "This demonstration will dramatize the concerns of working people throughout the country about the continued use of nuclear power. The United Mine Workers of America is a sponsor of this anti-nuclear demonstration and march. Coal miners and coal represent the

best possible alternative to nuclear power.

"But unless we continually speak about the coal alternative it won't be considered.

"We hope to have thousands of UMW members from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio and other parts of the country in Harrisburg on March 28. We hope to see you there."

The United Furniture Workers District Council 4 in Pennsylvania sent a letter to all their locals urging them to "begin now to get a delegation together and join us on March 28 in Harrisburg."

In an open letter on the front page of the *Union Advocate*, newspaper of Pennsylvania Machinists District 98, signed by business director Ed Clinch, encouraged the membership to "join us" and "help organize what can be an event of great significance. One that can help reverse the string of defeats for the labor movement and get us back on the offensive."

Other unions in Pennsylvania are organizing their respective memberships to participate on March 28. The Labor Committee met with United



Militant/Kay Lewis

Food and Commercial Workers Local 72 in Burwick and Furniture Workers Local 714 in Wilks-Barre. Local 72, whose international has endorsed March 28, distributed 900 leaflets at the Wise Potato Chip factory. Local

714 endorsed the march and plans to bring two buses.

The labor movement in Washington, D.C., plans a March 12 organizing meeting for the demonstration. William Simons, D.C. Central Labor Council secretary, signed a letter to member unions urging their attendance.

Other unions that have endorsed the action include: International Chemical Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Graphic Arts International Union, and International Woodworkers of America.

United Steelworkers Local 1010, the largest in the USWA international, recently endorsed. The United States Student Association, Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, cartoonist Jules Feiffer, and D.C. City Councilwoman Hilda Mason are recent endorsers.

For more information on the Harrisburg demonstration contact: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 797-2371 or 265-7190.

Steelworkers fear radioactive waste ruling

By Linda Nordquist

PITTSBURGH—Imagine this: At 6 a.m., you reach over and push down the alarm on your slightly radioactive clock. In the kitchen, you sleepily maneuver around the slightly radioactive fridge, coffee pot, and frying pan.

Once dressed, you find your slightly radioactive keys and head for your slightly radioactive car.

Now, if you're a steelworker, things get a little more serious. At work you spend eight hours working around low-level radioactive scrap, making low-level radioactive steel, rolling low-level radioactive slabs, or fabricating low-level radioactive sheets.

Once outside the gate, you stop with some friends for a beer, poured from a slightly radioactive can and paid for with slightly radioactive change.

At home, dinner is cooked on a slightly radioactive stove. You finish the evening watching a slightly radioactive TV.

Sound incredible? Well, not if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has its way.

New regulations

Last October, the NRC quietly announced that it "is considering amending its regulations to exempt from licensing and regulatory requirements any person who receives, possesses,

uses or transfers technetium-99 [half-life of 210,000 years] or low-enriched uranium as residual contamination in any smelted alloy . . ." (Federal Register, 10/27/80; 45 FR 70874).

Translated, this means that radioactive scrap from all three U.S. uranium enrichment plants would be sold to steel corporations and recycled in the steel-making process. Steel is made from iron and scrap.

The NRC claims that by spreading out the contaminated scrap along with uncontaminated scrap, the health effects on the general public would be small.

No risk?

Jim Henry, senior health physicist at the NRC, says: "Not one person has the risk of getting cancer from the total amount of scrap if it were distributed out into the public."

So what's all the hullabaloo about? Dr. Judith Johnsrud, co-director of Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power, explained in a letter to the *New York Times* December 20, these "proposed changes in the regulation of low-level radioactive waste disposal may set a precedent for future distribution of large quantities of contaminated materials without licensing, monitoring or any follow-up studies of possible consequences for public health."

Second, steelworkers will be subjected to low-level radiation along each step of the steel-making process.

In my BOP (basic oxygen processing) department alone, more than three billion pounds of scrap is used in one year.

Continuous tests

The NRC says that the ingots will have to be continuously tested to make sure the radiation does not exceed allowable limits.

What if the test says it does? It will be too late to correct the exposure to the workers. Will the company divert the heat—cancel out a quarter of a million dollars worth of steel? This question is not addressed by the NRC, but the answer is obvious.

The radiation exposure will not stop in the basic oxygen, open hearth, or electric furnaces. It will permeate the entire mill as the ingots become slabs and the slabs become sheets.

The NRC is attempting to downplay the health effects by insisting the radiation level is "oh, so low." Yet there is scientific indication that the risk of cancer and other genetic damage is even greater for low doses extended over a long period of time than for high doses in a short period.

What of the NRC claim that the general public will not be affected?

Besides the radioactive consumer goods, people who live in steel-producing areas will be subjected to radioactive slag. (Slag is a discarded by-product of steel.)

The NRC intends to make no adjustment. Slag will continue to be used as road bedding and piled up in radioactive slag mountains in and around urban areas.

One thing for sure, if the NRC's latest plan is not stopped, the level of background radiation will increase and this will mean higher cancer rates, more defective children, and more genetic diseases.

Time for comments

It is very important that steelworkers throughout the country know what the NRC has in store for our future. Our union, at all levels, must register our refusal to be victimized by the nuclear power menace.

Individuals, local unions, and districts can send messages to the Secretary of the Commission, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Washington, D.C. 20555.

The most effective comment of all will be the participation of large numbers of steelworkers in the Harrisburg March 28 national demonstration against nuclear power.

Pittsburgh group hosts Grenada consul-general

PITTSBURGH—Joseph Kanute Burke, a leader of Grenada's New Jewel Movement, spoke at two successful meetings here February 9 and held informal discussions with several union officials. Burke is Grenada's consul-general to North America.

More than 100 students attended a noon meeting at Community College, Allegheny County, sponsored by Students for Involvement and Discussion. Those attending included students from two Black Studies classes and a sociology class.

The audience was mainly Black. As a result of the major media's refusal to report news on Grenada, most of the students had previously heard little about the revolution there, which will celebrate its second anniversary March 13. There was great interest in Burke's account of the revolution and its accomplishments.

Thirty-one people at the meeting signed a form indicating interest in helping to form a Pittsburgh chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

That evening Burke spoke to a meet-

ing of nearly 100 at the University of Pittsburgh. That gathering was sponsored by the Black Studies Department and the Center for Latin American Studies. A number of people from the

community attended. Among these were members of the National Black Independent Political Party.

The meeting was chaired by Richard Blackett, head of the university's

Black Studies Department. At this meeting thirty people added their names to those interested in helping form a chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

Barbados gov't harasses Grenadian minister

On February 6 Selwyn Strachan, minister of communications, works, and labor and acting minister of foreign affairs of the Caribbean island of Grenada, arrived at the Barbados International Airport on his way to a conference of the Nonaligned movement in New Delhi. Although other Grenadians on his flight were allowed to pass through the airport unimpeded, Strachan and his personal aide were singled out for harassment as part of the Barbados regime's hostile policy toward the Grenada revolution.

Strachan was traveling under the protection of a diplomatic pass-

port, but the customs officials insisted on searching his luggage. After registering his protest, Strachan allowed them to carry out the search.

The officials then demanded that Strachan and his aide be taken to a private room for a search of their persons. They refused. When it became clear that the two Grenadians would not willingly submit to such treatment, they were confined to the customs area for several hours until their connecting flight was ready to take off.

A similar incident occurred at the Barbados airport in early No-

vember, when Grenada's agriculture minister, Unison Whiteman, was also harassed.

In a news conference in New York February 7, Strachan explained, "The Barbados administration is undoubtedly a stooge of imperialism.

"The Grenada revolution is one of the focal points for imperialism. They would like to see the end of the revolution as quickly as possible. And therefore they will use the neighboring states in the region, Barbados being one, to try to see if they can frustrate the revolution. . . ."

Hundreds block court deal with FBI, CIA

By Rich Robohm

CHICAGO—In a major victory for democratic rights, hundreds of people showed up here at a February 13 court hearing and blocked a deal that would cripple the fight against secret police crimes.

The hearing was held before Federal Judge Susan Getzendanner to determine if there were any objections to the proposed settlement of a lawsuit against the FBI and CIA.

There were plenty.

The suit grew out of mid-1970s revelations of widespread surveillance and disruption by the Chicago cops, FBI, CIA, and right-wing terrorists such as the Legion of Justice.

Among the victims of police harassment were the Steelworkers union, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, NAACP, Operation PUSH, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Alliance to End Repression have cooked up an out-of-court settlement of the suit with the government. The settlement would allow the FBI and CIA to continue their spying.

Unpleasant surprise

But the liberals and government lawyers alike got an unpleasant surprise when 300 people, most of them Black, showed up and strongly objected to the deal. One young man held up a sign reading "Stop FBI Crimes" until federal marshalls forced him to discard it.

The government did all it could to create an atmosphere of intimidation in the courthouse. Federal marshalls with dogs were present. But their provocative behavior failed to produce any violent incidents.

The proposed settlement agreement, which Alliance lawyer Richard Guttman hailed at the hearing as "entirely unprecedented," is full of double-talk. It says the FBI and CIA won't carry out "unlawful" burglaries "or any unlawful disruption or harassment"



Murdered Panther leader Fred Hampton. Attorneys for his family denounced proposed settlement.

against "any United States person."

It claims those investigations the FBI does carry out will be limited to "minimal intrusion" on democratic rights.

As Charles Kruse, Justice Department lawyer, proudly pointed out at the hearing, the settlement "is in no way an admission that the FBI did anything illegal."

Moreover, it goes to great lengths to express political confidence in the "new" FBI. It asserts that under the current FBI Guidelines many (it doesn't say which) actions of the secret police would no longer be allowed.

Blacks rip deal

Black attorney Lewis Myers, general counsel for the Nation of Islam and a member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, received long and loud applause for his blistering denunciation of the settlement.

"It is unrealistic for us to believe that in 1971 at the stroke of a pen by J. Edgar Hoover, all surveillance activity against us ended," he said.

Myers demanded the opening of all FBI files to public scrutiny. Regarding the vague and ambiguous wording in the settlement, he added, "The FBI must not be allowed to define what is spying. Under no circumstances should we concede the right to even minimal intrusion. The first amendment is absolute."

He cited the history of government repression against Black people on this continent, going back to 1619. "It is unbelievable that Black people will not be the target of the FBI's wrath. . . . We have to constantly defend our rights by keeping our eyes on the people who are keeping their eyes on us."

Another leader of the Black community, Rev. Albert Sampson, also denounced the settlement.

"Black people always keep an extra room in their house for the IRS and FBI," he pointed out. There are thousands of people in the Black community who would come to testify that the FBI was still harassing them, he assured the court.

Attorney Donna-Marie Gilligan spoke for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, who are also named as plaintiffs in the Chicago case.

"We do not believe that the settlement agreements are in any sense fair, reasonable, or adequate," she said. She pointed out that the FBI Guidelines do nothing to stop FBI-CIA harassment and that the government has refused to admit any illegal activity.

Gilligan contended that the FBI was continuing its violation of democratic rights today. To back up the claim, she submitted a stack of documents more than a foot tall. They showed in detail how the government even now maintains files on political activists and



Chicago cops in action in 1968. City's long history of police violence and spying spurred protests against scuttling lawsuit.

seeks to have SWP members deported or fired from their jobs.

FBI lied before

Gilligan also submitted documents containing a judge's ruling that the FBI had lied in Federal Court in New York when it denied carrying out black bag jobs against the offices of the SWP and YSA. She pointed out that this provided ample proof that the government cannot be trusted.

Finally she blasted the settlement for repeating the FBI's false characterization of the SWP as advocating "violent revolution at some time in the indefinite future," and its suggestion that the SWP would eventually "engage in serious crimes or violence." This sets up the SWP for future harassment, she explained.

Another speaker against the proposed settlement was Ted Pearson, executive secretary of the Illinois district of the Communist Party. Pearson complimented the ACLU and Alliance lawyers for their years of hard work, but expressed dismay at the end result. "We are virtually excluded from benefit in this agreement, having been characterized as a 'foreign agent.'"

He strongly denied the FBI smear and pointed out that "the continuation of the investigation of the Communist Party USA represents a threat to the rights of all."

Also speaking out against the settlement were attorneys Dennis Cunningham and Flint Taylor of the People's Law Office. The People's Law Office has waged a tenacious fight to win compensation for the family of Chicago Black Panther leader Fred

Hampton, who was killed by cops while sleeping in his bed in 1969.

Cunningham explained that the settlement was not enforceable "because of vagueness regarding what is and is not allowed." He insisted that the government's crimes—"in violation of the principles that our country is supposed to be founded on and what the Constitution is supposed to protect"—be admitted and spelled out in detail.

Token admissions

Cunningham pointed out that the government's admission of 500 black bag jobs is token . . . they have not conceded anywhere that what they did was wrong."

In conclusion Cunningham pointed to the contradiction between what the FBI is promising in the Chicago settlement and what it is saying in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance federal suit in New York, where the government has proclaimed the right to spy on everyone.

Mildred Williams, chairperson of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, testified that her organization could not accept the settlement because its use of the term "U.S. person" excludes undocumented workers and others from protection against government crimes.

David Finke, speaking on behalf of the 57th Street Meeting of Friends, a Quaker group, said, "We do not believe that there should be any intrusion . . . there should be no harassment . . . no police spying is justified."

The government attorneys sat back

Continued on next page

Pulley: 'Chicago victory is just the beginning'

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—"The turnout of hundreds here to protest the wretched proposed settlement with the FBI and CIA is a great encouragement to me and everyone fighting to extend democratic rights," Andrew Pulley told a rally February 15.

The Socialist Workers Party leader was here to speak about the upcoming March 16 trial in the party's lawsuit against government spying and to solidarize with those fighting to block the proposed Chicago settlement (see above story).

"What happened in the courtroom here shows that many victims of the Chicago Red Squad, the FBI, and the CIA are not about to give up on the

battle against the secret police. The settlement offers no protection for our rights, and doesn't even admit the government committed any wrongdoing in the past!

"The sentiment here is a good sign, not only for the fight against spying in Chicago, but for blowing apart a similar rotten settlement in New York," he added. "A few of the faint-hearted have grown tired of fighting, but for the rest of us, this is just the beginning."

Pulley pledged the full support of the SWP in the building of a coalition of forces in Chicago to block the pending settlement and force the government to go through with a trial.

Dennis Cunningham, a member of the People's Law Office, which represents the family of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in a suit against the FBI, explained why his office opposes the settlement. Cunningham had been a plaintiff in the original Chicago complaint against the FBI and CIA.

"It's a sham," he said. The political police "really don't say they did anything wrong, and really don't say they won't do it again."

Cunningham said that the big turnout at the Federal Court here to object to the conditions of the settlement shows a strength that is "only the tip of the iceberg." A coordinated protest might squash the settlement, he said.

Also speaking at the rally was Andreé

Kahlmorgan, one of the fifteen unionists fired from Lockheed Aircraft in Marietta, Georgia, for their political ideas. She urged the crowd to increase political activity to push back attacks on democratic rights.

Fresh from the 1200-strong Detroit conference against registration and the draft, the Young Socialist Alliance leader told the crowd that "the conference wasn't intimidated by the government, and neither will the tens of thousands that will be marching on Washington May 9 to stop the draft and a new Vietnam."

The rally pledged more than \$1,600 to aid the SWP and YSA in their court fight.

Students hit Lockheed's 'subversive' charge

By George Johnson

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Associated Students of the University of California at Berkeley (ASUC) voted to send a statement to Lockheed-Georgia Company protesting the firings of fifteen

union activists and the company's characterization of California students as "subversives."

Chris Hoepfner, one of those fired, met with the ASUC as part of a West Coast tour to win support and to expose the company's antilabor move.

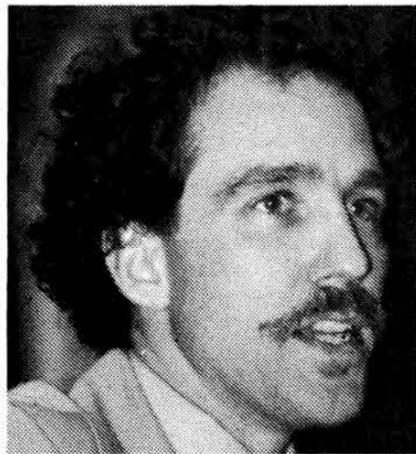
The fifteen are members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Most belong to the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance.

Hoepfner told ASUC members that Lockheed records on Jean Savage, who was fired on December 15, highlight the fact that she attended Berkeley. The records call the campus "a center for dissident and subversive activities during the Vietnam era."

Robert Lang, a Lockheed security officer, told lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying that his "profile" of suspected "subversives" included any worker who went to school in California.

Dawn Chaban, ASUC executive vice-president, proposed that the statement be sent to Lockheed, and added, "This is a slanderous attack on Berkeley students."

While touring the Bay Area, Hoepfner also met with members and officials of several Machinists lodges. He spoke at Laney College in Oakland and on KPFA (Pacifica) and other radio stations. He was interviewed by the *San José Mercury and News*, *Oakland Tribune*, *Sunnyvale Scribe*, and *Daily Californian*.



CHRIS HOEPFNER

Militant/Osborne Hart

Lockheed workers on tour

Three of the fifteen fired Lockheed workers are wrapping up a national speaking tour about the facts in their case. To find out details on the tour in your area, consult the local listings on page 27.

Chris Hoepfner

Feb. 21-24 Denver
Feb. 25-28 Kansas City

André Kahlmorgan

Feb. 20-23 Cleveland
Feb. 25-27 Philadelphia

Jeff Rogers

Feb. 21-24 Indianapolis
Feb. 25-27 St. Louis

In late February two fired Lockheed workers and a Brooklyn Navy Yard worker, Susan Wald, will be speaking about the Lockheed case and the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit in cities across Quebec and English Canada. They will be joined by a speaker for three women fired for their socialist politics by Pratt and Whitney Aircraft in Quebec.

Chris Hoepfner

Feb. 18-20 Vancouver

Milton Chee

Feb. 18-20 Winnipeg
Feb. 21-28 Hamilton and Toronto

Susan Wald

Feb. 27-28 Montreal

...Chicago settlement

Continued from page 5

and let the liberals try to sell the settlement to the crowd. Attorney Douglas Cassel, speaking for the ACLU, claimed there would be "substantial risks" in going to trial instead of settling. This despite thousands of pages of documents proving the government's illegal activities!

Jerry Berman of the national ACLU also spoke in favor of the agreement.

Kissinger aide

A key witness defending the government's promise to stop spying was Morton Halperin, director of the Center for National Security Studies. Halperin is a former aide to Henry Kissinger. He fell out with his former mentor when Kissinger had his phone bugged.

Halperin was presented by the ACLU to explain what the FBI's intentions were in the settlement.

The former Kissinger aide said he had met with the FBI and been personally assured the Bureau had mended its ways.

Attorney Lewis Myers asked if any of the FBI's attorneys would testify about the settlement. They refused.

Cross-examining Halperin, Myers pressed him to explain who would decide what was "minimal intrusion" by the FBI. Halperin squirmed in his seat, ducking the question. After asking five or six times for a clear answer, Myers turned to the judge and said, "Your Honor, the witness is evading my question."

Judge Getzendanner then responded that Halperin was apparently saying each individual FBI agent would decide himself how much "intrusion" was warranted.

Myers also asked Halperin whether the settlement would cover undocumented workers. Halperin claimed it would, a blatant untruth, since the agreement stipulates it covers only U.S. citizens, permanent residents, and "aliens" legally in the country.

Further confirmation that the settlement stinks came from Renault Robinson, executive director of the Afro-American Police League. He admitted in his testimony that cop spying continues. Robinson claimed, however, that the settlement was "an important first step." He didn't say in what direction.

Other endorsers of the settlement included Theresa Cropper, staff attorney of Operation PUSH, Rachel Degolia of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, and the Ethical Humanists Society of Chicago.

But the overwhelming opposition to the deal showed that working people, especially in the Black community, are by no means inclined to follow the lead of the liberals in surrendering to the secret police.

As a result of the protest, Judge Getzendanner decided to postpone a decision on the settlement. Instead she ordered the government to say in writing whether it agreed with Halperin's interpretation of the settlement. The ACLU and the Alliance to End Repression were also required to present in writing their replies to the objections.

The judge set a meeting of the attorneys for March 13 to further discuss the proposed settlement.

Discussion has already begun on how to use this delay to organize and broaden still further the fight for a prosecution of this lawsuit to the end.

Unionists blast spying at NASSCO, Lockheed

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—The use of FBI agents and company spies to harass, intimidate, and ultimately destroy the labor movement is not new.

Recent developments around the country, especially the disclosures surrounding the firing of fifteen union activists and socialists at the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia, have alerted union members to the fact that these company-government disruption plots are stepping up.

This was the topic of a *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* forum here February 6. Speakers were Chris Hoepfner, one of those fired at Lockheed, and Frank Holowach, president of Iron Workers Local 627 at National Steel and Shipbuilding (NASSCO) here.

NASSCO is the largest shipyard on the West Coast. Holowach explained it had the lowest wages, and because of terrible working conditions, seven people had been killed there in the past four years.

"We built a strong shop steward system, had rallies between shifts of up to 1,000 around the issues of health and safety," Holowach said. "We helped eliminate fatalities by winning the right to shut down an unsafe job."

"With the development of a more active membership, the company, Morrison-Knudsen, hired a major union-busting firm to try to take back some of the gains the workers had won.

"At this point," noted Holowach, "the FBI enters the scene with Ramon Barton, a paid FBI informant and company spy, who it turns out since August was continuously wired with conversation transmitting devices. Barton played a provocative role during a wildcat strike in August that shut down the yard for three days."

Then, on September 16, three workers at NASSCO, members and supporters of the Communist Workers Party, were framed up for "planning to blow up company electric transformers." In response to this, workers at NASSCO and other plants set up a "NASSCO Three" defense committee, and retained civil liberties lawyer Leonard Weinglass.

With union elections approaching, the company and the press whipped up anticommunism in the plant and around the city to beat back the militant workers at NASSCO. Despite this, workers in the yard who were part of the "NASSCO Three" defense and the big health and safety struggles won the election in December 1980.

"Then the International stepped in," Holowach reported. "They placed the entire local of 3,000 in trusteeship. They froze the union's bank account, locked the doors of the union hall, posted guards there, and cancelled all union meetings. They stopped the new leadership from taking office. . . . We then organized a steering committee of all the factions in the yard to fight the

trusteeship."

Holowach described how more than 1,000 workers signed protest petitions and 300 attended the International's hearing on trusteeship.

"The International claims to have stepped in to make the union more democratic and because of previous violence. Yet the only violence was the police attack on the wildcat strike, and the local has never been more democratic."

"With the local in trusteeship, and the FBI frame-up continuing, the company has stepped up its offensive against the workers. Production quotas now exist for the first time, the power of shop stewards is reduced drastically, and workers are asked to carry the load, like at Chrysler where they have been forced to make concessions on three occasions."

Holowach ended by saying "NASSCO shows that this country is not moving to the right—people are looking for answers."

Chris Hoepfner said the Lockheed workers "were fired because we are against the draft, against racism and for women's rights. We were active in building and strengthening our union, the International Association of Machinists, Lodge 709."

He reported that the surveillance of the socialists at Lockheed began after they distributed a leaflet at their union meeting that discussed the resolution passed by the IAM convention in Sep-

tember 1980 in support of the idea of a labor party.

"The spying, however, was not only against the socialists, but also against various union activists and everyone who attended the union meeting."

"As I travel around the country winning support for our case and the socialists' suit against the government, I hear countless stories of FBI and company spying on the workers in the plants, mills, and mines."

"The support from our co-workers has been tremendous," he added. "This case is important because of the attitude of the Reagan administration, which has publicly admitted now that the harassment and observance of groups advocating revolutionary change is legal. This is an attack on every worker, every supporter of women's rights and school desegregation."

"Defending the rights of workers and socialists," Hoepfner declared, "helps in the development of a new leadership in the unions and the efforts of the unions to take a stand on social questions of the day, like opposition to the draft and nuclear power."

In addition to the Friday night forum, Hoepfner had meetings with officials of IAM Lodges 685 and 2215, at Solar and General Dynamics respectively. He also spoke in three classes at San Diego City college, and had interviews with campus and community press.



MOVING?

Take the 'Militant' with you. To avoid missing a single issue, send us notice of your change of address right away. Be sure to include the address label off your copy.

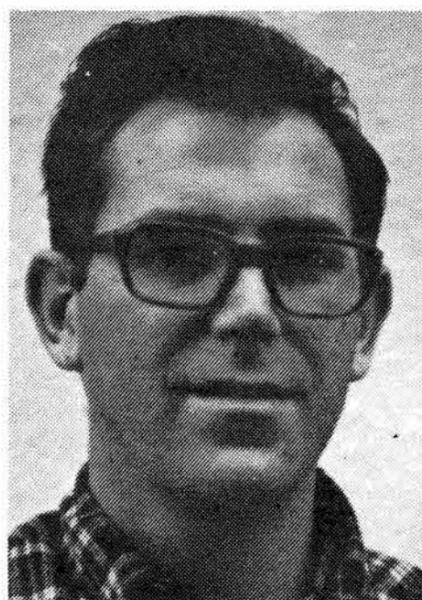
How firings affect mood inside Lockheed

By Michael Pennock

ATLANTA—As a result of extensive media coverage, the firing of fifteen workers at the Lockheed aerospace plant in Marietta has sparked a good deal of discussion in this area.

Most discussion, of course, is taking place among workers at the plant. I talked with Tom Fiske, who is currently working in the plant. A turret lathe operator at the plant for nearly two years, he is a member of Lodge 709 of the International Association of Machinists. Fiske, like most of those fired, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Fiske said that initially most workers were intimidated when the first firings occurred in December. Many, he said, were immediately sympathetic



TOM FISKE

Militant/Harry Ring

to those fired, "but they weren't actively defending us. They were afraid they'd get the ax too."

But that sense of intimidation has lessened.

Role of media coverage

Fiske feels an important factor has been the media coverage the fired socialists won. The fact that the firings are being treated as a significant civil rights issue has encouraged more people to say what they think.

On one key point there seems to be wide agreement, Fiske said. That's on the issue of company spying.

Documents obtained under court order by the fired workers confirmed that they had been the target of extensive surveillance, both in their political and union activity, and in their private lives. The documents confirmed that the company utilizes a network of

Michael Pennock, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, was one of fifteen unionists fired at Lockheed.

informers within the plant, as well as security cops.

"I've talked with dozens of people in the plant," Fiske said, "and not a single one of them believe that the company has the right to have a worker followed home. Or that company cops have a right to try to listen in on parking lot conversation with their 'big ear' electronic device."

Reject company story

Another point that Fiske feels is clear to a majority of workers now is that the fifteen were fired for their political beliefs—not for the reason given by Lockheed.

There are some workers who haven't fully answered in their own mind whether or not socialists should be allowed to work in a "defense" plant. "But on the basis of the many discussions I and others have had, the big majority believe the company shouldn't have the right to fire for political opinions. They don't think it's any of the company's business how you vote, or what party you belong to."

Fiske says he can see the changing attitude most clearly among the workers in his own department.

"At first," he said, "many workers were hesitant to talk to me. But that changed. Now most are sympathetic. They want to see the socialists rehired."

What's involved for many, Fiske explained, is that they realize the atmosphere of intimidation created by such firings very much affects them.

They know this kind of thing doesn't stop with the socialists, Fiske continued. Quite a large number of workers, he said, have been taken to plant security and subjected to grilling about alleged discrepancies in employment applications.

See common interest

A number of workers are beginning to appreciate the way socialists are fighting back against the firings. They realize it's in their interest too.

"It's very heartening," Fiske observed, "when coworkers begin respecting you for being on TV or passing out socialist literature at the plant gate."

Another good thing, he said, is that workers are calling the union hall, urging that the union really fight the grievance of the fired workers.

Why did Lockheed choose to fire these workers at this particular time?

In Fiske's opinion, it's tied to Lockheed's expanding role as a supplier of war material.

"I think they feel they would run into difficulties in the plant," Fiske observed, "if there was an atmosphere of opposition to war. And opposition to what goes with it. The speedup. The regimentation."

Reaganism

Fiske feels many workers also see this as tied to Reagan's election. "They

anticipate increased attacks on workers' standards of living by the corporations. And the likelihood of a new Vietnam-style war.

"That's where their changing attitude toward the socialists comes in," Fiske added. "They see the fight we're putting up against the firings, and what the firings represent. They begin to see us as people who are likely to be allies in future fights against attacks by the Reagan administration."

What about the role of right-wingers in the plant?

Company finks

Fiske said there is a definite right-wing element. But, he emphasized, it's important not to confuse them with the layer of older white workers, who often tend to be conservative in their political views, but include a lot of good

union people.

"The right wing within the plant," Fiske explained, "are people who are tied in with the company. This includes the informers."

"We know from the company files released to us," Fiske continued, "that this informer and right-wing network is quite significant."

"Yet," he emphasized, "with the company having that set-up going for them, I haven't received a single threat."

"That's because they don't feel they can get away with it. They can't whip up a campaign against us because a majority of the workers are sympathetic to us, to our right to have a job."

"They don't want to see the company successful in intimidating the work force."

UMWA official rips dismissals

The following is the text of a January 30 letter sent to President Ronald Reagan from Joe Jurczak, staff coordinator for the Pennsylvania United Mine Workers Political Action Committee (COMPAC).

Dear Mr. President,

It's recently come to my attention that the Lockheed Georgia Company has recently fired members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. I feel that I must protest these firings, not because I necessarily support the views of the Socialist Workers Party, but because I believe that no worker should be discriminated against because of political beliefs or union activities.

This action by Lockheed Georgia Company, a firm which I understand has many government contracts, smacks of the tactics of a totalitarian state. Documents from Lockheed's personnel files prove that the company spied on union meetings and snooped into its employees personal lives. These violations by Lockheed of the basic democratic rights of free speech and political association are abhorrent in the extreme.

I ask that you use your tremendous personal influence in getting legislation introduced to ban such tactics in the future and see that the fired workers at Lockheed are reinstated.

As an American citizen, as a coal miner, and as a representative of a great union, I would like to believe that the differences between our democratic system of government with its emphasis on individual freedoms and that of communist totalitarian states are ones of substance and not rhetoric.

I thank you for giving my request your consideration.

Sincerely,
Joe Jurczak, Staff Co-ordinator
COMPAC in Pennsylvania
United Mine Workers of America

Yes,
I want
to help.

Clip and mail to Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

I am pledging \$ _____.

Enclosed is \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

How your \$\$\$ can help stymie the FBI

By Norton Sandler

The Socialist \$75,000 Fund recently received a contribution and a brief note from a machinist in Erie, Pennsylvania. "As a regular reader and a union member (IAM)," he wrote, "I have followed the case in the Militant. I regret not having made contributions in the past."

He added, "Once again I hope my contribution helps the SWP continue the fight for the future. For people, not profits."

The increased interest in socialism

some workers are showing stems from the fact that more are realizing capitalism can't solve the problems we face.

The large corporations owned by the handful of billionaires who profit from this system don't like this. That's why the FBI works hand in glove with corporate personnel offices like the one at Lockheed's Georgia aerospace plant, where fifteen workers were recently fired because of their union activity and political views.

Since the socialists filed their law-

suit more than seven years ago, the Militant has printed hundreds of pages of revelations about how the FBI and other governmental agencies have tried to disrupt and destroy the SWP and YSA. The only reason the government would have a plan of such size and scope directed at a relatively small organization like ours is that they fear our ideas will have an impact.

The question of the right of socialists to advocate and put into practice Marxist ideas will be central at the upcoming trial.

The Socialist Fund has been built by modest contributions. But when you add them all up, the \$63,526 pledged and the \$30,991 collected to date is an impressive sum. It will significantly expand the ability of socialists to get our ideas out to more working people in the coming weeks.

You can contribute at upcoming rallies or you can fill out the coupon above. Mail it to the Socialist Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Where we are

Collected to date
\$30,991

Pledged to date
\$63,526

\$75,000

New Polish premier seeks to rein in workers

By Ernest Harsch

Poland's new prime minister, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, has been handed an extremely difficult job: to keep down the country's powerful and well-organized working class and to safeguard the material privileges and authoritarian political control of the ruling bureaucratic caste.

It was the failure of former prime minister Jozef Pinkowski to do that that led to his dismissal on February 9, following a plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee. The appointment of Jaruzelski—which marks the fourth change of prime ministers in less than a year—is a reflection of the depth of the crisis facing the Polish bureaucracy.

In a January 12 speech before the Polish parliament, Jaruzelski appealed for a three-month moratorium on strikes—"90 days of peace"—to give his government a chance to deal with the country's deep economic crisis.

In a bid to get Solidarity, the independent union federation, to go along with such a moratorium, Jaruzelski promised to carry through far-reaching economic changes and to work toward a democratic "renewal."

Unfortunately for the Polish rulers, distrust of the bureaucracy as a whole runs deep. As one Polish farmer was quoted as saying, "We've lost confidence in all of them, that's the problem. It's as though they're playing a game of musical chairs."

Jaruzelski's prospects dim

During the new prime minister's first days in office:

- In response to an appeal by the national leadership of Solidarity for a temporary end to strikes, miners in Silesia and printing workers called off planned job actions. In a policy statement on February 12, however, Solidarity reserved the right to strike.

Lech Walesa, a central leader of Solidarity, stressed the need for the union's 10 million members to "build up our organization."

- On February 9, the very day that Jaruzelski was chosen prime minister, about 300,000 workers in the southwestern region of Jelenia Gora walked off their jobs, paralyzing some 450 plants and enterprises and shutting down transport and other services.

The workers were demanding the dismissal of a number of local officials accused of corruption and the opening up to the public of a rest house for Central Committee members and a sanatorium

for the secret police. The general strike ended late the next day after the government agreed that the rest home could be used as a public hospital until a new 610-bed facility is built.

- The Supreme Court on February 10 turned down an appeal by the new farmers' organization, Rural Solidarity, for registration as a trade union. The court proposed that the farmers organize themselves into an "association," a body that has fewer legal rights than a union.

Walesa, speaking to a crowd of 5,000 demonstrating farmers in Warsaw, termed the decision a "draw." Leaders of Rural Solidarity vowed to keep on fighting for recognition as a union.

- A student strike that began in Lodz in late January spread to several other cities, including Poznan and Warsaw.

- Demands among rank-and-file members of the Communist Party for greater internal party democracy have been mounting. Party chief Stanislaw Kania's failure to set a precise date for the convening of an extraordinary party congress—as he had earlier promised to do—has already drawn protests from party members.

On February 12, State Department spokesman William Dyess said in Washington, "We wish the new Prime Minister and all the Polish people well in their efforts to resolve their problems themselves and we look forward to a constructive relationship with the new Polish Government."

Two days earlier, Dyess hinted to Jaruzelski that Washington would not look too unfavorably on a crackdown on the Polish workers movement. According to *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Getler, the "tone of his answers suggested the United States would react with restraint in that case."

An editorial in the February 8 *British Manchester Guardian Weekly* also argued for increased imperialist aid to the Polish regime.

"Since the Gdansk strikes six months ago," it said, "Western bankers, prodded by their respective governments, have been busily putting together economic aid and trade packages designed to keep Comrade Kania's show on the road. . . ."

"Now the bankers are pressing on because they see precious little alternative unless they are to lose their international stability and detente."

Like Moscow, the imperialists are concerned about the impact that the example of the Polish workers movement could have on workers around the world.

From Intercontinental Press

U.S. ousts Cuban diplomat

By Janice Lynn

In one more of Washington's continuing provocations against the Cuban revolution, the Reagan administration announced February 11 that Cuban diplomat Ricardo Escartin was being expelled from the United States.

State Department spokesman William Dyess said that Escartin, the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section, which represents Cuba in Washington, was being ordered to leave because he tried to persuade U.S. businessmen to trade with Cuba.

Since 1962, the U.S. government has imposed a total embargo on trade with Cuba. This criminal blockade was intended to strangle Cuba economically and to isolate it from the rest of the world. The embargo even included such vital necessities as food and medicines.

Nevertheless, the Cuban revolution survived the blockade, taking impressive steps forward economically. Today, more than eighty countries trade with Cuba, despite Washington's sabotage.

In announcing Escartin's expulsion, the State Department spokesman said that Washington was concerned about efforts to circumvent the trade embargo which were "more open and more blatant than previously." Offi-

cials said there had been an upsurge in the number of calls received from U.S. firms asking about the status of the blockade.

But a report in the February 12 *New York Times* indicated that this charge was merely a pretext. Even officials at the Treasury Department said, according to the *Times*, that "the State Department was inflating the significance of Mr. Escartin's efforts to entice Americans into illegal trade."

Escartin was also accused of engaging in intelligence activities, a totally unsubstantiated charge.

A February 13 statement by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations declared that "the false accusations" against Escartin reflected "the intentions of U.S. authorities to continue their policies of hostility toward our country and harassment of our representatives in the United States."

The Cuban statement also noted that the charges constituted "a clear threat to U.S. citizens, including members of Congress, with whom our diplomat maintained relations that were entirely legitimate and perfectly well known to U.S. officials. The State Department is now portraying these relations as if they were alien to normal diplomatic procedures."

From Intercontinental Press

Campaign for new readers is ahead of schedule

By Nancy Rosenstock

Saturday, February 14, marked the beginning of the eleven-week circulation drive. Socialists are setting their sights on over 3,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in four weeks! As we go to press, the circulation office has already received 764 subscriptions to both publications. Many areas have maintained regular subscription sales since the end of last fall's drive. In addition, subs have been gathered at numerous national and local protests.

This momentum needs to be maintained for the next three weeks. Many areas have already mapped out plans for door-to-door canvassing as well as plans to win new subscribers on the job. The Newark branch is one of many that have begun to call previous subscribers, urge them to renew, and inform them of upcoming activities.

Antidraft conference

Of the 1,200 people at the first national antidraft conference February 13-16 in Detroit, 142 bought copies of the *Militant*, fifty-three received the *Young Socialist*, and fourteen bought subscriptions. In addition, fifty "No Draft" buttons put out by the Young Socialist Alliance and \$170 worth of literature from Pathfinder Press were sold.

Steelworker sales

James Balanoff kicked off his campaign for director of United Steel-

workers District 31 at a rally attended by some 400 people February 8 in Chicago. Socialists actively campaigning for Balanoff are selling the *Militant*, which covers his campaign. Sixty people bought copies of the *Militant* at the rally.

Posters

Attractive new posters promoting the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have been printed. Used widely, these posters will not only aid our campaign and increase the visibility of both the *Militant* and *PM* but will also spread the word on the socialist lawsuit against the government. Putting up posters can be combined with sales as teams fan out to workplaces, campuses, and communities.

The Militant gets around

The *Militant* is now being sold in Bridgeport, Connecticut, by a supporter who lives nearby. Having seen a poster for SWP candidates Pulley and Zimmerman during the presidential campaign last fall, he wrote to the national campaign committee for more information. After receiving sample copies of the *Militant*, he subscribed.

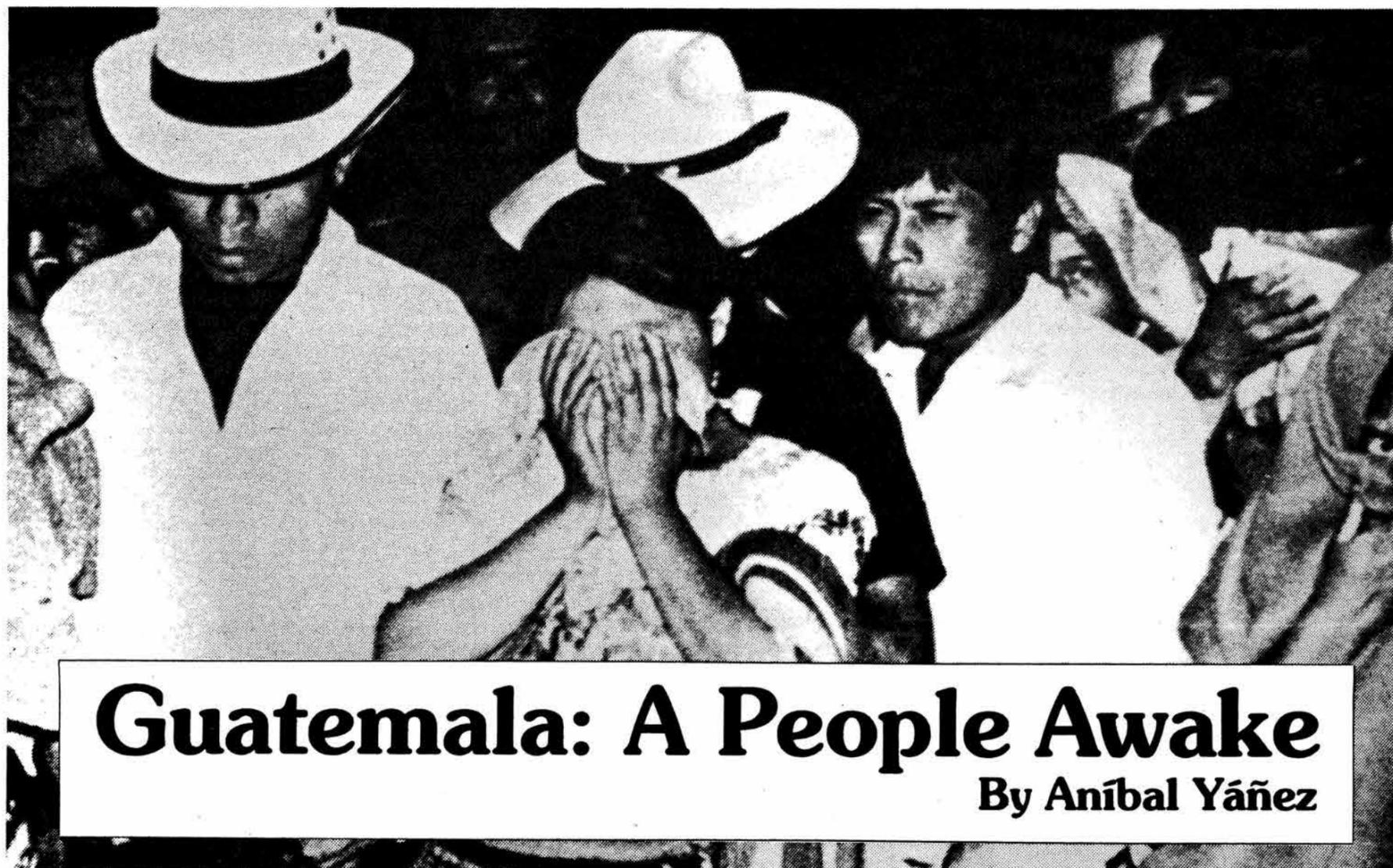
He enjoyed the paper so much that he decided to get a weekly bundle.

Why not join the growing number of supporters who are circulating the *Militant*? Just write to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014 and we will rush your bundle off to you.

Subscription goals

AREA	MILITANT	PM	TOTAL
	GOAL	GOAL	
Albuquerque	45	15	60
Atlanta	60		60
Baltimore	60		60
Birmingham	75		75
Boston	100	10	110
Brooklyn	105	25	130
Capital District	42	8	50
Charleston	20		20
Chicago	85	25	110
Cincinnati	50		50
Cleveland	40	10	50
Dallas	40	25	65
Denver	35	5	40
Detroit	75	10	85
Gary	40	5	45
Houston	45	15	60
Indianapolis	65	5	70
Iron Range	30		30
Kansas City	55	10	65
Los Angeles	105	35	140
Louisville	50		50
Manhattan	150	75	225
Miami	35	5	40
Milwaukee	70	10	80
Morgantown	50		50
New Orleans	75		75
Newark	110	20	130
Oakland	60	10	70
Philadelphia	65	15	80
Phoenix	40	10	50
Piedmont	80		80
Pittsburgh	75	5	80
Portland	30		30
Salt Lake City	60	5	65
San Antonio	40	20	60
San Diego	40	10	50
San Francisco	80	20	100
San Jose	30	10	40
Seattle	75	5	80
St. Louis	45	5	50
Tidewater	80		80
Toledo	35		35
Twin Cities	88	12	100
Washington, D.C.	70	10	80
TOTAL	2705	450	3155

international **socialist** review

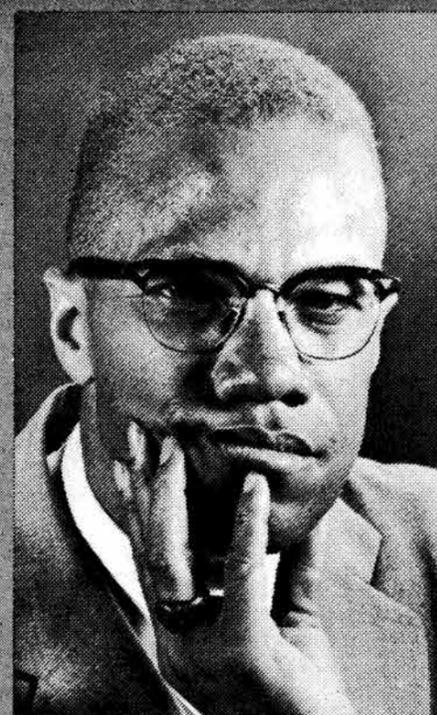


Guatemala: A People Awake

By Aníbal Yáñez

Malcolm X: Inspiration for Young Rebels Today

By Nan Bailey



Leon Trotsky and Wilhelm Reich: Five Letters

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

No More 'Vietnam Syndrome'?

The media blitz, the yellow-ribbon campaign, the parades, and the fabricated horror stories with which we were inundated for weeks after the ex-hostages returned from Iran have largely run their course.

They culminated fourteen months of government and media propaganda around the imprisonment of fifty-two U.S. embassy personnel in Iran. What was the effect on the American people of this intensive campaign?

The editors of the radical weekly *Guardian* presented their estimate in the February 11 issue.

The purpose of the hoopla over the hostages, they correctly explain, was "to galvanize all the patriotism, national chauvinism, sentiment and anger possible among the people in order to direct it into acceptance of a 'new beginning' wherein U.S. imperialism could once again get away with playing the role of world policeman."

And: "Strategically, the purpose was to manipulate the hostage crisis in order to win some popular support for higher defense budgets and a more aggressive international posture of confrontation with the USSR and intervention in the third world."

The editors conclude: "This has succeeded, at least in part, and is of considerable significance."

Others go further in claiming gains for Washington.

In the January 28 *In These Times*, Fred Halliday states: "... the result of reactions inside the U.S. to the hostage taking has been greatly to strengthen a Cold War climate and to wipe away the 'Vietnam syndrome'—that reluctance to intervene in the Third World that the struggles against the U.S. role in Indochina had created in the early '70s."

We think these assessments are wrong. They leave important questions unanswered.

Why did the government, having supposedly won wide support for military intervention, feel it had to resolve the crisis by yielding ground to Iran?

Why did 52 percent of those questioned in an NBC-Associated Press poll taken January 21-23—at the height of the media cries about "torture" of the hostages—say they favor abiding by the terms of the accord with Iran, rather than seeking revenge?

During the embassy episode, polls consistently showed that most Americans opposed a military solution—and this on the issue where pro-war and chauvinist propaganda was most pervasive.

Nor does the *Guardian* view jibe with the outcome of draft registration.

The move to reinstitute registration aroused

wide opposition, stirring a new movement into life. Registration was so unpopular—including among those who reluctantly signed up—that the government has been unable thus far to lift a finger against hundreds of thousands who refused. And it has yet to win the American people to support for the draft.

The flaw in the *Guardian's* analysis is an elementary one. It leaves out the working class. Subjected to years of increasing economic hardship in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate, workers are in no mood to be whipped into patriotic war fever.

When the embassy in Tehran was seized in November 1979, the U.S. rulers for a few days were able to stir chauvinist and even pro-war sentiment among some workers. Socialists in factories, mines, and mills had to take some flak when they voiced support for the Iranian revolution and opposed Carter's threats.

But this sentiment died down quickly, and was never rekindled.

Increasingly, workers questioned the U.S. government's backing of the shah and the decision to bring him to the United States.

When Carter launched the abortive raid against Iran last April, suspicion grew that he was using the hostage crisis to maneuver the country into war.

There was no burst of hawkish sentiment among working people when the hostages were released. Almost everyone was glad to see them home—especially since their homecoming eliminated the danger of war over the issue.

But Washington pushed its exploitation of the hostages too far. Millions were bored or even disgusted at the seemingly endless "officially choreographed patriotic demonstrations and jingoist fervor" described by the *Guardian*.

In the Black and Latino communities, displays of flags and yellow ribbons were few and far between. Many Blacks could contrast the news media's downplaying of the 100,000-strong Martin Luther King Day demonstration in Washington to the strident buildup given every ceremony for the ex-hostages.

The *Guardian's* view that, at least for the time being, broader support exists for U.S. military intervention in Latin America, Asia, and Africa is wide of the mark.

Once again developments in the working class are omitted.

The growth of solidarity with Nicaragua and the Salvadoran people, particularly in Latino communities and in the Catholic and Protestant churches, doesn't rate a mention.

No note is taken of the steps by major national unions toward opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

During the weeks when patriotic frenzy over the hostages was supposed to be reaching a crescendo:

- The International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union declared a boycott of U.S. shipments to the Salvadoran junta. Keith Johnson, president of the International Woodworkers of America, sent a message to the ILWU supporting the boycott.

- William Winpisinger, president of the million-member International Association of Machinists, demanded an end to U.S. military aid to the junta.

- A February 3 advertisement in the *New York Times* protesting the U.S. role in El Salvador was signed by Russell Gibbons, editor of *Steeltabor*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers of America, and by Joe Samargia, president of USWA Local 1938, which represents thousands of Minnesota Iron Range miners.

The antidraft conference held in Detroit February 13-15 heard representatives of the United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists. The conference was endorsed by UAW Vice-President Martin Gerber and by Tom Turner, president of the Detroit AFL-CIO.

On an issue which is intertwined with the U.S. war drive—nuclear power—unions are taking the lead in opposition. The United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, and United Food and Commercial Workers unions are initiators and builders of the March 28 rally against nuclear power in Harrisburg.

A wing of the union movement is issuing an unprecedented challenge to the slavish support that top AFL-CIO bureaucrats have long given U.S. foreign policy. Nothing comparable occurred even at the high point of opposition to the Vietnam war.

The *Guardian* recognizes that the ruling class is trying to wipe out the "Vietnam syndrome"—the media's name for mass opposition to war that took root during Vietnam.

The media systematically create the appearance that public opinion clamors for unleashing the CIA, a bigger war budget, and a "tough" stand against "terrorists" like the revolutionary movement in El Salvador.

Government-organized spectacles like the hostage welcome are played to the hilt.

The *Guardian* mistakes the resulting sound effects for the real voice of American working people.

Capitalist politicians and journalists talk about the "Vietnam syndrome" as though antiwar sentiment were merely a residue left over from Vietnam.

But since Vietnam, antiwar sentiment has spread, taking root in a new generation as a result of subsequent experiences in the class struggle.

The conviction that Washington's foreign policy is in the interests of the rich has become more widespread as working people look at events in Iran, Southern Africa, Nicaragua, and El Salvador—as well as at the oil barons' manipulation of "energy shortages."

The workers' response to employer-government attacks on our living standards generates antiwar sentiment and action. Workers see that the government backs the employers at every turn, making us pay for the economic crisis and for swelling the Pentagon arsenal, while they prepare to draft youth for a new war. It's little wonder that the government and its policies are viewed with growing hostility.

A growing number begin to identify with the Nicaraguans, the African freedom fighters, the Salvadorans, and the Iranian's rather than with the imperialist rulers.

Rather than being pushed back, that process took new steps forward in recent weeks.

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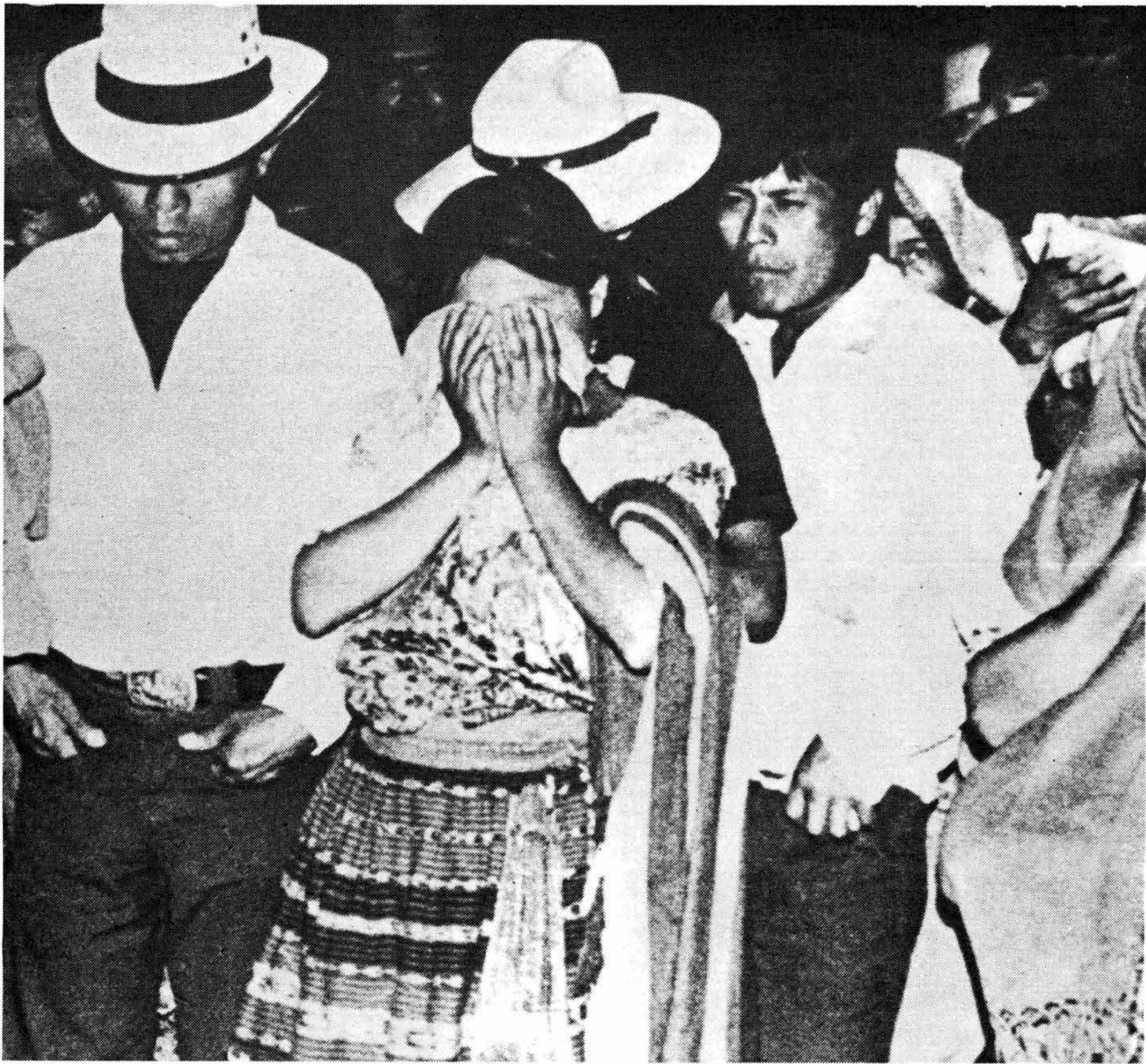
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International
socialist
review

Editor: Fred Feldman
Contributing Editor: George Novack
Design: Diane Jacobs

The *International Socialist Review* appears in the *Militant* monthly except January.

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Guatemala: A People Awake

By Aníbal Yáñez

*Sing a song of quetzals,
pockets full of peace!
The Commies are in hiding,
just across the street.
And pistol-packing Peurifoy
looks mighty optimistic
For the land of Guatemala
is no longer Communistic!*
-poem by Betty Peurifoy to her husband
Jack, the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala
in 1954.

"Guatemala is the strategic prize of Central America," according to a paper prepared for Ronald Reagan's consideration by the Council for Inter-American Security, Inc.
And this "strategic prize," with its seven million people, threatens to slip out of U.S. imperialism's hands. "Violence Stirs Polarized Guatemala," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* in December 1980. "Guatemala: trembling between order and breakdown," headlined the *Christian Science Monitor* on February 4, 1981.
These spokespersons of the American ruling class are expressing the fear that after Nicaragua, with the Salvadoran struggle growing in intensity, Guatemala is next.

Anibal Yáñez is managing editor of 'Perspectiva Mundial,' the Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant.'

It is true that, like the rest of the Central American people, Guatemalan workers and peasants are rising up against centuries of oppression and exploitation. Because of this, Guatemala, like El Salvador, is increasingly being proclaimed the victim of a communist conspiracy, and in need of Washington's "defense." For the Guatemalan people, this propaganda is nothing new.

"The Iron Curtain is falling over Guatemala," was the theme of a furious propaganda campaign in the United States against the legally elected Guatemalan governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz from 1945 to 1954.

The objective of this campaign was to prepare the U.S.-sponsored exile invasion of Guatemala in 1954.

Guatemala has been a rich source of lessons for Latin American revolutionaries. American working people also have a lot to learn from that experience, both to understand the revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean today, and to understand the causes and dangers of U.S. imperialism's policy in the region.

'Banana Republic'

For the first half of the 20th century, Guatemala was the fiefdom of the United Fruit Co. (UFCo)—today named United Brands. Established in 1899 and incorporated in Jersey City, New Jersey, UFCo grew to practically own Guatemala. By the time of World War II, it



controlled transport to the United States through its Great White Fleet.
It monopolized railroad transport within Guatemala, as well as the major Atlantic port of Puerto Barrios through its virtual subsidiary, the International Railways of Central America (IRCA); and it owned the best Guatemalan lands, on which it grew chiefly bananas for export.
Through its board of directors, bankers, and law firms, UFCo brought together the top families of the U.S. ruling class—the Rockefellers, Morgans, and others.
The main competitors of United Fruit were German firms. However, as Susanne Jonas

pointed out in the extensive and well-documented study *Guatemala* (published by the North American Congress on Latin America in 1974), "During World War II, the United States enforced the liquidation of the sizable German coffee, banking and merchant interests in Guatemala, even sending FBI agents to carry out the expropriations and interning German Guatemalans in American camps."

General Jorge Ubico, in power from 1931 to 1944, was the last and the most brutal of a series of dictators who ruled Guatemala in this period, enforcing the exploitation of the Indian workers on the foreign owned plantations. He decreed lower wages and instituted vagrancy laws that guaranteed a supply of forced Indian labor. He gave the coffee landlords and banana company executives the legal right to kill any rebellious Indians on their plantations. In 1933 his government massacred 100 trade union leaders, students, and members of the opposition. His rule was marked by rigid censorship, secret police spying and brute military force.

In June 1944 a struggle by university students exploded into a general strike in Guatemala City. Ubico was forced to resign, naming a military triumvirate to succeed himself, which prepared fake elections. *Ubiquismo* would be preserved.

But discontent spread, reaching into the

right to form unions.

With respect to foreign investment, new laws stipulated that exploitation of Guatemala's resources—especially oil—would be carried out by the state, by Guatemalan companies, or by foreign contractors under government direction. Foreign investment was welcome in other industries.

The Constitution recognized the "social function of private property," "prohibited" giant plantations, and permitted expropriation of private property in the public interest. But there were no expropriations. Arévalo declared:

"In Guatemala there is no agrarian problem; rather, the peasants are psychologically and politically constrained from working the land. The government will create for them the need to work, but without harming any other class."

While setting out to establish the basis for the development of modern capitalism in Guatemala, Arévalo's progressive reforms basically left untouched the traditional agrarian structure and the economic power of the landlords.

Toilers Awake

In the mid-1940's, Guatemala was a very backward, overwhelmingly agrarian country. There was practically no development of capitalism, no industry. Some 90 percent of the labor



Agrarian reform poster that appeared in official Guatemalan publication.

younger ranks of the Guatemalan Army's officer corps.

On October 20, 1944, armed students and civilians joined dissident junior military officers in a rebellion which overthrew the Ubico regime. An interim *Junta Revolucionaria* called congressional and presidential elections.

The Congress adopted a new Constitution and a few days later, on March 15, 1945, Juan José Arévalo, a Guatemalan intellectual and educator, took office as president.

The 'October Revolution'

The overthrow of the Ubico regime, which came to be known in Guatemala as the 'October Revolution,' opened up a ten-year period of reforms.

During Arévalo's presidency (1945-51), suffrage, which had previously been the right only of literate males, was extended to all adults except illiterate women (more than 70 percent of women and more than 90 percent of Indian women). Freedom of speech, of the press, etc., were established. Political parties could be organized and function freely—except for "foreign or international" parties, such as the Communist Party.

One third of state expenditures were devoted to the construction of schools, hospitals and housing, a national literacy campaign, health programs and full social security coverage for workers.

Nationalist Measures

A new labor code abolished the vagrancy laws and all forms of forced labor, established a minimum wage, equal pay for equal work, decent working conditions, the right to strike, and the

force, made up mostly of unorganized Indian coffee workers, lived in rural areas. (More than half the population of Guatemala was Indian, mostly speaking Mayan-related languages and not Spanish. The rest were *mestizos* or *ladinos*, meaning all those who no longer keep the Indian customs, or who never had them.)

Only the 15,000 workers on the United Fruit plantations had the beginnings of class consciousness, with a history of spontaneous strikes. In the cities, the largest concentration of workers was in UFCO's railroad and port installations. There were a small number of workers in the textile, food, and beer industries, but most of the urban masses were semiproletarian artisans and traders.

The "October Revolution" was not led by the working class, but by nationalist sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, it began a process of awakening among the toiling masses. Their mobilizations and demands were primarily responsible for the key social reforms of the period.

Urban workers and workers on the banana plantations and railroads built their organizations and fought for the implementation of the new labor code.

They formed the General Federation of Workers of Guatemala (CGTG), which came to have 500 affiliated unions with a total of 104,000 members, and the National Peasant Confederation of Guatemala, with more than 200,000 members. They carried out powerful strikes against the railroads and United Fruit.

Reactionary Plots

Arévalo's reforms unleashed reactionary plots—over twenty during his term in office—

accompanied by a carefully orchestrated anti-Guatemalan press campaign in the United States. The United Fruit Company took the lead in this campaign, which ranged from denunciations by the U.S. ambassador to scare articles in *Reader's Digest*.

The response of Guatemalans to the reforms and Washington's opposition to them was deepening nationalism—and class struggle.

In 1949, the right-wing opposition staged a military uprising against Arévalo. Students and organized workers took to the streets, forming a popular volunteer militia to defeat the reactionary insurgents, with arms distributed by the government.

With order reestablished, elections were again held in 1950, but not before Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas launched another coup attempt.

Jacobo Arbenz, a military officer loyal to the "October Revolution," was elected with the support of organized labor, peasants, the more radicalized sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, and the not-yet-legalized Communist Party.

When he took office in 1951, Arbenz clearly stated his objectives:

"... first, to convert [Guatemala] from a dependent nation with a semi-colonial economy to an economically independent country; second, to transform our nation from a backward nation with a predominantly feudal economy to a modern capitalist country; and third, to accomplish this transformation in a manner that brings the greatest possible elevation of the living standard of the great masses of the people."

New Forward Steps

But to carry out Arbenz's modest program, Guatemalans had to go much further in confronting the United Fruit Company and the landed oligarchy, left intact by Arévalo.

Arbenz tried. He promoted the construction of a government-run hydroelectric plant, a highway to the Atlantic, and an Atlantic port, projects aimed at breaking the foreign monopolies' control of energy, transportation, and exports.

In 1951, Arbenz legalized the Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT), as the Communist Party called itself. The PGT developed a strong base in the labor unions and peasant confederations.

Its program for Guatemala, like the program of other Communist parties for all the colonial countries, held that the workers and peasants had to support the capitalist class in creating a democratic republic on capitalist lines. The national bourgeoisie was to improve conditions for workers, give land to the peasants, and industrialize the country. At some future stage, the working class was to lead an advance toward socialism.

The development of the class struggle in Guatemala would soon prove that the PGT's views on the leading role of the "progressive" sector of the bourgeoisie in the Guatemalan revolution were dead wrong.

Agrarian Reform

In 1952, the Arbenz government passed the Agrarian Reform Law.

Approximately 100,000 peasant families received land, as well as credit and technical assistance from new state agencies. As rural social services were improved, the Indians for the first time since the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century became the beneficiaries of government policies.

The law expropriated idle lands, with compensation to former owners. The intention was "to develop capitalist methods of production in agriculture... and to prepare the path for Guatemala's industrialization." Unused lands were to be a major target of the reform. United Fruit had no more than 15 percent of its holdings under cultivation.

The agrarian reform polarized the country into supporters and opponents of the "October Revolution."

The United Fruit Company led the counterrevolutionary attack.

Increasingly the bourgeoisie moved into opposition—fearing both Washington's anger and the new-found confidence of the workers and farmers.

It was the beginning of a civil war which rages in Guatemala to this day.

The CIA Goes to War

In Washington and Wall Street in the 1950s, there was a bipartisan foreign policy consensus that it was necessary to "liberate" Guatemala.

To oust the Arbenz government, the U.S. sent to Central America a team of operatives made up of CIA agents, experts in covert anticommunist operations, and businessmen with a stake in Guatemala.

It selected Colonel Castillo Armas, who had been trained at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He had been plotting in Honduras ever since he escaped from jail in Guatemala City after his unsuccessful coup attempt in 1950. He was introduced to the CIA as a prospective "liberation leader" by a military aide to President Harry Truman.

The State Department organized an Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States in Caracas in March 1954. The first order of business was to approve in advance intervention in any Latin American country which Washington deemed to be "communist-dominated."

Exile Invasion

In May 1954, Washington found a pretext for open hostilities. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles dramatically proclaimed that Guatemala was the recipient of a "massive shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain."

The U.S. stepped up arms shipments to the Honduran dictatorship and to dictator Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. An army, composed of right wing Guatemalan exiles and mercenaries recruited in Honduras and Nicaragua and paid \$300 each a month, was trained under the direction of a "Colonel Rutherford." "Rutherford" was a CIA officer who had served in Korea. The training itself took place in Nicaragua on an estate owned by Somoza.

The U.S. press and Congress stepped up their anticommunist chorus, and the CIA increased its psychological warfare in Guatemala through "Radio Liberty" broadcasts.

On June 18, 1954, Castillo Armas invaded Guatemala with this mercenary force of some 200 men, while CIA planes flown by American pilots bombarded the capital and other cities. Militarily, the Castillo Armas invasion would have been a fiasco had it not been for the CIA's aerial operations.

In the United States, a few voices protested. Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, sent a message to John Foster Dulles, head of the State Department, which was printed in the June 28, 1954, *Militant*:

"In the name of the Socialist Workers Party I demand that you immediately halt your conspiracy to overthrow by force and violence the democratically elected government of Guatemala.

"I accuse you and the State Department of the attempted military overthrow of a sovereign state.

"I accuse you and the State Department of being directly responsible for the invasion of Guatemala by a gang of mercenaries in the interests of the United Fruit Company.

"I accuse you and the State Department of trying to put down the majority of the Guatemalan people by force, violence, invasion and lying propaganda.

"Halt this act of imperialist aggression! Get out of Guatemala! Call off your hired mercenaries! Let the people of Guatemala determine their own social, economic and political system!"

Masses Unarmed

One Guatemalan wrote of the response of the Guatemalan people to the mercenary invasion:

"At no time in our past history has there existed in the people a greater mass readiness to fight than in those moments when . . . the peasants, armed only with machetes, spontaneously kept watch on the highways, stood guard on the bridges, and captured enemy spies and agents. The workers and students organized themselves in volunteer brigades and . . . waited in vain to be given the weapons needed to defend the country and their revolution."

When the CIA-organized invasion took place, Arbenz ordered the army to distribute arms to the militias, and the chiefs of the army refused.

Among those who waited for the promised arms that never came was a twenty-six-year-old Argentine traveler who had been drawn to Guatemala by the revolution. His name was Ernesto Che Guevara.

According to Régis Debray and Guatemalan revolutionary Ricardo Ramírez, Che volunteered to fight in the popular militias when the U.S.



Top, Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, right-wing dictator installed by United States in 1954. Land distributed during agrarian reform was returned to United Fruit Company and landlords, wave of terror and repression began. Center, current puppet, President Romeo Lucas García. Bottom, women workers at Peabody's Arrow shirt factory in Guatemala City. Dozens of multinational firms benefit from superexploitation of Guatemalan workers.

stepped up its threats against Guatemala in 1954. He spent several days waiting for arms, along with a group of young members of the PGT. Impatiently, he would keep asking why the distribution of arms was continually being put off for the following day. His companions would repeat that he had to have faith in the Party and in the government.

Che would not forget this experience.

Arbenz Yields

Arbenz wavered and then resigned, turning the government over to three "loyal" military officers. U.S. Ambassador John Peurifoy refused to accept Arbenz's replacements, and insisted on the installation of Castillo Armas, the CIA's chosen "liberator." On July 3, 1954, Castillo Armas entered Guatemala City on Peurifoy's U.S. Embassy plane.

Arbenz had relied on his military colleagues rather than on the masses to protect the revolution. The government proved unable to defend the conquests of the masses in the face of the imperialist onslaught. It became demoralized by the lack of support from the military, and the prospect of deep-going civil war between contending social classes.

Counterrevolution in Power

Castillo Armas proceeded to liquidate the revolution. By conservative estimates, 9,000 political and labor leaders were jailed or tortured, the special targets being union organizers on UFCO's plantations, and Indian leaders. Scores of peasants were murdered. The U.S. Embassy provided lists of "communists" to be eliminated. Peasant and labor unions were disbanded. Social and economic measures that favored the workers and peasants were uprooted. The United Fruit Company got its land back.

Meanwhile, the U.S. ruling class and its servants at home, from the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to the *New York Times*, hailed the coup as a victory for democracy.

Cubans Learn

The followers of Salvador Allende in Chile did not learn the lessons of this experience. But the July 26th Movement in Cuba did.

From the time of the Granma landing in late 1956, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and the other central leaders were unwavering in their determination to abolish the old army and police, the institutions which in Guatemala had betrayed Arbenz and turned the country over to Castillo Armas and U.S. imperialism.

They recognized that this was the precondition for any real progressive revolution in Latin America.

As forces within the Cuban Rebel Army, led by Huber Matos, opposed deepening the revolution, the Castro leadership unhesitatingly armed the masses.

When the CIA launched the Bay of Pigs exile invasion, the entire Cuban people were armed and mobilized, determined not to permit "another Guatemala."

In 1960 Arbenz was in Cuba, where he had gone for refuge. There he heard Che explain the importance of the Guatemalan defeat:

"We should also like to extend a special greeting to Jacobo Arbenz, president of the first Latin American country which fearlessly raised its voice against colonialism; a country which, in a far-reaching and courageous agrarian reform, gave expression to the hopes of the peasant masses.

"We should also like to express our gratitude to him, and to the democracy which gave way, for the example they gave us and for the accurate estimate they enabled us to make of the weaknesses which that government was unable to overcome. This allows us to go to the root of the matter and to behead those who hold power and their lackeys at a single stroke."

Impact of Cuba

The experiences of the Guatemalan workers and peasants between 1944 and 1954, and the brutal U.S.-organized counterrevolution are vital to understanding the maturity of the Guatemalan revolution and its leadership today.

The other factor is Cuba.

In 1960, the Guatemalan dictatorship, headed at the time by Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes (Castillo Armas had been assassinated by one of his own followers), enthusiastically cooperated with Washington's plan for the invasion of Cuba. It gave

Continued on page ISR/9

By Nan Bailey

As a participant in the founding convention of the National Black Independent Political Party last November, I remember thinking at the time that the most influential Black leader at the convention wasn't even there in person. That was Malcolm X.

In their speeches to the convention, Ben Chavis quoted Malcolm on capitalism; James Turner urged that we learn from Malcolm's international outlook; Ron Daniels quoted him on fighting for Black freedom by any means necessary; and Malcolm's views were invoked on many other occasions. Books and pamphlets containing Malcolm's speeches were probably the most popular literature sold from several of the tables set up at the convention.

Hundreds of those who came to the convention to launch a Black political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans were conscious of following the leadership and example of Malcolm in taking this step.

Others took an interest in Malcolm as they learned from the speeches and corridor discussions that here was a Black leader who had come to the same political conclusions that they were reaching themselves.

Those who loved and respected Malcolm, who were educated by him during his lifetime, vowed at his death that his enemies could kill the man, but they would not silence his ideas. And the Black party convention was one of the many political confirmations, in the sixteen years since Malcolm was assassinated, that they were right.

Those who are determined today to fight racist attacks, imperialist war, and exploitation and oppression in all its forms have much to learn from the life and ideas of this great revolutionary.

Like so many who are radicalizing today, Malcolm was a product of capitalist exploitation and the racist oppression it breeds.

"I believe that it would be almost impossible to find anywhere in America a Black man who has lived further down in the mud of human society than I have; or a Black man who has been any more ignorant than I have been; or a Black man who has suffered more anguish during his life than I have," Malcolm wrote in his autobiography.

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925. His mother, Louise, was from Grenada. She was born as the result of her mother's rape by a white man there.

When Malcolm was six, his father was killed mysteriously. The family believed that he was lynched.

Odd Jobs, Prison

A high school dropout at fifteen, Malcolm took up odd jobs as a waiter, busboy, and shoeshine boy. Later, gambling, drugs, and pimping became his lifestyle.

In 1946 Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in prison for burglary. He was twenty years old.

There he taught himself to read and write. Malcolm had *eight years of education* in the Michigan public schools and he'd never learned to read and write! "For the first time, I could pick up a book and actually understand what the book was saying," he said of his one-man literacy campaign.

For the remainder of his seven years in prison, he spent all the time he could reading books from the prison library. He took part in the debates that were organized among the inmates and began to get experience as a speaker.

When Malcolm left prison on parole in 1952, he joined the Black Muslims, the organization known today as the World Community of Islam in the West. He was given the name Malcolm X.

The Muslims were a religious organization. What attracted Malcolm and many other young Blacks to them was their militancy and their emphasis on taking pride in being Black.

Malcolm's talents and devotion led to his being chosen as the first lieutenant of Elijah Muhammad. As a spokesperson for the Muslims, he became recognized as a gifted public speaker. In

Nan Bailey is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and a staff writer for the 'Militant.'

Malcolm X: Inspiration for Young Rebels Today



Left, Malcolm X on tour of Africa and Mideast in 1964. Right, Malcolm X as leader of Nation of Islam (BI 'Muhammad Speaks' was the Muslims' newspaper. Malcolm left the Muslims in 1964 due to its refusal to help struggle.

Philadelphia and New York Malcolm proved his capabilities as a leader and political organizer by recruiting hundreds to the organization.

But in 1964 he split from the Muslims.

Split with Muslims

Malcolm described the political differences that led to his split with the Muslims:

"The split came about primarily because they put me out, and they put me out because of my uncompromising approach to problems I thought should be solved and the movement could solve.

"I felt the movement was dragging its feet in many areas. It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by. All it did was stress the importance of moral reformation—don't drink, don't smoke, don't permit fornication and adultery. When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached, it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt.

"So the only way it could function and be meaningful in the community was to take part in the political and economic facets of the Negro struggle. And the organization wouldn't do that because the stand it would have to take would have been too militant, uncompromising, and activist, and the hierarchy had gotten conservative. It was motivated mainly by protecting its own self-interests."

Malcolm spent the last year of his life, from March 1964 when he left the Muslims to February 1965 when he was gunned down, developing his political ideas, and acting on them. He spent close to half of that year traveling in the Mideast, Africa, and Europe.

What were the political ideas he offered?

He said that Blacks would win their freedom

only by fighting for it. "You get your freedom by letting your enemy know you'll do anything to get your freedom; then you'll get it," Malcolm said.

Malcolm criticized conservative Black leaders who counseled tolerance and negotiation in the fight for Black rights.

"I say bluntly," Malcolm once said, "that you have had a generation of Africans who actually believed that you could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate and eventually get some kind of independence. But you're getting a new generation that has been growing right now, and they're beginning to think with their own minds and see that you can't negotiate up on freedom nowadays. If something is yours by right, then fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it."

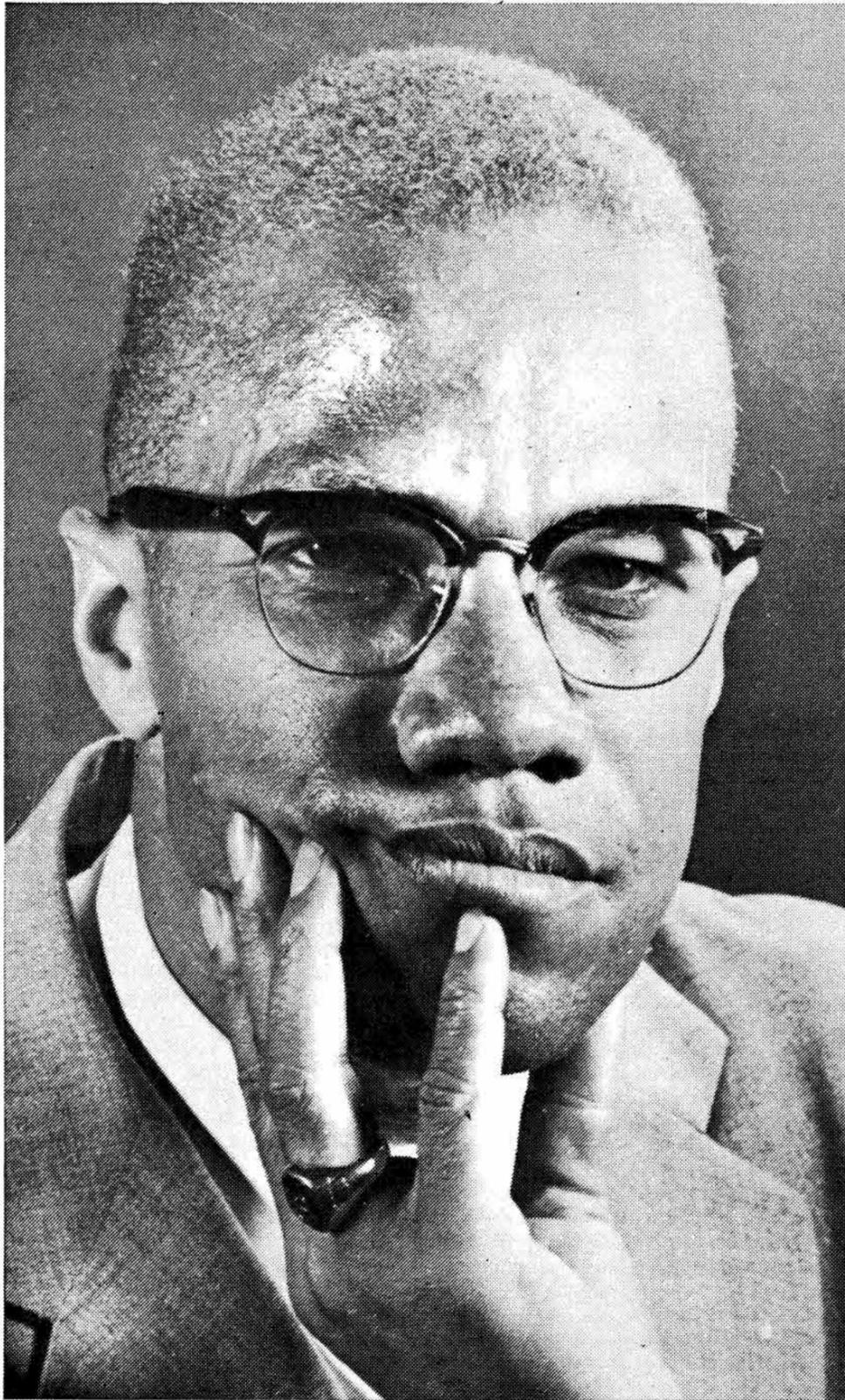
He told Black people that we must study our own history, that we should be proud of our heritage. His attitude instilled confidence in Blacks who listened and looked to him.

As Black actor Ossie Davis once put it, "Protocol and common sense require that Negroes stand back and let the white man speak up for us, defend us, and lead us from behind the scene in our fight. This is the essence of Negro politics.

"But Malcolm said to hell with that! Get up off your knees and fight your own battles. That's the way to win back your self-respect.

"You can imagine what a howling, shocking nuisance this man was to both Negroes and whites," Davis said. "Once Malcolm fastened on you, you could not escape. He was one of the most fascinating and charming men I have ever met, and never hesitated to take his attractiveness and beat you to death with it.

"Yet his irritation, though painful to us, was



Muslims).
size Black

most salutary. He would make you angry as hell, but he would also make you proud. It was impossible to remain defensive and apologetic about being a Negro in his presence. He wouldn't let you. And you always left his presence with the sneaky suspicion that maybe, after all, you were a man!"

Fox and Wolf

Malcolm exposed the Democratic and Republican parties' role in fostering and maintaining the oppression of Black people. He said it was a fatal political error to believe that those parties or the U.S. government would free Black people.

"The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return," he said. "The Negroes put the Democrats first, and the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use—they blame the Dixiecrats. But a Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. . . . Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border."

He would describe how the two-party con game worked. He said of the "choices" in the 1964 presidential election, for example:

"Johnson and Goldwater . . . as far as the American Black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. . . . They both will eat him."

Malcolm explained that Blacks should look at the federal government as "the government," not "our government." The government is responsible for maintaining racism, Malcolm said. The same government is responsible for the murder and rape of our brothers and sisters in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, he said. He explained that the present governmental setup

and the system it is based on is a fundamental part of the problem that Black people face.

Malcolm practiced his understanding of the need for Black unity and independent political action in the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), the organization he was trying to build at the time of his murder.

"We should reserve political action for the situation at hand, in no way identifying with either political party (the Democrats or Republicans) or selling ourselves to either party. We should take political action for the good of human beings; that will eliminate the injustices," he said, explaining the perspective of the OAAU on the political front.

In Malcolm's view, Black unity was an essential first step to progress in the fight for Black liberation. This conception was embodied in the perspectives of the OAAU. Every Black person who agreed on the need to fight for Black freedom was welcome in the organization. This kind of unity, regardless of political or religious differences, was what Malcolm advocated and promoted.

Malcolm explained that Black people must decide the strategy and tactics for the Black struggle. And that Blacks must choose their own leaders. It's on this basis, Malcolm said, that Blacks can make alliances with others from a position of strength.

These ideas reflected Malcolm's concept of Black nationalism: Black control over the lives and destinies of Black people.

Malcolm rejected the concept of "turning the other cheek" in the face of racist attacks and physical intimidation. He sharply disagreed with those civil rights leaders who advocated "nonviolence" in the face of such attacks.

In a passage that sounds like it could have been written today, a section of the program adopted by the OAAU stated a firm position on the question of self-defense:

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity, being aware of the increased violence being visited upon the Afro-American and of the open sanction of this violence and murder by the police departments throughout this country and the federal agencies—do affirm our right and obligation to defend ourselves in order to survive as a people. . . .

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will take those private steps that are necessary to insure the survival of the Afro-American people in the face of racist aggression and the defense of our women and children. . . .

"In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, the Organization of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done—whatever the price and by any means necessary."

Malcolm suggested that Blacks organize rifle clubs where they were threatened by racist violence.

Evolution in Thinking

The last year of Malcolm's life marked a deep evolution in his thinking on the question of race and the roots of racism.

As a Muslim, Malcolm had pointed to the white race of "blue-eyed devils" as the source of the problem. He advocated separatism—that is, the establishment of a separate Black state—as the only solution to racism.

But while Malcolm remained a Black nationalist until the day he died, his thinking on some of these questions changed. The changes were largely influenced by his travels and discussions with revolutionaries in other parts of the world.

In January 1965, one month before his assassination, Malcolm explained what he then thought were the causes of racism. "Ignorance and greed," he said. "And a skillfully designed program of miseducation that goes right along with the American system of exploitation and oppression."

Even before 1965, as he rethought who were the real enemies and potential allies of Black people, he said:

"We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the type of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that Black people in this country are afflicted by. No matter what their color is, no matter what their political, economic, or social philosophy is, as long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturous system that has been sucking the blood of Black people in this country, they're all right with us."

Malcolm clearly stated his abandonment of advocating separatism as the only solution to Black oppression when he answered an interviewer's question, "But you no longer believe in a Black state?" with, "No, I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings on the basis of equality."

It was Malcolm's uncompromising attitude in his fight for Black freedom by any means necessary that led him to reach new conclusions based on a further investigation of the roots of racism.

Capitalism & Racism

The same uncompromising attitude led him to challenge the capitalist system as the enemy of Black people and all of the exploited and oppressed on this planet.

He pointed out that capitalism and racism are intertwined and suggested where the solution might lie:

"Almost every one of the countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident," he said. "This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America—who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education—before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated, into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better education and better food and better clothing."

Malcolm was a revolutionary internationalist. There is no doubt where he would stand on U.S. government attempts today to reinstitute

the draft or on imperialist war threats against the peoples of Iran, El Salvador, and Cuba. He denounced the U.S. role in Vietnam and Africa. He exposed U.S. complicity with the murder of African freedom fighter Patrice Lumumba in the Congo.

Malcolm explained why an internationalist outlook is important. First, he explained that it was the source of confidence for Black people in their liberation struggle in this country.

He pointed out that the nonwhite peoples of the world make up the majority. That among them and other revolutionaries, Blacks in this country would find inspiration and allies.

the worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation.

He said, "We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . ."

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Malcolm's leadership qualities stand in stark contrast to those of the misleaders of the Black

revolutionary put it best in a speech he gave commemorating Malcolm. He described this quality as "his ability to translate the complicated and important ideas which he developed and absorbed into the language of those he knew would change the world."

In the OAAU, Malcolm was trying to build something never attempted before: a militant, democratically organized Black organization with a collective leadership. He understood this kind of organization was what was needed to build a mass Black liberation movement.

He was about to speak on the perspectives of the OAAU in Harlem on February 21, 1965, when three gunmen pumped sixteen bullets into his body.

Behind Assassination

Who killed Malcolm? The question remains unanswered.

We do know that the government feared and despised him. The FBI spied on him, the big-business media slandered him, and FBI files point to government complicity in his murder.

As the cops and government continue to cover up the truth about his murder, Malcolm's supporters have pressed for a thorough investigation of his assassination.

Millions of working people of all colors today would agree with Malcolm's thinking on the role of the U.S. government and of the Democratic and Republican parties in fostering oppression and exploitation.

Millions agree with him that Black pride and consciousness are the beginning of Black liberation. That freedom must be fought for to be won. That among white and brown workers in this country Black people can find allies in the fight against racist oppression and economic exploitation. That the exploited and oppressed in this country have more in common with the workers and farmers of exploited countries around the world than we do with the U.S. government and the big-business interests behind it.

Young Workers Today

In showing the way forward for Black Americans, Malcolm set an example for workers of all colors, who have a stake in fighting the oppression and exploitation of U.S. capitalism.

Some recognized this example while Malcolm was alive. Many other young militants, Black and white, are discovering it today.

There is no more fitting way to commemorate Malcolm than to study his ideas and to share them with the young Malcolms in the unions and the Black community who are stepping forward today to lead the fight for a better society.



Malcolm speaks in Harlem

The Black person whose scope is limited to the United States, said Malcolm, feels "he is the underdog, and in his struggle he always uses an approach that is a begging, hat-in-hand, compromising approach."

But the Black person with an international outlook, said Malcolm, "uses a different approach in trying to struggle for his rights. He doesn't beg. He doesn't thank you for what you give him, because you are only giving him what he should have had a hundred years ago. He doesn't think you are doing him any favors."

Worldwide Struggle

And Malcolm pointed out how the fight for Black liberation in the U.S. is part and parcel of

and labor movements today.

His starting point was that of a victim of capitalism, committed to fighting oppression and exploitation "by any means necessary."

He cut through the lies and illusions that are fostered by the government and the big-business media and told the truth about the social and political relations in American society.

He was always questioning, studying. Intellectual courage is one mark of a great political leader. Malcolm showed this in his openness to changing or amending his own thinking if he was convinced that a new political idea was in the best interest of the struggle.

He was able to communicate to the masses of Blacks in a special way. I think one young

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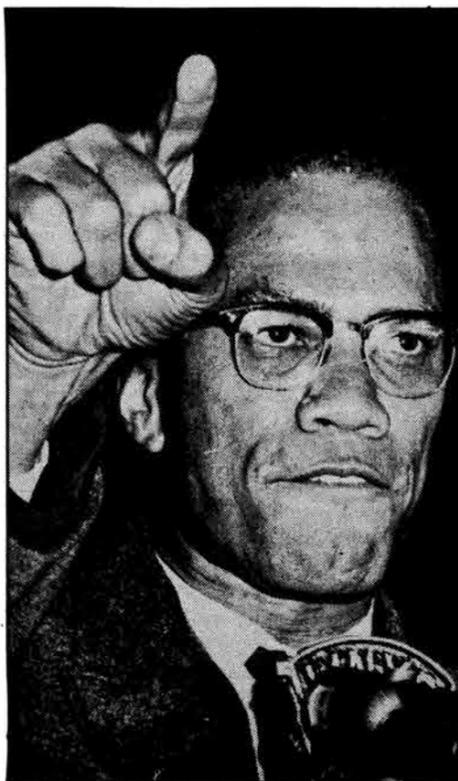
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the CIA free use of Guatemalan territory to train the Bay of Pigs invasion force, led nominally by Cuban *gusanos* but politically by President John F. Kennedy.

The counterrevolutionary adventure provoked massive protests within Guatemala by workers and students.

These protests, together with the growing overt corruption of the Ydigoras regime, led a small group of young army officers to rebel against the government on November 13, 1960. Their uprising met with little success. It had a limited political program, calling for an end to corruption and the restoration of the reforms carried out under Arévalo and Arbenz.

But some of the leaders of the revolt took to the mountains and went through a process of radicalization which would enable them, from 1963 to 1966, to lead an armed struggle which began to gain mass support. The most prominent leaders were Luis Turcios Lima, Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, and César Montes.

Looking to Cuba—a number of the guerrilla leaders traveled there in the mid-1960's—these Guatemalan revolutionaries agreed that armed struggle was the only way of waging the fight against the misery and oppression of the vast majority of Guatemalans.

Guatemala had provided the Cubans with valuable lessons as to the limitations of a democratic revolution which stopped half-way. Cuba now offered Guatemalans the example of the first successful socialist revolution in the Americas.

An important section of the Guatemalan revolutionary leadership assimilated the lessons of the Arévalo/Arbenz period. They saw it as the failure of a bourgeois democratic revolution with neither the capacity nor the desire to defend itself. They concluded that what was needed was an armed struggle aimed at developing an independent mass workers and peasants movement. They were convinced that to fight against imperialism in Latin America meant to fight for socialism.

Mass Slaughter

Washington responded with a brutal counterinsurgency campaign in the middle and late 1960s.

Under the guidance of U.S. Ambassador J. Gordon Mein, the Guatemalan army occupied villages and executed peasant leaders. Tactics developed in Vietnam, including the designation of "target areas for bombing" and the use of U.S. Special Forces (Green Berets) as "advisers" to the Guatemalan security forces, were rapidly implemented.

Entire villages were obliterated by bombing and napalm. U.S. Air Force planes based in Panama participated in these operations.

It was in this period that the infamous death squads appeared in Guatemala.

In 1967, the Guatemalan Committee in Defense of Human Rights prepared a document entitled *Violence in Guatemala*, to be presented to the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and world public opinion. In it they wrote:

"The U.S. Embassy suggested that the Army not be the one in charge of carrying out massacres of honest and patriotic citizens, but rather that this task be entrusted to civilian groups. . . ."

This suggestion gave rise to the infamous terrorist organizations MANO Blanca (White Organized Nationalist Action Movement) and NOA (New Anticommunist Organization). Outfits like these have been responsible for thousands of deaths and "disappearances" in Guatemala.

Guatemala became in the 1960s the laboratory for the use of paramilitary terror as a counterinsurgency tactic. It would be employed later in countries like Argentina and Brazil, and is today being employed in El Salvador.

The guerrilla movement of the 1960s was crushed, Turcios Lima and Yon Sosa killed. But it was not gone forever. The surviving cadre and the masses assimilated lessons, and the movement would soon reappear—stronger and with even greater political clarity.

Common Market

Along with barbaric repression, the United States tried to promote economic development in Central America without altering the basic conditions of oppression of the toiling masses.

The imperialists encouraged regional economic integration and the growth of some local industries, and stimulated the transfer of capital from



Mural by Mexican artist Diego Rivera depicts Castillo Armas shaking hands with John Foster Dulles, while U.S. Ambassador John Peurifoy looks on. Beneath them are bodies of dead Guatemalans. Mural is entitled 'The Glorious Victory.'

the increasingly outmoded agricultural sector to industrial production.

The Central American Common Market, controlled by the United States, was the main instrument of this policy.

The actual result, however, was the development of new forms of dependency, and the creation of a small group—sometimes coinciding with the old oligarchy, sometimes not—who benefited.

But it also led to the growth of an industrial working class.

By the mid-1970s, seventy-seven top U.S. corporations on the "Fortune Five Hundred" list had their tentacles in Guatemalan manufacturing, food processing, synthetics, construction, tourism, and finances. Exxon, Gulf Oil, Standard Oil of California, and Texaco all have operations in Guatemala, as do the Bank of America, Firestone, Goodyear, U.S. Steel, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, and the Hanna Mining Company.

Guatemala today is still primarily an agrarian country, and the land question is paramount. Official statistics show that 2 percent of Guatemala's 7.2 million people own 70 percent of the cultivable land. Some 200,000 peasant families own no land at all. Some 500,000 Indian families are still forced to work under a debt peonage system tantamount to slavery.

Miserable Living Standard

Nor has economic development meant an improvement in the standard of living for the people. Guatemala is first in Latin America in child mortality rates, second in infant mortality, second in infectious and parasitic diseases, and second in deaths from tuberculosis. Life expectancy at birth is shorter than anywhere in the Americas except Haiti and Bolivia. Seventy-five percent of Guatemalan children under five years old suffer from malnutrition.

Repression remains the method employed to keep the people in misery.

On May 29, 1978, at Panzós, in the Department of Alta Verapaz, the Guatemalan Army fired on a demonstration of Kekchí Indian peasants, in what became known as the Panzós Massacre. More than 100 men, women, and children were murdered by the army for the crime of claiming

the right to have land.

The assassins were defending the interests of foreign oil cartels—for there is oil in Guatemala and a pipeline runs right through Kekchí lands.

Also behind the Panzós Massacre were U.S. and Canadian mining interests. Alta Verapaz is the center of the nickel mining district in Guatemala. Companies like INCO and the Hanna Mining Company believe the Kekchís are in the way of their access to that strategic mineral required by the imperialist war machine.

On January 31, 1980, the Guatemalan police and military stormed the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City, murdering more than thirty people with flame-throwers. Most of the dead were peasants from El Quiché Province, who had occupied the embassy to protest repression and the disappearance of peasant leaders. The Spanish Ambassador, who survived, denounced the security forces.

Revival of Struggle

But today, after each blow by the repressive forces, the Guatemalan masses respond by broadening the struggle against the regime. Leaders are killed almost every day, but new ones step forward from the ranks of the working class and the oppressed. Terror has failed to stop them.

A workers' and peasants' alliance is being forged by revolutionary mass organizations of the Guatemalan toilers: the National Trade Union Unity Committee (CNUS) and the Peasant Unity Committee (CUC).

In 1976 virtually the entire Guatemalan trade union movement, which had managed to rebuild itself after near annihilation in 1954, came together to form the CNUS. A determining event in its formation was a militant strike for union recognition by Coca-Cola workers which began in Guatemala City and won broad labor solidarity in Guatemala and internationally.

Israel Márquez, a Coca-Cola workers union leader who was forced to flee Guatemala because of threats against his life, told the Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* in an interview in February of 1980:

"There was a great deal of mobilization by the workers. We occupied the factory. We were fired, the police threw us out, there were many



Cartoon by Laura Gray on U.S. threats to Guatemala. Appeared in June 1954 'Militant.'

wounded. We then surrounded the factory, and we didn't let it operate."

Solidarity actions spread throughout the country and the different union federations discussed what to do. These discussions led to the formation of the CNUS.

(Finally, in July of 1980, under pressure from the workers' struggle and an international boycott organized by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association, Coca-Cola agreed to recognize the union and remove their manager in Guatemala, who had been accused by U.S. Congressman Don Pease of Ohio of "orchestrating . . . an unmercifully ruthless campaign of intimidation and terror" against the Guatemalan workers. Half a dozen Coca-Cola workers leaders were murdered as part of this campaign, but the workers resisted and won out against the bosses' violence.)

The CUC, founded in 1978, has grown to become the largest mass revolutionary organization in the country. It is also a member organization of the CNUS.

In February and March of 1980, the CUC organized a mass general strike on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. The agricultural workers and farmers occupied sugar mills, blocked roads, paralyzed production, and organized workers' defense guards against the government forces and the landlords' private armies. They also organized a strong solidarity movement all over the country among workers, peasants, and Indians.

When they finally won important wage concessions, the CUC declared that they would remain mobilized to continue to press forward their demands.

Mass Organizations

The leaders of the CNUS have studied the lessons of the 1954 CIA coup. They point to the primary reasons for the defeat of the Guatemalan revolution of 1944-54: the lack of a clear working class leadership, the misplaced faith in the bourgeois state and particularly the "democratic" armed forces, and the incorrect policy of class collaborationist alliances followed by the leaders of the workers movement at the time.

The main lesson that the CNUS has drawn from the 1954 defeat is that only the Guatemalan working class can liberate Guatemala from imperialist domination and exploitation—and that the working class must pay a great deal of attention to the development of its revolutionary leadership.

In 1979, the CNUS and the CUC led in the

formation of the Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR).

The FDCR includes hundreds of labor, peasant, student, shantytown-dweller, journalist, professional, religious, and cultural organizations. It also includes two bourgeois political groupings that have been special targets of the paramilitary death squads, the Revolutionary United Front (FUR) and the Social Democratic Party (PSD). The top leaders of both these parties—Manuel Colom Argueta and Alberto Fuentes Mohr—were both gunned down in 1979.

But as one Social Democrat pointed out in March of last year, the FDCR's "leaders are no longer university students and intellectuals; they're now workers and peasants. That's why the Government is making a mistake in killing the politicians. We don't control the mass movement" (*New York Times*, March 23, 1980).

A Guatemalan revolutionary leader described the FDCR's role this way:

"The FDCR is a very important factor in the process. . . . It is a factor that makes it possible to bring together all the popular and democratic forces that are struggling in the country. Note that what is involved is an organization of struggle—the very name says so. . . . And of course the Front has no legal status nor head-



quarters, but the Front mobilizes, the Front exists, the Front fights the repression—the Front is revolutionary. [Interview in the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, March 21, 1980, pp. 67-68.]

The FDCR, as well as the entire Guatemalan revolutionary movement, has been inspired by the Sandinista revolution and the struggle in El Salvador. At each key stage of the struggle against Somoza in Nicaragua, the FDCR organized important mass mobilizations in Guatemala, publicly warning the Guatemalan dictatorship, currently headed by General Romeo Lucas García, not to intervene directly in Nicaragua. Barricades were thrown up in the streets, strikes and demonstrations were called, all explicitly aimed at tying the hands of the U.S. imperialists' Guatemalan puppets. And the FDCR has been carrying out similar actions in solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

Four political-military organizations lead the mass movement today. They recognize that in Guatemala, armed struggle in conjunction with the mass movement of the toilers is the only road for the oppressed to take power and win freedom.

They are the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), and the Leadership Nucleus of the Guatemalan Workers Party (a split from the reformist PGT). Reportedly, the leader of the EGP is César Montes.

Indians Revolt

These revolutionary organizations are winning large numbers of recruits from the ranks of Guatemala's most oppressed—the Indian population, which is the majority.

Last year, a Guatemalan businessman told *New York Times* reporter Alan Riding, "No one has ever been able to organize the Indians, but if anyone should, God save us."

The words "massacre," "machine-gunning," and "bombing" have no translation in any of the twenty-three Indian languages spoken in Guatemala—although the Indians are very familiar with such events. But recently in an interview on Mexican television, a young Quiche Indian declared:

"In the face of the troops Lucas sends to destroy us, we have our own words—organization, self-defense."

She is a member of the CUC, as were several other Indian women who appeared on the television interview. Such people are now exploding the myths about the passivity and submissiveness of Guatemalan Indians.

On October 20, 1980, the anniversary of the "October Revolution," twenty-five explosions went off simultaneously all over Guatemala City, flinging hundreds of leaflets into the air. The leaflets announced the formation of a unified command of the EGP, the FAR, the ORPA, and the Leadership Nucleus of the PGT. It called on the people to move ahead in the struggle "to overthrow the criminal government of Romeo Lucas García."

The revolutionary organizations called for the masses to fight back against the government's and the bosses' repression "with organized and intelligent self-defense," to "join the Popular Revolutionary War . . . led by our four revolutionary organizations, to deal new and better blows to the murderous army," and to "actively support the victorious struggle of our brothers and sisters in El Salvador and follow their combative example."

Since then, there has been an intensification of armed struggle in Guatemala. There are reports that many more Indian peasants are joining the guerrilla organizations.

No U.S. Intervention

The cry of "communist menace" in Guatemala is intended to prepare the people of the United States for more U.S. intervention in Central America, including possible use of U.S. troops.

But times have changed. One American official is reported to have said recently, "What we'd give to have an Arbenz now."

Working people in the United States also have a stake in the Guatemalan people's fight against misery, oppression, murder, and exploitation. Like the workers and peasants in El Salvador, they are raising the banner of freedom for all of us against the Wall Street billionaires.

The struggle of the people of Guatemala should become a call to action for millions of working people in the United States to oppose a new Vietnam in Central America.

Leon Trotsky and Wilhelm Reich: Five Letters



Top, Leon Trotsky, left, with Natalia Sedova. Right, Wilhelm Reich.

Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957), an Austrian psychoanalyst and a pupil of Sigmund Freud, came to believe that Freud weakened his theories and work by overlooking or excluding social factors producing or conditioning emotional and mental problems. While still in his twenties, Reich concluded that neuroses and other maladies treated by psychoanalysts were, at bottom, social problems, requiring social as well as individual treatment. He became a Marxist, joining the Austrian Social Democratic Party in 1927. Thus began his effort, which lasted for almost a decade, to fuse Marxism and Freudianism, or those of their features that he considered positive.

Three years later, in 1930, he moved to Berlin and joined the German Communist Party (KPD), becoming its principal activist in the various sexual liberation movements that thrived in Germany before Hitler came to power. Although he helped to bring together a fairly large Sex-Pol (sexual politics) tendency that supported the KPD politically, the KPD leaders found themselves increasingly dissatisfied with and embarrassed by his work and writings about sexual freedom. He was expelled from the KPD in February 1933, at approximately the same time that the Nazis took over Germany and crushed all labor and radical movements. Reich fled to Denmark, later moving to Sweden and Norway. It was from Copenhagen, in October 1933, that he first wrote to Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky (1879-1940) was living in France at this time. For ten years he had led the Left Opposition, which stood for a return to Leninism in the Communist International (Comintern) and its affiliated parties. For doing this, Trotsky was deported to Turkey in 1929 by the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy that had usurped political power in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death. Two months before Reich's letter, Trotsky and the Left Opposition had decided that the degeneration of the Comintern and its parties had gone so far that they could not be reformed along Leninist lines and that a new, Fourth International had to be built.

Reich's first letter to Trotsky introduced himself and his ideas. Trotsky expressed interest in learning more about these ideas, on which he did not have enough information to pass judgment. Reich's second letter, two years later, asked for a

meeting with Trotsky to discuss sexual politics and the Soviet Union. This was written on the Sex-Pol Organization's stationery, bearing a Copenhagen address, but Reich was in Oslo, Norway, at the time. Trotsky was then also in Norway, at Honefoss, not far from Oslo. He had been expelled by the French government and allowed to move to Norway by its Labor government. He replied in his second letter that he was about to be hospitalized (as it turned out, for six weeks) but would arrange to see Reich after he got out.

The Trotsky archives at Harvard University do not contain any other letter to, from or about Reich and the proposed meeting. But the two did meet, some time between October 1935, when Trotsky left the hospital in Oslo, and April 1936, when a participant in the Reich-Trotsky discussion happened to mention it briefly in a letter to an American comrade.

The author of this letter was Walter Held, a pseudonym of Heinz Epe (1910-41). Held was, like Reich, a German refugee from Nazism. Despite his youth, he was a veteran of the Left Opposition, and international youth secretary of the movement for the Fourth International in the mid-thirties. He had met Albert Glotzer (born 1908), a founder of the American Left Opposition, at an international youth conference in Holland and Belgium in 1934, and conducted a friendly correspondence with him in the following years.

From Held's letter it appears that instead of being centered on Reich's views about sexual politics in general or in the abstract, the discussion revolved around his views as they were concretized in his efforts to explain the degeneration of the Soviet Union after Lenin. Trotsky was writing a book about this very subject when he met with Reich.

According to Bertell Ollman, a generally admiring commentator, "From about 1935 on . . . Reich's interest in politics was gradually giving way to a growing interest in biology, spurred by the belief that he had discovered the physical basis of sexual energy (libido). From being a psychoanalyst and Marxist social philosopher, Reich became a natural scientist, a metamorphosis that was to have drastic effects on both his psychoanalysis and social philosophy. Reich emigrated to America in 1939. Each year added to his spiritual distance from Marx and Freud"

(Introduction, *Sex-Pol; Essays, 1929-1934*, Vintage Books, 1972).

Reich claimed to have invented an "orgone box," which he said would restore sexual energy, and thus cure cancer and other physical or emotional ills. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration called it a fraud, and prosecuted Reich for violating the Food and Drug Act.

Convicted on this charge and for contempt of court, he was given a two-year sentence in a federal penitentiary, where he died in 1957.

In the 1960s his ideas became popular in some intellectual and New Left circles, and most of his books were translated and published. But most of these were revised editions, reflecting his disillusionment with Marxism; the above-cited *Sex-Pol* is an exception, presenting what he wrote when he was still trying to fuse Marx and Freud.

Trotsky was expelled from Norway at the end of 1936, and moved to Mexico where he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in 1940.

Held was elected to the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International at its emergency conference in New York in May 1940. After Hitler's army invaded Norway, he entered the Soviet Union in an effort to escape with his family to the United States. Stalin's secret police apprehended him en route and executed him.

Glotzer left the Socialist Workers Party as part of a minority faction that split in 1940. He later became a social democrat.

These five letters were translated from the German by Duncan Williams. The letters by Reich and Trotsky are printed by permission of the Houghton Library at Harvard University, and permission to publish the Held letter was granted by Albert Glotzer.

* * *

Wilhelm Reich to Leon Trotsky

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

I am turning to you in the belief that the following information could be of considerable use to the entire revolutionary movement today. I am a psychoanalyst (a doctor and a student of Freud) and beginning in 1931 I organized the Communist sexual-political movement in Germany. There were roughly eighty sexual-political organizations in Germany, of the most varied types—most of them led by reformists with incorrect, unclear sexual-political ideas—with about 300,000 members in all, most of whom weren't in the party, and were quite often Christians or Nationalists. In western Germany the first wave of revolutionary consolidation resulted in a unified organization of about 40,000 members. I waged a sharp two-year struggle against the party bureaucracy for the development of a political line based on the miserable sexual condition of the masses, to be integrated into the general class struggle; they counterposed the sexual question to the social, instead of integrating them, and sought "to mobilize the masses" with economic slogans, to the exclusion of sexual-political ones—this caused the movement to falter. I was removed from the national leadership and the movement retreated. I have recently heard that the bureaucracy has now been defeated and the struggle continues on the basis of my platform. I am now trying to gather forces on an international scale and, above all, to establish theoretical clarity. Many sources of error can be avoided by a certain amount of self-criticism, but practical experience leaves no doubt that mass mobilization, especially on the cultural-political front, has a powerful lever in sexual-politics, which affects in the first place the unpolitical or passive masses.

The Communist Party, as an economic-political organization, cannot carry out sexual-political work; for this a separate mass organization is necessary, but, in turn, this organization cannot come to full development without being affiliated to a political party. I ask you now to tell me what you think of collaboration. For this, of course, it would be necessary for the leadership of the political organization to be thoroughly familiar with the basic problems of sexual politics and, in the case of basic agreement, to support the organization. I believe that you have a greater understanding than most people of the significance of sexual politics for the class struggle. I base this belief on the conclusion of your speech in Copenhagen and your writings *Problems of Everyday Life*, I think in 1924, in which you printed, with complete understanding, the

functionaries' questions in this field, in an appendix.¹ I may add, without proving it here, that the retreat of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union is tightly bound up with the fact that the sexual revolution was stifled in 1923 and did not freely develop further. I hope soon to be able to present this important question thoroughly; for now, I refer you to the conditions portrayed in the *Neue Weltbühne*,² which indicated a rebellion of the literary consumers in the Soviet Union—for the time being it is admittedly a backward-looking one (return to the classics).

I am now publishing a book on the sexual economy of political reaction and the basic tasks of proletarian sexual politics, which I will have sent to you right away. I would like your opinion, and if we have basic agreement, your political and organizational help as well as continued contact in our work. A short time ago I gave a representative [of your movement] two texts for you, one concerning the youth question and one the history of sexual economy.

On purely political grounds I am convinced of the basic correctness of your views and follow the work of the LO [Left Opposition] attentively.³ Although I personally believe less and less in the possibility of a resurrection of the [German] Communist Party, I haven't been able to clarify completely for myself the question of the founding of a new party.⁴ I am still a member of the KPD, but I am in strongest opposition and the only reason I haven't been expelled is because first of all they have no one competent to criticize my sexual-political theory and second because my influence is too great. The matter will resolve itself soon. If I should be expelled, or find myself unable as a member to share responsibility for the policy of the Comintern as well as the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and leave on my own, then there would remain only the possibility of working for a time outside of a party and waiting for a new party connection. Since my work, in its theoretical as well as practical aspect, concerns a new field of the revolutionary front, which has been left fallow until now, I have to maintain my self-reliance, without wanting to be a guerrilla, until the revolutionary party is in thorough agreement. The further questions don't need to be decided yet, except whether closer contact is desired and possible.

With best revolutionary greetings
Wilhelm Reich

1. Trotsky's speech in Copenhagen in November 1932 was sponsored by a socialist student group. Under the title "In Defense of the Russian Revolution" it is reprinted in *Leon Trotsky Speaks* (Pathfinder Press, 1972). Trotsky referred favorably to psychoanalysis and Freud near the end of his talk. *Problems of Everyday Life* was originally a pamphlet published in the Soviet Union in 1923, containing several articles by Trotsky about Soviet cultural problems, together with an appendix containing questions by Trotsky and answers by twenty-five Moscow unionists and party functionaries about the Soviet workers' moods and opinions, including their attitudes toward changes in family life following the 1917 revolution. The questions by Trotsky were translated in *Intercontinental Press*, October 9, 1978. The appendix was omitted when Trotsky incorporated the pamphlet into a book and does not appear in *Problems of Everyday Life and Other Writings on Culture and Science* (Monad Press, 1973); it does contain his article "From the Old Family to the New," which was based on the material in the appendix.

2. *Die Weltbühne* (The World Stage) was a radical German magazine suppressed when the Nazis came to power in 1933. Its successor, *Die neue Weltbühne*, was published abroad and printed several articles by Trotsky that year.

3. In the spring of 1933 the Left Opposition had concluded that the KPD's failure to put up a fight against Hitlerism proved that it was bankrupt as a revolutionary force and therefore had to be replaced by a new revolutionary party in Germany. In the summer of 1933 the Left Opposition went further and said that the Comintern's continued endorsement of the policy that helped Hitler to take power proved the need for a new, revolutionary International. In October 1933 Reich was still uncertain about the bankruptcy of the KPD, and in June 1934, in his essay "What is Class-Consciousness?" he aligned his Sex-Pol movement with those who criticized calls for the Fourth International as premature. So he was and remained quite a distance politically from Trotsky.

4. It is possible, in the chaos of 1933, that in October, Reich still did not know he had been expelled from the KPD in February; or perhaps he thought that because the expulsion was being contested by his supporters it was not yet final or in full effect.

Leon Trotsky to Wilhelm Reich

Dear Comrade Reich:

I am answering your letter of October 1933 with such a great delay because I was on a month's "leave" for medical reasons. Also, I have not yet had the opportunity to look through the book *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, which you so kindly sent to me. In any case, I never received the two texts on the youth question and on the history of sexual economy.

I must confess that in general I am pretty ignorant in your field and have never concerned myself with the standpoint that you have brought to the fore. By that I mean to characterize only myself, and by no means the field you are involved with. Of course, I do not ignore the general importance of sexual problems in the education of working class youth and I would like to get better acquainted with your views, experiences, and plans in this field.

Therefore I need not tell you that the "close contact" proposed by you seems most desirable to me, and I hope that it will not remain only on a personal level.

With best thanks and greetings.

Wilhelm Reich to Leon Trotsky

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

Understandably, the complicated question of cultural development in the Soviet Union is being ardently discussed among our specialists as well as our comrades. The Sexual-Political Organization (Sex-Pol) has sought to bring together the problems in question in a short book. As many reasons speak for its immediate publication as speak against it. We would be very grateful to you if you would tell us your opinion on some of these questions and positions. I think it would be advantageous if we could at least talk over these things.

I ask you to tell me if this seems interesting and important enough to you to discuss it. If so, then please name a time. A late Sunday afternoon would be best for me, since the weekdays are mostly taken up. But I would naturally make myself available on a weekday afternoon or evening if a Sunday is out of the question.

With revolutionary greetings
Wilhelm Reich

Leon Trotsky to Wilhelm Reich

Dear Comrade Reich:

I am on my way to medical treatment whose length can't be predicted. I will be very happy to get together with you, although—I must say in advance—my competence in your interesting field is very limited. As soon as I know for sure, I will get word to you.

With best greetings

Walter Held to Albert Glotzer

Dear Albert,

... On other matters: a few weeks ago I sat in on an extremely interesting discussion between LD [Trotsky] and the radical psychoanalyst Wilhelm

Reich. He is seeking to "broaden" Marxist sociology, that is, in fact, to replace it with a "mass psychology" sociology. Reich heads a school, which developed from Freud and became acquainted with Marxism; but now, instead of developing a materialist psychology out of the dialectical materialist elements to be found in psychoanalysis, it seeks to apply psychoanalytical laws to sociology and in so doing oversteps its bounds. In their practical conclusions these "sexual politicians" want to lead the class struggle in the first place on the field of sexuality, against sexual oppression in the family, etc.

Now Reich has written a pamphlet on the Soviet Union, in which he uses the reactionary elements of the psychological "mass structure" to explain the cultural reaction there (by which he basically explains nothing at all).⁵ LD gave him a wonderful lesson in dialectical materialist thought, in which he showed that the revolutionization of sexual and family life in the years 1917-21 came about on the basis of war communism,⁶ that no attention was paid to the "material basis" for marriage and child rearing because no material basis of any kind was available. Only when production began to pick up a bit (1921-23), when goods came back on the market, only then did people's appetites grow. Since there weren't enough goods to meet everyone's needs, the struggle for goods began.

At the same time the state was forced to counter propagandistically the revolutionary sexual life of war communism, since it was not in a position to take over child rearing, etc. (the result was the children without parents). Since the revolutionary sexual life in the years of war communism did not come about on the basis of production superior to that of capitalism, but rather, in fact, on the basis of nothing, after the dissipation of revolutionary élan petty bourgeois appetites were awakened in some layers (intellectuals, kulaks [rich peasants—ISR], NEP bourgeoisie) more strongly than in others.⁷ The Stalin bureaucracy based itself on these layers, in that it made certain promises to them, and these layers supported the Stalin bureaucracy, in that they conceded to it a certain broker's fee.

LD has written a new foreword to his *History of the Russian Revolution*, which has developed into a whole book to be published first in America.⁸ It ends with the necessity of a new political, not social, revolution in the USSR (a type of July revolution corresponding to the French July revolution of 1830 on the basis of bourgeois property).

Otherwise I see the Honefusser Colony pretty seldom. Most of my time I spend in the libraries.

5. Reich's pamphlet on "The Struggle for the 'New Life' in the Soviet Union" is the second half of his 1936 book *The Sexual Revolution* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux). He undoubtedly expressed its views in his discussion with Trotsky.

6. War Communism was the name given to the system of production that prevailed in the Soviet Union when the young workers' state was fighting for its life in the civil war of 1918-20. The Bolsheviks had not planned to nationalize and centralize so much and so soon after they came to power; their original plans were more gradual. But everything was subordinated to the military struggle for survival. One result was growing conflict between the peasants, whose produce was requisitioned or confiscated, and the Soviet state; another was a continuing decline in production, both agricultural and industrial. Some people saw the chaos, confusion and breakdowns that accompanied War Communism in every sphere of life as the very essence of communism; in fact, they thought it was the only road toward a classless society, and would have to be taken by any society that abolished capitalism.

7. The New Economic Policy (NEP) replaced War Communism in 1921 and lasted until 1928 or 1929. The Soviet government adopted it as a temporary measure to revive production after the civil war, win a breathing spell and reconsolidate popular support, which had been eroded by the hardships accompanying War Communism. The NEP allowed a limited introduction of capitalist production and foreign concessions alongside the nationalized and state-controlled sectors of the economy. The Bolsheviks viewed the "NEP bourgeoisie" as a potential base for the restoration of capitalism.

8. The title of this book was *The Revolution Betrayed* (Doubleday Doran, 1937). Part VII contains Trotsky's chapter on "Thermidor in the Family," which he undoubtedly presented and defended in his discussion with Reich.

9. The Honefusser colony consisted of Trotsky, his companion Natalia Sedova, and his secretary, Erwin Wolf, who was murdered by the Stalinists in Spain during the civil war in 1937.

PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

AND OTHER WRITINGS
ON CULTURE AND SCIENCE

LEON TROTSKY

Problems of Everyday Life

and Other Writings on Culture and Science

By Leon Trotsky, 352 pp., paper \$5.45, cloth \$19.00
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

'Like finding a gold mine'

How a militant feminist became a socialist

By Harry Ring

During a visit to Baltimore, I talked with Sheryl Hongsermeier, a veteran of the past decade in the feminist movement. Last spring, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance and, more recently, the Socialist Workers Party.

Sheryl grew up in a small German farming community in Nebraska. She was one of six children, all of whom worked on a family-operated cattle farm.

It was a very isolated life, and the work was hard. But one advantage, she observed, was that there was plenty of time to read, and to think.

Her parents were, in their own way, political. "They believed in taking convictions seriously," she said. "And that if you were right, people would come to see it."

School fight

Sheryl adopted that approach. But she also learned from experience. She recalled the community's fight to save a school, in which her parents played a leading role.

"We lost that fight," she said, "even though a majority of the people favored keeping the school."

Commenting on those who led the cutback move, she said, "I began to

the 4-H Club.

"As I met more people," she recalled, "I saw more of how differently women were treated than men in this society."

College years

After graduation, Sheryl yielded to pressures to "go the traditional route." She enrolled at Nebraska's Hastings College to study nursing.

That was in 1971. She was fascinated by the "bits and pieces" she heard about the feminist movement.

Working as a volunteer at the family planning clinic, she learned firsthand about the problems of teenagers denied adequate sex education. "I could see their ignorance about their own bodies, about the reproductive process—and how scared they were."

At the same time, Sheryl worked with a women's rights lobbyist at the state capital in Lincoln. She also lobbied on health issues.

She later moved to Columbia, Missouri, where she did graduate work and continued her lobbying activity. At the time, Missouri was engaged in a battle over ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

At first, Sheryl felt like "this was one way of doing things. Maybe making a dent. But it was very frustrating. You'd talk to legislators and they'd say they'd vote one way, then vote the other.

"I began to feel that when you get into lobbying, it's like you're begging for a right—to be accepted as a citizen. Why do you have to beg for that right?"

Sheryl saw another limitation to what she was doing.

"While I was talking to legislators, and to women who were involved in similar efforts, I wasn't reaching the common American woman. It wasn't enough."

Faced with contradictions she couldn't resolve, Sheryl decided to move to one of the big eastern cities where she might accomplish more.

She decided on Baltimore.

"Maryland had passed the ERA," she explained, "and Baltimore was a big industrial city. I had never been involved with working-class kind of people. Also I heard there was a big Baltimore NOW chapter."

ERA march

Then came the May 10, 1980, national march for the ERA in Chicago.

Sheryl made the trip on the "freedom train" chartered by women from the East Coast.

She had countless discussions on the train, but what made the deepest impression on her was talking to several



Militant/Linda Nordquist

Chicago, May 1980. It was on freedom train to this ERA demonstration that women's rights fighter Sheryl Hongsermeier first met socialists.

women who were active union members.

"These were people who worked in steel mills, other places. And they were strong! They had a different sense of being about them.

"They talked about what they were doing in women's groups in their unions. They saw themselves day by day growing stronger. I had never felt like that in my working environment.

"I talked with other people," she said, "but I kept going back. If there was anyone on that train I wanted to talk to, it was these women.

"Then I found out they were socialists. I thought, socialists—my god!"

'It makes sense'

"They went into every aspect of it, being rational about it. And I thought, it makes sense. Then I thought, no, it can't make sense."

Someone sold her a copy of the *Militant*. "This is quite a newspaper," she said to herself. "It certainly isn't the *Baltimore Sun*." She was particularly impressed with the articles about the social progress in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada.

"I had always thought of socialism in terms of the Soviet Union," she said. "And that was such a downer."

She continued her discussion with the socialists. She raised points she had read in radical feminist literature—that Marx didn't relate to feminist issues, for example.

"And these women explained how the problems of women were rooted in

society and how it was possible to change it.

"They said, 'Look at Cuba.' Some of them had been to Cuba! The thing that made the biggest impression was the public health-care system in Cuba.

"Because I know what the health-care system is in the United States. If you have money, you can get pretty good health care. If you're poor, it's terrible."

Sheryl was greatly inspired by the giant ERA demonstration in Chicago. But the hours of discussion on the train also left their imprint.

"Here were a bunch of people," she said, "that had clear-cut goals, not only on feminist issues, but on all aspects of society."

"Radical feminists who focus only on women's issues make a lot of sense. But I don't see how they can possibly think that women alone can change society."

"When I look back," she added, "I realize it's kind of like tunnel vision. The problem isn't just the patriarchy. It's the whole social system built around capitalism."

How does Sheryl feel about being in the YSA and SWP?

"Because of my conservative farm background," she replied, "it was a pretty big decision to join. But I feel I've learned so much I can never go back. I feel like there's energy and potential in this and I know too much now to sit still."

"I feel like I found a gold mine!"



Militant/Harry Ring

SHERYL HONGSERMEIER

realize that people in the community that you looked up to weren't always what they said they were. Especially if there was a profit involved."

A turning point in Sheryl's life came in the eighth grade. Pupils were assigned to talk to people in various trades and professions to help them decide what they wanted to do as adults.

Sheryl decided she wanted to be a Lutheran minister.

Why did she want to be a minister? "Even though I had a limited perspective, I felt there were a lot of things that were wrong and, somehow, I felt that as a minister I could help people."

She realized, of course, that there were few women ministers. "But I felt I could do it."

When she discussed it with her minister, he was "sort of antsy."

Raise a family

He advised her that she would be better off if she married, had children, maybe became a deaconess, and worked within the church that way.

"It was at that point," Sheryl declared, "that I just suddenly realized that I wasn't accepted because of my sex."

"I decided then that religion, in that sense, was something I couldn't cope with."

She made another decision—"that my purpose in life was not simply to have babies."

In high school, Sheryl served on the student government and was active in

Irish prisoners set new hunger strike

BELFAST—Irish political prisoners here announced February 5 that they intend to begin a new hunger strike March 1 to protest their continuing mistreatment at the hands of the British government.

A statement by the prisoners declared: "We the Republican political prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and in Armagh prison, having waited patiently for seven weeks for evidence that the British government was prepared to resolve the prison crisis, and having given them every available opportunity to do so, declare our intention of hunger striking once more.

"On December 18 and 19, 1980, the hunger strikes in the H-Blocks and Armagh prison were ended. When this happened we were expecting that within a few days all protests would begin to be de-escalated and that the first hurdle, the blanketmen receiving their own clothes, could be got over in the sequence described by

[British secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey] Atkins in his December 19 statement.

"Obstacle after obstacle was placed in our way, but we felt morally bound to explore every avenue before giving in to exasperation and anger. The pettiness of the British administration was well demonstrated on January 23 when the prison governor, acting under orders, refused a number of men their own clothes. . . .

"We the blanket men, and we the women political prisoners in Armagh, have had enough of British deceit and of broken promises. Hunger strikes, to the death if necessary, will begin, commencing from March 1, 1981, the fifth anniversary of the withdrawal of political status in the H-Blocks and Armagh jail.

"We are demanding to be treated as political prisoners, which everyone recognizes we are. We call on all those who supported us during

the last hunger strike to again rally to our cause, and we call upon those who sat on the fence to now see the intransigence of the British and the justice of our cause."

The February 27 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the newspaper of the Provisional republican movement, said in a front page editorial:

"H-Block action committees throughout Ireland, in America, in Europe and Australia have just three weeks left before a second major hunger strike by protesting Republican prisoners commences in the occupied North.

"This period should be used to resume any lost contact with those influential individuals, trade unions, cultural bodies, or other organizations who showed genuine concern during the last hunger strike, and to seek out fresh support from other and untapped quarters."

From *Intercontinental Press*

Gov't role exposed in Canada firings

By Joan Campana

The following is abridged from an article in the January 26 issue of the Canadian fortnightly 'Socialist Voice.'

Transcripts from a top government meeting reveal that Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan sanctioned the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]-inspired political firing of three women from Pratt & Whitney Aircraft in Longueuil, Quebec.

Further evidence points to a frame-up of the women on a charge of "sabotage."

The charge is completely unfounded.

The women—Katy LeRougetel, Suzanne Chabot, and Wendy Stevenson—were "laid off" in November, 1979, supposedly due to a personnel surplus. An inquiry by the Quebec Human Rights Commission laid that pretext to rest, finding that the women were "victims of discrimination based on their political convictions."

Confirmation of top government knowledge of the firings emerged December 4 at a meeting of the federal justice committee. In attendance were RCMP Commissioner Robert H. Simmonds; Director-General for the Security Service, Michael Dare; other senior Mounties; and members of parliament.

Solicitor-General Kaplan, in charge of the RCMP for the government, described his "close relationship with the RCMP . . . We meet regularly. We have a regular agenda. It covers Security Service matters . . ."

He went on to explain his knowledge and approval of the firings: "And when that report [the Human Rights inquiry] came out, I had it on the table. I discussed it with the Security Service . . . I am satisfied that [the service] is operating within its mandate. I am . . . not prosecuting people merely because of their political beliefs."

The facts say otherwise.

Company-RCMP witch-hunt

Sworn testimony revealing a company-RCMP witch-hunt apparatus against militant unionists and members of political groups in the plant has emerged during two arbitration sessions hearing grievances seeking to rehire the women. The grievances were filed by United Auto Workers



Militant/Stu Singer

Fired workers tell story at news conference. From left: Katy LeRougetel; Wendy Stevenson; Suzanne Chabot.

Local 510 at Pratt.

Testimony confirms that Pratt's management, singling out the three, held several meetings on how to "get rid" of them.

Participating in the meetings was Jacques St. Pierre, head of Pratt Internal Security. St. Pierre, himself a former RCMP Security Service agent, met with Fernand Brault, currently in the Security Service's division on "left groups." The meetings occurred prior to the women's dismissal.

Yet the company maintains that the RCMP agent's visits and the women's political beliefs had nothing to do with the firings!

Union, workers real target

Sworn testimony at the arbitration hearings demonstrates intimate company knowledge of and interference in internal union business. It shows that management works closely with the RCMP as well as local and provincial police to spy on and compile lists of union militants, political activists and even workers who smoke marijuana, for purposes of harassment and victimization. Names of union officials, union leaflets and reports on the "situation" in the plant are regularly turned over to the police.

St. Pierre testified: "The report on

the general situation . . . is [for] the Quebec Provincial Police to establish the current situation in the plant . . . it's not only the extreme movements. . ."

Part of the conglomerate United Technologies, Pratt & Whitney is hated in Quebec as a notorious anti-union, anti-worker company.

Pratt pays its workers the lowest wages in the entire Canadian aerospace industry—\$2 an hour lower than in Ontario, for example. Now management is worried about the influx of new young workers who won't tolerate the situation any longer.

In company testimony, workers' legitimate concerns become "rumors of illegal strikes, unlawful assemblies and sabotage!"

The prime movers behind it all, according to J.C. Roy, head of Industrial Relations, were the Pratt Three. "When they left, everything was calm; today there is real peace."

That's absurd, as an angry meeting of over 800 workers later showed. Moreover, the company presented *not one shred of proof* that the women were part of any disturbance, much less "saboteurs," for the simple reason that they were not.

The dishonest smear carries no specific charge, hardly something that

would be overlooked if the company actually had a case. In fact, *foremen* reported at the arbitration hearing that the women were exemplary workers. Reports by management cited their excellent work. LeRougetel was even offered a promotion!

Yet both arbitrators accept the company frame-up.

The company and cops are attempting to tar the women with unsubstantiated charges of "sabotage" to belatedly justify the firing, the continued use of disruptive tactics against them and their organization, and to intimidate anyone in the plant from fighting for a better deal from Pratt. In company eyes, any Pratt worker who hung around a coffee machine discussing wages could be a saboteur! And the frame-up of the three women is a lesson to all of them!

Socialist views

But the women's only "crime" is to hold socialist views. They support women's equality, the struggle of people in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the right of Quebec to determine its own future. They support and build their unions.

Their organization, the Revolutionary Workers League (sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), circulates its views in newspapers, runs candidates in elections, and is active in support of the New Democratic Party and the Quebec nationalist movement. It works to convince a majority to "change things through the political process." The RWL opposes terrorism and illegal or individual violence to bring about change. After years of illegal RCMP surveillance, it has never been charged with a single crime! That's why the company and the RCMP have to resort to unsubstantiated smears and frame-ups.

The company and the RCMP have massive resources to attempt to carry out this frame-up. Countering it is vital. Letters and telegrams protesting the victimization should be sent to Pratt & Whitney, Personnel Office, 1000 rte. Marie-Victorin E., Longueuil, Quebec. Copies of the messages and badly-needed financial support should be sent to The Committee to Defend the Pratt 3, 4271 Chambord, Montreal, Quebec.

Press drive to free Iranian socialist worker

By Janice Lynn

Socialists and others in Iran are pressing forward with their campaign to secure the release from prison of Nemat Jazayeri, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) in Iran.

They are also challenging the recent firings of three other HKE members.

Jazayeri, a lathe operator at the Ray-O-Vac battery factory, was arrested September 8. Although no charges have yet been brought against him, he remains in Evin Prison in Tehran.

Jazayeri had been active in building the factory *shora* (committee) at Ray-O-Vac and in its activities in defense of the Iranian revolution. Co-workers have been campaigning for his release.

In mid-January, some four months after Jazayeri's arrest, three HKE members were suddenly fired from their jobs. No explanations were given for their dismissals.

Bahram Ali Atai and Reza Aresour, workers at the large Iran National automobile factory in Tehran, and Khosrow Movahed, an employee of the Isfahan Oil Refinery, were all called back from the battlefield where they had been participating in workers' units fighting against the Iraqi aggression. Upon their return they were told they were being fired.

At a recent conference held by man-

agers of Iran's nationalized industries, two women Ray-O-Vac workers and one other woman worker raised questions about Jazayeri's arrest. The response of the managers was to shove and physically threaten the three women, and then to have them arrested.

The three women were released on bail and told to return the next morning. The next day, before returning, they delivered a protest letter to the Ministry of Labor and spoke before the Ray-O-Vac factory shora.

When they returned to the court, they were briefly questioned and told no charges were being filed against them.

Workers protest

At another conference held at Kargar House—a meeting hall for some eighty Islamic associations and shoras in Tehran—the response from the workers was strikingly different.

One of the fired workers, Bahram Atai, was given time to speak. Following his presentation, there was a consensus from the workers present that a commission be established to investigate the dismissals and Jazayeri's case.

At the workers' conference, a Mr. Boosheri from the Islamic Court also spoke. An open letter had been distrib-

uted asking about the firings and asking why Jazayeri was still in jail.

After slanderously hinting that Jazayeri and the other HKE workers were American agents, Boosheri indicated that the questions raised in the open letter would all be answered in conjunction with Jazayeri's trial. However, no date has been set nor has any official announcement been given for such a trial.

At a February 4 press conference, Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti of the Islamic Republican Party and head of the Iranian Supreme Court said that new guidelines for legal political parties and newspapers would soon be issued. If the HKE and *Kargar* were legalized, he indicated, this could have a positive bearing on Jazayeri's case.

Debate on democratic rights

The debate and discussion in Iran over democratic rights is intensifying. The sentiment among Iranian workers is against restrictions on these rights.

This is indicated by the broad protests against the firing of HKE member Movahed. The shoras of oil refinery employees in Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz passed a joint resolution protesting "the unconstitutional firing of our brother Khosrow Movahed."

The resolution announces the forma-

tion of "a committee composed of representatives of all refineries to investigate this case."

The Isfahan oil employees, in a separate resolution of their own, also condemned Movahed's firing and asked for his return to work.

But a concerted propaganda campaign is being mounted to try to discredit the HKE. *Mizan*, the newspaper supporting the views of former Iranian Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, has attacked the HKE which it describes as the "American Marxist group."

Several members of the HKE were in exile in the United States during the shah's regime. Jazayeri, for example, was national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) which helped to win the release of political prisoners held by the shah's torturers. Of course, many—if not most—of Iran's present leaders also spent years in exile in imperialist countries such as the United States, France, and West Germany.

Jazayeri's friends, comrades, and co-workers are urging a stepped-up international campaign to win his release from prison. Along with the support inside Iran from factory workers and their organizations, international working-class support can play an important role in securing Jazayeri's release.

From Intercontinental Press

Nicaraguans gird for revolutionary defense

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The Sandinista government has declared 1981 the "Year of Defense and Production" here in Nicaragua. An economic plan has been drawn up that calls for meeting the threat of imperialist economic boycott with tight supervision of government expenditures and a campaign to boost labor productivity. But in the first weeks of 1981 it is defense that has received the greatest emphasis.

On January 22 Brigade Commander Edén Pastora of the Sandinista People's Militias (MPS) announced the establishment of six new training centers in Managua for militia volunteers. In 1980, Pastora explained, MPS training had mostly involved only physical exercises and marching drills. "Now we are going to provide adequate training for defense—firing practice and courses in military tactics."

Greater responsibility for organizing the militia units will now fall to the mass organizations, Pastora said, while the role of the regular army will be limited to providing instructors.

In February, the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19) will begin signing up high school students as militia volunteers, JS-19 leader Fanor Herrera said January 23.

In a January 27 statement, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) National Directorate called special attention to the current campaign to build the militias and linked this task to the new threats emanating from Washington:

Our people must be prepared to confront aggressions that are already beginning to be carried out in the economic field, such as the pause in turning over the rest of the \$75 million loan. . . .

But we must also be prepared to face armed attacks. The defense of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and revolutionary power is not a task of the armed forces alone. It is a task that can only be taken up successfully if it is assumed by our entire people.

"All the people into the militias!" must be the order of the day.

While thousands of workers and students are responding to the FSLN's call and joining the expanded militia units, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is launching complaints against "militarism" and seeking to downplay the threats against the revolution from abroad.

In a statement published in the January 26 *La Prensa*, the Social Christian Party (PSC) blamed Nicaragua's economic problems on "exaggerated emphasis on the military," which it said "has led the country to finance unproductive expenditures with taxes on the workers and growing foreign indebtedness."

The January 17 *Miami Herald* carried an interview with José Francisco Cardenal, a Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) leader who left Nicaragua last May. Cardenal said that he and other exiles had formed the "Nicaraguan Democratic Union" and were organizing support abroad for an "uprising" in Nicaragua.

Fernando Agüero, long-time leader of Nicaragua's Conservative Party, appeared on Miami television recently along with several top Somozas and announced plans for an invasion of Nicaragua "to liberate it from Communism."

In its January 22 article reporting José Francisco Cardenal's statements, the FSLN daily *Barricada* warned: "It is the responsibility of the U.S. govern-

ment to prevent its territory from being used as a base of operations against Nicaragua by the counterrevolutionary groups, which apparently feel so encouraged that they even give statements to newspapers announcing their dangerous adventures."

In recent days the Sandinistas have also issued a series of stern warnings to domestic allies of the counterrevolutionaries abroad.

"Every day some businessman goes to Miami," Commander Henry Ruiz said January 25. "Every day there is counterrevolutionary activity. Economic sabotage has begun. There are encampments on the northern and southern borders that enjoy the sup-

port of the most reactionary and traitorous local sectors and the encouragement of the reactionary Nicaraguan community in the United States where there are counterrevolutionary 'solidarity' groups."

The counterrevolutionaries forget, Ruiz went on, that "the toilers are becoming more and more conscious. The working class is more closely united and our political commitment grows stronger every day. . . .

"If there is intervention, if there is serious counterrevolution, the rules of the game can be changed, leaving the destiny of this country in the hands of the workers alone."

From Intercontinental Press

Minn. labor adds muscle to Salvador solidarity

By Jim Kendrick

MINNEAPOLIS—As the result of a speaking tour of Duluth featuring Professor Julio Quan, Fulbright scholar from Guatemala, key sectors of the Minnesota labor movement have stepped forward to defend the Salvadoran revolution.

During the week of Quan's tour, January 18-25, the members of United Steelworkers of America Local 1938 on the Minnesota Iron Range unanimously voted to send a telegram to the White House protesting resumption of military aid to El Salvador.

On January 20 Quan addressed the Minnesota United Auto Workers (UAW) CAP council. The twenty-five CAP council leaders in attendance, representing 10,000 auto workers, voted to endorse the Twin Cities El Salvador Solidarity Committee. The council also passed resolutions on Guatemala and El Salvador.

United Electrical Workers Local 1139 also endorsed the solidarity committee.

In addition, the Duluth City Council passed a resolution urging the United States to cut off aid to El Salvador. May-

or George Latimer of St. Paul and Mayor Don Fraser of Minneapolis also endorsed the El Salvador Solidarity Committee.

A bill calling on the U.S. government to cut off aid to El Salvador has been introduced into the State Senate by Sen. Allan Spear, who represents the district around the University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus.

On January 20, representatives from eighteen religious denominations met to form the Minnesota Ecumenical Task Force on El Salvador. They voted to send a delegation to the Minneapolis *Tribune* to protest biased coverage of El Salvador. The new task force also plans a memorial for slain Salvadoran Archbishop Romero in March.

A highly successful tour by Mario Velasquez, spokesperson of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, culminated in a meeting of 350 at the University of Minnesota on January 27.

"We don't want another Vietnam in El Salvador," Velasquez declared. The students gave him a standing ovation and contributed \$325 to future solidarity work.

L.A. steelworkers hear Casa Nicaragua speaker

By Jerry O'Connell

LOS ANGELES—The president of United Steelworkers Local 6700, Thomas Collins, invited Denilo Sedeno from Casa Nicaragua to address the local's union meeting on January 29.

In response to the national call by the USWA for all locals to participate in the campaign for humanitarian relief for Nicaragua, Collins authorized the formation of a committee in the local to collect eyeglasses to be sent to Nicaragua.

In his address to the local Sedeno explained that the glasses were needed because many of those who are illiterate

also suffer from poor eyesight as a result of bad nutrition.

He explained the success of the previous literacy drive conducted by the Government of National Reconstruction, which reduced illiteracy from fifty percent to twelve percent. Workers for the first time have the right to belong to trade unions, he said, and almost the entire work force is organized and has input into the economy.

At the meeting it was reported that three dozen pairs of eyeglasses had already been collected. Ten people signed up to help in the effort.

Solidarity with Central America



and the
Caribbean

Longshore union '100 percent behind you'

Jim Levitt reports that on January 31 the Seattle Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) organized a march of more than 500 protesting the resumption of U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta and the murder of the four American missionaries.

The activity, which was co-sponsored by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as well as other groups, marched to the federal building, where a rally was held.

Rev. William Cate, president of the Church Council of Greater Seattle, reported that a resolution denouncing the Salvadoran junta's human rights violations and opposing all U.S. aid had been adopted unanimously by the church council.

Dick Moork, secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 19, got the biggest response of the day. "The ex-hostages are now being used as political toys," he said, "while the people of El Salvador are truly hostages." Moork explained the ILWU boycott of military and military-related goods to El Salvador. "Our union is 100 percent behind the aims of this crowd in stopping the shipment of arms to El Salvador," he concluded.

Martín González of Seattle CISPES announced that twenty-four forestry workers, who could not attend the march because they were working, had donated their pay for the day.

Vieques: Navy ordered to stop bombings

On February 3 a Boston appeals court ordered the U.S. Navy to cease using the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for its bombardment practice exercises. The court ordered the Navy to seek permission from the Environmental Protection Agency before it can resume its exercises.

The fishermen of Vieques have conducted a long struggle against the Navy to protect the fishing grounds off the coast of Vieques, their sole source of livelihood. They have been prevented from fishing off parts of the coast which have been placed off-limits by the Navy.

The Navy has indicated that it will ignore the court order and continue bombing runs in the coming weeks. It says the court order is vague.

Carlos Zenón, president of the Association of Vieques Fishermen, replied that they are planning to fish in the "restricted" zone based on the court order.

For information on how you can support the ongoing struggle to get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques, contact the New York Committee in Support of Vieques at 391 East 149th Street, Room 216, Bronx, New York 10455. Telephone (212) 292-1136.

Milwaukeeans call for U.S. out of El Salvador

Well over 1,000 people attended various activities sponsored by the Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy (CAND) in support of the Salvadoran revolution.

The week began with a mass commemorating the martyrs of El Salvador, held in St. Patrick's Church in Milwaukee's Latino community. Some 500 people, mostly Latinos, came to the services and 150 people stayed afterwards to view a slide presentation on the Salvadoran struggle. More than \$200 was collected to help CAND.

Throughout the week of solidarity, slide presentations were given at various campuses in the Milwaukee area. The week ended with a spirited rally in downtown Milwaukee at the federal building. Three hundred people attended.

Speakers included longtime peace activist Sidney Lens, State Senator Jim Moody, Father Matt Lamb of Marquette University, and others.

That same evening 150 people attended a film showing of *El Salvador: Revolution or Death*. After the film Mario Velásquez, a spokesperson for the Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador, gave a talk blasting U.S. support to the junta and discussed the state of the struggle in his country.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Forum

Opinion / Analysis / Commentary

Separate party needed to revitalize labor's influence in politics

By John E. Powers

Many commentators have attempted to analyze the meaning of the November elections for labor. Did these elections represent a sharp turn to the right by the American people? Did they signify a weakening of the labor movement? Why were so many labor-endorsed candidates defeated?

In his Nov. 24 Forum article, Francis J. Smith began to address some of these questions. He explained how some "so-called friends of labor take the side of the big utilities, oil companies and higher taxes."

Unfortunately, Smith's proposals for revitalizing political action committees will not meet the real problems he addresses in his article. Similarly, the proposal by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland to become involved in the primary process will not provide any solutions.

Millions of working people did not vote for Ronald Reagan because they wanted to see Social Security abolished, OSHA eliminated, tax breaks for big business and military intervention abroad. They voted for Reagan because they were fed up with President Carter's record of inflation and unemployment.

During the past year, many unionists have begun discussing a possible solution to the problem of deciding which of two bad candidates is the lesser evil. This discussion has, unfortunately, gone largely unreported in *The Plain Dealer*. What they have been discussing is a labor party.

In a 1979 Labor Day message, California Labor Federation Executive Secretary John Henning said, "The two-party system is no longer serving the economic and social interests of the American working people. Indeed, the two parties appear simply as one institution with Democratic and Republican departments alike financed by the corporate community."

The idea of a separate labor party has been endorsed by Anthony Mazzocchi, health and safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and a recent convention of the International Association of Machinists.

Many workers ask why the United States, the wealthiest capitalist country, is the only major industrial nation without a national health insurance plan. They wonder if it's mere coincidence that the United States is also the only such country without a labor party.

In Canada, the United Auto Workers and United Steel Workers are among the staunchest supporters of the New Democratic party, the Canadian labor party. Both these unions have published material urging voting for a non-labor candidate for elected office to voting for a boss as shop steward.

A growing number of American workers are asking, "Don't these same arguments hold true in the United States?"

In his Forum article, Smith makes a serious error in implying that the unions do best when they stick to bread-and-butter issues and stay away from broader social issues. For the union movement to continue and grow, it is important that it speak to the needs of all

workers — especially those who are most oppressed.

The union movement must remain a strong champion of civil rights, continuing to push for quality desegregated education through busing. It must continue to work for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Affirmative action programs must be continued and strengthened. A period of economic downturn must not be allowed to wipe out the gains previously won through these plans.

Unless the union movement successfully defends the rights of all workers, the bosses will be successful in their drive to pit one worker against another.

Reagan's victory does not mean that the union movement should retreat from advocacy of social issues. Instead, it should redouble its efforts. The American working people are, by their overwhelming majority, still in favor of needed social programs. It's up to the union movement to show them how these programs can be won. Instead of proposing support for lesser-evil, pro-business candidates, labor must begin to support its own candidates.

A brief look at the Carter record shows the futility of supporting Democrats or Republicans. Carter attempted to invoke the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act to force striking coal miners back to work. He failed on his campaign promises of securing ratification of the ERA, labor law reform and a common situs picket law.

The Democratic-sponsored Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the so-called full employment law, remained a scrap of paper as millions were thrown out of work during this year's economic downturn.

Immediately after the election, the national and local AFL-CIO issued statements pledging their support to the newly elected president. Reagan responded by appointing Raymond J. Donovan, vice president of a New Jersey construction company, as secretary of labor. This appointment was hailed by the National Right to Work Committee. It is impossible for labor to make candidates accountable to the needs of working people so long as the unions continue to operate within the two-party system.

The less time spent raising money and ringing doorbells for various Democrats and Republicans who invariably turn around and stab working people in the back, the stronger the unions can become. It is by conducting strikes in defense of workers' living standards, engaging in campaigns to organize the unorganized, and extending solidarity to others who are fighting for their rights, that unions can involve more of their membership and grow in size and strength.

We must rely on our own power, not the frequently broken promises of some allegedly friendly politician.

In November, 1,500 black activists met in Philadelphia to found a black political party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans. This decision points the way forward for the labor movement.

Powers, a Clevelander, was Ohio Socialist Workers party candidate for the Senate in November.

...Koch

Continued from back page

coalition, and to other powerful groups in the Democratic Party—hopefully someone to run against Koch in the Democratic primary.

This means winning the approval of figures like Angelo Del Toro, a former member of the Emergency Financial Control Board, which oversees all economic policies in New York City for the banks. At the meeting, he blasted Koch for not hiring more cops.

An explicit statement of the goals of the sponsors appeared in the February 18 *Guardian*, based on comments by Mimi Rosenberg who chaired the speak-out on behalf of the Black United Front support committee:

"Rosenberg indicated that the objective of the campaign would not be simply to galvanize the progressive movement and provide a platform for more advanced politics. Rather, she said, the aim is to win. She put forward the view that even a less-than-radical mayor would be preferable to Koch since it would ease polarization in the city and facilitate further organizing on other levels."

"We're looking for somebody who can attract money backers," she was quoted as saying.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front indicated his perspective when he declared, "The election of Roger Green and Al Vann shows that when the people are ready, they will win." Green, who was present at the meeting, and Vann were elected to the state assembly from Brooklyn—Green as a Democrat and Vann on the Liberal line.

Barry Commoner, who was the Citizens Party candidate for president in 1980, called for "a new La Guardia and a fusion program." He said the task was to "create a platform to attract a candidate."

Fiorello La Guardia, a liberal Republican, was elected mayor of New York as a reformer in 1933 on a fusion ticket, and re-elected in 1937 with the added support of the American Labor Party.

A spokesperson for the Communist Party offered support to "this splendid movement" which "cuts across party lines." He urged that "all secondary

differences" be subordinated to the task of defeating Koch.

Some of the speakers placed Koch's attacks in the context of the overall offensive of big business and the government against working people. Eburn Adelona of the Coalition to Save Sydenham Hospital explained that the closing of Sydenham was part of a federal policy to reduce the number of hospital beds all over the country and said that Koch had to be seen as "part of the federal and state business community."

James Haughton of Harlem Fightback, an organization that has fought to end hiring discrimination in the skilled construction trades, talked of the need for a "class perspective on the political question." He explained that "Koch is controlled by real estate and finance capital," and could only be defeated by working people "pulling together for serious battle."

Ray Markey, a delegate to District Council 37, said, "I'm for getting rid of Koch. But Koch followed in the footsteps of Mayor Abraham Beame, another leading Democrat who carried out the same policy." He called for a break with the capitalist parties, and for turning to the power of the labor movement as an alternative.

Markey pointed out that the idea of independent working-class political action is in the air.

One example is the formation of the National Black Independent Political Party. Another is the spreading discussion in the union movement of the idea of forming a labor party.

"Koch is a racist buffoon, but he's a dangerous buffoon because he represents the billionaires and banking interests that run this city," declared Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York. "But these interests are a minority. Most of us here are working people and we represent the majority. The time has come to build a labor party that can do battle against racism and all the attacks of the capitalists against us. We need to elect people to represent us from the ranks of labor, and that's why I'm running."

...Cal. bill

Continued from back page

tions of working people.

James Curtis, an aide to Senator Watson, told me that the bill could be used against "any group, Black or white."

While the government has a long history of doing nothing to stop racist violence, it has an equally long history of trying to frame up Black and working class organizations as "violence prone."

Beth Meador, a lobbyist for the American Civil Liberties Union in Sacramento, told me that supporters of the Deukmejian-Watson bill in the legislature liken it to criminal syndicalism laws of the early part of this century.

These were used by states to outlaw the Industrial Workers of the World, the Communist Party, and other organizations.

The Socialist Workers Party suit against the federal government proved that for decades the federal, state and local governments illegally robbed, infiltrated, and sought to disrupt the SWP and many other groups. The government claims the right to do so, saying that anyone who wants to change the system is "violence prone."

As Zakiya Somburu declared, "The Deukmejian-Watson bill would give the government a new weapon against the democratic rights of organizations of the oppressed: the right to ban organizations on the basis of trumped-up evidence."

"The Deukmejian-Watson bill could be used to try to ban any organization that organized Black people against

racist violence, any union that tried to defend picket lines against company attacks, antinuclear organizations, or any organization that the government just doesn't like."

This is a special concern today, when the corporations and the Republican and Democratic parties are sharpening their struggle against working people.

In this atmosphere, the bosses' government wants to limit the democratic rights of working people to fight back against outfits like the Klan and Nazis. It wants legal cover to send cops and infiltrators to attempt to disrupt and frame up our organizations.

It might seem surprising that the Communist Party supports such a law. After all, the CP was the victim of some of the most vicious persecution, including the Smith Act frame-up conviction of its leaders in the 1940s for "advocating force and violence," and attempts to ban it by several state governments during the 1950s.

But the CP's strategy is to channel the antiracist movement into supporting liberal Democratic Party politicians like Diane Watson. That is why they agitate for a law to "ban the Klan and the Nazi parties" as the answer to racist violence.

Their support to Deukmejian-Watson shows how working people and Blacks can get into a trap as long as they stay within the two-party framework. It shows what happens when one tries to get around the need to mobilize against racism independently of the Republican and Democratic politicians.



Him and Adolph—"I love the Jewish people deeply. God has given them talents he has not given others. They are his chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money. . . . They control the media, they control this city."—Rev. Dan Fore, New York chairman, "Moral Majority."

As confirmed by taste tests—Reporting on corporate inroads in the food industry, the *New York Times* inquires: "How many Americans know . . . that a conglomerate, International Telephone and Telegraph, turns out Wonder Bread, Hostess Twinkies . . .

and Gwaltney's chicken bologna. . . ?"

Rent-a-pig prospers—The Pinkerton agency now employs 36,000 people, 20 percent more than a decade ago. Security, a company official explained, is a recession-proof industry, because fraud and theft tend to increase with hard times.

Hard-times dep't—Federal Judge William Mulligan is quitting his job because he can't get by on \$70,900 a year.

Making do—AT&T obtained \$1.4 billion in rate hikes last year. And a

federal law judge has just ruled that it can raise its profit margin from 10 percent to 10.87 percent, which will mean a new round of increases. Meanwhile, the company reported 1980 "earnings" at \$6.08 billion, the highest ever for any American corporation.

Where the bull is—Reagan has designated his California ranch as the Western White House.

Thought for the week—"I think it's a modern-day miracle that we have food at the prices we do now, though I know it doesn't seem that way to those who buy it."—Agriculture secretary John Block.



'I wouldn't ask for time off, Mr. Dixby, but I prefer not to have my baby born in captivity.'

By Any Means Necessary

'Ben Vereen, how could you?'

There he stood, on national television in front of President Ronald Reagan, face painted black and lips white.

Ben Vereen, the Black actor who gained prominence as "Chicken George" in the TV production of Alex Haley's novel "Roots," performed a minstrel routine for the Inaugural Gala. As Vereen danced and clowned, Nancy and Ronnie laughed away.

Apparently, Vereen didn't learn much from "Roots."

The outrage and disgust from the Black community came immediately. And major media response was apprehensive—at best.

Time magazine called it "dubious."

The *Amsterdam News*, in an article entitled "Ben Vereen, how could you?" printed comments from their callers. One woman remarked, "What was he trying to do, put us back in slavery?"

The *New Jersey Afro-American's* editorial explained, "What is being said about his black-faced, white-lipped act on the inaugural gala produced by Frank Sinatra can't be printed here. Radio talk show hosts have had trouble keeping the blistering comments out of the bleeping range."

There's not much more I can say that hasn't been said about Vereen's debacle.

There was, however, another sort of minstrel show for Reagan that didn't receive as much ado, but warrants comment.

Two weeks later, veteran civil rights leaders Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Hosea Williams went to the White House to meet with the president, as the *New York Times* put it, "to assert their loyalty to the new President." Just as Vereen did.

They talked about the new administration's policies on civil rights and social programs. What Reagan had to say didn't seem to faze them. Both endorsed Reagan's election.

The reaction of Williams and Abernathy to the meeting was disturbing.

Now, remember, Reagan opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and is a proponent of "states' rights"—the cry of Southern racists during the civil rights movement.

Williams and Abernathy were leaders of a movement in which people struggled, and even died, over these very issues.

"I have been preaching this states' rights for a

Osborne Hart



long time and the movement's been preaching—that's what 'power to the people' was about," Williams said. "When Reagan talks about states' rights, he's not talking about George Wallace standing in the school-house door. He's talking about getting government back at the level of the people."

The reactions of Williams and Abernathy demonstrate the general dilemma that Black politicians find themselves in—consciously or unconsciously. If they maintain their allegiance to capitalist politics—whether it's the Dems or Reps—they are forced to compromise the interests, needs, and aspirations of Black people.

That's why some Black leaders have decided to get out of this trap and form an independent party.

The founding of the National Black Independent Political Party some months ago is offering Blacks an alternative to defend the hard won gains of the past and assert our aspirations.

It's an expression of the sentiment—like those irate brothers and sisters who denounced Vereen's act—that we're tired of the minstrel show for the two capitalist parties. There will be no more dancing and clowning routines.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

CENTRAL AMERICA: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Speakers: Marjorie Rendon, official representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); Antígona Martínez, Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Traducción al español. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

REAGAN: HOW MUCH WILL HE GET AWAY WITH AND HOW CAN WE STOP HIM? Speakers: Less Bayless, secretary-treasurer, 1199E; Ken Morgan, National Black Independent Political Party; Mona Nasoosi, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

'SONG OF THE CANARY.' Dangers of the American Workplace. Pesticide Poisons and Brown Lung. Speaker: Dave Salner, United Steelworkers Local 6860 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. Solidarity Bookstore, 1012 Second Ave. S., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

NO DRAFT! NO WAR! A Speak-out Against Draft Registration and Reagan's War Drive in Central America. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON PORTLAND

REPORT BACK FROM NATIONAL ANTIDRAFT CONFERENCE. Speaker: Jackie Robey, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS DALLAS

CLASSES EN ESPAÑOL. Classes on Latin America taught in Spanish. Every Sunday, 2 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

MARX AND ENGELS ON REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF THE WORKING CLASS. Two classes. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 28, 1 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class; \$1.50 for both. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Noon: Margaret Jayko, "Rise of Trade Unions in the U.S." 3:30 p.m.: Peter Rotherham, "Marx and Engels on the Labor Party." Sun., March 1, 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2 for both classes. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Put gov't spying on trial!

COLORADO DENVER

RALLY: PUT THE GOVERNMENT ON TRIAL! Socialists sue FBI, INS, CIA spies. Speakers: Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party; Kiko Martínez, Chicano lawyer facing frame-up; Silvia Zapata, chairperson, Denver Young Socialist Alliance; Martha Remple, member, El Frente Unido por Derechos Humanos in Pueblo. Sat., Feb. 28, Washington Park Community Center, 809 S. Washington. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

SOUTHERN RALLY FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, trial witness in Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government and 1980 SWP candidate for U.S. president; André Kahlmorgan, union activist fired by Lockheed; Leamon Hood, international union area director for American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Leslie Withers, staff for Clergy and Laity Concerned; Betsy Soares, SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Sat., Feb. 28, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St., N.E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

SECRET POLICE ON TRIAL. Socialists vs. FBI, CIA, INS. Rally to support Socialist Workers Party lawsuit. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee; Howard Simon, American Civil Liberties Union; Joe Madison, Detroit NAACP; Maryann Mahaffey, Detroit City Council; Tom Olechowski, Poletown Neighborhood Council; Russ Bellant, Detroit Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Sun., March 1, 3 p.m. Cobo Hall, Room 3045. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

OHIO CLEVELAND

RALLY FOR FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE 1980s. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Lynda Joyce, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland; Darryl Tukufu, chair, Akron chapter, National Black Independent Political Party; Dave Hoover, Cleveland Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Sat., Feb. 28, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

FRAME-UP! FROM THE MOLLY MCGUIRES TO THE FBI'S COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM. Speakers: Philip Foner, noted historian of Black and labor movement; André Kahlmorgan, fired Lockheed worker, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Fri., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. United Electrical Hall, 5700 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL: A RALLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Kathryn Crowder, national organizational secretary, Young Socialist Alliance; Marian Bustin, member, United Mine Workers Local 2095 and YSA; Carlos Sánchez, member, Pittsburgh Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; Robert Bas-tress, Morgantown attorney; Franklin Cleckey, civil rights attorney; Trudy Herod, executive director, Morgantown American Civil Liberties Union. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304)296-0055.

'Crisis at Central High'

SCENE: Little Rock, Arkansas. Guns slung over their shoulders, soldiers of the 101st Airborne escort nine Black students up the front walk of all-white Central High School. They are there to enforce a court-ordered desegregation plan. It's the law.

That was in 1957.

SCENE: Alexandria, Louisiana. Armed state troopers escort three white students through the front door of all-white Buckeye High School. They are there in defiance of a court-ordered desegregation plan. Screw the law.

That was last month.

So if "Crisis at Central High," a recent TV movie dealing with the Little Rock events, was good for nothing else, it was at least around to

AS I SEE IT

remind us of how far we haven't come in twenty-four years. The laws are still on the books; the government just doesn't enforce them.

Not that they jumped at the chance in 1957. . . .

Little Rock was probably the first major test of the rising civil rights movement. Coming after the Montgomery bus boycott, it was the first which demanded federal intervention to uphold the law.

Flaunting a court order to desegregate, Gov. Orval Faubus dispatched the Arkansas National Guard to turn away the nine Blacks at Central High. Being in possession of all the guns, the Guard managed this.

President Eisenhower, himself no stranger to moving troops on a map, nonetheless temporized for over three weeks, desperately seeking a deal with Faubus that would bury the matter. "I recognize the inescapable responsibility resting upon the governor to preserve law and order," and "You cannot change people's hearts merely by laws," were two of his more compelling observations at the time.

Only when what UPI called a "wave of anti-American sentiment that swept the world" threatened to break upon him, did Eisenhower federalize the 101st Airborne in Kentucky and march them into Little Rock.

All of which is the story "Crisis at Central

High" elects not to tell. What it does tell, in the words of Central High vice principal Elizabeth Huckaby (played by Joanne Woodward), is "what happened, not why."

At that, it's a pretty narrow look at "what happened," through the eyes of Huckaby and the other school administrators; that is, through the eyes of those who played probably the least significant role in the whole thing. Woodward and the others simply go with the relationship of forces, dutifully admitting or evacuating Black students depending on who happens to be camped out front that day. Ike's troops, the kids stay; white mob, they go.

The most any of them can offer is "I guess now it's up to the president," and we already know what he was up to.

To its credit, the film doesn't try to inflate these administrators much beyond that. They dispatch what they think is evenhanded justice in the hallways, refer to their job as "keeping a lid on," and are heard often to "wish things were normal again." To that extent, then, "Crisis" is probably a fair view of reasonably decent people doing the best they can under circumstances they do not altogether understand.

Still, there is no getting around the fact that this self-imposed tunnel vision allows the film to neatly sidestep every big question that was—and really still is—up for grabs. Save for an infrequent blip on the radio, or an occasional aside to the effect that "the world is watching," it is simply impossible to tell from "Crisis" what those nine Black students are doing at Central High in the first place, and what anybody else is doing about it.

Equally bad, the film casts the nine Black students in the role of resigned observers. It is fully halfway through the movie before one of them, Ernest Green (played by Calvin Levels), even gets in a line of dialogue. In fact, the only one shown doing anything other than what Huckaby and the rest tell her to do is Minniejean Brown (Regina Taylor), and she is eventually—mysteriously, the film would have it—expelled for "verbal retaliation after provocation."

(This is, by the way, one of the few instances of outright whitewash in "Crisis." Principal J.W. Matthews, here portrayed sympathetically by Charles Durning, professes dismay at the expulsion. In fact, Matthews helped formulate the charges against Brown.)

It's worth recalling that, after being turned



From CBS-TV movie on Little Rock crisis

away the first time, what these students expressed could hardly be called resignation:

"I'm no quitter. I'll be back." (Ernest Green, fifteen)

"I'm not going to back down—Governor Faubus is." (Carlotta Walls, fourteen)

These were, in short, not just children. They were the children of a great social movement, a movement "Crisis at Central High" more or less ignores.

Ultimately, though, the film's greatest impact may come from what it could not ignore: the ugly resistance of some white parents who gathered each morning to hurl epithets at the nine Blacks. The scenes are vile, at times violent, and "Crisis" does them well.

You can't watch this sort of thing without being reminded that, today, federal officials shout themselves hoarse in opposition to busing or bilingual programs or any other practical means of implementing equal education. And that today's mobs gather in the knowledge that the President and all forces of government stand behind them.

Maybe all "Crisis" suggests is that—whether their press handouts say "states' rights" in Arkansas, or "quality education" in Boston, or "neighborhood schools" in Alexandria, Louisiana—one foul-mouthed mob is just like another. If so, it is at least a step toward calling all these things by their right name, which in this case happens to be racism. —Steve Bride

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The day Russian women sparked a revolution

March 8 was declared International Women's Day in 1910 to honor the battle waged by women in the United States for their right to vote.

By then March 8 already had a history as a day of struggle for women's rights. On that date in 1857, for example, women workers in the needle trades marched in the Lower East Side of New York to demand better working conditions.

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers marched in New York City for the right to vote, for the eight-hour day, and for an end to child labor.

Following this militant tradition, both the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties in Czarist Russia called International Women's Day meetings in 1913 and 1914. The meetings were held in defiance of the czar's ban on all protests against the government.

These actions also laid the basis for a great historic battle. In the midst of World War I, Russian women textile workers in Petrograd called a strike for International Women's Day. On March 8, 1917 (February 23 by the old Russian calendar), tens of thousands of women poured into the streets. Their demands were "Bread for our children," "Return our husbands from the trenches."

The strike marked the start of the February Revolution. After four more days of street battles between the workers and the czarist troops, the monarchy was overthrown.

The leading role of women in sparking the revolution brought inspiration to their sisters the world over. Women in the United States, demanding that President Woodrow Wilson grant suffrage, marched in front of the White House in 1917, carrying signs contrasting "Free Russia" with "Kaiser Wilson."

Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky describes the

February 1917 textile strike in his *History of the Russian Revolution*. Below are excerpts.

The 23rd of February was International Woman's Day. The social-democratic circles had intended to mark this day in a general manner: by meetings, speeches, leaflets. It had not occurred to anyone that it might become the first day of the revolution.

Not a single organization called for strikes on that day. What is more, even a Bolshevik organization, and a most militant one—the Vyborg borough-committee, all workers—was opposing strikes.

The temper of the masses, according to Kayurov, one of the leaders in the workers' district, was very tense; any strike would threaten to turn into an open fight. But since the committee thought the time unripe for militant action—the party not strong enough and the workers' having too few contacts with the soldiers—they decided not to call for strikes but to prepare for revolutionary action at some indefinite time in the future. Such was the course followed by the committee on the eve of the 23rd of February, and everyone seemed to accept it.

On the following morning, however, in spite of all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike, and sent delegates to the metal workers with an appeal for support. . . .

It was taken for granted that in case of a demonstration the soldiers would be brought out into the streets against the workers. What would that lead to? This was war time; the authorities were in no mood for joking. On the other hand, a "reserve" soldier in war time is nothing like an old soldier of the regular army. Is he really so formidable?

In revolutionary circles they had discussed this much, but rather abstractly. For no one, positively

no one—we can assert this categorically upon the basis of all the data—then thought that February 23 was to mark the beginning of a decisive drive against absolutism. The talk was of a demonstration which had indefinite, but in any case limited, perspectives.

Thus the fact is that the February revolution was begun from below, overcoming the resistance of its own revolutionary organizations, the initiative being taken of their own accord by the most oppressed and downtrodden part of the proletariat—the women textile workers, among them no doubt many soldiers' wives.

The overgrown bread-lines had provided the last stimulus. About 90,000 workers, men and women, were on strike that day. The fighting mood expressed itself in demonstrations, meetings, encounters with the police.

The movement began in the Vyborg district with its large industrial establishments; thence it crossed over to the Petersburg side.

There were no strikes or demonstrations elsewhere, according to the testimony of the secret police. On that day detachments of troops were called in to assist the police—evidently not many of them—but there were no encounters with them.

A mass of women, not all of them workers, flocked to the municipal дума [parliament] demanding bread. It was like demanding milk from a he-goat.

Red banners appeared in different parts of the city, and inscriptions on them showed that the workers wanted bread, but neither autocracy nor war. Woman's Day passed successfully, with enthusiasm and without victims.

Letters

'Cosmos'

I just finished reading Stu Singer's article "In defense of 'Cosmos.'" I applaud the *Militant* for printing this article.

Carl Sagan is currently the number one popularizer of scientific ideas. More power to him. I also find him to be very political. His politics are shaped by his understanding of the universe and the origin of life.

He is horrified at how the capitalists' greed for profits is allowed to destroy the delicate ecological balance on the earth. In the "Cosmos" series Sagan confronts the rulers of the world with the complete insanity of the arms race.

It makes me very happy to know that so many people watched "Cosmos." It demonstrates the thirst for scientific knowledge that exists.

I also support Sagan's critical attitude toward religion. Religion will not disappear from this planet until we have solved the major social problems humanity faces.

But in the meantime it is the duty of revolutionary socialists to join with atheists, philosophical materialists, and other scientific thinkers in a continuing battle against the backward and dogmatic ideas of religion.

In closing, I would like to mention one of my favorite lines from the series. Sagan stated quite emphatically for all adherents of a religious view of life to hear, "Biological evolution is not a theory, it is a fact!"

Stephen Thomas
Minneapolis, Minnesota

King's Birthday

A very successful event around Martin Luther King's birthday was missed by the *Militant*. On the evening of January 17 almost 2,000 people marched in a candle-light vigil outside the South African consulate in Beverly Hills. The sidewalks were filled with the lines of marchers wrapping around both ends of each block. The vigil was about half Black and largely young.

In addition to demanding

Martin Luther King's birthday as a holiday, the vigil was directed at closing the South African consulate, which was unable to find office space in the city of Los Angeles for political reasons.

The sponsors of the event were the Gathering, a group of Los Angeles-area Black ministers, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (West), and the Southern California Alliance for Survival, which is fighting to end nuclear weapons and power plants, and to fund human needs.

The evening television news coverage had one station's estimate of the turnout as 1,000. By the following morning the *Los Angeles Times* had shrunk the figure to 350.

Jim Odling
Los Angeles, California

Widespread outrage

An indication of the level of outrage at the government's decision to resume military aid to the El Salvadoran junta was the letters to the editor column in the January 23 *Los Angeles Times*. Six letters on the subject were printed—every one in angry opposition to that decision.

Readers of the *Militant* might be interested particularly in one of them—from Ed Asner, star of "Lou Grant" and a consistent supporter of the SWP and YSA's lawsuit against the government.

Asner wrote, "The United States is resuming shipments of arms to El Salvador on the grounds that the rebels are being armed by 'Marxist' sources. May I suggest the following: Let the United States arm the rebels, thereby removing the influence of 'Marxist' arms. Thus would a blow be struck for human rights and we would find the United States (in one of those rare moments) sharing in the revolutionary and evolutionary process in Latin America and turning its back on a repressive regime which by all counts executed a minimum of 9,000 of its citizens last year."

Sherry Smith
Tarzana, California

Impartial press?

For those *Militant* readers retaining a lingering confidence in the role of the "free press" in this country, two recent news items should help clarify matters.

Leslie Gelb started his career at the Defense Department, where he directed the Vietnam task force that wrote the Pentagon Papers. From there, he went on to become a diplomatic correspondent for the *New York Times*.

In 1977 he left the *Times* to become director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. Last week, Gelb rejoined the *Times*.

Richard Burt has been working as a correspondent for the *New York Times*. This week, Burt left the *Times* to become—you guessed it—director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

Steve Patt
Gillette, New Jersey

Colorado subscriber

I read your newspaper at a rally for Francisco Kiko Martínez in Pueblo, Colorado, de Aztlán and thoroughly enjoyed it.

I would like a ten week subscription of your newspaper. Enclosed is my subscription fee of \$2.50.

B.G.
Pueblo, Colorado

Letter from Lucasville

We the oppressed minorities here at Lucasville Concentration Camp have, with a lot of uncertainty and apprehension, agreed it is now the best time to try and reach out to our Brothers and Sisters. We need mutual communication of opinions and views, and support.

A handful of us are being kept locked up in control cells. The guards—whose word is law as far as it goes in the courtroom—are persisting in frame-up lies here. The majority here are locked up in administrative control, which is really solitary confinement.



Many cell blocks are locked down. Without outside support the rest of Lucasville will be locked down too.

We need to speak out about the bad condition of the food, which is cold most of the time.

And there is a need for legal defense for the brothers who are here on frame-up charges or who have rebelled.

There is still a very young administration here at Lucasville, but the games they are using here are very, very old. Divide and conquer.

Also, the KKK is out and out attacking the handful of brothers here who do get out of solitary confinement.

Prisoners
Lucasville Prison, Ohio

Jury of peers?

A revealing footnote to the racist acquittal of six Nazi and Ku Klux Klan murderers last November appeared in the *Greensboro Record* on January 29.

An article describing how the 16 jurors and alternates became "a close-knit family" during the 15-week trial included the fact that most jurors attended a Christmas party at the home of Bailiff Henry Burke. Also attending the party were three of the Klanners' defense attorneys.

The DA said he was not invited, but probably would not have attended even if he had been.

One juror told the *Record*, "the Christmas party was fun. It was like seeing your family again." Another explained,

"You couldn't get a nicer group of folks together. They were the nicest people I ever hope to meet."

This article gives us a glimpse of how this "close-knit family," which evidently extended beyond the jury itself to include both court officials and defense attorneys, dispensed "justice" to six racists who gunned down anti-Klan demonstrators while TV cameras rolled.

Steve Craine
North Carolina

Bum Steer

I recently watched a program on public (PBS) TV called "Wall Street Review." The consensus of the gathered "experts" was that the year 1981 would be a "bullish" one for investors—read capitalists and big businessmen—on the various North American stock markets.

Bully for them! For the rest of us workers, both employed and unemployed, 1981 will be a bum steer. And so it will always be until capitalism is finally consigned to the dust bin of history.

R.H. Prinsep
Vancouver, British Columbia

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.
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WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

'Dump Koch' meeting: no answer to racist mayor

By Susan Wald

NEW YORK CITY—About 350 people turned out here February 8 for a meeting to discuss ousting incumbent Mayor Edward Koch in the upcoming election. Initiated by the Metropolitan Area Black United Front and white supporters organized in the Black United Front support committee, the meeting called for "Democrats, liberals, progressives, independents, union and community activists, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, whites" to begin the process of seeking a candidate.

Koch is hated throughout the city for his anti-working-class and racist policies—and for his arrogance and contempt toward Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other working people.

The quality of life has been decaying for most New York City residents since the mid-1970s as wave after wave of layoffs and cutbacks in public services hit. The pace of decline has quickened since Koch took office.

Firefighting and sanitation services have been sharply reduced; the subway fare has been hiked while mass transit deteriorated to the lowest point in seventy-five years; and schools and hospitals are being closed down for "lack of funds."

Koch spewed hatred at striking trans-

port workers last year and later called in cops to evict hospital workers and community residents protesting the shutdown of Sydenham Hospital in Harlem.

He is pushing for the death penalty and backing up killer cops who shot three innocent youth to death in the

space of one week in separate incidents here recently.

At the same time Koch—like his predecessors—helps the banks loot the city treasury.

Hundreds of thousands of working people are eager for an alternative to Koch.



They want to reverse the decline in living standards and put human needs ahead of the banks' needs. The turnout February 8 was a partial reflection of that sentiment.

Organizations participating included the Coalition to Save Sydenham, Harlem Fightback, Mobilization for Survival, Coalition in Defense of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Rights, and the National Organization for Women.

Political currents represented included the Citizens Party; the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; the Communist Party; the New Alliance Party; the Liberal Party, one of New York State's four long-established capitalist parties; Democratic officeholders who oppose Koch; and long-time participants in reform politics in the Democratic Party.

By the time open discussion began after fifteen scheduled speakers, it was clear that the organizers of the meeting were not seeking a working-class alternative to Koch that would break with the capitalist parties.

The idea is to find a liberal capitalist candidate who would offer a "strong electoral hope" (as a leaflet put it). A search has been initiated for a candidate acceptable to all forces in the

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What's wrong with Calif. 'anti-Klan' bill?

By Tony Thomas

OAKLAND—Republican State Attorney General George Deukmejian and Democratic State Senator Diane Watson of Los Angeles are pushing for a new law they claim will help stop racist violence.

This law was drafted by the California Association of Black Lawyers. The February 7 issue of the *People's World*, the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, hailed the bill as "a new attempt to erect legal curbs on the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi parties." A January 31 editorial called for "a full-scale campaign to assure [its] passage."

Zakiya Somburu, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Oakland, differs. She told the *Militant*:

"This law is a threat, not to racists like the Klan and the Nazis, but to Blacks, women, youth, and other working people. It is a diversion from the real fight we need against the racist terrorists in this state."

According to Diane Watson, this bill would make it illegal "for any group to exist in this state if it can be shown in a court of law that such group knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches, or encourages the commission of acts of violence or force."

Local cops, the state government, and "citizens" would be able to get court orders to ban "such groups." Deukmejian told the press that police infiltration of political groups would be needed to "prove" which ones are "violence prone."

Those who think this bill will be used mainly against the Klan and the Nazis "don't understand what the California government is all about," Somburu declared.

Every level of government—state,

local and federal—is controlled by the capitalist class through the Republican and Democratic parties. Capitalism breeds and needs racism to add to the profits of big business and to divide working people.

The government is one of the main weapons used to maintain patterns of racism—through violence-prone racist groups like the police, state troopers, and the FBI.

Rather than trying to stop racists like the Klan and the Nazis, the government does what it can to protect them.

That was the story in Greensboro, North Carolina, where the Klan-Nazi murderers of five antiracist demonstrators went free.

If Attorney General Deukmejian were concerned about racist violence, he could have sent in state troopers to protect Black families who were under attack from the Klan in Contra Costa County. That would not have taken any new laws, just the enforcement of existing laws guaranteeing Black rights. That is supposedly the attorney general's job.

The only time cops protect Black people against racist scum is when working people protest against their complicity. There were no arrests of Klansmen in Contra Costa County until Black community groups, unions and youth protested.

Thinking that the proposed law will stop the Klan would only draw Black people and trade unionists away from mobilizing massively against the Klan.

The law will give the government a new weapon to use against antiracist, socialist, labor, and other organiza-

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Cover-up for killer-cop hit in San Antonio

By Steve Marshall

SAN ANTONIO—James Cammack is back on the streets of San Antonio, and Chicanos and Blacks here want the killer-cop jailed before he claims another victim.

In 1968 Cammack beat a Black youth to death in this city's east side. Several years later he reportedly used a machine gun to kill a burglary suspect.

Then on Christmas Day 1980 Cammack cornered another burglary suspect under a house. Cammack shot Héctor Santescoy, an undocumented Mexican worker, five times.

A police cover-up of the murder began immediately. Cammack claimed that Santescoy had threatened him with a "brick." The cops instantly produced a witness with a signed statement to that effect.

But Pablo Hernández, the witness, says that cops browbeat him into signing an English-language statement, which he didn't understand and doesn't agree with.

Protests were lodged with the city council by the NAACP, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Santescoy family, and the Mexican government.

On January 29 a grand jury voted not to indict Cammack. Of the nineteen witnesses heard, fifteen were policemen. During the grand jury hearings, the county prosecutor remarked that "Cammack could have shot him once, or could have shot him fifty times. He would have been justified in either case."

On January 31, February 6, and again on February 14, more than 250 people marched from the Alamo to the county courthouse chanting: "Justicia,

ahora," (Justice, now), and, "Jail the killer-cop."

Sponsored by LULAC and the GI Forum, the march included a number of Mexican-American Democrats, the Labor Committee for Latin American Advancement, International Union of Electrical Workers, Organizations United for East Side Development, and Socialist Workers Party.

Civil rights attorney Rubén Sandoval and investigator Augustine Mara are representing the Santescoy family, which lives in Piedras Negras, Mexico.

Speaking at a January 20 Militant Forum, Mata presented photographs disproving Cammack's story.

"Santescoy, crouched under a floor eighteen inches high, could not pose a threat to a cop." Witnesses add that there were no bricks under the house.

Santescoy's clothes show powder burns, indicating that he was shot at close range. On February 7 a second autopsy was performed by two doctors, one from Mexico and the other from McAllen, Texas.

Their finding: Santescoy was on his knees, his arms at his sides, when he was shot.

Tony Prince, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, and his campaign supporters have been actively supporting the movement against the coverup. His main opponent, City Councilman Henry Cisneros, expressed confidence in the police "investigation" of the killing.

LULAC, the GI Forum, City Councilman Bernardo Euste, and the Socialist Workers Party have called a demonstration for February 21 assembling at 11:30 a.m. at the Alamo; and for February 28, assembling at 11:30 a.m. at Hamilton and El Paso streets.