

Reagan tries to cover up plan for El Salvador intervention



Militant/Lou Howort

A broad range of organizations and individuals united in February 20 New York demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

5,000 in N.Y. say U.S. out of El Salvador, open drive for March 27 action in D.C.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — "The phantom of Vietnam is haunting the White House. The spirit of Vietnam is breathing once again in the streets of the American cities. The spring offensive has begun. There were thousands of people marching when Salvadoran troops were being trained in the United States. Today there are thousands of people marching in New York City. And on March 27 there will be thousands of people marching in Washington D.C."

With these opening words Arnaldo Ramos, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, greeted a crowd of 5,000 enthusiastic antiwar demonstrators in New York City on February 20.

March 27 protest in Washington

The march was organized by the New York Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) as part of local activities to help publicize the March 27 national demonstration in Washington D.C. The March 27 action has been called by a broad coalition initiated by national CISPES. It consists of solidarity, Black, women's rights, and peace groups; demands "U.S. out of El Salvador;" and opposes U.S. war threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

The size, composition, and enthusiasm of the New York demonstration is an indication of the effects of the widening debate on the U.S. war threat against the people of Central America and the Caribbean. This debate is helping to deepen antiwar sentiment, which is already spilling out into the streets in protest actions across the country.

In New York from 11:30 a.m., when the crowd began gathering at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza near the United Nations building, to nearly 4 p.m., when the march ended, demonstrators spontaneously shouted over and over again

"U.S. out of El Salvador."

Organizations with participants in the march included the War Resisters League, People's Anti-War Mobilization, a contingent from the Vietnamese community, Friends of Haiti, the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World Party, and others. A large number of the marchers belonged to no organization and were participating in this kind of demonstration for their first time.

The composition of the march was noticeably younger than earlier demonstrations around El Salvador.

Support from bystanders

March organizers reported a markedly different attitude of bystanders watching the demonstration.

As the marchers made their way to the Salvadoran Embassy, where a brief rally was heard, and then to the 34th Street office of right-wing Senator Alfonse D'Amato for another rally, many bystanders left the sidewalk and joined the march.

At both rally points hundreds of bystanders stopped and listened to the speeches by Arnaldo Ramos and Maryknoll Sister Darlene Cuccinelo.

As the march wound its way through the streets of mid-Manhattan, onlookers could be seen joining in such chants as "Money for jobs not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador." Many could be seen smiling when the marchers shouted, "Reagan, Reagan he's no good, send him back to Hollywood."

Along the march route, as onlookers figured out what the march was about, different pockets of excited discussions broke out about El Salvador and the Reagan budget cuts. In interviews with onlookers, most people were supportive of the demonstration. Others preferred

to make no comment. Many people who might have been among those hostile to earlier demonstrations were now in the process of thinking things over.

'The U.S. should keep out'

When one Puerto Rican waiter who rushed out to the street to see what was happening was asked if he knew what the march was about, he replied, "yes, this is about El Salvador." When he was asked if he thought the U.S. should help the Salvadoran junta, he replied unequivocally, "No, all the Salvadoran people want is to be free. The United States should keep out, mind its own business."

Continued on Page 4

A cloud of gov't and company lies surrounds Harrisburg nuke alert

BY DOUG COOPER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Central Pennsylvania residents were given another grim reminder of the ongoing dangers at Three Mile Island when General Public Utilities (GPU) Nuclear Corporation President Robert Arnold declared a low-level alert on Friday, February 19, at 5:26 p.m.

The low-level alert, known as an "unusual event," was declared more than eight hours after technicians first took measurements in preparation for an entry into the crippled Unit 2 reactor building. These measurements showed lower-than-normal oxygen readings.

Later measurements, taken between 1:45 and 2:02 p.m. Friday, showed even lower oxygen levels. They also showed the presence of hydrogen, which is highly combustible. At that time, GPU President Arnold claimed that, even if

Offers phony aid scheme for Caribbean

BY HARRY RING

President Reagan's February 24 speech to the Organization of American States promised a program of U.S. economic development for the impoverished nations of the Caribbean and Central America. But even the promise was weaker than dishwater.

Reagan also made a threatening attack on Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. They were falsely accused of precisely the kind of imperialist intervention in Central America and the Caribbean that Washington is guilty of.

The speech also reflected the strong public pressure Reagan is under not to intervene militarily in El Salvador.

The March 1 issue of *Newsweek* reported on a Gallup poll that found 54 percent of Americans think Washington should "stay completely out" of the situation in El Salvador; 89 percent oppose sending U.S. troops there; and 44 percent think it "very likely" El Salvador could turn into another Vietnam.

In a crooked plan to placate this deep sentiment, Reagan asserted in his speech that Washington "will not . . . follow Cuba's lead in attempting to solve human problems by brute force."

But brute force, of course, is exactly what Washington and its military hirelings in the Salvadoran government are using on the insurgent people of that country.

The countries of the Caribbean and Central America, Reagan confirmed, are suffering "economic disaster." But, he assured, this will now be remedied. The big fix will come from the "magic of the marketplace."

'Good Neighbor'

Reagan is not the first U.S. president to announce a plan for bettering the lives of the people south of the border.

During the 1930s, Franklin D. Roosevelt
Continued on Page 2

hydrogen was present and even if it exploded, there was no danger of significant releases of radiation.

Three years ago, in March 1979, the presence of a hydrogen bubble in the Unit 2 reactor precipitated the worst commercial nuclear power accident in American history and the evacuation of thousands of Harrisburg area residents.

By Friday night, Arnold was contradicting the earlier reports on the measured levels of combustible gas inside the reactor building. At a news conference, he said it was believed the building "does not contain detectable levels of combustible gases" based on tests of air being purged from the reactor building throughout the day.

"At this point," Arnold said, "having got a negative result in terms of hydrogen or any deficiencies in oxygen
Continued on Page 2

Reagan covers up plans for Central America

Continued from Page 1

velt offered Latin America a "Good Neighbor" policy. The net result: more poverty, more dictators, more U.S. military bases.

In 1962, as part of the drive to contain the Cuban revolution, John F. Kennedy proclaimed an "Alliance for Progress," which would eliminate poverty in Latin America — also via the "free enterprise" system.

Like the Good Neighbor policy, the Alliance is now forgotten. Only the poverty and oppression remain.

Now we have Reagan's program for "aid, trade and investment."

He said he will ask Congress to approve a twelve-year program permitting duty-free imports from Caribbean and Central American countries. This will supposedly give them a competitive edge in the U.S. market. Textile and apparel imports would be excluded from the plan.

The March 1 *Newsweek* advises that "there may be less to the package than meets the eye."

"About 87 percent of all goods imported from the Caribbean basin already enter America duty-free," the magazine explains. Textiles make up an additional 4 or 5 percent.

That means only 8 percent of imports would benefit from the Reagan plan.

Little wonder he judiciously cautioned his OAS audience that "the impact will develop slowly."

Reagan's claim about the root source of the strife in El Salvador and Guatemala was as false as could be.

Without offering a shred of evidence, he repeated the claim that Cuba, backed by the Soviet Union, was funneling arms into El Salvador and Guatemala through a complicit Nicaragua.

Zero proof

Nobody has produced any Soviet arms in these countries. And no one has spotted any Cuban military advisers.

But Washington ships a steady flow of arms to El Salvador. And the presence of its military advisers is known to the world.

No one has proven the rebels guilty of terrorism against the Salvadoran people. But in the past year alone, reports Amnesty International, more than 12,000 noncombatants were murdered by the Washington-backed government.

A particularly ominous note in Reagan's speech was his reference to the 1947 Rio Treaty, signed by Washington and twenty Latin American nations. Under that treaty, "an armed attack by any state against an American state shall be considered an attack against all the American states."

"Let our friends and our adversaries understand," Reagan warned, "that we will do whatever is prudent and necessary to ensure the peace and security of the Caribbean area."

In 1965, when President Lyndon Johnson dispatched 23,000 Marines to thwart a popular rebellion in the Dominican Republic, he invoked the cover of the Rio Treaty.

Reagan would love to use a similar manufactured pretext for direct military intervention in Central America. But the obstacles are far greater.

His speech comes at a moment when opposition to his El Salvador policy is escalating in this country and internationally. Meanwhile, the regime in El Salvador is hanging on by its fingernails.

Rulers torn

The situation there and at home has reached the point where significant dissonance on how to proceed is developing within U.S. ruling circles.

The extent of popular opposition is reflected in the sharply critical stand taken by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which has demanded a halt to military aid to the junta.

Meanwhile, no one seriously expects that the slated March 28 rigged elections for a constituent assembly, which Reagan saluted, will contribute anything to improving the junta's image at home or abroad.

Of the eight right-wing parties contesting for seats in the assembly, which will also select a new junta, the leading contender is reportedly the Nationalist Republican Alliance. This is led by Roberto d'Aubuisson, a cashiered army officer and a mad dog by anyone's standards.

Robert White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, describes d'Aubuisson as a "pathological killer." White says there is "compelling evidence" that d'Aubuisson ordered the March 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was gunned down in his pulpit.

In his campaign, d'Aubuisson promises to "exterminate" the guerrillas by massive use of napalm.

Indeed, the stench of this "election" is so bad that most nations are resisting Washington's pressure to help legitimize them by sending observers.

Of sixty countries invited so far, all but a handful have said, "No thanks."

The only European government to accept so far is the right-wing Margaret Thatcher administration in London. Public declinations have been made by Canada and Brazil.

Meanwhile, Salvadoran rebel forces are creating embryos of genuinely popu-

lar governments in areas they control.

Correspondent Warren Hoge reported in the February 22 *New York Times* on his visit to the town of Palo Grande, part of the Guazapa zone, controlled by the rebel forces.

There is already a rudimentary network of schools and clinics. Some 600 children attend eighteen schools in two sessions.

There is a clinic in each of six sub-zones, and a four-bed hospital in Palo Grande.

Local assemblies elect three-member courts.

Combine such developments in El Salvador with the opposition here at

home, and you get an idea of the depth of Reagan's troubles.

State Department mail is running twenty-to-one against El Salvador policy. Responding to this, Secretary of State Haig arrogantly declares that the administration does not intend to conduct its affairs on the basis of "the lowest common denominator of national mood."

That's pretty much what Nixon said when he was trying to hang on in Vietnam. But the power of the liberation movement there, coupled with the massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment at home, drove him out anyway.

The same can be done in El Salvador.

Lies surround Harrisburg alert

Continued from Page 1

from the purged exhaust, we are fairly certain that we do not have combustible gases in the compartment."

The alert was called off at 2:04 a.m. Saturday.

A GPU spokesman later claimed that the abnormal readings were due to walkie-talkie radios interfering with measuring instruments.

One thing is certain, however: GPU spokespeople admit that low-level radioactive gas was released into the atmosphere periodically for at least twenty-five hours after the first abnormal readings were recorded.

In normal operation, nuclear power plants continually release radioactivity into the atmosphere. GPU has routinely vented radioactive gas from the Unit 2 reactor building.

In a statement released Friday night, Harrisburg Democratic Mayor Stephen Reed said, "There have been no radiation releases."

A spokesman for Reed told the *Militant* that the mayor's statement was based "on what the mayor was told by GPU." The spokesman was "not aware of any new statements from the mayor" in light of the admission by GPU that low-level radioactive gases were vented during and after the alert.

Officials from York and Cumberland counties, two of the three counties that border Three Mile Island, found out about the alert only through news broadcasts or through phone calls from residents who had heard the news.

Residents of Middletown, where the crippled plant is located, reported that some families evacuated immediately after the first reports.

Katherine Sojourner, a steelworker and Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, was at work a

few miles upriver from TMI the night of the alert. She commented: "We have no reason to believe GPU on any of its claims. They waited eight hours to declare a low-level alert, said that they had no explanation for what was happening, and then told us if there was an explosion of combustible gas the reactor building would contain it. Everyone knows that's a lie."

"I believe this is a clear case of coverup. It fits into a consistent pattern of lies from GPU, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and others since the accident almost three years ago."

"In 1979, GPU told the world there was no problem — and just days later tens of thousands were evacuated."

"The fact is, GPU has stalled on the cleanup for three years by crying 'poverty,' while they've devoted immense amounts of time, energy, and money to attempting to restart the undamaged Unit 1 reactor."

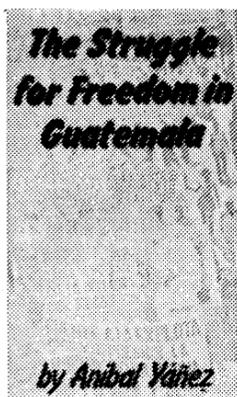
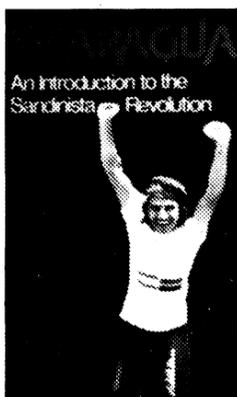
"I learned of the alert from my co-workers. Many of them expressed concern that we were about to be subjected to another nightmare, just like three years ago. Some punched out to be with their families, while others participated in big discussions on nuclear power."

"This latest incident will definitely strengthen antinuclear feeling here and around the world."

Forty-five people attended a Militant Labor Forum on Three Mile Island Saturday, February 20. Speakers included Sojourner; Jane Lee, an Etters, Pennsylvania, farmer and longtime activist against nuclear power; John Kovalic of People Against Nuclear Energy in Middletown; and Steve Patton of Three Mile Island Alert in Harrisburg.

Special offer to new readers:

Free pamphlet with an introductory subscription to the 'Militant'



The *Militant* has featured ongoing coverage of the Reagan administration's threat to wage war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Now, in addition to this coverage, an introductory subscription to the *Militant* will get you one of these pamphlets. They

trace the history of the freedom struggle in three countries that are threatened by intervention from Washington, and provide useful background to the current danger.

Simply enclose \$3 for twelve weeks of the *Militant* and check off the pamphlet

you want us to send you. Mail to: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Enclosed is:

- \$3 for 12 weeks (new readers only).
Send me **Nicaragua**: An introduction to the Sandinista revolution
 The Struggle for Freedom in Guatemala **El Salvador**: Why the U.S. government hides the truth.
 \$15 for six months
 \$24 for one year
\$ _____ contribution to the *Militant*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Union/Org. _____

The Militant

Closing news date: February 24, 1982

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:
NANCY ROSENSTOCK

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Steve Bride, Fred Feldman, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Margaret Jayko, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Stu Singer.

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.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.



Police checkpoint in Poland. Workers' struggle and imposition of martial law are focus of debate within U.S. workers movement.

Speakers exchange views on events in Poland at New England forums

Represent broad range of left groups

Boston

BOSTON — More than 100 people attended the Militant Forum here February 7 to hear an exchange of views on the meaning of the events in Poland.

The speakers were Don Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor in Massachusetts; Joseph Schwartz, former national youth and field organizer of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and Marta Petrusiewicz, professor of economics at Harvard, and an activist in Poland during the 1968 student actions.

The three speakers expressed their strong support for Solidarity and pointed out that the Polish union was clearly opposed to restoring capitalism there.

A central point of the discussion revolved around the question of imposing economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland because of the crackdown, and how supporters of Solidarity in the United States should respond to the sanctions.

Joseph Schwartz stated, "We must support whatever economic and diplomatic sanctions that we as democratic socialists and progressives believe would be effective. These sanctions should be limited at first and aimed at testing the waters to see if the Polish military and party and their Soviet advisers will free all political prisoners and negotiate a new and viable accord with Solidarity.

"Grain should be sent through private charity and not at this moment through government sources. We should refuse to extend new loans to the East while avoiding the economic chaos, East and West, that a default would incur. We must temporarily halt the massive influx of Western high technology, which permitted the distorted economic development of the East in the 1970s.

Marta Petrusiewicz said she opposed privileged status for the Soviet Union in buying grain from the U.S. because it helps "the Soviet party and government face their internal problems, so they can be free to build arms and do whatever they want."

"I don't think the United States has the right to impose sanctions on the Soviet Union or Poland. Nor do I think it will help the Polish or Russian people," Don Gurewitz said.

"The road forward for the Polish people is not in our urging the imperialist government of the United States to promote starvation or lowering the standard of living in general of Eastern Europe. . . .

"Sanctions will not stop the bureaucratic privileges [of the rulers in Poland]," he said, "but the people will be hungry in these countries, and the foundation of these states will be weakened.

"Instead of weakening these property forms," Gurewitz said, "we should demand things that will be in Solidarity's benefit. One is that we should demand that the nuclear weapons not be stationed in Europe, that the U.S. get its troops and weapons out of Europe. Let us take the imperialists off

their [the Polish workers'] backs."

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee does not consider the nationalized property relations and planned economy in Poland and the Soviet Union to be a major advance toward socialism that must be defended. As Schwartz stated in his presentation, the economic and political crisis "in the communist bloc . . . not only poses the question of the democratic nature of the Soviet-style regimes, but also their very legitimacy and economic viability."

Gurewitz, on the other hand, made a clear distinction between the reactionary bureaucratic caste that governs in Poland and the Soviet Union and the progressive character of the economic system.

After World War II, Gurewitz explained, "property was socialized and tremendous advances in the standard of living of the Polish people in the countryside and the city took place on the basis of that socialized production.

"At the same time a privileged bureaucracy fastened itself onto these progressive property relations, sort of like the way a privileged bureaucracy has fastened itself onto our unions here, and it stifled all democracy for the same reasons the leaders of our unions here do it: to protect their privileged position.

"The struggle of the Polish people is on a much higher plane from anything we've seen so far in Western Europe," Gurewitz said, referring to a statement by Lech Walesa that in Poland "things are much simpler for us than in the West because we all form the state and we are much closer to the responsibility. There is no one between us and the state, no factory owner."

Providence

PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island — John Hovan, a member of the Communist Party in Rhode Island; Don Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts; and Michael Murphy of the Socialist Labor Party, participated in a debate on Poland here February 6 sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Polish authorities took the necessary steps to prevent "civil war" and "counter-revolution" in Poland, Hovan said, defending the imposition of martial law.

"It was in the interests of the Polish workers to prevent what those who finally took over Solidarity were trying to do . . . to destroy socialism in Poland and reestablish a private ownership type of system."

Documents have been found in Solidarity's offices that will prove this, Hovan claimed, and added that CIA and other capitalist intelligence agencies were in Poland "taking advantage of the situation."

"Almost from the beginning [Solidarity] was not a trade union but an opposition political movement," he continued. "There were errors made by the Polish party and Polish government, and they both had admitted them, and steps were being made to correct these things.

"But the leaders of Solidarity continued with destructive types of strikes. . . ." These strikes were "not a weapon to settle workers' grievances, but really a deliberate effort to cripple the economy of the country and to finally attempt to overthrow it."

"Solidarity has always been a movement fighting for the specific demands of the working class," Gurewitz countered.

"He read from the list of Solidarity's twenty-one demands put together in Gdansk in 1980 which include: opposition to price increases; free unions; the right to strike; for free speech and a free press; for the release of all political prisoners; for the elimination of all privileges for cops and party bureaucrats; a forty-hour work week; pay increases, including higher ones for the lowest paid workers; three years maternity leave; and daycare for every working mother in Poland.

"Not one is related to capitalism . . . nor do any of these exist under capitalism," Gurewitz stated.

Arizonans fight gov't attempt to deport Iranian student

BY JOSEFINA OTERO

TEMPE, Ariz. — At a news conference here February 23, a nationwide campaign was launched on behalf of Hamid Reza Sodeifi by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Sodeifi is a seventeen-year-old Iranian student at Arizona State University who faces deportation.

Why does the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) want to deport Sodeifi? Because of his political ideas.

Sodeifi came to the United States in 1978. While in high school, he joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

He entered ASU in January 1981. When he dropped a physics class from his course load, the INS grabbed this technicality to try and deport him.

Sodeifi explained his story at the news conference:

"On January 20, 1982, I was ordered to appear before an INS judge to show cause why I should not be deported. The INS claimed that the move to deport me was because I failed to carry out a full course study at ASU.

"Under the Freedom of Information Act, Nancy Jo Merritt, my attorney, obtained documents that prove that the INS is trying to deport me because of my political activity."

Included in Sodeifi's INS file is a YSA flyer headlined "Stop racist violence," which he had distributed at a 1981 march of Black high school students in sympathy with the children slain in Atlanta.

Also in the file was a copy of the *Young Socialist*, a publication of the YSA.

Among the messages of support sent to Sodeifi's news conference was one from Jon Paisley, president of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 419. He wrote:

"Having been a victim of the government's false dealings, I can certainly

Solidarity was fighting for workers control," Gurewitz explained, and quoted a statement of Lech Walesa: "We don't want to change the socialist ownership of the means of production, but we want to be the real masters of the factory," Walesa said.

Referring to Hovan's charges of secret documents, Gurewitz asked if this meant that the 10 million members of Solidarity "were going to be fooled by twenty extremists who have a secret agenda?"

Gurewitz pointed out that one million members of the Polish United Workers Party's (Communist Party) three million members, including 60 percent of the working class members, had joined Solidarity.

Gurewitz added that the crackdown in Poland has "tremendously discredited the fight for socialism" and is being used by Washington to justify military intervention in El Salvador and placing more nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

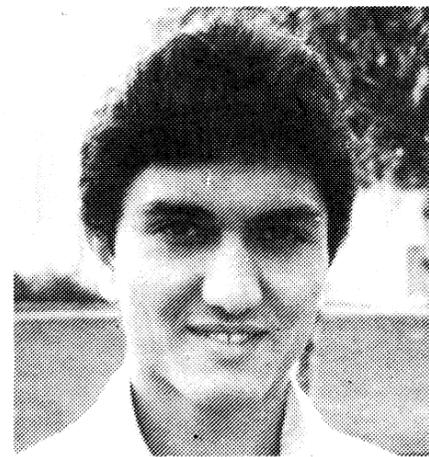
sympathize with Hamid Sodeifi when the government turns on him. It is a sad commentary on our times when the government finds a seventeen-year-old student a danger to its way of life.

"I hope that Hamid finds more justice in this system than the members of PATCO did."

Lupe Sanchez, director of the Arizona Farm Workers Union, also sent a message to the news conference. In it, he said:

"As a longtime activist in the fight for the rights of undocumented workers in this country, I want to express my support to the effort to have the student visa of Hamid Sodeifi reinstated, and to have all deportation proceedings against him stopped."

Others defending Sodeifi at the news conference were Tyrone Walters, president of the ASU Black Student Union; Victor Aronow, representing the Central Arizona chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; and Jackie Hayes, representing the executive board of the American Federation of Teachers at ASU.



Hamid Reza Sodeifi

Militant/Rob Roper

N.Y. labor backs March 27; rail local hits junta

Both the Political Action Committee of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the New York Public Library Guild Local 1930 have endorsed the March 27 demonstration in Washington D.C. opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean.

In a related development, Mark Finley, a rail worker in Philadelphia, reports that the following resolution was passed on February 16 by Lodge 590 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

"Whereas the Reagan administration has increased this country's involvement in the internal affairs of El Salvador, using military and economic means to support a government that has slaughtered, since 1979, over 30,000 of its own citizens;

"Whereas the Reagan administration has already poured tens of millions of American tax

payers' dollars into support for the Salvadoran dictatorship, and now wants to increase that aid to \$800 million;

"Whereas \$800 million, if allocated to the bankrupt Consolidated Rail Corporation, could keep all Conrail employees, including the 10,000 jobs lost since January 1981, working for four years.

"Be it resolved that Lodge 590 of BRAC, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, representing over 1,200 clerks on Conrail, state our opposition to the U.S. government's military and economic intervention in El Salvador, a country that very well may become another Vietnam."

Lodge 590 is the largest BRAC lodge in the country.

Steelworkers in Indiana hear rebel spokesman

Brenda Brdar reports that at a solidarity meeting in East Chicago, Indiana, Victor Rubio, the midwest representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, explained that the tragedy of a regional conflict and the deaths of thousands of American youths will

not be avoided if U.S. troops are sent to El Salvador.

Rubio was the keynote speaker at a gathering of seventy-five people sponsored by the Gary El Salvador Committee.

He enlisted the support of the audience, one quarter of which were steelworkers, to prevent the tragedy he spoke of by participating in the protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador in Chicago on February 20, and in Washington, D.C. on March 27.

The rebel forces in El Salvador have such overwhelming support that if aid to the junta were to stop, "there wouldn't even be a final battle," according to Rubio.

"We want to create a society where human beings will be the starting point . . . where we have self-determination . . . where no oppressors will exist. We will be successful."

In response to U.S. propaganda that the struggle in El Salvador is caused by the Cubans, Rubio stated, "We have been fighting for many years, since before Fidel Castro was born. Since before the Soviet Union was the Soviet Union. The struggle is indigenous."

Explaining the fake nature of the elections to be held later this

month in El Salvador, Rubio said that the junta's policies are purely that of terrorism, "not of trying to change minds. The junta's hope was that there would be pacification by the time of the elections." Nothing could be further from the truth, Rubio explained.

Rubio's presentation was preceded by a powerful film, detailing the history of the struggle of the Salvadorans — *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. This film has recently been nominated for an Academy Award.

Mexico march hits war threat to Salvador

Eduardo Quintana writes from Sonora, Mexico, "In a march organized by the Nogales section of the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador, several hundred people filled the streets of Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, on Saturday February 13."

"*Los pueblos unidos jamás serán vencidos*" (The people united will never be defeated) shouted the marchers. "No draft no war, U.S. out of El Salvador" and "Cuba Si, Yanqui no" shouted others.

Throng of tourists shopping and sightseeing in this small border town fumbled for their cameras and jostled at each other, pointing in amazement to the banner of the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America and the American participants in the obviously antiyankee procession.

A contingent of approximately forty American solidarity activists, including members of the Tucson Human Rights Committee, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Ouitoli musical group from Tucson formed an American contingent in the march.

Leading the march was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the internationally known Mexican fighter for human rights, and leader of the Mexican National Front Against Repression. She is also the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party for president of Mexico.

In a campaign rally organized prior to the march, Ibarra de Piedra hit the racist treatment of undocumented workers in the United States and called for a world without borders. The rally also received greetings from Rebecca Cartes, representing the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America.

5,000 protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador

Continued from Page 1

An older, white worker ventured his opinion that he "hated to see what was going on down there." He told the *Militant* that he would rather see the money that Reagan is sending the junta spent on people here in the United States.

A young Black construction worker, surrounded by his white co-workers, kept on insisting that he wasn't interested in foreign policy. "I don't have any opinion on foreign policy, I just try to work and take care of my family."

When he was asked about going to fight in El Salvador he answered, "No, they didn't do anything to me. I don't have any problems with them. Why should I fight somebody else's war. That's not right."

Daniel Freedman, a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, drove this point home when, at the 34th Street rally, he told the crowd, "Many Americans were lied to when they went off to Vietnam. We thought we were fighting for justice, truth, and the American

way. Over the broken and bloodied bodies of our brothers and sisters we found out different. We found out we were fighting for Mobil Oil and the Rockefeller interests. We will not sacrifice our children or our lives. We will stop it here, we will stop it now."

Judging by the response of the crowd to the speeches and by the success that march organizers had in selling March 27 demonstration buttons, as well as collecting funds, the people participating in this march are serious about fighting to stop U.S. intervention. One thousand buttons were sold and over \$1,200 was collected.

When Arnaldo Ramos was asked about the importance of the March 27 national mobilization in Washington, D.C., he told the *Militant*, "It is crucial, it is extremely crucial at this moment to mobilize every sector of American society so that they can demonstrate that the people of this country do not approve of the genocide against the Salvadoran people, that they support our right to self determination.

"At the same time it is crucial for the progressive movement in this country to show unity. To show that together the American people have the muscle to counter the policies of this administration abroad and at home."

Fill the streets June 12

Ramos urged the crowd gathered out in front of D'Amato's office to help culminate the spring offensive by building the March 27 protests in Washington and by filling the streets of New York City on June 12, during the disarmament rally scheduled for the United Nations on that date. He proposed that all progressive forces join together to "make this spring offensive, the last spring offensive in Central America; and to make this summer a summer of victory for the Salvadoran people and the American people."

In addition to the February 20 New York protest, on this same day, 125 people in Chicago picketed the armed forces recruitment center; several hundred demonstrators in Hartford, Connecticut, picketed the Civic Center calling for the U.S. to get out of El Salvador; and 750 people in Munich, West Germany, protested U.S. involvement in El Salvador.



Many participants in the N.Y. protest were marching for the first time.

Spartacist League tries disruption

NEW YORK — About 100 members of the Spartacist League, an ultra-left sect, organized an "anti-imperialist" contingent and marched into Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza pushing and shoving activists assembling for the February 20 protest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In an attempt to prevent the march from being disrupted march organizers and marshals tried to negotiate with the Spartacist League.

Because of provocative actions by the Spartacist League at previous solidarity activities, march organizers had decided to try to minimize the possibility of a confrontation by urging them to partici-

pate at the end of the march.

The Spartacists refused to negotiate, and when the march stepped off they surged through the marshals, punching several people and knocking others down.

The police used this as a pretext to rush in, and one officer was heard yelling, "get them, they're all the same." Fortunately, because of the size of the demonstration and the discipline of the marshals, the situation was quickly defused and the Spartacists were separated from the main body of the march.

Such provocative behavior which opens antiwar forces to victimization by the police must be vigorously condemned.

GRENADA Revolution in the Caribbean



by Sam Manuel & Andrew Pulley

\$.95

Order from: Pathfinder Press
410 West Street
New York, N.Y.
10014

(Include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

Why Alabama's oil windfall referenda are a fraud

BY ANDY ROSE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Upcoming state referenda on the use of a \$500 million oil-lease "windfall" is a fraud, aimed at concealing more cutbacks for Alabama workers and more giveaways to the rich, charges Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

Boyers, a twenty-six-year-old steel-worker and leader of the Birmingham Young Socialist Alliance, announced his candidacy at a news conference here February 24.

In the March 2 special election, the Socialist Workers Party is calling for a vote against Amendments 1, 2, and 3, which are required to implement Governor Forrest ("Fob") James's plan for the so-called windfall funds.

The state received the \$500 million last year by leasing public lands for oil and gas exploration. Under the plan proposed by James and approved by the state legislature, this money will be invested in U.S. Treasury notes.

Income from that investment will, in turn, back up the issue of state bonds to pay for "capital improvements." These are to include building more prisons, highways, bridges, and school classrooms; deepening the Mobile ship channel; and renovating the Capitol and state office buildings.

Governor James claims that through the special election "the people of Alabama will have the final word" on use of the funds.

"This is the biggest hoax of all," said Boyers. "Regardless of how the people vote, the Democrats and Republicans will continue to make sure state funds go to the needs of big business, not workers and farmers.

"Projected school closings in Birmingham and other cities will still take place. So will cuts in food stamps, welfare, and other vital programs.

"The state will still drive ahead with prosecutions of welfare recipients for alleged 'fraud' — prosecutions aimed at terrorizing the poor and unemployed from seeking government aid."

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is also urging the public to vote no on the oil-lease funds plan. At its state convention last November, SCLC condemned the governor's "callous and indifferent attitude toward the poor and Blacks in the use of these funds."

The civil rights group noted that "no consideration was given toward social programs and community action agencies to help those who are in grave need."

The real windfall, socialist candidate Boyers said, is not the money the state got, but the profits the oil companies will reap from exploiting public lands for their private profit. "This is just one example of how the biggest decisions are already made without any pretext of giving the public a say," he explained.

"Five hundred million dollars is a drop in an oil barrel compared to the

profits the energy giants expect from these lands," Boyers said.

"All the benefits from public lands should go to the needs of the public. We need to nationalize the energy industry so it produces for society's needs — not hand private profiteers the keys to public property."

The Socialist Workers Party also opposes the plan because of its provision for building more prisons.

"The Democrats and Republicans are trying to whip up hysteria about a supposed increase in crime to justify more police violence against the Black community," said Boyers. "The rulers are also preparing to step up jailings of strikers who resist the employers' give-back demands, of Black activists like Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman (see story, page 20), and of any other working people who stand up for our rights.

"This is the hidden purpose behind building more prisons, and it is a threat to all Alabama workers."

Finally, Boyers explained, the Socialist Workers Party opposes the "windfall" plan because its bond issue is aimed at enriching the banks and other wealthy bondholders at public expense.

"Working-class taxpayers are the guaranteed losers in this financial fast shuffle," Boyers said. "Issuing bonds

Rightists bomb Nicaragua airport

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — A bomb, tucked away in a suitcase, claimed the lives of three airport workers here February 20 and seriously wounded three others.

An estimated seventy persons in the customs area were narrowly spared because the bomb exploded outside the building. The suitcase was on a conveyor belt used to carry the luggage inside.

It was a scene of tremendous panic as parents and children searched for each other and then for the doors. There were cries of "Death to Somozaism."

Had the Honduran airlines flight carrying the explosives been delayed by ten minutes, the bomb could have killed all forty passengers.

The explosives were designed for military use, and the damage to the airport was quite extensive. One expert commented that the powerful device showed a high level of technical sophistication.

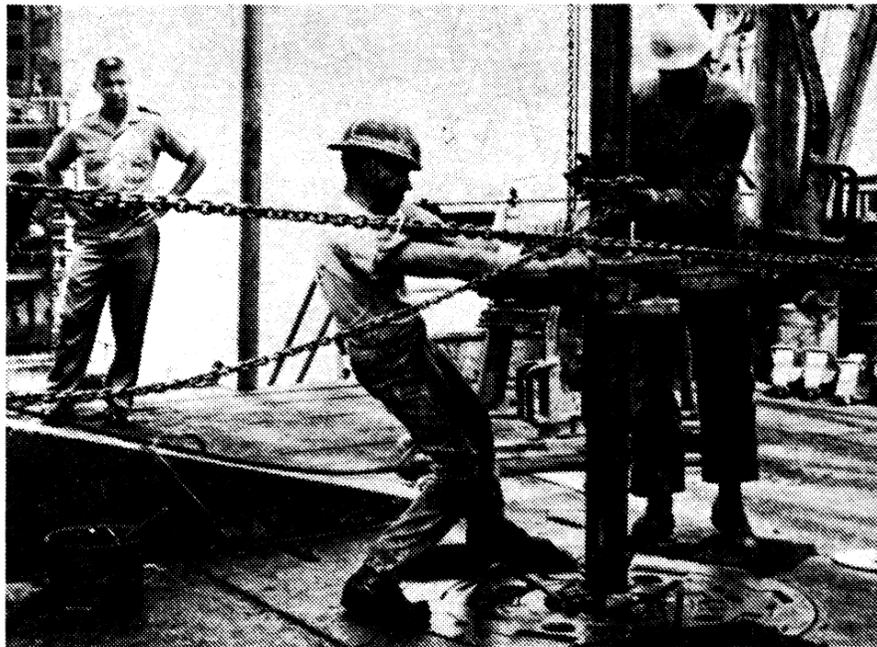
Commander Tomás Borge, minister of the interior, was addressing 1,500 people at the final session of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties (COPPPAL) when the news arrived. After reporting the attack to the crowd, Borge, visibly shaken, declared that "we will never be frightened off by bombs and assassins."

COPPPAL President Pedro Ojeda Paullada read a message on behalf of thirty political parties belonging to the organization, repudiating the terrorist crimes, expressing solidarity with Nicaragua, and declaring that such "cowardly acts will never outweigh" the heroism of the Nicaraguan people.

The following day, thousands of Nicaraguans poured into the Plaza of the Revolution to greet Mexican President José López Portillo.

In a major policy speech, López Portillo called on Washington to negotiate with the Nicaraguan and Cuban governments to ease present deep tensions. He also urged negotiations in El Salvador's civil war.

Offering Mexico's good offices in negotiations, López Portillo proposed that Washington renounce any threat or use of force against Nicaragua. Once coun-



'Windfall' funds from oil-rig leasing — which are just a drop in the bucket of huge oil industry profits — will not go to meet needs of workers and farmers in Alabama.

means borrowing money from the banks, to be repaid at today's exorbitant interest rates.

"In this case the bonds will be repaid using the income from the U.S. Treasury notes the state is going to buy. But who pays the interest on U.S. Treasury notes? We do, through our federal tax dollars."

Instead of this swindle, the Socialist Workers Party is campaigning for both state and federal funds to be used to create jobs for the nearly 200,000 Alabamians out of work, and to provide social services for the needy. The money should come, Boyers explained, from the billions now squandered on war and from taxing the rich.

"The unanimous agreement of Democratic and Republican politicians on this fraudulent plan shows that workers and farmers cannot rely on these parties to meet our needs. Working people need our own political party — a labor party based on the power of the unions — to fight against cutback schemes, to fight for spending money on jobs instead of war, and to fight for shifting the tax burden onto those who can afford to pay.

"A labor party is also the tool we need to win real majority rule in this country — that means a workers government — so we can exercise real democratic control over vital decisions instead of phony referenda like the one March 2."

terrevolutionary Nicaraguan exiles are disarmed in Honduras and forbidden from training in the United States, he added, Nicaragua should reduce its military strength.

The Mexican president also urged continuation of U.S.-Cuban talks. Last November, on López Portillo's initiative, Secretary of State Haig and Cuban Vice-President Carlos Rafael Rodríguez met in Mexico City.

López Portillo warned that failure to negotiate could lead to a "conflagration" in the region.

Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction, also addressed the rally. He contrasted the solidarity of the Mexican people with the secret plans of the White House. Ortega made it clear that he did not view the airport explosion as an isolated incident.

He said: "The most recent revelations show that undercover actions against

the Nicaraguan revolution have already been approved. They have even been denounced in the United States, where the administration has allocated \$19 million to encourage a series of actions to destabilize the Nicaraguan revolution. . . .

"We know that they have plans to assassinate members of the directorate [of the Sandinista National Liberation Front]. They think that by assassinating several of us, the National Directorate will be divided and decentralized. They do not realize that the national leadership of the Sandinistas holds the power conferred on it by the working people, and by the farmers of Nicaragua. . . . They do not realize that they can assassinate one of us, that they can assassinate the whole national leadership, but they cannot assassinate the longing for freedom and justice of this people. For that they would have to kill us all."

Baltimore SWP office attacked

BY STEVEN FUCHS

BALTIMORE — At around midnight Friday, February 19, a gunshot was fired from a car through the window of the Socialist Workers campaign office here. Two campaign supporters were working there at the time.

Two nights later, a second shot ripped through the window, just two inches from the first.

A police officer who took the report of the first shooting told campaign workers they should expect such violence because of their activities.

Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, released a statement on Monday, February 22. She said, "This statement by a police officer is a scandal. Does he mean there is nothing he can do about it? That this is the price we must pay for exercising our constitutional freedoms?"

"We demand that the mayor's office and the police department act immediately to ensure that our rights are protected."

Hayes also explained the source of the attacks. "Although we don't know who pulled the trigger, we hold the government ultimately responsible. They have created an atmosphere of political harassment and intimidation. To carry out its drive toward war in Central America and on our standard of living, the government is chipping away at our right to fight back."

Television news reported the shootings that evening. Campaign supporters at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant, where Hayes works, have collected signatures from co-workers on protest messages.

Labor leaders and others are contacting the mayor and police commissioner demanding immediate action.

Hayes noted in her statement, "No one has been hurt yet. But the longer such actions continue without response, the safer such attackers feel, and the more encouraged they are to continue and escalate their attacks."

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. Like the *Militant*, it carries regular coverage of the labor movement and the struggles for social justice in the United States and abroad.

\$2.50/three months; \$8/six months; \$16/one year.

408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Reagan revives anticommunist campaign around Afghanistan

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The U.S. government is once again stepping up its propaganda campaign around Afghanistan, this time as part of its anticommunist crusade around Poland.

Washington is using the events in these two countries to justify its own accelerating militarization drive. At the moment the heart of this drive is the stepped-up moves to crush the struggling people of El Salvador.

In his state of the union address, President Ronald Reagan announced, "private American groups have taken the lead in making January 30 a day of solidarity with the people of Poland — so, too, the European Parliament has called for March 21 to be an international day of support for Afghanistan. Well, I urge all peace-loving peoples to join together on those days, to raise their voices, to speak and pray for freedom."

In December, the European Parliament passed a resolution calling for March 21, Afghanistan's New Year's Day, to be observed internationally as Afghanistan Day.

In this country, a joint Congressional resolution was submitted on February 2 to the House of Representatives that asks "the President to issue a proclamation designating March 21, 1982, as 'Afghanistan Day,' and calls "upon the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities."

Bipartisan policy

The resolution was sponsored by seventy-seven representatives, and State Department spokesperson Phillip Covington told this reporter that he expects there will be no opposition to the bill. Like the cutbacks in social services, it's a bipartisan cause.

A similar resolution in the Senate complains that, "the valiant Afghan resistance against Soviet aggression has not received the level of moral support and material assistance from the free world which such resistance deserves and requires."

It ends with a thinly-veiled call for even more U.S. aid to the right-wing guerrillas in Afghanistan.

The House resolution is expected to be adopted on or before February 24, at which time organizing for activities in this country is slated to get under way.

Responding to a request for further information on these activities, Covington referred this reporter to Rosanne Klass, director of the New York-based Afghanistan Information Center. Klass's columns on Afghanistan in the *New York Times* have been some of the most anticommunist and prowar. Her central theme is to urge Washington to do more to aid right-wing guerrillas fighting in Afghanistan.

Covington said that the State Department is very much behind Afghanistan Day, as they are "anything that draws attention to this issue," because it is good for "America's national and humanitarian interests."

More grist for anticommunist mill

Why is Washington so interested in doing "anything" to draw attention to Afghanistan now?

When the Soviet Union's troops entered Afghanistan in December 1979, President Carter seized the opportunity to carry out an anticommunist propaganda campaign. He campaigned for greater military spending, more military bases in the Indian Ocean, renewed registration for the military draft, a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, and a grain embargo and other economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

Long before Soviet troops entered

Afghanistan, the CIA was aiding rightist guerrilla groups that were fighting against the regime in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Then when Soviet troops entered the country, Washington increased this aid. According to the July 18, 1981, issue of *The New Republic* magazine, "In the hours after the Soviets crossed the Afghan border, the president told a meeting of the National Security Council that the United States had 'a moral obligation' to help arm the resistance." The CIA proposed a plan to the Senate for getting more effective weapons into their hands, which was passed without a murmur.

The main goal of this campaign was to gain support for Washington's militarization drive, partly by grinding out a massive amount of anti-Soviet propaganda. Carter may also have thought it would serve as a diversionary ploy to draw our attention away from the attacks on our rights and living standards that his administration was carrying out.

Though the rulers gave it their best shot, the results were less than they hoped for.

The Olympic boycott was largely a failure.

Under pressure from outraged farmers in this country, Reagan was forced to call off the grain embargo last April.

The government was successful in reimposing draft registration. However, hundreds of thousands of young men have not registered.

And while the imperialist campaign to tar the image of socialism by equating it with the reactionary policies of the Soviet bureaucracy chalked up some points, the antiwar sentiment in this country is still strong.

Double standard

Secretary of State Alexander Haig complained last August about the failure of the administration's Afghanistan campaign to elicit much enthusiasm.

"Many leading citizens and groups seem to have fallen victim to an insidious double standard," he said.

"During the Vietnam War, tens of thousands of persons filled the streets and squares of the world to defend the North Vietnamese and Vietcong," he continued, but "no such growing moral outrage seems to be present" against the actions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

So the rulers dropped Afghanistan for a while.

But today, the big-business-run government and media are having a field day of anticommunist and prowar propaganda in response to the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy's criminal suppression of Solidarity's struggle for democracy and economic justice.

Washington figures that this is a good time to try and get more mileage out of Afghanistan by linking it with Poland.

On December 26, 1981, the State Department made public its balance sheet of the two years since the Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan.

Increased U.S. aid to rightists

Reagan took the opportunity to release his own written statement the next day.

"Just as in Poland [where] we see the use of intimidation and indirect use of power to subjugate a neighboring people," he stated, "in Afghanistan we see direct aggression in violation of the United Nations charter and other principles governing the conduct among nations."

Then he struck an ominous note, "As long as the Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan in defiance of the international community, the heroic Afghan resistance will continue and the United

States will support the cause of a free Afghanistan."

This echoes Reagan's statement in an interview with *ABC News* on March 8, 1981, that he "would consider supplying American weapons to the Afghan rebels."

The fact is, however, that Washington has been supplying them all along.

Last September, the late Egyptian dictator, Anwar el-Sadat, confirmed in a television interview that the U.S. government had been buying Soviet-made weapons in Egypt and sending them to the rightist insurgents in Afghanistan.

The Reagan administration has since reviewed the level of military aid committed under Carter and has ordered this clandestine operation expanded.

'Effective example'

According to a December 4 article by William Beecher in the *Boston Globe*, the U.S. National Security Council has kept Afghanistan in mind while thinking about what to do to push back the revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America.

Beecher was a Pentagon official during the Carter administration. He wrote, "while no one will talk about the details of covert activities" in the Caribbean and Central America, some officials did give an "effective example of low-profile activity" of the kind the National Security Council decided to carry out. The example cited was "the covert supply of antiaircraft and antitank missiles to Moslem insurgents in Afghanistan."

The Defense Department plans to double the amount to be spent in the next year on chemical and biological weapons — including a new lethal nerve gas. It justifies this by using the discredited and unproven charge that the Soviet government has used chemical weapons in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea.

In November of 1981, the "yellow rain" issue was examined by a United Nations panel of experts who reported that "there was no conclusive evidence to support United States charges that Soviet-made chemical and biological weapons had been used in Laos, Cambodia [Kampuchea], and Afghanistan." Nevertheless, the U.N. General Assembly voted on December 9 that the panel should continue its investigation.

Labor bureaucrats fall in line

The U.S. trade union officialdom is among the most vocal supporters of Washington's reactionary campaign around both Poland and Afghanistan.

In February of 1980, the AFL-CIO Ex-

ecutive Council issued a statement entitled "The Soviet Challenge." It begins, "The Soviet invasion and subjugation of Afghanistan poses the greatest threat to the free world since the end of World War II."

The statement slavishly repeated all the imperialists' lies about "Soviet expansionism." It endorsed Carter's threats of using military force in the Persian Gulf region to protect the "vital interests" of U.S. corporations.

The labor tops used Afghanistan to oppose the call for unilateral disarmament of the imperialist powers, calling it a "Soviet inspired campaign." And the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed the reimposition of draft registration.

According to someone the *Militant* spoke with at the AFL-CIO national headquarters in Washington, D.C., at this point they are not supporting any actions on the March 21 Afghanistan Day. He explained that if Reagan initiated them, that would insure the AFL-CIO's nonparticipation. He said the union federation didn't want to be involved with any administration effort on this.

But this hasn't stopped AFL-CIO officials on Poland, where they actively participated in the administration's reactionary "Let Poland be Poland" TV extravaganza on January 31.

CIA front groups

8-Days magazine, published in Britain, reported in its October 1981 issue the widely accepted fact that "Solidarity [with Afghanistan] groups in the West are largely CIA or European intelligence agency fronts."

In the latter half of last year, two demonstrations which occurred in this country showed the political dynamic of the "Afghanistan solidarity movement," such as it is. The *New York Times* covered both.

This is how it described a September 22 action: "About 125 Afghan nationalists tried to storm the front gate of the United Nations today to protest the speech by Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister."

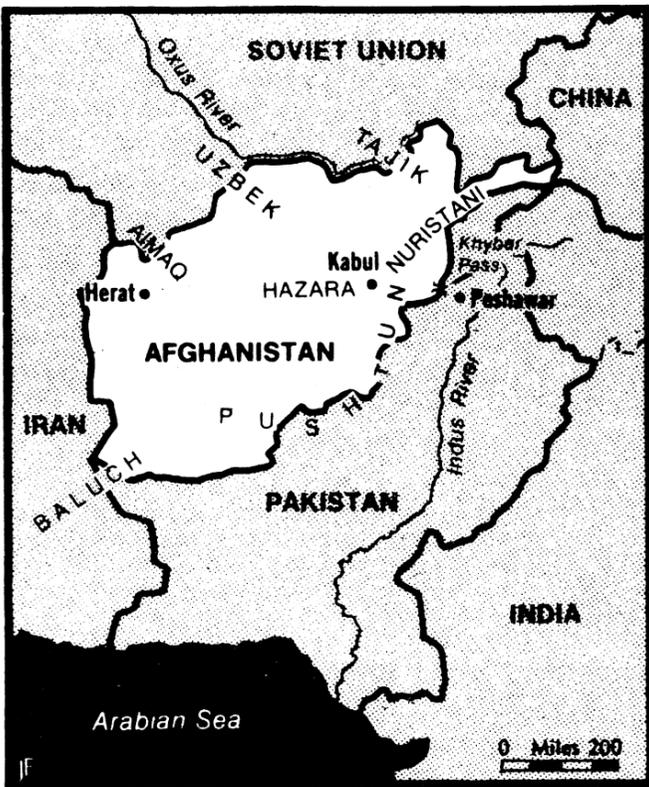
"The demonstrators, some of them wielding knives and clubs with nails, tried to climb over the cement wall and iron fence surrounding the complex to cut down the Soviet flag."

None were arrested.

The *Times* also reported on a December 27 demonstration at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. That's the same day that Reagan made his Afghanistan statement mentioned previously. Twenty demonstrators tried to rush the cops. Yet only one was arrested.



President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, on Pakistan-Afghanistan border in 1980. Reagan wants to use Afghanistan, as well as Poland, to whip up support for Washington's belligerent foreign policy.



Washington's anti-Soviet campaign around Poland and Afghanistan encourages reactionary demonstrations like this one, which took place in Chicago in December.

ed, on charges of disorderly conduct. This slap on the wrist contrasts sharply with what the cops would have done if, instead of anticommunist actions, these had been union pickets, demonstrators for Black rights, or protesters against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

According to the May-July 1981 issue of *CounterSpy*, "One of the U.S. organizations that is openly collecting money for the Afghan rebels is the Boulder, Colorado-based Afghan Freedom Fighters Fund, which was started by *Soldier of Fortune* (SoF) magazine. . . .

"The Fund's advertisement . . . reads 'Buy a Bullet, Zap a Russian Invader.'"

It's this kind of right-wing scum that feels most drawn to the government's reactionary Afghanistan campaign.

Arming Pakistan to the teeth

The imperialists are also using Afghanistan to justify their massive military aid to the dictatorship of General Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan.

At the end of last year, Congress endorsed a military and economic package to Pakistan of \$3.2 billion over a six-year period. The first part of the package was approved by Congress in November with the sale of forty F16 attack aircraft to Pakistan.

According to the December 11 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*: "The U.S.-Pakistan relationship will now move into a second, and much more critical and delicate phase. The crucial, and so far publicly unspoken, element in the developing relations is the strategic quid pro quo which the Reagan administration is expecting in return for its assistance and its now unambiguous backing of the Zia regime."

What is this key element that's so hush-hush?

Military base facilities.

According to the February 24 issue of *The New Republic*, "The Pentagon's goal is the use of Pakistani ports and airfields for the Rapid Deployment Force."

Up to now, the Pakistani government has resisted this proposal, due to the substantial anti-imperialist sentiment in the country.

U.S.-backed torturers

Washington's fairy tale that it is fighting for "democracy" and against "totalitarianism" was exposed, once again, in January when Amnesty International issued a report on the marked rise in the arrest, torture, and murder of political prisoners under the Zia regime in Pakistan.

According to the January 15 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The picture of the Pakistani Government that emerges from the document is that of an administration terrorising its own people while protesting at the same time against brutalities in neighboring Afghanistan."

Dictator Zia says he can't hold elec-

tions because of "possible subversion" due to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

And the Pakistani government was the chief architect of the third and latest proimperialist resolution, passed in the U.N. General Assembly in November 1981, condemning Soviet troops in Afghanistan. These U.S. resolutions only serve to provide ammunition for Washington's anticommunist campaign around Afghanistan.

Mitterrand jumps on bandwagon

But Washington isn't the only imperialist power that's stepped up its propaganda around Afghanistan. It was the imperialist governments in Western Europe, through the European Parliament, that declared March 21 Afghanistan Day.

In the February 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, there's a report from Peshawar, Pakistan, about a meeting between Régis Debray, a foreign relations adviser for French President François Mitterrand, and leaders of the six main Afghanistan resistance groups based in Pakistan and Pakistani government officials.

Debray also visited one of the Afghan refugee camps near Peshawar, where he pledged "France's solidarity" and promised that France would not "forget the fundamental violation of peoples' rights that the Soviet intervention constitutes."

The refugees asked Debray for modern arms. Debray responded by saying he would refer their request to Mitterrand.

This follows on the heels of a January 20 demonstration in Paris to demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In an ad for the demonstration which appeared in the January 9 issue of *Le Monde*, it says that the Soviet intervention has been condemned "by all those who reject the idea that the destiny of peoples can be imposed by one superpower, whichever it might be."

This reactionary ad is signed by three major trade union federations, the ruling Socialist Party, several left groups, and a number of left-wing intellectuals.

Victim of imperialism

What is the situation in Afghanistan?

The explanation for the upheaval in Afghanistan, like those in Iran, El Salvador, and other semicolonial countries, lies in the grinding poverty, enforced backwardness, and brutal inequality that is the legacy of imperialist oppression.

Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world. The great majority of the population lives in the countryside, where most people own little or no land and a few rich landlords own a lot.

In 1978, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a pro-Moscow party, carried out a popular coup.

It purged most of the generals in the army. It released more than 12,000 political prisoners and burned police files. It promised many reforms, which initially won it the cautious support of the masses.

The cornerstone of the PDPA's proposed social program was a land reform. But they did not involve the masses, as is being done today by the Nicaraguan and Grenadian governments. Mass organizations of the oppressed didn't exist that could be drawn into discussing and implementing the proposed social reforms. Instead of encouraging the formation of such organizations and politically winning the masses to their proposals, the PDPA government used bureaucratic methods to carry out their plans.

Dr. Abdul Ghafar Lakanwal, a member of the current revolutionary council in Afghanistan and president of the Agricultural Cooperatives' Union, explained what went wrong with the land reform in the November 22, 1981, issue of the British daily, *The Guardian*. "It [the PDPA government] took away land," he admitted, "but left the water rights in landlords' hands. It gave peasants no tools or credit. Peasants must feel that a land reform gives them more profit than the previous system. Unfortunately no one started by explaining this to them. The counterrevolution gained more from the land reform than we did."

The violent resistance to the government's measures, spearheaded by the landlords, moneylenders, merchants, opium smugglers, and other mainstays of the old social order, was met by the PDPA with stepped-up repressive measures, some of which were directed against peasants as well.

This forced march approach, combined with increasing factional violence — including assassinations and jailings — within the ruling PDPA, eroded the popular sympathy the regime had when it first took power. The April 1978 coup

brought Noor Mohammad Taraki to power. He was killed in September 1979 in a shoot-out and his prime minister — Hafizullah Amin — who then became president until he was killed in December of 1979, when the Soviet troops helped install Babrak Karmal as president.

Washington was bitterly hostile to the PDPA regime right from the start. The U.S. government immediately cut off all economic aid to Afghanistan. The CIA began probing counterrevolutionary forces that could be used against the Kabul regime.

Moscow's role

All along, Moscow's role had been to try and stabilize the situation. It sent millions of rubles and thousands of Russian advisers to Afghanistan. Rather than aiding a popular government against counterrevolutionary forces, they were propping up a government whose support was rapidly eroding.

Sending in tens of thousands of Soviet troops in December 1979, only made the situation worse, and ignited national antagonisms. The Soviet troops have been forced to take on greater and greater responsibilities for the fighting as the desertions from the Afghanistan Army have multiplied.

Two years later

In the two years since the Soviet troops entered Afghanistan, the process of alienation of the masses from the government has deepened.

The intervention of Soviet troops has served as a brake to advancing the reforms promised by the PDPA and initially welcomed by large numbers of toilers. It has not inspired the oppressed to wage a determined struggle against the landlords and other oppressors in the country. Instead, the Kremlin's policies have served to convince growing numbers of Afghan workers and peasants

Continued on next page

Subscribe to Intercontinental Press

Intercontinental Press carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Poland to Iran — than we have room to put in the *Militant*.

In our opinion, you can't afford to be without *Intercontinental Press*.

Enclosed is \$8.75 for a three-month introductory subscription; \$17.50 for six months; \$35 for one year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

impreco

El Salvador

'We're Losing the Fight,' Says Junta, as Fear of Another Vietnam Grows in U.S.



An Exchange of Views
How to Aid Polish Workers' Struggle

Continued from previous page

ants that they would be better off not having Soviet troops occupying their country and to participate in the struggle against that occupation.

Instead of advancing policies in the interests of the oppressed class, the Soviet-backed regime of President Babrak Karmal is seeking to strengthen his position by reaching out to landlords, clergy, and tribal leaders. To this end the regime has retreated significantly on its stance toward land reform.

According to a report from Jonathan Steele, datelined Kabul, that appeared in the November 13, 1981 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "Government officials admit that land reform is operating in only one-quarter of the country's districts and that half the schools are closed."

In August of last year, Michael Kaufman reported in the *New York Times* that "a decision was made last week to strike down key provisions of the land program. . . ."

These changes include:

- Allowing religious leaders and army officers to hold more than the fifteen-acre limit of land. The same goes for landowners who agree to mechanize and sell their crops to the state.

- Tribal leaders who side with the government will be able to maintain unlimited acreage.

- Refugees that had their land confiscated, who agree to return, will get their land back.

- Landless peasants whose sons have volunteered for service on the government side are to be given priority in land distribution.

The government is trying a face-lifting operation by setting up a 940 member Fatherland Front as a consultative body. The aim is to involve tribal leaders, religious leaders, and representatives from the "business community," unions, women, youth, and other organizations.

Though supporters of the government call this front a "constituent assembly," it's a far cry from the necessary, democratically-elected decision-making body that is needed. This is how it was described to Jonathan Steele by Vasily Sovronchuk, the senior Soviet consultant to the Afghan foreign ministry. "The National Fatherland Front is there for people who support the revolution or are neutral. If people repent and recognize the goals of the revolution, of course they can be brought in. But to expect anything else is rather naive politically."

On the diplomatic front, the Kabul regime is trying to get talks going with Pakistan and Iran about the resistance, the Afghan refugees, and the Soviet troops.

Disintegration of Afghan army

The Afghan army has shrunk through desertions from an estimated 80,000 troops in 1978, to its current size somewhere around 30,000. This is despite the relatively high rate of pay that soldiers receive.

Last July, the U.S. press reported the following story. This account is taken from the July 23 issue of the *Washington Post*. "At least 30 cadets from a military high school were killed last week when they participated in a major assault by Soviet and Afghan troops on rebels operating within 10 miles of the capital of Kabul."

This use of partially trained high school cadets led to protests from the parents. This incident is an indication of the inability of the government to muster enough regular army forces to fight the resistance. The article also reported that "Kabul's boys' schools are practically deserted because parents are hiding their sons to keep them from military service."

On September 7 of last year, the Afghan government announced that all former servicemen under the age of thirty-five who left military service before December 1979 had to report for reinduction.

This was met with a series of protest demonstrations in Kabul, as well as an exodus from the city of eligible men.

This caused the government to back

down on that draft call.

In the months before the conscription plan was announced, there was an increase according to an August 20, 1981, article in the *New York Times*, of forced inductions of Afghan youth into the army by dragooning them off the streets.

In January of this year, apparently to avoid a repeat of the opposition that developed to the previous draft announcement, hundreds of Afghan youth were rounded up in an unannounced move and sent to be processed for the military draft.

The combined Afghan and Soviet armies are only large enough to control the country's major cities and supply routes. At present, operations outside the cities are mostly limited to air strikes and an occasional large-scale offensive, followed by a return to bases.

President Karmal was forced to concede that the insurgency is still strong and appealed to citizens to help crush it. This is a departure from the usual government attempts to downplay the scope of the resistance.

And journalists who have visited Kabul report on the fighting that takes place in the villages surrounding the city on a daily basis.

The resistance

Aernout van Lynden wrote an article in the August 15, 1981, *Washington Post* after spending two-and-a-half months traveling in Afghanistan with the resistance.

He described meeting resistance supporters who retain their jobs in the government and their facade as supporters of the Karmal regime in order to be in the best position to carry out assassinations and sabotage. This is a phenomenon mentioned in many other accounts, as well.

Lynden writes, "These urban guerrillas live a schizophrenic existence. All the men I stayed with are employed by one of the ministries during the day, but during the late afternoons and evenings their energy is expended precisely against the government that pays their salaries."

Although he doesn't ever say so explicitly, it seems likely that many of the officials involved in this network are former members of the *Khalq* (masses) faction of the ruling PDPA, the faction that both Taraki and Amin belonged to. Many *Khalq* members were purged from the government apparatus when Karmal — a member of the *Parcham* (flag) faction — came to power.

Many *Khalq* members have joined rebel groups. The resistance is broader than the original landlord-usurer-back-



Soviet-made armored personnel carriers in Kabul. Soviet bureaucracy seeks stability and freezing of class struggle in Afghanistan.

ed opposition to the land reform in the countryside. It now also includes substantial opposition in the cities, including among sectors of the population that once were a base of support for the PDPA.

The guerrilla groups that are based in Pakistan tend to be the most proimperialist, and are the biggest recipients of the massive amounts of money, arms, and other aid that comes from the governments of Western Europe, the United States, and others. Pakistan serves as the conduit for the aid, and the refugee camps often serve as the rebel bases. Recent reports say that the guerrillas that operate out of Pakistan are better armed than previously, which coincides with Washington's pledge to increase military aid.

Some of these groups go back to 1973, when they opposed the overthrow of the Afghan monarchy. These rebels are not the courageous heroes that Reagan and the press make them out to be.

Journalist Olivier Roy testified after a visit to Afghanistan, "I have seen these commandos work more against the rest of the Afghan population than against the Russians." (*Dissent*, Summer, 1981.)

The Afghan-based resistance groups tend to have a different political character than those based in Pakistan. The most intense resistance within Afghanistan comes from the Nuristani and Hazara peoples.

The rebel groups are fractured along tribal, family, geographical, and political lines. Fierce fighting takes place among the different guerrilla groups.

All attempts by the resistance to unite — both Pakistan-based and Afghan-based — have been unsuccessful.

Clearly, tremendous amounts of Soviet money and troops have not been able to stabilize the situation. A war still rages, which the Kabul regime,

backed by the Soviet Union, is no closer to winning today than they were two years ago. Millions of Afghans are refugees in Pakistan, Iran and other countries.

No support to imperialist campaign

But working people in this country must firmly oppose any campaign by the hypocrites in the White House to support the right-wing Afghan guerrillas and to whip up an anticommunist, pro-war atmosphere.

Washington, Wall Street, and the Pentagon don't have the interests of the Afghan workers and peasants at heart when they dish out millions of dollars in aid to the reactionary guerrillas.

Washington wants to use Afghanistan, as well as Poland, to convince working people that capitalism is the best system in the world, and that communism is our biggest enemy.

They want working people to feel like they have interests in common with the bosses, so they're more willing to accept the rulers' war plans and austerity drive. They want to mask the fact that working people's interests are diametrically opposed to those of the bosses and their government.

That's why the support given to Washington's phony Poland "solidarity" campaign by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, and their anticommunist line on Afghanistan, weakens the unions in this country. It makes it easier for the employers and their government to wage war in El Salvador and at home. Every time the unions line up with the rulers on political, social, and economic questions, workers lose and the capitalists win.

The unions, in alliance with the Black and Latino communities, women, and youth, must actively counter the imperialists' campaign with one of their own.

One that demands a halt to spending our tax dollars to back landlords and dope pushers in Afghanistan, and bloody dictators in Pakistan and El Salvador.

Working people should demand aid, not embargoes for Afghanistan, Poland, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

Working people in the United States need our own foreign policy. One that is guided by opposition to the U.S. rulers and solidarity with our brothers and sisters in other countries.

Bermuda union paper reprints 'Militant' on Poland

The February 12 *Workers Voice* in Bermuda reprinted the "By Any Means Necessary" column by Melvin Chappell from the January 29 *Militant*. Chappell's column applauded the struggle of the Polish workers and solidarized with U.S. Blacks who have condemned the anticommunist crusade around Poland by Reagan.

The *Workers Voice* is the paper of the Bermuda Industrial Union, the island's largest labor organization, representing thousands of Black workers.

Chappell's column was run under the heading "Editorial Comment." The *Workers Voice* introduction noted, "this article hits at the very heart of American double standards and gives food for thought to the working class of this country and the world who genuinely care about human rights."



Khyber Pass is border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan is conduit for aid to right-wing guerrillas.

CP budget 'fightback' geared to Democrats

BY HARRY RING

An editorial in the February 11 *Daily World* offered some ideas on fighting the new Reagan budget. The *Daily World* reflects the views of the Communist Party (CP).

The CP's proposal comes down to supporting any Democrat who asserts opposition to Reagan's economic program.

Right now that would include quite a few.

The editorial lays out the CP's yardstick for measuring which Democrats to support. It proposes a platform of rescinding recent tax giveaways to big business and gaining unspecified reductions in workers' taxes, plus a bill to extend jobless compensation for workers whose benefits are exhausted.

The paper also calls for "drastic slashing of the military budget."

What's "drastic"?

In a January 21 statement, Gus Hall, CP general secretary, said there should be "a \$100 billion slash in the military budget."

Hall also insisted on "a timetable [!] to restore all cuts in social programs and add needed new ones." He didn't offer a schedule for his "timetable."

Of course, any government reduction in military expenses would be welcome. But the issue is, what should Marxists advocate?

The CP's line flies in the face of the traditional Marxist attitude toward imperialist military programs and budgets, summarized by Lenin in the classic phrase, "not a penny, not a man" for the imperialist war machine.

As in all major capitalist countries, the U.S. "defense" budget is an imperialist military budget. To the extent that it has anything to do with "defense," it is defense of capitalist profits.

The arms and aircraft now being poured into El Salvador are intended to make Central America "safe" for imperialist exploitation.

Similarly, the billions of "defense" dollars — and untold blood — poured into Vietnam had nothing to do with the defense of the American people.

The same goes for the earlier U.S. aggression in Korea, as well as the imperialist World Wars I and II.

We wonder how Gus Hall would respond if a reporter asked him, "OK, you favor doing away with \$100 billion of the projected \$216 billion arms budget. What would you cut and what would you keep?"

Would he reply, "Well, we shouldn't be sending all those helicopters to El Salvador, and we don't need all those troops in West Germany. We could do with less nuclear warheads in Europe and stop building the MX missile."

That would leave intact tens of thousands of U.S. troops stationed around the world; massive nuclear and chemical weapons stockpiles; and the biggest fleet of destroyers, nuclear submarines, and bomber jets in the world.

In reality, the Communist Party's program on the arms budget is barely distinguishable from that of many liberal capitalist politicians. With good reason.

The CP's agenda — extending jobless pay, making taxes more equitable, and reducing arms spending — is tailored to the capitalist candidates it wants to back in the 1982 elections. As the *Daily World* editorial declares, "Those politicians such as the members of the Black Caucus who support such an agenda should be supported."

The terse call for backing "anti-Reagan" Democrats is what's behind the modesty of the CP demands. If you're going to support Democrats, you can't demand very much. They never have, and never will, support demands that meet the fundamental needs of working people.

Yet the Communist Party is determined to be even more active in supporting liberal capitalist politicians.

Recently Gus Hall made a report on

this to the Communist Party Central Committee. It was published in the *Daily World* last December 17.

Hall declared that for the CP, all problems of political tactics "must now be synchronized with the overall objective of defeating Reagan and all the Reaganite politicians."

He added, "We will be working with all kinds of people. . . ."

That's true.

With working-class anger against unemployment and the threat of war mounting swiftly, even the most right-wing Democrats will try to exploit anti-Reagan sentiment.

In his central committee report, Hall even cautions against the party running its own candidates where they might take a few votes from Democrats.

"In the 1982 elections," he warns, "we must keep in mind the overall challenge of the moment, and therefore we must consider the question of whether Communists should run even more carefully than we have done in the past. We must be careful not to appear in any way to be dividing the unity against the Reagan forces."

It's a lie to suggest, as the Communist Party does, that the present ferocious attacks on working people are simply the result of one evil man in the White House, or one probusiness party in power.

We surely have that. But the policies of "Reaganism" stem from a capitalist system that is afflicted by deep crisis, a crisis that the ruling class can only hope to ameliorate by taking the cost out of the hides of working people.

That is the function of the capitalist government under which we live. And that government includes not one party, but two. The Democrats are totally com-

Cuts in student aid shrink 'American dream'

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The possibility of students from working class backgrounds achieving social advancement through higher education has long been part of the "American dream." President Reagan and Congress, however, are now taking actions that would make it more difficult for working people to get a higher education.

This fall the full effect of the \$2.2 billion budget cut in federal aid to students will begin to be felt. The federal government will make only \$6.3 billion worth of guaranteed student loans in the coming academic year, compared to \$7.8 billion which are being made this year. According to the American Council on Education about 700,000 students will lose their loans as a result of these cuts.

In addition to the sharp cutback in student loans, the Pell grants for disadvantaged students will be reduced. The maximum amount available under the grants will be cut from \$1,750 to \$1,670. On top of this, the benefits available for higher education under the Social Security program are being progressively eliminated.

As a result of the Reagan-Congress budget cuts, both private and state-financed colleges and universities are already beginning to close their doors to students from working class families. Wesleyan, for example, has already announced that it is abandoning its "need-blind" admissions policies. Other private schools such as Holyoke and Cornell are considering doing likewise. "Need-blind" policies admit students without regard to their ability to pay.

The nation's major state universities, faced with budget cuts, are also becoming increasingly selective about the students they admit. They are requiring applicants to meet high standards on test scores and are cutting remedial courses.

These cuts aren't the end. Reagan is



Communist Party proposed to cut \$216 million war budget by 100 million. What part of the imperialist military apparatus do they project maintaining?

PLICIT in Reagan's offensive. They have to be. Like the Republicans, they are controlled by a capitalist class whose very survival demands continuing, accelerating prosecution of the antilabor drive.

If that drive is to be turned back, a new government is needed — a government that represents the interests of workers and farmers as militantly as the present capitalist government represents the interests of the banks and big corporations.

It will take a workers government to initiate a massive public works program to provide jobs; guarantee a decent level of food, clothing, and shelter for everyone; and end race and sex discrimination. Only such a government can end imperialist wars and extend the hand of friendship to workers and farmers around the world.

Such a program is not simply a "good" or "preferred" thing. Increasingly, it becomes a matter of survival. Nothing less will resolve the capitalist crisis.

Does anyone really believe that the Democratic Party can bring us a centimeter closer to that kind of government, that kind of program?

No, what is urgently needed is for working people to break the two-party stranglehold. We must begin building a labor party based on the unions that will champion the struggles of all the oppressed and lead the fight for a workers government.

The Communist Party decision to step up its vote-hustling for the Democrats is particularly reprehensible today, when the need and prospects for independent working class political action are greater than ever.

proposing to reduce the amount spent on student aid by no less than 53 percent over the next two years. In cold cash this comes to some \$1.83 billion.

Thirteen college and university presidents and a law-school dean — a group not generally known for their radical activism — held a meeting in Philadelphia February 15 to protest the cuts.

"The cuts constitute a dramatic reversal of a twenty-five-year bipartisan commitment to equal opportunity in higher education" declared Sheldon Hackney,

president of the University of Pennsylvania.

John Pittenger, dean of the law school at Rutgers University-Camden, pointed out the class bias of the Reagan cutbacks. "Henceforth, our lawyers and medical students," Pittenger remarked, "would come from the upper middle class."

The racist aspects of the Reagan program was emphasized by Herman B. Branson, president of predominantly Black Lincoln University.

SWP in Mass. calls for labor party

BY MIKE ALEWITZ

BOSTON — The issue of independent labor action will be brought to thousands of New England residents this year. It is the central thrust of the 1982 Socialist Workers Party campaign for governor of Massachusetts, which was announced at a February 10 news conference at the Boston headquarters of the party.

The SWP is fielding Don Gurewitz, a machinist at General Electric in Lynn, Massachusetts, and member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201. Gurewitz will oppose incumbent Democratic Governor Edward King and Michael Dukakis, another Democrat.

"Between the Reagan administration and the Democratic King administration," Gurewitz told reporters, "working people in Massachusetts are experiencing the most difficult times in decades. And despite the promises of the liberal Democrats in Washington, and the Dukakises and Tip O'Neills here in Massachusetts, everyone knows that the Reagan program has only been able to pass because of Democratic congressional support.

"Tax increases, social service cut-

backs, and public service union-busting here in Massachusetts began under Michael Dukakis, not Edward King," he continued.

The SWP also announced Arthur LeClair as its candidate for lieutenant governor. LeClair is a railroad worker and vice-president of his union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 791.

"People have been asking me," LeClair said, "why an electrician and trade union activist who works for the railroad would want to seek public office. I am a candidate today for the same reason I joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party: because the two big-business parties have absolutely nothing to offer me or any working person.

"The crushing of the air controllers union is one of the clearest examples in history of the contempt that the Republicans and Democrats have for working people. Where were Edward King and Ted Kennedy and the other so-called friends of labor in the Democratic Party when Reagan's ax fell on the air traffic controllers? I walked the picket line with PATCO and did not see one elected official from the Democratic party there."

The Iranian revolution: where



Since the Iranian people overthrew the shah, they have engaged in a number of mobilizations. On left, a demonstration against U.S. imperialism. Sign reads, 'Death to America.' On right, May 1980 Tehran action in support of Black struggle in U.S.

BY FRED MURPHY

Three years have passed since the Iranian people rose up by the millions and overthrew the shah and his dictatorship. During this time, the workers and peasants and their allies have been through a series of experiences in the class struggle: mobilizations against the threats, pressures, and direct attacks of U.S. imperialism; war against a counter-revolutionary invasion by the Iraqi regime; efforts to rebuild the economy in face of imperialist boycott, capitalist sabotage, and bureaucratic mismanagement; and battles to defend and extend the democratic rights won through defeating the monarchy.

Amid difficulties and obstacles, the Iranian working class and its allies continue to seek ways to move their revolution forward. But the rich political life that characterizes Iran today has gone unremarked in the imperialist news media. Instead, newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* have focused almost exclusively on executions and terrorist bombings.

Writing in the January 30 issue of the liberal U.S. weekly *Nation*, Richard Falk lamented the alleged fate of Iran, where "Khomeini has established a rule that is as brutal and repressive as the Shah's," where "the fundamentalist elements have temporarily prevailed over the democratic elements." Elsewhere in the same issue, Mansour Farhang asserted that in Iran, a "peaceful and popular revolution has been transformed into religious fascism" and that what prevails there is "not only political and economic oppression but also cultural and religious totalitarianism."

Such a picture, with minor variations, has become the standard presentation of the situation in Iran by virtually all the communications media in the United States and Western Europe. But it is false.

Iraqi invasion

To grasp the truth about the current state of the Iranian revolution, it is necessary to begin with the military attack launched against the revolution in September 1980 by the Saddam Hussein regime in neighboring Iraq.

Hussein sent his troops and armor across Iran's western border in hope of gaining a quick victory, demoralizing the Iranian masses, and bringing about

the downfall of the Khomeini regime.

The imperialists and the reactionary Arab regimes in the region welcomed Hussein's invasion. They hoped it would remove the threat to capitalist stability throughout the Middle East posed by the anti-imperialist upsurge of the Iranian people. The pro-U.S. rulers of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have bankrolled Hussein's war, and the French imperialists have provided arms and advisers.

The massive armed attack on the revolution had grave consequences. Thousands of square miles of Iranian territory were occupied in the early weeks of the war. Parts of Iran's vital oil industry were destroyed. More than 60,000 Iranians have been killed or wounded, and well over 1 million have become refugees. Economic losses to Iran have been in excess of \$100 billion.

But despite such devastation, Hussein has not achieved his objectives. The invasion bogged down in the early weeks of the war. Iranian troops and the population of the border area rallied to blunt the Iraqi drive.

Tide of battle turning

For almost a year, the military situation remained stalemated. But in recent months, Iranian forces have turned the tide of battle and have been regaining substantial sections of territory.

The siege of Abadan — a key city under constant Iraqi attack from three sides since the early days of the war — was broken in late September. By November, Iranian forces had recaptured seventy villages and the border town of Bostan in an area sixty miles north of Abadan, thus cutting Iraqi lines in two. And in December, the Iranians made further advances around the towns of Qasr-e-Shirin and Nowsud, at the northern end of the war front.

The specter of an Iranian victory has begun to haunt Washington and its Arab client regimes. The defeat of the Iraqis would inspire the Iranian masses with fresh confidence in pressing for their still-unmet social and economic demands. It would spell the end of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq and open a new stage in the confrontation between imperialism and the masses of the Middle East.

A key role in Iran's military gains has been played by the Baseej-e-Mustazafin (Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed).

The Baseej is a military organization of workers and youth who have volunteered to fight at the front. Through it, some 2 million Iranians have received military training since the corps was founded in late 1980.

The Pasdaran, or Revolutionary Guards, have also been taking a more prominent part in the war. This section of the armed forces was established after the downfall of the shah and also has thousands of revolutionary-minded youth from working-class and poor neighborhoods among its ranks.

In the past, leaders of the Pasdaran challenged the officers of the regular army — most of whom served under the shah — for their failure to take initiatives to drive out the Iraqi invaders. Hundreds of army officers have been removed from their posts in recent months, and the Pasdaran commanders have come to the fore as military leaders.

Iranian socialists also report that army officers have largely ceased wearing their insignia of rank at the front, and that soldiers in the regular army are no longer kept separated from their young counterparts in the Pasdaran and the Baseej. This has boosted morale and increased the pressure on the leaders of all three sections of the armed forces for decisive and coordinated action against the Iraqis.

Morale in Iran high

During early and mid-1981, enthusiasm for the war effort among the Iranian masses had declined somewhat, owing to the lack of progress on the front, internal conflicts in the government and the military command, and the counter-revolutionary terrorist attacks and subsequent executions and repression. But the recent victories have restored confidence that the Iraqis can be defeated. Huge demonstrations in Isfahan, Ahwaz, and other cities hailed the war gains in late November. More workers and youth have been volunteering to join the Baseej, and peasant villages have been making donations of food and other goods and sending volunteers to the front as well.

Hemmat, the newspaper of the Workers Unity Party (HVK),¹ reported

1. The HVK is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

December 5 that forty-five peasant families in the Oromiyeh area in northwest Iran had decided to donate for the relief of war refugees 4.5 tons from their first wheat crop on land obtained under the agrarian reform.

The January 16 *Hemmat* reported on financial donations to the war effort of up to 2 million rials (81 rials = US\$1) by workers at the Kashan spinning mill, the Plast-Iran plastics factory, Mino Industries, and the Alborz electrical appliances plant.

Hussein in trouble

In contrast to the growing optimism and support for the war among Iranians, morale on the Iraqi side of the front is reported to be in steep decline. Thousands of Iraqi soldiers have been captured in the recent battles, and many of these have subsequently appeared on Iranian television and radio chanting slogans in support of the Iranian revolution. Some have made statements against the war and the Saddam Hussein regime.

According to the January 16 *Washington Post*, "some analysts say they believe the Iraqi army is so demoralized that it can no longer strike back and take the initiative away from Iranian forces."

Hussein also faces growing resistance at home. A new opposition grouping called the Iraqi Front of Revolutionary, Islamic, and National Forces has reportedly been set up. According to the January 7 *Washington Post*, the chief component of this front is a force of several thousand Kurdish guerrillas led by Massoud Barzani, son of the late Iraqi Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani.

These guerrillas, known as *peshmerga*, have been mounting attacks on army garrisons in northern Iraq. According to the *Post*, Iraqi army control in the area is "limited to the region's major towns and roads at night."

Commenting on the recent changes in the war situation, the London *Economist* warned December 19 that "if the tide of battle continues to swing, however slowly, in Iran's favour, President Saddam Hussein will be in grave trouble."

War and the Iranian economy

The war against the Iraqi invaders has caused considerable damage to the Iranian economy. Foreign currency reserves — already reduced through Washington's continued freeze of \$6.1 billion of Iranian assets in Western banks — have had to be devoted largely to replenishing military supplies. This in turn has made it difficult to import adequate quantities of raw materials and spare parts for industry, which often must be paid for in cash, owing to credit restrictions imposed by imperialist financiers after the fall of the shah and the nationalization of most foreign holdings in Iran.

According to the Ministry of the Economy in Tehran, the country must import 95 percent of the spare parts and 75 percent of the raw materials used in industry. Shortages of these supplies have resulted in factory closings, layoffs, and reduced work shifts in many Iranian plants.

It is in this framework of war mobilization and economic crisis that working-class struggles in Iran today are taking place. These most often center on efforts by the workers to gain control over production and distribution, counter mismanagement by state-appointed bureaucrats, and expose and halt decapitalization attempts at those workplaces that are still under private ownership. (Virtually all foreign holdings in Iran were nationalized after the fall of the shah, as were those owned by the Pahlavi dynasty and its cohorts. These enterprises are now managed by the Organi-

it stands after three years

zation of National Industries of Iran (ONII) or by the Foundation for the Disinherited.)

Role of factory shoras

Although Iranian workers have yet to construct strong organizations at the national level — such as a trade-union confederation or a labor party — they do possess instruments of struggle at the factory level. These committees, or *shoras*, arose during and after the insurrection against the shah. Since then they have fought for the workers' interests on issues of wages, safety, housing, and production priorities.

During the anti-imperialist mobilizations that followed the November 1979 occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, more shoras were organized. Further struggles were waged to take over greater management functions and to institute workers control. Since the Iraqi invasion began, the shoras have played an important role in organizing worker-volunteers for the front and supporting the war effort in other ways.

The Iranian regime — though often encouraging mass mobilizations to counter the attacks of imperialism — remains committed to maintaining the capitalist system. Hence it has continually sought to weaken or block the independent organization of the workers.

Socialists and other militant workers have been fired for their role in leading the shoras. In many factories, supporters of the regime have set up Islamic *anjomans* (societies) in counterposition to the shoras. These anjomans usually involve a minority of the workers and have often collaborated with management against the workforce as a whole.

But such measures have not been effective in taming a working class that became conscious of its power in the prolonged general strike that brought down the shah. The shoras continue to exist, and in some plants have gained a large measure of control over production and distribution.

Moreover, the progovernment anjomans have not been immune to pressure from the workers they claim to represent. They have joined with the shoras in certain struggles, and as a result anjoman leaders have also faced firings and harassment by management.

Work stoppage at Iran National

A number of recent examples of the struggles of Iranian workers to defend and extend their gains can be cited:

- At the big Iran National plant in Tehran, more than 10,000 auto workers from the morning and afternoon shifts halted work on December 6 and 7, according to a report in the December 14 issue of *Kargar*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).²

The Iran National workers held assemblies to discuss and protest a decision by the ONII and the Ministry of Labor to eliminate a bonus system whose benefits had been extended to all workers after the fall of the shah. Workers had been allowed to purchase one Peykan car at reduced cost every other year. Most would resell the bonus cars to supplement their income.

Management representatives accused the Iran National workers of putting their own interests ahead of the war effort. "No one believes we are not for the victory of the Islamic forces over the infidels," a worker replied at the day-shift assembly on December 6. "Government officials know better than anyone that the Iran National workers have given big amounts of financial contributions every month for victory in the war against Saddam. We want to win this war, and we will spare nothing."

2. The HKE is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

Another worker declared that no one should accuse him and his fellow workers of organizing a "strike."

"We have simply gathered together here to air our grievances," he said. "To compensate for today, we will work on Friday." The assembled workers shouted their agreement and chanted "God is great!"

Other speakers protested the recent firing of four Iran National workers who had been leaders of the Islamic anjoman and the Baseej. Whereas earlier firings of militant workers had been mainly aimed at those who were known as socialists or leftists — such as fourteen HKE members at Iran National who lost their jobs in early 1981 — Islamic workers who stand up for their rights are now being fired as well by the capitalist managers of the state enterprises.

The Iran National workers concluded their assemblies by electing six representatives to try to negotiate their grievances with the management and the ONII.

Production at Iran National remains quite low. According to management, this is the result of difficulty in obtaining parts from abroad. Before the December assemblies, the management had announced plans to cut the work week in half and reduce wages. This move was never implemented, however — a fresh stock of parts was suddenly discovered after the workers' protests.

Fight for workers control

- A struggle similar to that at Iran National took place in late 1981 at the Mazda van factory in Tehran. Pressure from the workers led to joint meetings between the shora and the Islamic anjoman, with the result that management was forced to partially restore the granting of bonuses, despite rulings to the contrary by the ONII.

- At many factories, workers have organized to put a halt to hoarding and speculation by distributing their products directly to the public.

Workers at the Nozahur paper-goods factory in Tabriz managed to cut the price of disposable baby diapers by more than half in this way. A workers cooperative at the Ming textile mill now distributes the blankets produced there through cooperatives of factory workers and peasants in other parts of the country. At the Arj refrigerator factory, Iranian socialists say, "nothing leaves the plant without the shora's approval."

- After the removal of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr as president of the Islamic Republic in June 1981, many of his liberal bourgeois supporters were also ousted from their positions in the management of nationalized enterprises. Workers generally welcomed this and saw it as a means of replacing defenders of capitalism with "Islamic" managers, who they hoped would act in the workers' interests.

Subsequent experience is demonstrating, however, that these were false hopes. Like their predecessors, the new managers are also carrying out firings, conniving with unscrupulous middlemen, and attacking the shoras and anjomans.

Clothing factory

At the Jamco clothing factory, the January 16 *Hemmat* reported, the shora has taken over management of the plant itself. But the ONII has not responded to the workers' efforts to lower production costs through cooperation with the nationalized textile industry. *Hemmat* quotes one worker as saying:

Now that this factory and the ones that make fabrics have been nationalized, the government could easily give us fabric at a reasonable price, and we could thus provide low-priced goods to the oppressed of society.

But a jacket and pants now cost 2,700 tumans (1 tuman = US\$0.13). How can some-

one who makes 3,500 tumans and has to pay rent and support a family afford these clothes? So we consider that once again, even though we have an Islamic republic, we are still serving the haughty classes of society. We have destroyed a hell, but we must still build a paradise.

- Resistance is mounting against the dismissal of militant workers and shora leaders. At the Doopar pharmaceuticals plant in Tehran, for example, all 300 workers have signed petitions demanding reinstatement of Mustafa Seifabadi and Handollah Khodakaremi, who were fired in late 1981. Seifabadi is a member of the HKE who fought at the front and was dismissed upon his return. Khodakaremi was a leader of the Islamic anjoman at Doopar.

'We despise the manager'

Interviews with workers at Doopar were published in the December 14 issue of *Kargar*. One worker reported on his questioning by a committee established by the Labor Ministry to review the case of the two fired militants:

They asked what else I knew about Seifabadi. I said I did not know anything else — only that we despise the manager because of these firings. We only ask the authorities, if this is a revolution of the oppressed, why do they give the workers so much grief and not the haughty ones? What we want the authorities to tell us is why they make the workers miserable, why they call "counterrevolutionary" a worker who works in a factory and does his job 100 percent.

Let them tell me to my face that Seifabadi and Khodakaremi are counterrevolutionaries and that the manager is a revolutionary.

At present, the firings of militants such as those at Iran National and Doopar are legal under Article 33 of Iran's labor law. This law has not been modified since the shah's time. Demands are continually raised by the shoras for its abolition, and in recent months they have been joined not only by many anjomans but even by the newspaper that the ruling Islamic Republican (IRP) publishes for workers, *Salehan-e-Sazan-deh*.

One example of the workers' sentiment against this law is a letter addressed to Ayatollah Khomeini by the Islamic anjoman at Iran National:

We ask the responsible officials to implement an Islamic and revolutionary labor law, and particularly to annul Article 33 of the labor law. This is a holdover from the age of idolatry and a tool in the hands of the capital-

ists and the liberal managers, who never heard of God. We also ask that the arbitrary firings of workers in production units and industry be prevented.

Victory to the world-revolution of the Islamic community under the leadership of Imam Khomeini!

The demand for abolition of article 33 has been among those raised in several recent assemblies of worker representatives held in Tehran and elsewhere. These gatherings, usually called seminars, reflect growing awareness among workers of the need for centralizing their struggles and organizations.

Shora delegates meet

A seminar held in Tehran October 28-30 attracted some 700 members of Islamic anjomans — including 390 elected delegates — from factories in Tehran, Isfahan, Arak, Kermanshah, Qazvin, Tabriz, Mashhad, Amol, Dezful, Shiraz, and other cities. Resolutions passed by the seminar called for factory workers to be provided full information about the production and financial situations of their enterprises, for the abolition of Article 33, and for increased participation by workers in the management of enterprises.

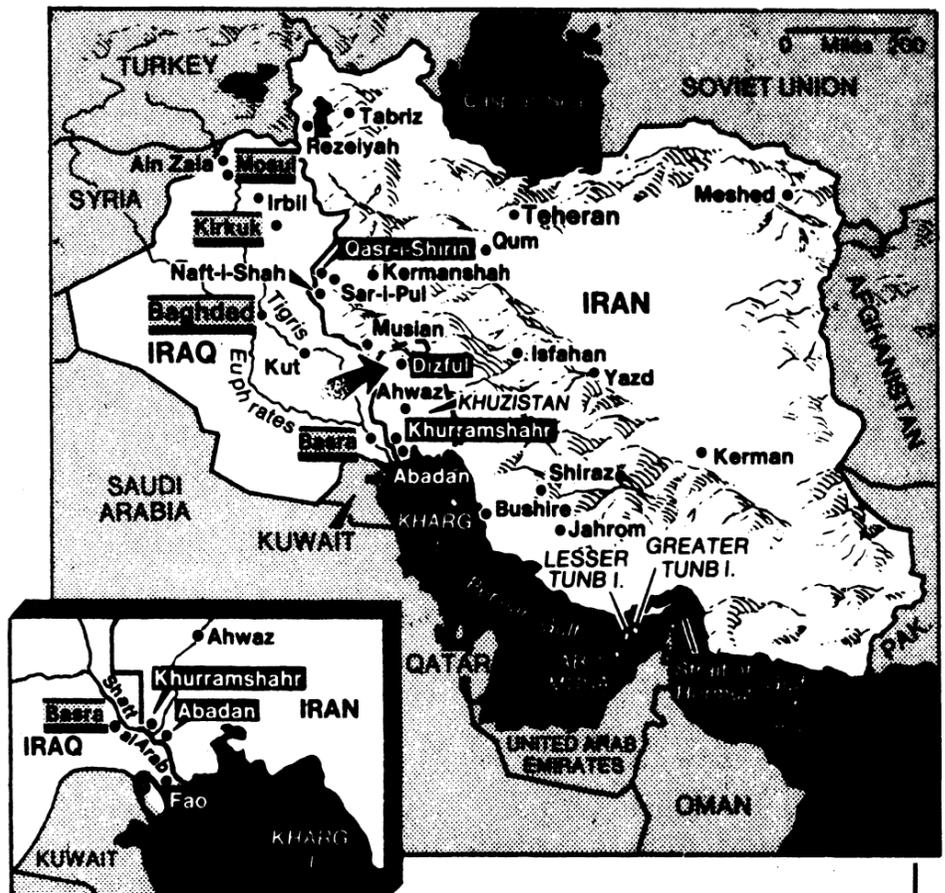
Representatives of eighty factory shoras met in Tehran on December 2. Article 33 was denounced at that gathering.

On December 17, anjoman and shora representatives from some 100 factories of East Tehran met at Workers House, an institution with ties to the ruling IRP. The purpose of the gathering was a religious commemoration, but the workers also took the opportunity to air their grievances.

Representatives from Iran Tool, Universal, and two other factories complained about firings and other abuses by management. Hossein Kamali, a leader of Workers House and an IRP member of parliament, responded that "anyone who tries to expel a good member of the Islamic anjomans wants to cut off the arm of Islam in industry. Article 33 of the labor law facilitates this, so it is in the interests of capital" (*Kargar*, December 21).

During the second week of January, a seminar of factory shoras from the Jاده region — which includes Karaj and other western industrial suburbs of Tehran — was held in the capital. This gathering, attended by some 300 workers, was also sponsored by Workers

Continued on next page



Continued from previous page
House and by *Sal-ehan-e Sazandeh*.

Besides protesting the firings of militants, the seminar also protested a ruling made by Labor Minister Ahmad Tavakkoli in late December that no more shoras should be organized until parliament passes a law regulating their activity.

'Defiance toward managers'

Meetings such as those just described, delegations to government ministries, petitions, letters, and statements are typical of the forms of struggle being used by Iranian workers today. Work stoppages like the one at Iran National in December are rare.

There are two reasons for this. The atmosphere of intimidation created by the widespread counterrevolutionary terrorism of mid-1981 and by the subsequent large-scale executions of those suspected of involvement — and others whom the authorities simply wanted to get out of the way — has not wholly dissipated.

On the other hand, most workers feel that production should be maintained at a high level to meet the needs of the war effort. Hence they are reluctant to take actions that might be viewed as cutting across unity in face of the Iraqi attack, or that the government might seek to portray in that way.

Nonetheless, as an HVK leader puts it, "the regimentation of workers that existed in the shah's time has broken down entirely. Workers talk back to managers and are not expelled. This is something the workers have won. In this sense their morale is high and the situation is open."

The HVK leader characterized the attitude of most workers as "ambivalence toward the government but defiance toward the managers."

Many continue to view the government as one that has taken measures in the workers' interests — nationalizing the wealth of the shah, the imperialists, and native capitalists linked to them; standing up to the threats of Washington; removing from power the most openly procapitalist officials, such as ex-Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and ex-President Bani-Sadr and his followers; and the establishment of a rationing system whereby prices for basic foodstuffs are subsidized and scarcities are offset through the distribution of goods by cooperatives in the factories and poor neighborhoods.

At the same time, workers oppose the regime's attacks on democratic rights, its attempts to curtail the shoras and the anjomans, its toleration of capitalist profiteering and sabotage, and its failure to follow through on repeated promises of decisive action against the wealthy exploiters.

Class struggle in the countryside

Similar attitudes can be found among the rural toilers. In many parts of Iran, peasants and farm laborers rose up in the months following the shah's overthrow and seized land for themselves. As the revolution in the countryside deepened, most big landholders were forced to relinquish direct control over their estates. The landlords fled to the cities or left the country altogether.

Despite these widespread land seizures, the agrarian revolution has by no means been completed. In early 1980 the government adopted a land-reform law, but suspended its implementation a year later. Section C of the law, never implemented at all, would legalize the action of the peasants in dividing up the big private holdings.

The landlords who remain in Iran still hope to reverse the situation in the countryside. They continually pressure the regime and the Islamic hierarchy to block enforcement of the land reform. And some take things into their own hands, returning to their estates at harvest time with gangs of thugs, in hope of wresting away the fruits of the peasants' labor. Armed clashes have resulted, and in some cases the Pasdaran have intervened on the side of the peasants.

The peasants are finding allies among the urban youth who have gone into the countryside to teach literacy classes and aid in development projects under the auspices of the *Jihad-e Sazandegi* (Crusade for Reconstruction), a government institution.

Youth from the Crusade have helped to organize peasant shoras, as well as marches and demonstrations in which the peasants have demanded implementation of Section C, access to credit, improvements in irrigation, technical aid, and so on.

At the end of September, the Crusade for Reconstruction helped to organize a seminar of peasant-shora representatives in Tehran. About 500 peasants from various parts of the country attended. The seminar closed with the adoption of an eleven-point resolution calling for implementation of Section C and other peasant demands, the setting up of peasant cooperatives, and the expropriation of idle capital. The resolution also expressed support for the war against Iraq and opposition to the terrorist attacks against clergymen and government officials.

The sentiments of the peasants are also stated in no uncertain terms in letters sent from the villages to the government. These are printed from time to time in the daily newspapers in Tehran.

"The halting of implementation of Section C and D of the land-distribution law was the biggest opportunity yet for the big landlords and counterrevolutionary feudal elements," complained a letter from the villages of the Saqqez region published in the IRP's *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* on December 6. The letter continued:

Since then, new conspiracies against the revolution and the oppressed people have broken out every day from Baluchistan to Kurdistan to Turkman Sahra. We, the members of our Islamic peasant shora, stand for increasing farm production and for struggling against America — the Great Satan — and the invader regime of Saddam. . . .

At the same time, we demand from the respected delegates of the Majles [parliament] that they approve and implement a revolutionary program — including a thoroughgoing Islamic revolutionary land reform and especially Section C and D — and destroy the big landlords and feudal elements down to their roots. [Letter reprinted in December 19 *Hemmat*.]

Land reform law

In a letter published in the January 3 *Ettelaat*, the villagers of Naser Kiyadeh wrote:

During the dark years of the monarchist regime, we toiling villagers were doubled over by oppression and exploitation. The taste of suffering caused by the feudalists still clings to our flesh and blood. We consider these feudalists and landlords . . . to be agents of America, the Great Satan.

These devils have sucked the blood of the toiling peasants for years. . . . Ratification of a comprehensive land-reform law, and the distribution of the land, can bring the suffering caused by these feudalists and landlords to an end.

And a letter published in the December 2 *Ettelaat* from villagers near the town of Gilan-e-Gharb (on the war front) provided an example of what the regime's land reform has actually amounted to:

"After the victory of the Islamic revolution, committees were sent to our village to divide the land. But so far they have not listened to our grievances. They have only parcelled out land to eleven people, four of whom are not even residents. And this happens while we toil in the fields under the bombardment of the infidel Saddam's mercenaries!"

Promises by regime

The printing of such letters by the government-controlled press is an indication of the pressure felt by the regime on the land question. Officials continually promise that the agrarian reform will indeed be implemented, even while they continue to stall.

During a visit to two villages near the port city of Bushehr in late December, the Islamic revolutionary judge of the area, Hojatolislam Moghisi, told the peasants: "In the Islamic Republic, the problem called 'khan' [landholding notable] will no longer exist. There will be equality and implementation of Islamic justice."



In recent months, Iranian forces have turned the tide in war with Iraq, which had remained stalemated for almost a year.

The villagers took the judge at his word and carried out demonstrations demanding confiscation of the wealth usurped by the local khans (*Hemmat*, January 16).

Peasant discontent is also rising against exploitation by capitalist merchants and middlemen. This was reflected in a recent article that appeared in *Jihad*, the monthly magazine of the Crusade for Reconstruction. *Jihad* denounced "economic terrorism throughout our society," which, it explained, "is based on a bazaar system of trade, a system of distribution in which all sorts of finagling and manipulation is officially recognized and over which there is no control by the government elected by the nation."

Jihad went on to call for the nationalization of foreign trade, "vigorous application of Article 49 of the constitution, which calls for the revolutionary seizure of illegitimate wealth, expanding cooperatives on the basis of the principle of human labor and not of capital," and implementation of Section C of the land-reform law (*Kargar*, December 14).

Repression in Kurdistan

Resolving the land question is a task that is closely tied to that of granting self-determination to the oppressed nationalities in Iran — the Kurds, Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Turkmenis, and Baluchis — most of whom are peasants.

It is the Kurds who have waged the biggest struggles for national rights during the past three years. Immediately after the fall of the shah, the people of Kurdistan in western Iran were able to arm themselves and establish a degree of local autonomy under the leadership of political organizations such as the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and figures such as Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini.

But the central government refused to recognize the national rights of the Kurds. Kurdish cities came under heavy military attack on several occasions — in March 1979, September 1979, and April 1980. After the second of these offensives by the Tehran regime, insurrections in some of the major towns of Kurdistan and resistance by Kurdish guerrilla fighters forced the government troops to retreat. But from April 1980 to the present, the Kurds have been on the defensive.

Instead of directing all its armed power against the Iraqi invaders, the regime maintained its military occupation of Kurdistan. This caused some discontent among the ranks of the army and the Pasdaran, who were not enthusiastic about serving as tools of repression against their Kurdish brothers and sisters.

Kurdish appeal

At the outset of the Iraqi invasion, Kurdish leaders appealed for a peaceful settlement of their conflict with Tehran and reaffirmed their support for defend-

ing the revolution against Saddam Hussein's attack.

But these appeals were ignored by then-President Bani-Sadr and other leaders of the Islamic Republic. The occupation of Kurdistan continued, and at the beginning of October 1981, Tehran announced that its troops had taken the city of Bukan, described as "the very last stronghold" of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

One month later, KDP leader Abdul Rahman Qassemou announced that his group was joining Bani-Sadr's National Resistance Council. This alliance between counter-revolutionary forces and a key sector of the Kurdish nationalist movement is a blow to the Kurdish struggle and to the revolution as a whole.

Qassemou's link-up with Bani-Sadr — himself an architect of the regime's anti-Kurdish policy — has been criticized by other sectors of the nationalist movement in Kurdistan. But resentment against the central government's policies is bitter and deep in the occupied areas, and the KDP continues to enjoy considerable support.

Role of Kurds in war

While Kurdish peasants have also seized and distributed land in parts of the occupied province, they have seen little of the benefits the revolution has brought to other rural areas. The regime itself has acknowledged that no public works — such as roads, irrigation systems, or housing — were initiated in Kurdistan during the past two years. Some units of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction exist in Kurdistan, but these involve youth sent in from other parts of the country rather than indigenous Kurdish youth.

Attitudes toward the Islamic Republic are more varied among Kurds in other parts of Iran. Around Ilam, near the northern end of the war front, socialists report that the Kurdish population is participating actively in the struggle against Iraq. Kurds make up part of the Western Tribes Militia and take part in the fighting against Saddam Hussein's troops.

Such developments, along with the growing Kurdish revolt inside Iraq against Hussein's regime, show how the defense of the Iranian revolution could be greatly strengthened if the occupation of Kurdistan were ended and the national rights of Iranian Kurds recognized.

After the occupation of Bukan last October, *Kargar* commented on a government official's statement that a special fund would be set up for public works in Kurdistan:

"Compared to military solutions, earmarking funds for reconstruction of Kurdistan is a step in the right direction. But an economic program of amelioration can be constructive only if it starts from the needs and points of view of the people of Kurdistan themselves,

and if it actually involves the masses of people."

Among the priorities of such a program, Kargar said, should be "the implementation of a large-scale literacy program in Kurdish" and "a radical land reform in the interests of the poor Kurdish villagers. . . ."

Kargar urged that factory shoras and anjomans send delegations to Kurdistan "to become acquainted at first hand with the difficulties faced by the Kurdish people. . . ."

The article in Kargar concluded:

As the experiences of nearly three years since the February insurrection has shown, the problem of national rights for the oppressed is one of the burning questions of the Iranian revolution. It is posed also with regard to the Turkish, Baluchi, Arab, Turkoman, and other peoples in various parts of the country. Wiping out the effects of more than a half century of imperialist rule is impossible without clearly responding to the demands of the oppressed nationalities of Iran. [Kargar, October 12, 1981].

Despite the regime's failure to grant full rights to the nationalities, some important gains have been registered. In contrast to the shah's open fostering of Persian chauvinism and attempts to stamp out any expression of other national cultures, radio and television in Iran today carry regular broadcasts in Kurdish and Turkish. Books and magazines are also published in Turkish, something that was never tolerated under the monarchy.

Armenians protest

Other, smaller nationalities are continuing to fight for their rights as well. In November, Armenians in Tehran held a series of protest meetings — including one gathering of 10,000 — against a ruling by the minister of education that "religious minorities" could no longer have their own schools. The ruling also sought to limit Armenians' right to education and cultural activities in their own language.

Under the constitution of the Islamic Republic, Armenians — most of whom are Christians — are categorized as a "religious minority," something Armenians have also objected to.

After the November protests, the education minister backed off and asserted his support for Article 15 of the constitution, which recognizes "the right to teach local and communal cultures and languages besides Persian." Armenian leaders called for a halt to the protests, but reiterated that they considered themselves a nationality and not just a "local and communal culture" (Kargar, November 30, 1981).

Like the oppressed nationalities, women have also come forward as a result of the revolution.

Beginning with the mass struggle against the monarchy, and in the anti-imperialist and popular mobilizations that have continued in the past three years, millions of working-class and peasant women have been drawn into political life for the first time. Women have played a key role in a variety of tasks connected with the war effort, although they are not allowed to participate in the fighting.

The regime has balked at extending full rights to women, and has sought to encroach on some rights already won. Working women have little job security. In some government offices where child-care facilities had been organized, these have now been closed.

Women in government jobs have been pressured to wear the Islamic veil, and some have been fired for failing to do so. Attempts have also been made to segregate men and women employees in the ministries, but this has met resistance and has not been carried through widely.

The struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination and of women for their liberation is part of the broader battle to defend and extend democratic rights in Iran.

In order to move their revolution forward, Iranian workers and peasants must be able to gather freely; to read, listen to, and debate all political ideas; and to organize and demonstrate in support of their social, economic, and political demands.

Terrorism and executions

The fall of the shah brought huge gains in this area. But the capitalist regime has continually sought to encroach on the democratic rights of the toilers since then. Newspapers not controlled by the government have repeatedly been banned or pressured into ceasing publication. Socialists, worker militants, and revolutionary intellectuals have been jailed for months at a time.

Victims of forced shutdowns during 1981 included the daily newspaper of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, *Mardom*; *Ummat*, a daily published by a leftist Islamic current; the bourgeois-liberal daily *Mizan*; *Shora*, a weekly based at Polytechnic University in Tehran that reflected the views of shora activists; and *Arash*, a literary magazine.

After the People's Mujahedeen Organization launched its counterrevolutionary campaign of terrorist attacks on government officials and clergymen in mid-1981, thousands of persons were arrested and hundreds executed, often without trial. By no means all of these had taken up arms against the regime, or were even supporters of the Mujahedeen. The victims included members of leftist groups such as both the minority



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Peasants in Iran are fighting to make government implement widespread land reform.

and majority factions of the Fedayan, the Maoist group Peykar, and others.

The terrorism and the executions diminished greatly during the final months of 1981. As many as 500 of those arrested were reported to have been amnestied, although in late January the Tehran revolutionary prosecutor, Asadollah Lajevardi, told Iranian and foreign journalists that between 3,000 and 4,000 persons were still being held (*Iran Times*, January 29).

All this has created an atmosphere in which workers are wary about speaking out or taking action in support of their demands. Even so, the situation is in no way comparable to that of the shah's regime, when there was a unit of the SAV- AK secret police in every major factory, when it was illegal for Kurds and Turks to use their own languages, and when possession of Marxist literature meant torture and death.

State of democratic rights today

Bookstalls in Tehran and other major cities today carry a wide variety of political literature. The pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) Party operates its own chain of bookstores, in which — besides the Tudeh's own propaganda in favor of class collaboration — the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin are available in Persian.

The HKE has translated and published a number of key works of Leon Trotsky, such as *The Revolution Betrayed* and *The History of the Russian Revolution*. These are also sold publicly in Tehran and other cities.

A wide variety of literary works has also appeared in the past three years, and the poetry, novels, and essays of writers banned under the shah have been republished.

In addition to the progovernment dailies, several leftist periodicals circulate freely. The Tudeh weekly *Ittihad-e Mardom* (People's Unity) and the HKE's *Kargar* (Worker) both have legal authorization and are widely sold on newsstands in the capital and other cities.

The HVK's *Hemmat* (Determination) has not been legally authorized, but its circulation is tolerated by the authorities. *Kar* (Labor), the newspaper of the majority faction of the Fedayan, has a similar status and a considerably larger circulation.³

No street demonstrations outside the auspices of the government or the ruling IRP have been allowed since May 1981. On earlier occasions, leftist demonstrators often faced attacks by club-wielding gangs known as *hezbollahi* ("partisans of God"). Such thugs also harassed those distributing political literature and sometimes attacked indoor meetings of leftist groups. No attacks of this kind have taken place in recent months, socialists report, adding that there is also far less political leafleting and fewer meetings.

3. Besides the HKE and the HVK, a third Iranian organization, the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) is also affiliated to the Fourth International. *Intercontinental Press* has received no publications from the HKS or information about its activities in more than a year.

The HKE reports that it has resumed a weekly public forum series at its headquarters in Tehran in December. Topics discussed included the workers' struggle in Poland, U.S. imperialist threats to the Middle East, the fight for democratic rights in Iran, and the role of Stalinism in the workers movement.

The latter topic has provoked sharp debate in recent months, owing to disagreements that broke out inside the majority faction of the Fedayan. The central leadership of the group sought to ram through a fusion with the Tudeh Party, but other leaders and a sizeable portion of the membership balked at this and demanded the organization of a congress.

Kargar opened its pages to the Fedayan dissidents and other militants for a discussion on the history and role of the Tudeh Party and the perspectives for building a revolutionary working-class vanguard in Iran today.

In conjunction with this debate, the HKE has also organized a series of public classes on Stalinism and Trotskyism.

Revolution remains alive

It is quite clear from the actual state of the class struggle in Iran that the toiling masses have not been crushed. Quite the contrary — revolution is very much alive. Extensive discussion is taking place about how to defend the revolution and advance it, there are ongoing struggles around the social demands of the workers and peasants, and communists are able to openly participate in this political process.

A correct understanding of the situation in Iran is especially important today. Any breakthrough in the military stalemate between Iraq and Iran could lead to dramatic upheavals and a much sharper level of confrontation between imperialism and the Iranian revolution.

Obituaries for this revolution — one that is unmatched in all of Middle Eastern history — are exceedingly premature.

From Intercontinental Press

'PM' sells well in B'klyn garment area

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — *Perspectiva Mundial* sales people have received a good reception during the bustling rush-hour traffic in the Bush Terminal garment district here. The February 22 issue of the biweekly Spanish-language magazine carried an article on the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raid at Mademoiselle Knitwear in Bush Terminal and a front-page headline on El Salvador.

These attracted immediate attention. Over fifty copies were sold at the subway in the area and on the job by socialist garment workers.

One young Colombian garment worker stopped to buy *Perspectiva Mundial* and offer more information about the INS raid. He said the same day the immigration cops raided Bush Terminal, they went "like a dragnet all over the area."

New from Pathfinder Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution: Which side for working people?

By Janice Lynn & David Frankel



40 pp., \$.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Garment workers block bosses' attacks

BY ROGER RUDENSTEIN

Several weeks ago in the clothes warehouse where I work the bosses caught a guy trying to steal a pair of pants. They called everybody up front for a meeting and announced a new policy: every worker would be searched for stolen goods when leaving the shop.

Coming on top of the low wages and all-around bad treatment, this was the

final straw — a blow at the dignity of every worker in the shop.

We turned to our union steward since almost everyone is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. But he said the union agent was too busy to come by.

Two weeks later he still hadn't put in an appearance. And the situation had gotten worse. The bosses started conducting spot searches of people during

work usually of those who had spoken out against the policy.

Finally we decided to go down to the union local. The trouble was that the local is only open during business hours, while we're at work. But the shop steward agreed to set up an appointment. He warned that at least twenty-five people had to go or the meeting would be cancelled. Some, who had seen past "appointments" fizzle, were worried. Seven people who had tried about a year ago had been harassed by the company afterward.

However, when Monday (the busiest day of the week at our shop) rolled around, a high-spirited group of about thirty took the subway down to the local. Composed mainly of Black workers, the group included Hispanics, Asians, whites, men, women, native-born, and immigrants. We were impressed ourselves that we had been able to get together. Guys who've worked at the shop for fifteen years said this was something new.

The union agent led us into an auditorium and climbed to the podium to scold us for our "wildcat strike." There were angry shouts, insisting on our appointment. An assistant man-

ager of the union changed the tone:

"Well," he said, "you're here. And I want you to understand that this is home. You're always welcome here. What's the problem?"

We told him the problem. We told him *all* the problems: the searches, the abuse, no heat, no breaks. And we told him the problems with the union: workers not receiving their union health benefits, not seeing the contract, not receiving the union newspaper.

"You have to be patient with us," the union assistant manager urged. "We didn't know about any of this."

"That's because our union rep never talks to us," one of the workers answered. "He hardly ever comes to the shop, and when he does he goes right in and talks to the boss instead of to us."

"Maybe there was a lack of communication," the manager admitted. "But from now on things are going to be different." And to make his point he called in the union's lawyer, who assured us we had a right to refuse the search and that the union would back us in that.

We elected a committee of five workers to meet, along with union officials, with management to inform them the searches would stop.

When we returned to work our time cards were gone. The bosses told the union we were all fired. But an hour of discussions later we were all un-fired, the searches were ended, and everyone who took off work to go to the union was given full pay for the day.

They agreed the committee we had chosen would continue to meet and that we could have a monthly union meeting in the shop.

Nobody thinks it's going to be easy to turn the shop around, but things will be different.

We all have a new confidence. Part of it is because of the younger workers. "Nothing happened here until this new generation came along," one co-worker explained. "They don't take the same old shit."

That new spirit, and a glimpse of what a union could be if we were all united in it, infects everyone. As one friend summed it up, "When I went home that day I felt good for the first time since I worked here. I felt proud."



Liberation News Service/Laurie Leifer

Garment shop located in Brooklyn.

Farmers demand parity, loan reprieve

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Some 500 farmers, loggers and unionists packed into the state capitol on February 15 to protest the increasing plight of Minnesota farmers. The rally was preceded by a parade of farm tractors, logging trucks and buses from the state fairgrounds.

The protest — called Minnesota Solidarity Day — was cosponsored by the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), Minnesota Citizens Organizations Acting Together (COACT), and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association.

Carrying placards such as "Family Farmer: Endangered Species," "Tax Profits not People," and "Parity Price will Save Rural America," Minnesota farmers converged on the capitol to press for passage of two bills: a two-year moratorium on mortgage foreclosures and a minimum price bill that would guarantee 80 percent parity.

The two-year moratorium bill on farm foreclosures comes at a time when a quarter of Minnesota's 14,000 farmers who have loans with the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) are now delinquent in making payments. Pat O'Reilly, state president of AAM and an organizer of the rally, had to sell three quarters of his cattle to meet his loan payments to FmHA. Last year O'Reilly had an income of \$47,000; \$36,000 of that went to pay interest on his loans. Today he is \$224,000 in debt.

Opposition to FmHA is so widespread that about a dozen chapters of a grassroots farm group called Minnesota Citizens Organizations Acting Together have sprung up around the state. To make their payments many farmers are forced to seek supplemental forms of employment.

The second bill centers on the demand for parity. This demand was highlighted by a large billboard attached to one of the tractors. The billboard displayed the price of a 135 horsepower tractor, the interest rate, and the value of a bushel of corn in 1973. On the right hand side were the 1982 figures. The cost of a 1973 tractor was \$13,899; in 1982 it costs \$52,977. Interest rates have risen from 8 percent to 18.5 percent. And the value of a bushel of corn has dropped from \$2.34 in 1973 to \$2.25 in 1982.

The billboard reflects the growing disparity between the price of corn per bushel and the skyrocketing costs of production. The minimum price bill

supported by the farmers, which calls for 80 percent parity, would raise the price value of a bushel of corn to \$4. If passed, this bill would lessen the squeeze somewhat.

Farmers at the rally said their farm income had fallen to Depression-era levels. According to the Department of Agriculture, farmers' income in Minnesota dropped \$1 billion dollars last year from 1980 earnings. Farmers also voiced their opposition to the trade embargo of the Soviet Union and Poland. Before the embargo, for example, overseas sales of corn in 1979 totaled more than 40 million bushels. By 1981 they had dropped to about 3.3 million bushels — a 92 percent decrease. Farmers were also opposed to the dumping of hazardous wastes, increases in utility rates, tax giveaways to monopolies, and land-grabbing by logging companies like Boise and Pot-

latch in northern Minnesota.

David Riehle, a socialist rail worker running for mayor of St. Paul, received a good hearing at the rally. He pointed out in a campaign statement that there will be no solutions to the plight of farmers and workers as long as the Democrats and Republicans run the government.

Riehle said, "A workers and farmers government in the U.S. can make sure working farmers have a fair and guaranteed price for their products and low-interest credit for buying machinery and supplies. That kind of government would urge farmers to become warriors in the battle against hunger throughout the world, and to join the fight to end famine once and for all. It would not use food as a weapon against the starving millions of the world, as both Democratic and Republican administrations do."

Racist frat party sparks Black rights demands

BY LORRAINE SOCKACI

CINCINNATI — In one of the largest demonstrations at the University of Cincinnati since the late 1960s, more than 2,000 persons attended a rally on February 15 to protest a "Martin Luther King Trash Party" sponsored by Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE), the largest fraternity on campus.

After an investigation of the party by the Interfraternity Council on a complaint by Black student and faculty organizations on campus, university President Henry Winkler suspended the fraternity for two years. The suspension may be reduced to one year if SAE develops a plan of education and public service that will "contribute to their awareness of the wrong they have done."

Most of the Black campus organizations, the Black students, and the Cincinnati chapter of the NAACP expressed outrage at what they considered to be a mild punishment for the racist party and the defamatory invitations which were issued for it. They demanded that the university permanently suspend SAE.

The invitations to the party asked guests to bring such items as "food stamps, your father if you know who he is, a KKK hood, a pimp, etc."

The speakers at the rally went beyond the narrow issue of whether SAE should be permanently suspended. Although they endorsed that demand, they focused on the larger issue of racism on the campus and in

society. Chris Mack, president of the United Black Association (UBA), outlined six demands addressed to this issue: Black organizations and students should monitor SAE's suspension; no budget cuts for Black programs and services; a recommitment by the university to affirmative action; divestment of university holdings of stock in companies that do business in South Africa; sensitivity training programs for faculty, staff, and administrators; and a requirement of nine credit-hours in Afro-American studies for all students.

Mack also blasted the student body president and the student senate for not speaking out against the racist fraternity party. He pointed out that there are two Black members on the university's Board of Trustees and neither of them has said anything about the issue of campus racism.

Mack told the rally that if the university doesn't grant the demands, "We are prepared to tell anyone with a social conscience not to come to the University of Cincinnati."

A founder of the United Black Association in the 1960s, Dwight Tillery, who is now regional director of the National Bar Association, asked the rally, "Can you imagine what would happen if the UBA had a party called the Holocaust? The UBA would be forever banned. We have been sleeping on the job. We are suffering from the illusion of inclusion."

Other speakers at the rally were

Marion Spencer, president of the Cincinnati chapter of the NAACP; the Rev. Melvin Jones, education chairman of the Baptist Ministers' Conference; and Dr. Angeline Jamison, president of the United Black Association of Faculty, Administration and Staff, and acting head of the Afro-American Studies Department.

The Cincinnati Chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement in support of the broader demands of the protest gathering. The statement declared, in part, "We need to mount a massive civil rights movement in support of Black rights, not banning this racist fraternity. . . . In short, we should use the university to further Black rights, to defend desegregation and affirmative action, to oppose the racist cuts in social programs. Defend Black Rights!"

One of seven fears job is in jeopardy

According to the latest Gallup poll one person in seven among the employed believes his or her job is in jeopardy. With the official rate of unemployment at 8.5 percent, an additional 15 percent of persons holding either full-time or part-time jobs think it is at least fairly likely that they will lose their jobs within the next year.

Fear of unemployment is highest among Blacks, youth, and union workers.

Repression against undocumented workers

Immigration cops raid factories in many cities

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

NEW YORK — With virtually no publicity, the Reagan administration has launched a massive escalation of raids by immigration cops to terrorize Latino communities throughout the United States.

Reports from California, Texas, and New York — three of the states with the largest Latino populations — indicate that since the beginning of the year there has been a dramatic increase in roundups carried out by the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service, above all in garment shops and other workplaces.

The February 5 issue of the *Militant* carried a report detailing what one worker described as "a military operation" by INS cops at the Mademoiselle Knitwear Co., a garment factory in the Bush Terminal section of Brooklyn. Of the 300 workers at that shop, 138 were arrested and several immediately deported.

Construction workers deported

Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Dallas's 24th District reports that "more than 12,000 undocumented workers were deported from El Paso during January." In recent months there had been an average of 18,000 to 19,000 deportations, according to local press reports, in the INS's entire southern region, an eleven-state area stretching from Arizona and New Mexico to the Atlantic coast.

"La migra — as Chicanos and *mexicanos* call the INS — has been intercepting workers on their way to construction jobs," Oleson adds. "Groups of undocumented construction workers have been whisked to la migra detention centers and deported to Mexico before the day is out."

Oleson also says that local cops have been using a new state law requiring drivers to have automobile insurance "as an excuse to set up roadblocks and check the papers of Mexicans and Latinos. Those without papers are quickly deported."

In addition to Mexicans, la migra in Texas is deporting Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees, even though this could mean their deaths at the hands of the bloody U.S.-backed dictatorships that govern those countries.

Los Angeles — 'state of siege'

In Los Angeles, a coalition of immigrant defense groups declared in mid-January that the city is "under a state of siege" due to recent raids and deportations.

Leaders of the National Immigration Coalition said at a news conference that "massive" raids were carried out at factories and bus stops during the first week of January.

"They [the undocumented immigrants] are practically terrorized," said Elisa Chávez of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

"They are afraid to return to work."

'Little Tokyo' hit

On January 28 and February 2, INS agents swept through Los Angeles's "Little Tokyo" Japanese community. The series of raids led to the closing of dozens of shops and restaurants," reported the *Los Angeles Times* on February 6.

"People are very upset and businesses are closing down," said Evelyn Yoshimura of the Little Tokyo Service Center. "For the last couple of days, the area around here has been barren."

Robert Iwasaki, a lawyer who represents a number of area restaurant owners, said it was the biggest attack against Japanese immigrants since he started working in the area twenty-five years ago.

"It's creating quite a problem for the

employers," he said. "Because of what's happening, the employees aren't going to work. People are scared."

Omer G. Sewell, deputy director of the INS in Los Angeles, tacitly confirmed the raids were unprecedented, claiming that previously Japanese immigrants had followed the law but that now this had changed. He admitted the raids had led to the arrest of the largest number of undocumented Japanese immigrants.

National crackdown

INS spokespeople in Dallas and New York told this reporter there has been no increase in raids or roundups.

However, at the beginning of January, INS official Sewell told reporters that the INS national office had ordered its local offices to drastically increase the number of agents assigned to raids, concentrating especially on factory and workplace raids.

According to the January 6 *Los Angeles Times*, Sewell said the goal is to at least triple the number of factory raids in that area. The number of INS cops assigned to factory raids, he said, would go from eighteen to forty or fifty by the end of January.

Factories with more than 200 employees would be singled out for attacks in the new crackdown. "In the past, we haven't had enough personnel to take on the largest factories," Sewell said. "Even if you put all 18 of our investigators on one factory survey [roundup], you wouldn't have enough. Now we will be able to take on some of those."

The launching of the stepped-up of-

fensive against immigrants has also been confirmed by Dr. Jorge Bustamante, internationally renowned immigration scholar and the Mexican government's chief adviser on the subject. According to the January 31 *Dallas Morning News*, Bustamante reported in a newspaper column in the middle of January that the INS cops had increased their persecution of Mexican workers.

"During the past fifteen days, I've been in touch with lawyers connected with the undocumented workers' legal defense programs in Los Angeles, San Antonio, El Paso, Houston, and Chicago," wrote Bustamante.

"Without exception, they have confirmed that in recent weeks police action against the undocumented workers has increased. It has produced a situation of terror and persecution in the Mexican communities in those cities."

'Silva letters' revoked

At the same time, the Reagan administration has revoked the so-called Silva letters, a kind of temporary residence and work permit established by a Chicago federal court decision in 1977.

The ruling came in a suit filed by Refugio Silva, an undocumented Mexican immigrant, who challenged the government's right to deport him. Silva argued that by admitting a practically unlimited number of Cubans in the 1960s without increasing the total Western hemisphere quota, the government had discriminated against aspiring immigrants from other countries.

The judge ruled that the INS should issue 145,000 additional permanent residency permits over and above those provided for in the annual quota to make up for this discrimination. While it was being determined which persons would receive the green cards, each applicant would be given a letter (the Silva letter) giving him or her permission to live and work in the United States. The immigrants who fell under the provisions of this decision were those who had sought, and been denied, permanent residency before 1977.

At the end of last year, the 145,000 green cards provided for under the Silva decision ran out, even though there were still 70,000 to 100,000 people who had received Silva letters but not green cards. The INS then wrote to all these people, revoking their right to remain in the country and instructing them to come to INS offices for questioning.

Immigrant defense groups say that if a holder of a Silva letter goes to the INS offices, that person could be arrested on the spot and then deported.

The revocation of the Silva letters caused a furor in Mexico. The Mexican government recalled its ambassador to Washington for consultations. Nevertheless, the ambassador, Hugo B. Margáin, later denied this was related to the Silva letters, and publicly chastised immigration expert Bustamante as "a technician who has provoked a lot of problems for us with the United States. . . . I have to say his opinion is not the government's."

Texas socialists launch state campaign, hit Reagan aid to El Salvador junta



Militant/Sherry Fekete

Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas.

BY STEVE MARSHALL

SAN ANTONIO, Texas — The Socialist Workers Party in Texas launched campaigns for federal and state offices by sounding the alarm against the Reagan administration's drive toward a war in Central America.

Leading the SWP ticket are Norma Saldaña and Steve Warshell. Saldaña, a Houston oil worker, is running against "the Senator from Shell," Lloyd Bentsen.

Warshell is challenging Republican oil millionaire William Clements for governor.

Saldaña announced her campaign on February 8 at a news conference in Houston. She attacked Bentsen's call for reinstating the military draft and announced that she is going to Cuba this month "to learn more about the advancing revolutions" in Central America.

Saldaña is the daughter of migrant farm workers and was active in the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in

Ohio from 1970 to 1978.

Warshell opened his campaign two days later at a news conference at Los Arcos Cafe in San Antonio.

He said that the "central issue in Texas and national politics is the revolution in El Salvador and President Reagan's intervention on the side of the military junta. The SWP will be in the front ranks of those organizing opposition to U.S. intervention in that country."

Filling out the SWP's slate are attorney general candidate Diane Sarge, a Houston steelworker; Texas railroad commission candidate Debbie Lazar, a laid-off auto worker; and two congressional candidates, Lee Oleson from Dallas and Gary Trabue from Houston.

Trabue, a Black Vietnam veteran, worked as an over-the-road truck driver until he was hired at Shell Park oil refinery five years ago. He is a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union and the National Black Independent

Political Party.

In a Spanish-language statement broadcast throughout south Texas by KWEX-TV, Warshell pledged his gubernatorial campaign will "shine a spotlight on the criminals of la migra [Immigration and Naturalization Service] and the Border Patrol," two of the many police agencies who have been on a rampage in Texas in the past months.

Against the immigration plans of Clements and Reagan, Warshell offered a different answer: an end to deportations and full rights for all immigrant workers.

Another focus of the socialist campaign is the Texas prison system, the nation's largest, with 32,000 inmates.

Prisoners are used to train police dogs and perform slave labor in fields infested with fire ants. During the recent cold wave many were housed in poorly heated tents.

When a group of prisoners filed suit against such barbaric conditions, four were murdered.

"The socialist campaign," said Warshell, "stands in solidarity with the prisoners of Texas."

Texas is a right-to-work state; only 13 percent of Texas workers have union protection. That's why, said Warshell, Texas leads the nation in industrial accidents and deaths.

The socialist candidates advocate a fight by the unions to repeal the right-to-work laws and to organize the millions of unorganized workers in Texas.

"But to do that," said Warshell, "the unions will have to take on the government. This means taking on the parties that run it, the Democrats and Republicans. As far as I can tell, to be governor of Texas, or even to run as a Democrat or Republican, you have to be a millionaire."

"What we need is a party to run against the millionaires. I think the unions should launch a new party of the working class."

Situation normal — With some officials suggesting that welfare slashes could incite vio-



Harry Ring

lence, presidential aide Robert Carleson responded: "No threat of unrest . . . should be permitted to cow a government into transferring income from one

group of people to another when that transfer is not justified by accepted social norms." The social norm of starving the poor to stuff the rich?

"Spare us this day . . ." — The Catholic archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa has asked his flock to pray before watching the evening TV news. He said he would not discourage praying before reading the daily paper, but warned, "If you ask too much, you don't get anything."

Statistics dep't — The White House head butler said it took his staff four hours to wash that

\$109,000 set of dishes when they arrived from the maker.

How could they possibly? — "There are people seeking to promote the misperception that the civil rights activities of this administration are less forceful than they should be." — Asst. Atty. Gen. William Reynold.

Fashion dep't — Goodwill Industries in Little Rock was going to send Nancy Reagan a \$3 used dress, but some thought it might seem disrespectful. Meanwhile, an aide announced the first lady would no longer accept dress "loans" from fa-

shion firms and assured she has plenty of dresses of her own.

Ah, don't be paranoid — Noting that twenty big banks and investment firms dominate hundreds of top U.S. industries, the United Auto Workers paper *Solidarity*, suggested: "The high degree of concentration by this tiny group raises the possibility of collusion among corporate giants. . . ."

Positively inconsiderate — "With the nation's energy situation the way it is, this is just not the right time to impose pass-

enger service on the rail lines." — Southern Pacific Vice-president Robert Krebs on the demand for more passenger service. Passengers, he explains, are not as "cost effective" as freight.

The cutting edge — Buck knives have a reputation for being better than average. A message from Al Buck explains: "From the beginning management determined to make God the Senior Partner. In a crisis, the problem was turned over to Him, and He hasn't failed to help us with the answer."

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

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

ARIZONA

Tucson
Ten Days That Shook the World. Film by Sergei Eisenstein based on book by John Reed. Sun., Feb. 28, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. Arizona Ballroom, Student Union, University of Arizona. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

ILLINOIS

Chicago
Fundraising Benefit Rally for Jearl Wood Defense Committee. Sun., Feb. 28, 4:30 p.m. to 1 a.m. Hitching Post Lounge, 2975 W. 159th St., Markham. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Jearl Wood Defense Committee.

INDIANA

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

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston
Women and the Fight Against War. Speakers: Judy Freiwirth, Mobilization for Survival; Valerie Johnson, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Local 264; representative, National Organization for Women. Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th

floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit
Music, Literature, and the Crisis in American Society. Speaker: Kofi Natambu, editor of *Solid Ground*. Sun., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

Evolution vs. Creationism: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Peter Archer, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities
The Destruction of Public Education: Can It Be Prevented? Speakers to be announced. Sun., Feb. 28, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City
Will Abortion Rights Be Lost? Speakers: representative of Reproductive Freedom Committee of Kansas City Urban chapter, National Organization for Women; Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

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

NEW YORK

Brooklyn
Malcolm X: The Meaning of His Idas for Today. Film and panel discussion. Speakers: Minister Michael Amon-Ra, National Black United Front; representative of National Black Independent Political Party; others. Fri., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m.; dinner 6:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2 forum, \$4 forum

and dinner. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 874-7922.

Giveback Contracts: Attacks on American Workers Increase. Speakers: Gregory Pardlo, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Susan Anmuth, member, United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 5, 7:30 p.m.; 6:30 p.m. dinner. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2 forum, \$4 dinner and forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

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

Schnectady
First Public Meeting for Mayberry for Congress Campaign Committee. Speaker: Pat Mayberry, rail worker and Socialist Workers Party candidate in 28th Congressional District. Wed., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro
Malcolm X and Dr. King: the Fight for Freedom Now. Speakers: Dan Wheatley, Brothers and Sisters in Blackness, Guilford College; Steve Craine, Young Socialist Alliance; representative of Neo-Black Society, UNC Greensboro; Tony Reese and Steven Raikes, Political Science Club, A&T State. Tues., March 2, 7 p.m. St. Mary's House, 930 Walker Ave. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

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

OREGON

Portland
Creationism vs. Evolution: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Sara Baird, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia
Malcolm X Memorial Meeting. Speakers: Sam Farley, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

San Antonio
The Crisis Facing the Women's Movement Today. Speakers: Betty Koster, National Organization for Women; Jane McComsey, member of Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 337

W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

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

Salt Lake City
The Crisis in El Salvador. Speakers: Joe Navarro, professor of political science, University of Utah, and member of Committee in Solidarity with Central American People; Herb Clemens, president of Salt Lake City chapter of Amnesty International (organization for identification purposes only); Mike Moody, member of Utah State University Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Kay Sedam, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 677 South, 700 East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

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

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

WASHINGTON

Seattle
Our Jobs and Our Lives: Reagan's Arms Buildup and the War Industries in Puget Sound. Speaker: Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5530.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial/Young Socialist Tours invites you to visit

CUBA NICARAGUA GRENADA

Cuba

Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960
May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640
Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425
Solidarity Tour — November 21-28, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Nicaragua

Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150
Fall Economy Tour — December 4-11, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Grenada

Fall Economy Tour — October 29-November 5, 1982 — eight days, \$725 (from New York)

Prices include round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels (double occupancy), three meals (except for August 8-15 tour), transfers, and guide service.

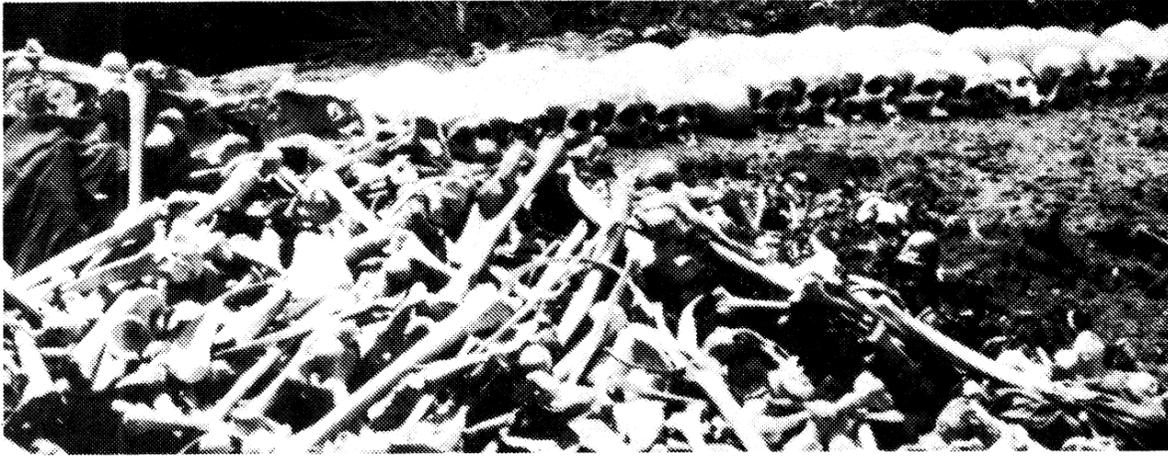
Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours
410 West Street, New York, NY 10014
(212) 242-5530

'BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL'

Twice-monthly international edition of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) newspaper *Barricada*. Spanish language. Subscriptions now available at \$6 for six months. Send personal checks or international money orders to:

Barricada Internacional
Apartado Postal 576
Managua, Nicaragua

'The China-Kampuchea-Vietnam triangle'



Remains of Kampuchians butchered by Pol Pot regime.

The China-Cambodia-Vietnam Triangle, by Wilfred Burchett. Vanguard Books. 235 pages, \$6.95 paperback.

BY DIANE WANG

Mass graves unearthed in Kampuchea (Cambodia) record a staggering brutality and terrorism. Between 1975 and 1979 the Pol Pot regime exterminated an estimated 40 percent of the population.

This was carried out by leaders who originally claimed to be socialists, and were welcomed in 1975 as liberators from U.S. destruction. Today, following their reign of terror, these leaders enjoy the support of both the U.S. and Chinese governments.

Wilfred Burchett, a radical journalist for many years, has visited Kampuchea and Vietnam five

BOOK REVIEW

times since the overthrow of Pol Pot three years ago. The interviews and descriptions collected in this book are a wealth of evidence on many topics. These include:

- Kampuchean resistance to Pol Pot, including whole villages that rebelled and were massacred.
- How the imperialist propaganda campaign about Vietnam's "boat people" was used to discredit the deepening Vietnamese revolution.
- How Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and the Peking regime prepared and escalated their attacks on Vietnam's borders, leading to the 1979 battles.

Burchett's own political background provides an interesting perspective for examining these questions. As one of what he calls the "pro-Chinese 'Vietnam watchers'" during the Vietnam War, Burchett came to his conclusions about the Chinese regime and Pol Pot "with great sorrow and disillusion."

This profound disillusion has led Burchett — and many others — to reexamine the past, to sift through facts and opinions with new eyes and greater care.

Burchett tries to critically review the origins of the Pol Pot clique, what led to Vietnam's intervention to help overthrow the terror regime in Kampuchea, and China's invasion of Vietnam.

Writing about the 1954 Geneva Conference, held to settle the war the French had been waging in Indo-

china, Burchett quotes a senior Vietnamese aide: "We did everything possible to have [our] principles accepted and we never abandoned that stand.

"The enemy position was: 'Let's be realistic. . . . Let's deal only with the present.' Unfortunately we had allies who in the name of 'realism' and 'pragmatism' also advised us not to 'poison the atmosphere' but to yield."

Burchett comments, "Covering the Geneva Conference from the first to the last day, I — and other journalists with close relations to the socialist delegations — had no suspicion that the Chinese and Soviet delegations were not solidly backing the Vietnamese."

It was more than a quarter-century after the 1954 conference that a Vietnamese leader commented to Burchett: "Because of the betrayals at Geneva, our struggle lasted another twenty years, but our military, political and diplomatic experiences proved one thing: One must be absolutely independent. This is a living reality touching our own flesh and blood."

Pseudosocialism of Pol Pot

What were the ideas that drove Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge? Two themes documented by Burchett seem striking.

From the early 1950s, the Paris group of Cambodian intellectuals that included Pol Pot rejected a class analysis of their country's problems.

"What we habitually call 'cities' or 'market towns' are pumps which drain away the vitality of the rural areas," wrote Hou Youn, one of the group, in 1955.

This confusion of city dweller for capitalist was at the heart of Pol Pot's pseudosocialism.

When the Khmer Rouge evacuated a large part of the population from Phnom Penh in April 1975, it claimed this was a drastic measure to cope with famine or possible U.S. bombing. Later it cited fear of the Vietnamese. But, as Burchett shows, this was part of a "complete set of very severe measures" that some Cambodian students in Paris were writing into doctoral theses back in 1959.

For the Khmer Rouge, the "poorest of the poor," not the workers, would lead. In reality, Burchett reports, "it was often the village 'drop out' — even by poor peasant standards."

Alongside this contempt for the working class and

class politics went Pol Pot's rejection of internationalism. In 1975 he told 3,000 army delegates:

"We dared to wage a struggle on a stand completely different from that of world revolution. The world revolution carried out the struggle with all kinds of massive support, material, economic, and financial, from outside world forces. As for us, we have waged our revolutionary struggle basically on the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance."

Factually, this was wrong: the Vietnamese had given tremendous aid to help oust the U.S.-backed Lon Nol regime. And international antiwar protests played an important role in the struggle against U.S. intervention in Indochina.

Triangle in imperialist circles

In her preface Arlee Frantz explains, "This is not a book specifically about the role of the United States in Southeast Asia."

It is legitimate to focus on the Indochinese events and actors, and leave aside the full record of direct U.S. involvement.

But in his overall analysis and conclusions Burchett also seems to assign Washington a sideline role. True, he notes that the U.S. government gave China a clear go-ahead to move against Vietnam. Yet Burchett stands matters upside down when he writes:

"If the United States could consider itself as playing — in a historical context — a short-term role as an international gendarme to 'contain communism,' China was content to let the United States play that role while it schemed for the larger stakes of long-term, permanent control of the area, the resources of which would then be used against both the United States and Japan. If the United States thinks in terms of years and the duration of a presidency, China thinks in terms of centuries and the duration of a dynasty! The U.S. love match with China will be discarded when it is no longer useful!"

But Washington is not just a co-conspirator — much less a dupe — in Chinese plans. It is the main actor, the chief instigator of the crimes against Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Consider the Chinese invasion. Burchett himself records how the Chinese provocations stepped up as Vietnam took control of some 3,000 large merchants' enterprises and extended the workers state in the north to the south in early 1978.

This deepening of the Vietnamese revolution and its impact on the rest of Southeast Asia alarmed U.S. imperialism. Consequently, Washington stepped up its provocations against the revolution, getting Peking to launch an invasion of Vietnam.

Marxists have always traced the drive for expansion and war in this epoch to the workings of capitalist economies. In China, the bureaucratic caste doesn't depend on the accumulation and expansion of capital for its wealth and privileges.

The expansionism operating in this area is that of imperialism. The U.S. rulers don't just think in terms of years, but aspire to a millennium of world domination.

The parasitic caste that governs the Chinese workers state, seeking trade agreements, diplomatic relations, and an empty promise of class peace, have lent their aid to imperialist objectives.

DIRECTORY

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

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

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

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

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

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

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

What road for women's rights struggle

Who is killing the Equal Rights Amendment, why, and what should be done about it?

The March 8, International Women's Day, activities that are being organized around the country provide a good opportunity to discuss these questions and think out how to defend women's rights in the face of the current attacks.

Since the beginning of the year, five state legislatures have voted against ERA ratification.

In Oklahoma, the legislators voted the ERA down twice in January. In Georgia, it was rejected in the House of Representatives by a two-to-one margin.

In Virginia and Illinois, changes in legislative rules that could have given the ERA a better shot at passing were defeated. And in Missouri, the ERA was killed in committee. In fact, no state has approved the ERA since Indiana passed it in 1977.

This leaves the June 30 deadline for ERA passage just four months away with still only thirty-five of the thirty-eight states necessary having approved it.

These defeats come on top of the Idaho Supreme Court's ruling last December that: Congress's three-year extension of the original ratification deadline was unconstitutional; and that state governments could rescind previous ratification votes.

At the end of January, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a stay of this decision, but declined to comment on the "merits" of the case, i.e. whether equal rights for half the population should be written into the constitution.

Most people know that the majority in this country support the ERA, as well as abortion rights and other measures to improve women's status in society.

There's an urgent need for women's rights supporters to discuss why, in the face of this majority sentiment, the Democrats and Republicans are accelerating their attacks on women's rights.

A recent mailing from National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal ventured this explanation:

"I am convinced that the legislators are running scared of the far Right Wing. They fear that a vote for ERA means that they will be targeted by a very powerful and monied political force."

But this reasoning raises more questions than it answers.

For one thing, the "far Right Wing" represents a lot fewer people than the pro-ERA forces. So why aren't the legislators — who are supposed to carry out the majority will — "running scared" of us?

In addition, many of the Democrats and Republicans that have blocked ERA passage claim to support ERA, and thus are already opposed by various right-wing political groups.

In the recent vote in Georgia, for example, ERA supporters thought they were within ten votes of the ninety-one necessary to win ERA passage. But only fifty-seven legislators ended up voting in favor of ERA. And fully 90 percent of the 'nay' votes were cast by Democrats.

Today's realities make clearer than ever that both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by "powerful monied interests." The bipartisan economic, political, and social offensive against the rights and living standards of all working people is what emboldens right-wing scum like "Stop ERA," the misnamed "Right-to-Life," the "Moral Majority" and the Ku Klux Klan. It's elected Democratic and Republican officials, not Jerry Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly, who are using their governmental power to drag us into a new Vietnam in Central America, cut back social services and democratic rights, and do nothing about the growing unemployment.

An item in the February 12 issue of the *New York Times* described the NOW leadership's latest proposal for ERA supporters. It reports that the NOW leadership recently notified NOW chapters of a "change in tactics." NOW intends "to regularly picket Republican leaders and bluntly charge that the G.O.P. is the biggest obstacle to the measure's [ERA] approval."

This is less an anti-Republican campaign than it is a pro-Democratic Party one. All-out against the Republican enemy is the classic cover for waging a big effort behind the Democrats, especially in an election year.

But as every rule has its exception, so too does the Republican-only campaign. A recent mailing from Smeal urges a huge effort to get Susan Catania nominated for lieutenant governor in the Illinois Republican primary. Smeal terms this an "election which may well determine the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment."

That's absurd.

Electing one more female Republican will not stop the relentless ruling-class offensive against women and all working people, an offensive that includes the decision to let the ERA die, but is much broader.

To the contrary, convincing women's rights supporters to support and elect politicians beholden to the employers will make it easier for the rulers to deal us further blows.

Yes, we do need a new government. That's for sure.

We need a workers government that will represent the interests of all the exploited and the oppressed. A government that champions the struggles of women fighting for equality; Blacks and Latinos fighting racism; working people fighting for jobs, a decent income, and democratic rights.

We need a government that will use its power in the interests of the majority, not a tiny minority of rich people — a government that will pursue a foreign policy of peace and friendship toward the oppressed and exploited in other countries, not war and plunder.

But supporting Democrats and Republicans is the biggest *obstacle* to ever having a say over how this country is run. It's support to the two-party shell game for decades that has gotten the labor movement into the impasse it faces today. And an increase in the number of elected Black Democrats and Republicans has not prevented the plight of Black people in this country from worsening.

The most important question women's rights fighters must discuss is the breaking from this con game. We must chart a course that links the struggle for women's rights with the fight of the entire working class for political power. This means seeing the road forward for women as connected to the fight for a party that can lead this struggle.

The unions are the biggest organizations that working people have in this country. If they would run their own candidates, form their own party, it would be a qualitative step forward in the fight to end capitalist rule and the war, inequality, and exploitation that it breeds. It would represent a giant step forward in the struggle to end the oppression of women.

The slogan that the first International Women's Day activities were organized around in 1911 was "the vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism."

That's a good goal to keep in mind as we discuss how to fight for the ERA, abortion rights, and how to build a massive, militant women's liberation movement.

The 'Militant' twenty years ago this week

BY CONNIE ALLEN

Twenty years ago the *Militant* was a four-page weekly. However, when special events warranted it, a larger issue was published. Cuba's explanation and denunciation of the historical role of imperialism was such an event. The March 5, 1962, issue of the *Militant* was eight pages and carried the full text of the Second Declaration of Havana.

This document was adopted February 4, 1962, at a mass rally of a million Cubans in response to the January 1962 meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Punta del Este, Uruguay. The OAS meeting came the year after Washington's attempted invasion of Cuba. Then Secretary of State Dean Rusk tried to get the agreement of Latin American governments to adopt mandatory diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba.

Washington failed to impose this reactionary policy on the semi-colonial governments, which were fearful of the reaction from their own people if

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

they completely caved in to imperialism. Pro-Cuban demonstrations took place during the OAS meeting in Venezuela, Uruguay, and Bolivia.

However, the U.S. government did succeed in pushing through a resolution condemning Cuba as a threat to "the freedom of man"; stating that the revolution in Cuba was a threat to "peace" and "democracy" in this hemisphere; and calling on the council of the OAS to effect the "exclusion" of Cuba from the OAS.

Cuba responded by mobilizing a million people in Havana to denounce the real threat to peace and democracy. The Second Declaration of Havana is addressed "from the people of Cuba to the peoples of America and of the world." Its central theme is the Latin American revolution against domination by U.S. big business. However, it places this process in the international and historic context of the rise and development of imperialism.

"What is the history of Cuba if not the history of Latin America?" asks the declaration. "And what is the history of Latin America if not that of Asia, Africa, Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples if not a history of the most despicable and cruel exploitation by imperialism of the entire world?"

The Second Declaration of Havana is a historical-materialist explanation of modern class society. It is available for \$.75 from Pathfinder Press at 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

The March 5, 1962, issue of the *Militant* also included an article on Washington's less-than-successful efforts to force European governments to cease trading with Cuba; a report on a speaking tour by Joe Hansen, a Socialist Workers Party leader, following his trip to Latin America; and a story on the frame-up of civil rights activists in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The expanded issue also carried a lead article by Harry Ring, "Vietnam Build-Up Invites Major War." This was before the war had become an issue for most Americans, and before the massive commitment of U.S. troops. However, it was clear that the U.S. was moving toward a major escalation and the use of American GIs as cannon fodder to maintain U.S. domination of Southeast Asia.

Ring wrote: "The Kennedy administration has cause for refusing to discuss the Chinese charge that its intervention in the Vietnamese civil war is a flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva agreement which limited foreign military personnel in the area to 685 men.

"It is unofficially admitted that some 4,000 GIs are now at war in South Vietnam. The real figure may be even higher and more forces are being poured in. And the original pretext for the violation of the Geneva accord — that the Viet Cong guerrillas were actually North Vietnamese 'aggressors' — has fallen apart. . . .

"Despite the U.S. censorship — designed to keep the American people from knowing what's really going on there — it has become painfully apparent that the GIs have been sent to South Vietnam to save the corrupt Diem dictatorship from the wrath of the South Vietnamese peasantry who are the backbone and sustaining force of the Viet Cong freedom fighters.

"The U.S. is so deeply committed to staving off a basic social transformation in that blighted country that it must even defend Diem from his own officer caste."

Rightists threaten TV's 'Lou Grant'

Last week, we reported that a group of actors and film makers led by Ed Asner, TV's "Lou Grant," launched a campaign for medical aid to El Salvador. On February 15, a check for \$25,000 was given to the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador to deliver to citizens who need care. This was the beginning of a drive to raise \$1 million for medical aid.

Since then, Asner has received a death threat over the phone. The Los Angeles police have stated that they believe it to be a right-wing threat, and have placed Asner under twenty-four-hour guard.

This attack is clearly an attempt to intimidate Asner and the newly formed Medical Aid for El Salvador committee. It should be condemned by every person who defends free speech and the right to organize around one's views.

Asner's opposition to Washington's intervention in El Salvador, and his aid to the rebels, has also aroused the ire of some of his colleagues in the Screen Actors Guild. Charlton Heston, known for his right-

wing positions, has demagogically attacked Asner for misusing his position as president of the union.

In attacking Asner, the red-baiting forces who want to drive him from his union post are challenging the right of all unionists to speak out in opposition to war.

Asner, in a public response published on the op-ed page of the February 20 *New York Times*, wrote:

"Hey, Asner. What gives you and your actor friends the right to speak out about United States foreign policy? Who do you think you are? . . .

"The truth is that once again a Government, not worthy of one United States penny, is being kept alive by millions of our tax dollars.

"Without United States military and economic aid, the junta in El Salvador could not survive, and the suffering of the Salvadoran people could end.

"It is the responsibility of every concerned citizen to stay informed and speak out in the name of decency when our Government's foreign policy is wrong."

Safety must be a top priority for oil workers

BY MARY WISMER

Working in perhaps one of the more dangerous industries in the United States, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union members see safety as a top priority. Although the big oil companies protest to the contrary, safety is one of the first things to go during an economic squeeze.

There have been a rash of explosions, fires, chemical leaks, and other accidents of that nature in the

UNION TALK

past year. Along the Mississippi River, where there is a large concentration of petrochemical plants, such accidents have been occurring almost monthly.

In New Orleans the *Times-Picayune* recently ran an article entitled, "Accidents creating fiery corri-

dor." In that article, the reporter ran down ten separate incidents that occurred in the summer.

During the same period farther down the river, there was another tank explosion at the Celotex plant in Marrero, Louisiana, that injured nine workers and killed one. Also, since September there have been several minor fires at the Shell-Norco refinery.

It is no accident that these fires and explosions are occurring now. Oil companies across the United States are using the economic crisis as an excuse to ignore traditional safety rules. Units that desperately need to be shut down and turned around are being left in operation, far beyond their capacity to run safely. Under tremendous pressures and temperatures and the corrosive chemicals that the pipes and machinery are subjected to, the inevitable finally occurs — a fire, an explosion, and permanent injury or loss of life of the workers who maintain the units.

Just such an incident occurred at the Crown Refin-

ery in Houston, Texas, over the summer. One of the refinery's two Alkylation plants had been a year overdue for a turnaround. In its rush for profits, the management at Crown kept the plant running. A major leak developed in one of the unit's main feed lines. Rather than shutting the unit down for much needed repairs, Crown shut the unit down long enough to bandaid the leak and then instructed the Alky plant operators to bring the unit back on line. The operators protested and insisted that the plant was unsafe to run, but management persisted. When the unit was brought back on stream, it exploded, burning to the ground. Three workers were critically burned.

Oil companies make a big show about their safety records, but the operators and maintenance workers who run the plants know that it is only that — a show. Safety is never first when profits are in the way, and oil workers lives aren't important when it comes to squeezing that extra buck out of a unit.

LETTERS

War & economics

A topic of conversation in the plant I work in is the question: will the war solve the economic crisis?

I think it would be good if the *Militant* ran an article on this subject from an historical point of view. Did World War II solve the depression of 1929? What does a war budget do to the economy? We already have the most bloated war budget ever, is it solving the crisis of capitalism? What did the Vietnam War do to help the economy? What is this war budget spent for? What could it be spent for — a massive public works program, restore the budget cuts.

J.C.

Piedmont, North Carolina

Timely report

The report adopted by the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance written by Margaret Jayko is excellent and very timely. I think it is just what the majority of working women are looking for and that the impact of socialist ideas in the women's movement will be tremendous. For the first time working women will realize that here are women speaking out, not for lobbying with politicians and for giving up rights, but for pressing forward and demanding those rights by whatever means necessary.

It is significant to note that most of the strikes in the recent period were by women workers, teachers and nurses. They struck for more while some of the labor bureaucrats, for the first time in labor history, are considering how much workers should sacrifice to guarantee the profits of the bosses.

The fact that the National Black Independent Political Party champions women's equality and that the YSA gives women's rights top priority is really significant and directly points to the socialist direction that the working class as a whole will take.

Fannie Curran
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Telling the truth

This letter is written in response to some of the doubts expressed in the *Militant* recently by other readers as to the progressive nature of the Polish Solidarity movement. The most damning accusation against Solidarity seems to be that it now enjoys the dubious privilege of receiving rhetorical "support" from the Reagan administration and other reactionaries.

I think that judging a move-

ment in these circumstances solely by the character of those who are hitching a ride on its coattails falls far short of the kind of analysis it deserves. The bourgeoisie have, whenever possible, covered their class rule with the cloak of universal concepts like human rights, democracy, and freedom. That they must do so is a tribute to their need for, and fear of, the working class.

The best way to deal with bourgeois opportunism is to expose it. We can't worry about being contaminated by it to the extent that we allow the bourgeoisie to monopolize discussions about freedom in Eastern Europe or anywhere else. In my view socialists' best weapon for this is simply the truth. To tell it requires an acquaintance with the positive nature of Solidarity's reform program — its class base, the self-management proposals, its democratization plans — in short, its attempt to realize the juridical position of the working class in the society.
Glenn Fieldman
Denver, Colorado

Susan Sontag

Your editorial of February 19 attacking Susan Sontag's remarks at the recent New York "Evening for Solidarity" misrepresents the role played by moderator Ralph Schoenman. Mr. Schoenman did not quote Rosa Luxemburg to defend Ms. Sontag's anticommunist speech, or even her right to speak. Actually, Schoenman was denying Sontag's implication that the only political voices available over the past sixty years have been *Reader's Digest*-style anti-communism or *Nation*-like Stalinophilia, and that instead there is a rich tradition (which, of course, the *Militant* typifies) of revolutionary struggle for socialist democracy. These remarks were quite to the point, even if Mr. Schoenman did somewhat overstep his role as moderator.

I hope to see the *Militant* readers and supporters taking part in organizing and building similar meetings, which could very well help overcome some of the political difficulties inherent in such events.
Michael Pearlman
Bensalem, Pennsylvania

William Shockley

In a 1948 article, the British Marxist J.D. Bernal mentioned, "the foulest bestialities of the Nazi race theory, of which unfortunately we have not heard the last." And now, thirty-four years later, we still have not

heard the last of it. A short item from the Associated Press wire, dated February 11, makes this clear:

"William Shockley, the Nobel Prize-winning physicist whose racial view of genetics has made him the center of international controversy, has filed to run for the [U.S.] Senate as a Republican.

"The Stanford University professor emeritus said Tuesday that he would use his campaign to explain his view that blacks and some other races are not evolving as quickly as others."

Stephen Jay Gould's new book — *Mismeasure of Man* — and Claire Moriarty's excellent review of it (*Militant*, February 12) — are very timely. Unfortunately.

Cliff Conner
New York, New York

Social Security cuts

I am a claims representative working for the Social Security administration. I read Morris Starsky's article on disability benefits (1/29/82 issue of the *Militant*) with great interest because what he states is true — unfortunately.

I see people who are so sick and disabled that they can never work again turned down in their quest to obtain disability benefits — a benefit that should be rightfully theirs. As Mr. Starsky correctly pointed out, since 1979 when the guidelines for disability were changed, the percentage of those receiving unfavorable decisions has risen to an alarming proportion. A few years ago it seemed that about one out of every two persons applying for disability benefits was disapproved, now it would be closer to eight out of every ten persons applying is turned down.

And yes, as Mr. Starsky mentioned, many people currently receiving disability benefits run the risk of losing their monthly payments under similar guidelines set under the Accelerated Continuing Disability Investigations program. I can personally tell of many horror stories which have resulted from this cavalier treatment of disabled persons by the Social Security administration.

One solution would be for the public to demand that the requirements for disability be changed to meet the needs of the people. Only the Congress can change such requirements. So please, even though the Congress is controlled by the two major capitalist parties, write to your congress persons and let your feelings be known. Stop



'Y'all colored folks don't take this personal — it's jes' that we don't like buses!'

this affront to working people everywhere.

A reader
United States

PATCO

Enclosed is a check for \$3 for a three month renewal. I'd like to order a six month renewal but can't afford it right now. I'm one of the fired air controllers being persecuted by "our" government. I've been driving a taxi cab and working as a part-time salesman seven days a week trying to make enough money to pay all the bills. Anyway, next time around I'll order the *Militant* for six months.

Why has nothing been written about the resignations of six PATCO national officers.

George Legrand
Lafayette, Louisiana

'Militant' hits hard

I have read a few of your newspapers and I find them truly fascinating. Your writers sure hit hard where it hurts.

I am interested in a subscription to the *Militant* full time.

I have also read *Workers Viewpoint* once or twice and am interested in knowing what is the difference basically between your views and theirs.

Joe Martin
Cary, North Carolina

Questions

I have some questions regarding nationalization of industry which perhaps you could write or reprint an article on. It's common for conservatives to argue: "If government couldn't deliver the mail, how will they ever run something as huge as the oil industry?" What was the deal with the Post Office? Why didn't it work? Was it an example of

state capitalism? What about the argument that private industry is always more efficient than the public sector? I've heard that one regarding national health care, too. I'd also like to know more about Britain's nationalized industries.

Paul Dougan
Iowa City, Iowa

A dare

It behooves one how a newspaper which professes such an anti-imperialist, pro-human rights, pro-minority, pro-working-class stance can support an obviously proimperialist organization such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Your so-called anti-Zionist, imperialist (actually truffled-over anti-semitism) rhetoric shows through on you a lot better than any of your pseudo-rebellious articles and editorials.

Marty-Noel-Nivoli
Santa Monica, California

P.S. I dare you to print this letter in full.

Right on

Saw a copy of your paper — right on, right on, right on! Please send twelve week subscriptions to the following people. I like it so much I'm gonna turn my friends on to it.

Thomas Moseley
Medford, Maine

Correction

Last week in the 'U.S. Out of Central America and Caribbean' column on page 4 we printed two phone numbers to contact Gary Prevost concerning meetings for Vernon Bellecourt, Clyde Bellecourt, or Dick Bancroft. The second number listed gave the wrong area code. The correct number is (612) 274-5826.

Alabama marchers: 'End attacks on Black voting rights'

BY BOB BRUCE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Some 5,000 fired-up demonstrators marched on the Capitol Building here February 18 in the conclusion of a voting rights march that blended the tradition of the civil rights movement with the strong anti-Reagan sentiment that exists today.

Along with singing "We Shall Overcome," demonstrators chanted, "Fired up, ain't gonna take it no more," "Ronald Reagan, he's no good. Send him back to Hollywood," and "Reagan says cut back, we say fight back."

The march on the Capitol was the final leg of a 160-mile march organized by the National Coalition to Free Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder and Extend the Voting Rights Act.

Bozeman and Wilder are two Black voting-rights activists who were convicted of vote fraud in a racist frame-up in Pickens County, Alabama. They are now on work release, but they are not free. Their case provided the inspiration to demonstrate against Reagan's plans to weaken the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Demonstrators began the march on February 6 in Carrollton, Alabama, where the two activists were convicted. As the marchers passed through cities along the route, they held public rallies, organized hearings on voting rights violations, and registered voters.

After 110 miles, the demonstrators reached Selma, and from there began to retrace the steps of the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This march was instrumental in winning the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

A core of fifty activists marched the entire route, but the ranks of the protest swelled to 4,000 as the march proceeded

across Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge, bloody landmark of the 1965 march.

Among those joining up at this point were veteran civil rights activist John Lewis, one of those badly beaten at this site in 1965; and Tony Liuzzo, the son of white civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo who was murdered along the Selma-to-Montgomery route in 1965.

Prior to placing a wreath at the site in Lowndes County where his mother was murdered, the twenty-six-year-old Liuzzo, who is a bus driver from Detroit, said, "I know the KKK came by here and spit on the spot. Probably after I place the wreath, someone will spit again or burn it. But the Klan cannot kill her spirit, which lives on."

The marchers arrived on the other side of Montgomery, three miles from the Capitol Building, on February 17. That evening, a rally was held at the Lilly Baptist Church to mobilize support in Montgomery. The more than 1,000 people who packed the church were introduced to twenty-four-year-old Martin Luther King III, and heard speeches from John Lewis; Mayor Johnny Ford of Tuskegee; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a central civil rights leader in Birmingham in the 1960s, now active in Cincinnati; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and others.

Dr. Lowery explained that Wilder and Bozeman had provided inspiration for renewal of the struggle. He also spoke to the need to deepen the struggle today.

"It seems that the slogan that best describes the program of Reagan is 'Let them eat missiles,'" Lowery said. "But we can thank Reagan for one thing, and that is he has gotten us to the point where we can talk about redistributing the wealth in this country without the



Militant/Willa Madden

Ranks of protesters swelled as they reached capital city of Montgomery.

idea just being dismissed as communistic or socialistic. Anyway, I've come to the point where I don't care what they call me.

"We are marching to say something is wrong with America. We want to be moral catalysts to make things right in America. Also, we need to send a message to Washington — 'We are not going back, Mr. Reagan.'"

In Montgomery, Mayor Ernest Folmar and the majority-white city council refused to allow marchers to retrace the Dexter Avenue route along which Dr. King led the 1965 march. Also, the Ku Klux Klan threatened a provocative counterdemonstration.

Lowery and the marchers let the city know they were determined to march

along this "sacred route." When it became apparent that the march would be massive, the city government decided at the last minute to allow marchers on all but one block of Dexter Avenue.

The Klan was also frightened by the proportions and militancy of the march, and they gave up their plan for a counterdemonstration.

The march swelled dramatically in size as it passed through Montgomery's impoverished Black community. The angry message to Reagan was delivered by demonstrators who were predominantly young, Black, and new to the struggle. They are the ones who will make sure Reagan's racist attacks will not go by without many more struggles to come.

Employer threats spark 3-day Utah mine strike

PRICE, Utah — Fourteen hundred members of the United Mine Workers shut down three mines operated by Emery Mining Corporation for three days on February 8, 9, and 10. These mines, Wilberg, Des-Bee-Dove, and Deer Creek, are located about forty miles south of here.

Price is headquarters for District 22 of the United Mine Workers (UMW), which includes Arizona, Wyoming, and Utah.

The shutdown occurred when Emery Mining Corporation (EMC) refused to meet with union representatives to discuss an incident of harassment by a boss at the Wilberg mine. The boss verbally abused and threatened a miner in the men's bathhouse. EMC stated that the union had no right to tell it how to discipline its supervisors.

For two days following the incident the union tried to set up a meeting with the company. On the third day the mine management again refused to meet with the UMW. That day the miners that had shown up for day shift decided if the company wouldn't talk they wouldn't work. They walked off the job and set up a picket line to inform the afternoon shift of the situation.

Miners arriving for the afternoon shift were met by a picket line that at its peak reached about 150 people.

Later that day a special Local 2176 meeting was held at Wilberg to discuss what issues were at stake and what

action should be taken. Members of locals 1769 and 1859 from the Deer Creek and Des-Bee-Dove mines were also present.

Plans were made at that meeting to set up pickets at all the mines for the midnight shift.

Utah is a right-to-work state. Not only can workers get fired from their jobs for participating in a "wildcat" strike, they can also be fined or get thrown in jail.

The pickets set up for the midnight shifts were large (about fifty at each mine) and very disciplined. Special attention was paid to informing people getting off the afternoon shift and those arriving for the midnight shift what was going on. These miners were also encouraged to come to an emergency union meeting of the three locals set for the next day.

Pickets, both experienced and new, were impressed by the solidarity of union truck drivers, who haul the coal from the mines, when they turned their huge coal trucks around to honor the picket lines.

From 500 to 600 miners jammed into the Hunnington, Utah, American Legion Hall for the meeting of the three locals. Across the street is the headquarters of Emery Mining.

Up to this point, EMC's position had been that it wouldn't meet with the UMW until the miners returned to work. The overwhelming sentiment of

those present was that they wouldn't go to work until EMC met with union officials while they were still out on strike.

The strike was big news, not just locally, but also statewide. Several Salt Lake City newspapers and television stations covered the unfolding developments. Most of the coverage was favorable to the striking miners.

Thousands of Utahans statewide got to hear the coal miners themselves explain just what they were fighting for: the right to work with respect and dignity, free from the threat of violence.

After three days EMC backed down. A combination of factors were involved. One was the strength and unity of the union. Another was that EMC was losing lots of money.

EMC management and union representatives worked out guidelines to deal with incidents of intimidation and harassment on the job. They outlined steps that will be taken to investigate the circumstances involved in such incidents. A forty-eight hour deadline was established to determine appropriate discipline. At that time the disciplinary measures will be communicated between management and the union.

EMC is seen as a union-busting leader by other mine managements in the region. Its so-called production and safety plan, (actually a speedup and

accident plan) has been copied by other mines. It is the largest employer of coal miners in Utah, employing approximately 40 percent of all coal miners in the state.

In this particular round EMC got more than it had bargained for. This was the first time that locals 2176, 1859 and 1769 went out together.

While EMC came out of this fight licking its wounds, the UMW came out stronger. A whole layer of inexperienced miners participated in the various picket lines and meetings. For many this was their first experience in any union activity. They saw first hand the power of union solidarity and the power they hold simply by working in a vital basic industry.

The UMW is fighting a life-and-death battle for its survival in the West. Traditions of union solidarity and militancy that are pretty commonplace in the East cannot be assumed in the West. The opening of large non-union mines and the general offensive being waged by mine companies against the existing organized mines pose a mortal threat to the union.

Examples of victories won by the union, such as the one won by the Wilberg Local 2176, are important to working people fighting to save their unions. They show that you can wage a fight against a union-busting company and come out victorious.