

THE MILITANT

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

Thousands protest Carter's draft 'We won't die for Exxon!'



Militant/Kris Hugot

NEW YORK, Jan. 30—Students rally against draft at Columbia University in one of scores of protests across the country.

By Janice Lynn

Just days after Carter raised the specter of reinstating the draft, thousands of young people took to the streets in angry protests.

Twenty-five hundred rallied at the University of California at Berkeley; 1,800 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis; 1,000 at the University of Oregon in Eugene; 800 at Harvard; 800 at Columbia; and thousands more at campuses throughout the country.

Their slogans reflected the deep antiwar consciousness that exists among the American people:

"No Draft—No War—No Nukes."

"Exxon, Mobil, what do you say, we won't fight your war today."

"We won't kill for Capitol Hill."

"Hell no, we won't go."

"ERA—yes, Draft—no."

These initial outpourings have exposed the lies of the big-business media about the "end of the Vietnam syndrome." The antidraft mood revealed by these rallies and protests sharply contrasts with the small right-wing actions against Iranian students which months earlier were portrayed by the capitalist media as reflecting a pro-war majority in this country.

And the potential to fight back

against the draft has only begun to be tapped.

Ever since Carter's speech, the mills, plants, and factories have been buzzing with discussions. Young white, Black, and Latino workers know that they would be the first to go if there were a war. Their younger sisters and brothers in the high schools face the same grim reality.

Antidraft organizers are already taking steps to bring the power of the labor movement into the fight.

In Chicago, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) has outlined plans to send sample resolutions to local area unions so they can go on record against the draft. CARD will provide speakers for union meetings and is seeking labor participation in local activities.

The United States Student Association has also announced plans to contact the unions.

The USSA has called for a series of antidraft teach-ins on college campuses this spring.

The antidraft protests have also been tied to the antinuclear movement. At the U.C. Berkeley rally the 2,500 students expressed their joint opposition to the draft, war,

and the dangers of nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Protesters have made the link between war and the profit drive of the energy industry. One of the best received speakers at the University of Minnesota rally January 30 was Madge Zitlow of the American Friends Service Committee. She declared: "We used to fight wars for freedom and justice, they said. But now we fight them for oil."

Thousands of young women have participated in the rallies. By raising the idea that women could also be drafted, Carter has introduced a new and explosive force into the antidraft struggle.

At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, 700 people came to a January 30 rally despite the bitter cold.

Carol King, president of the Michigan National Organization for Women told the rally, "Students should not go quietly to the slaughter. NOW is opposed to registration and the draft for all people."

At the January 30 Wesleyan College rally of 200 in Middletown, Connecticut, student Cynthia Jaffe explained, "Women want equality in life, not in death. The only

response for women to take is to oppose the draft."

High school students have been part of the protests from the start. As opposition to the draft deepens, they will be in the forefront, especially Black and Latino youth.

The government's attempt to restore conscription occurs in a new context today. Opposition to being dragged into new wars by Washington is far deeper than at the outset of Vietnam. The growing combativity of the labor movement, especially among young workers, means the potential exists to involve the unions in antidraft protests right from the start.

The labor movement has the power to stay Carter's hand in reinstating the draft and the power to prevent another Vietnam.

If labor mobilized its power to say no to this new step toward war, Carter and the Congress would have to think twice before drafting this nation's youth.

Trade unionists have every reason to join with students and other antidraft activists in the demonstrations, teach-ins, picket lines, and marches planned. The future of an entire generation of young people depends on it.

Anti-Klan fight in N. Carolina gains momentum

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Two faces of Kennedy

In his January 29 speech at Georgetown University, Sen. Edward Kennedy tried to revive his fading presidential prospects. He appealed to some of the most deeply felt sentiments of working people.

The speech displayed Kennedy's awareness that there are millions of people who don't buy Carter's claims that Americans must accept the draft, bigger arms budgets, lower living standards, and the prospect of war as the price of survival.

"I oppose the peacetime draft," Kennedy said.

He criticized Carter's proposals on arms: "The Carter doctrine offers defense contractors a bright future of expansion and profit. But the middle class, the blue collar workers, minorities, and every victim of discrimination by race or sex or age—they all face the bleak prospect of higher taxes, higher interest rates, and higher inflation."

He blamed Carter for bringing the shah to this country, thus provoking the crisis with Iran.

And he presented himself as the best friend of women's rights and the environment.

Kennedy's defense of his right to dissent on foreign policy is likely to evoke a sympathetic response from millions who see Carter and the media trying to create a phony appearance of unanimous support for the war drive.

Kennedy tossed some electoral pitches to the right as well.

He presented himself as the fiercest defender of the racist state of Israel against the Palestinian people, and as the most clever foe of "subversion from the PLO and other Soviet surrogates."

And he tried to put over wage-price controls as the answer to inflation. As Kennedy knows, such controls have never done anything but hold down wages while prices climbed freely. They aren't meant to stop inflation, but to clamp a lid on the unions' resistance to the ravages of inflation.

But the thrust of Kennedy's speech was to

present himself as the candidate of the working people.

If this were really the case, why hasn't Kennedy been saying these things all along? Why only now, when the polls show his campaign is in trouble?

At the beginning of his campaign, when his backers thought the nomination might be in the bag, Kennedy concentrated on assuring big business that the Ford-Carter antilabor policies would be continued under a Kennedy administration.

But that tack cost votes. "He suddenly found himself accused of having few substantive differences with the President—a charge that was not without some foundation, at least in the context of the Senator's voting record," wrote a *New York Times* columnist January 30.

So one set of promises was traded in for another:

"As for Mr. Kennedy's return to liberal themes, that shift was meant, according to aides, to provide a clearer rationale for his decision to challenge the President."

This kind of cynical vote-hustling is standard operating procedure for the two parties of big business. And the promises made to get our support have no influence whatever on the policies carried out while in office. The administrations of Johnson, Nixon, and Carter showed that.

In office, Kennedy would press for more military spending just as Carter did after promising to cut it during his campaign. Kennedy as president would continue to prop up dictators like the shah and Somoza, just as Carter did after campaigning on human rights. Kennedy in the White House would try to get around popular opposition to the draft and war moves, just as Carter is doing in defiance of his 1976 campaign promises.

And Kennedy in office would try to pare down our living standards and weaken our unions, just as Carter has done without any regard for his 1976 campaign rhetoric.

The purpose of this charade, aside from getting elected, is to keep working people scampering from one big-business politician to another in search of relief.

It's high time for the union movement to start breaking out of this trap. Working people

don't have to choose between the lies of one millionaire and the deceit of another. We have powerful organizations which can provide the basis for a real party of working people, a labor party that can run working people for office on a program representing our interests.

Labor party candidates could stick to one set of promises—and keep them.

Kampuchea victory

The famine in Kampuchea (Cambodia) is over.

This was acknowledged January 23 by Victor Palmieri, the U.S. State Department's coordinator for refugee affairs. Palmieri's statement is an implicit admission that Carter was lying when he said that the Vietnamese and Kampuchean governments were deliberately withholding food aid from starving Kampuchians.

The end of the famine is a victory for the people of Indochina and the world. Kampuchea survived because Vietnam and the Soviet Union provided food, and because relief agencies like Oxfam and Church World Services refused to be party to Carter's efforts to use famine to bring down Heng Samrin's government.

Kampuchea survived because tens of millions of working people all over the world, including the United States, felt that food aid must be given to Kampuchea with no strings attached.

But the U.S. government is continuing to pressure Kampuchea in the expectation that a new famine may occur in the spring.

Their immediate goal is to keep Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops from mopping up the remaining forces of mass murderer Pol Pot. Thailand's military dictatorship is directly involved in organizing and guarding Pol Pot's military encampments along the Thai border.

There have even been hints of possible U.S. military reprisals if the fighting with Pol Pot spills over the Thai border.

American working people should oppose efforts to salvage Pol Pot's killers. We should demand that Washington stop its threats, recognize the Heng Samrin government, and provide massive aid to Kampuchea.

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Pulley urges antiterrorist drive

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president, stopped in Miami enroute to fact-finding tour of Cuba. There he called on labor, civil rights, and women's movements to join campaign to halt anti-Cuba terrorism. **Page 9.**



Eyewitness in El Salvador

Firsthand account of January 22 massacre, and of massive resistance by Salvadoran workers and peasants to government attempts to turn back growing strength of revolutionary movement. **Page 17.**

UAW fights takeaway demands

United Auto Workers members at Budd auto parts plants are striking nationwide against company attempt to model their contract on the substandard Chrysler terms. **Page 13.**



The Militant

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Young workers debate the draft

By Suzanne Haig

President Carter's call for a reinstatement of draft registration immediately triggered intense debate in workplaces around the country, especially among young workers—Black and white, male and female.

Many are responding angrily and defiantly to the idea of being drafted to fight in another Vietnam.

The *Militant* talked to members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in steel, auto, and aerospace plants. A frequent response to the draft from co-workers, they report, is: "Hell no, I won't go," or "I'll go to Canada."

A young worker at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore told Eric Simpson, "Of course I'm opposed to the draft. I'm eighteen."

A co-worker told Linda Lowe, who works at Danley Tool in Cicero, Illinois, "They might get us to go over there, but they're not going to get us to fight."

Socialists noted how discussions around the draft are in contrast to previous debates on the shop floor over Iran. The danger of Carter's war threats against Iran, which confused many workers, is now more real with the possibility that they would be the ones on the front lines.

Rick Weisbond, who works at the

Long Beach McDonnell-Douglas plant near Los Angeles, said, "Some people who were previously for war are now saying, 'Send the shah back to Iran,' and 'We have no business in the Middle East.'"

Older workers are concerned about the possibility of their sons and daughters being drafted.

Stan Hills, a young worker at Great Lakes Steel in Detroit, told the *Militant* that his co-workers are recalling what their older brothers said about Vietnam, "about people getting messed up on drugs, not fighting for anything, and then getting killed."

In the women's locker at Danley Tool, women were talking about "another Vietnam on the way" after Carter's speech.

Co-workers told Jerry Lamecker at the Twin Cities Ford assembly plant in St. Paul, Minnesota, that they were thinking of "enlisting in the air force or navy," "driving a jeep for a general," or "peeling potatoes." Anything to avoid being cannon fodder for someone else's war.

Although people against the draft are the most outspoken, not all workers oppose the draft. And many think perhaps the United States does face a real military threat.

A Black worker at Sparrows Point said, "I like my way of life, and it is worth defending in the military."

Another man at the same plant said that he would go if drafted, "because this time it will be different from Vietnam. This time it is really a serious threat."

One worker asked an anti-draft friend: "Aren't you willing to die for your country—to be a man? America must put its foot down and not let Russia become number one."

The draft discussions rapidly become part of a larger debate around U.S. foreign policy.

Many workers say they would go to war if the Soviet Union were fighting the United States or if it were a question of an invasion of the United States. But they were opposed to fighting in another country far from home.

Most workers are still confused about Afghanistan. They liken the intervention of Soviet troops there to the United States role in Vietnam or the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At the same time, there is a deep suspicion that the U.S. oil industry is behind the war danger. In a discussion at Great Lakes Steel on why people were willing to fight in World War II, someone said, "That's because a lot of people thought they were fighting for something."

A white worker said, "This time they'd be fighting for Mobil."

People laughed and one Black worker added, "And Gulf and Exxon."

The possibility of women also being drafted is a big topic. It has gotten women workers much more involved in discussions of war and foreign policy—for good reason.

At the Long Beach McDonnell-Douglas plant a young woman responded to the idea of being drafted with, "There is no way I'm going to give up limb or life for the oil companies, because they will raise prices anyway. Let them fight their own wars!"

Another discussion is on unemployment. Are wars good for creating jobs or not? Some workers think yes. But others think it's a hell of a way to get work. "There must be another way to solve unemployment," insisted one worker at Twin Cities Ford.

A few workers are beginning to think about political action against the draft. At Sparrows Point a white worker suggested circulating a petition against the draft in the plant.

Jeff Pike told the *Militant* that an air force veteran, still of draft age, found a leaflet for a campus anti-draft demonstration in the locker room at Twin Cities Ford. He taped it to one of the windows of a truck moving up the assembly line. Now he wants more leaflets to distribute.

'Draft is aimed at poor folks—not oil execs'

By Janice Lynn

In 1966 Angel Almedina was a freshman at Columbia University. In December of that year he received a draft notice and a subway token.

In a telephone interview he told the *Militant*, "I went from Harlem to Whitehall Street, to Fort Gordon, Georgia, to a troop ship to Vietnam. Didn't know what the hell hit me. I was nineteen years old."

Almedina is now a leader of the New York-based Latino Veterans for Social Justice.

"I am totally opposed to the draft," he said. "We are mobilizing nationally and are in touch with a lot of Latinos throughout the country."

When asked what he thought about Carter's proposal to reinstitute the draft, Almedina replied, "The only people who are going to get drafted are people eighteen, the youngsters coming

out of high school that didn't go to college, which will be most of us—Blacks, Latinos, and poor whites.

"All the hoopla about people wanting to go, yeah, well that's fine," he continued. "But when they see people coming back mangled, with no legs, and one eye—that's when people will start really avoiding it."

Almedina explained how "the draft is geared to the poor folks—anybody who's broke."

"Now there's not one oil company executive that's going to send his son or daughter out there—that's guaranteed. There's no big-time politician in the U.S. that's going to send his son or daughter out there."

"The way society is made up now," he said, "the people who are going to fight are the folks who are down and out anyway."

The Latino Veterans for Social Jus-

tice will urge people not to register.

"They're talking about how all they want to do is register names," Almedina explains.

"No, no, that's nonsense. The fact of

the matter is, like Mr. Kennedy mentioned—and I'm not too enthused about him either—that's the first step. They take your name, and the next thing is, you get a token."



Vietnam. Opposition to new draft will deepen 'when Americans see people coming back mangled, with no legs, and one eye.'

Big push on 'Young Socialist,' 'Militant' sales

Campaigning for socialism
Pulley for President / Zimmermann for Vice President

Young Socialist

No draft!





The truth about Iran and Afghanistan

The February *Young Socialist*, monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, is just off the press. It features an analysis of Carter's proposal to reinstate the draft, explains how this is linked to the government's policies in Iran and Afghanistan, and reports on the initial anti-draft protests that have occurred around the country.

Along with the *Militant*, sales of this *Young Socialist* will be a major focus of activity for members of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA as they jump into helping build the scores of meetings, rallies, pickets, and other protests against Carter's threat to revive the draft.

This week also kicks off the *Young Socialist* spring sales drive, which was set at the YSA national convention last month. The goal is to sell 3,500 YSs per month for the next three months.

SWP and YSA members will be making special plans to get the YS and the *Militant* into the hands of young workers and students, through plant-gate, high school, and college campus sales.

Judging from the results of sales of last week's *Militant*, which featured a "No to draft" headline, they will find a warm reception.

The *Militant* was snapped up by 103 people at anti-draft rallies in Minneapolis; 40 protesters at a San Francisco picket line; 21 participants in an anti-draft march in Morgantown, West Virginia; and 19 protesters in Albany, New York.

Militant salespeople in Phoenix, Arizona, reported that sales were up to twenty per hour at the

university campus there. And steelworkers in New Orleans explained how their co-workers exclaimed, "No to the draft—that's for me!"

In shopping centers in Baltimore and Philadelphia, socialists reported brisk sales despite the cold weather.

Militant readers can help circulate the YS and *Militant*. Bundles of the YS can be ordered for twenty-five cents a copy, and the *Militant* for thirty-five cents a copy.

And if you're not already a subscriber to both these publications, you should sign up today. Just fill out the coupon below.

-
- Send me a bundle of — *Young Socialists*.
Enclosed is \$___
- Send me a bundle of — *Militants*.
Enclosed is \$___
- I want to subscribe to the *Young Socialist*.
Enclosed is \$2 for one year.
- I want to subscribe to the *Militant*. Enclosed is \$2.50 for ten weeks (new subscribers only).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Send to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

2,500 in Berkeley say 'No draft! No nukes!'

California

By Gary Balsam

BERKELEY—On January 25, 2,500 students poured into Sproul Plaza at the University of California to demonstrate their opposition to Carter's plan to reinstitute the draft.

Just one day earlier an earthquake had caused damage and a radiation leak at the nearby Livermore nuclear weapons research laboratory (see back page). The University of California Nuclear Weapons Lab Conversion Project was one of the sponsors of the anti-draft rally.

Many speakers emphasized the connection between the draft and the continued development of nuclear power and weapons. The demonstrators didn't want either. Part of the crowd shouted, "Hell no, we won't go," while others chanted, "Hell no, we won't glow!"

A representative of Berkeley Students for Peace, one of the organizers of the rally, told the crowd, "No one is going to send us to the middle of nowhere to die for some dictator again."

Many women students attended the rally. Helen Michalovsky of the War Resisters League said, "They say they're giving us equality with men in the draft. I don't call the chance to kill people any kind of opportunity."

One of the biggest cheers came when a speaker said he was not willing to die for Exxon.

Off to one side, near the speakers stand, a veteran who had lost a leg in the Vietnam War held a banner that said, "To hell with the draft. We won't be used again."

Earlier in the week, several hundred students held an anti-draft rally around the marine recruitment table. The marines didn't show up for the rest of the week.

By Ken Davey

LOS ANGELES—One hundred and fifty people picketed the Federal Building in Westwood January 28 protesting the draft and demanding an end to the nuclear threat.

Called by the Alliance for Survival, an antinuclear group here, the protesters chanted, "Don't wait until it's too late, end the draft now."

Other participating groups included the Young Socialist Alliance and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Plans were announced for a massive candlelight vigil February 8 outside Carter's \$1,000-a-plate fund-raising dinner at the Beverly-Hilton Hotel.

One hundred thousand leaflets are being printed to publicize the vigil.

Ohio

OBERLIN, Ohio—Three hundred people attended a meeting at Oberlin College January 29 and decided to form an anti-draft coalition. Plans for a teach-in February 10 were announced.



January 25 rally at University of California at Berkeley

Oregon

By Fred Auger

PORTLAND—On January 25, 1,000 people rallied at the University of Oregon in Eugene to protest reinstitution of the draft.

The rally was organized by University Veterans and sponsored by the Associated Students of the University of Oregon. Other participating groups included Campus Ministries, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Coalition Opposed to Registration and the Draft.

Among the signs carried were: "Hell No, We Won't Go"; "No Fodder for Carter"; and "When Tyranny is Policy, Resistance is Duty."

Dave Isenberg of University Veterans told the crowd, "Some people say registration is different from the draft, but we know it's the first step to a war over oil."

Other speakers condemned the draft's victimization of youth. Shouts of "Send Carter" could be heard from the crowd.

West Virginia

By Mike Shur

MORGANTOWN—More than 250 people, chanting, "No draft, no war," marched from West Virginia University to the Monongalia County Court House here January 28. The demonstration was called by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

At Morgantown High School, leaflets for the protest were snapped up and students started chanting, "Hell no, we won't go."

As the demonstrators assembled in front of the WVU student union a discussion ensued on the draft, and many students became convinced to join the march.

One of the most popular chants was,

"One, two, three, four—we won't fight in Exxon's war."

At the courthouse speakers addressed the crowd. Melissa Merchant, a member of Local 2095 of the United Mine Workers of America and Morgantown chairperson of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann, said, "Young people here have no reason to join Carter's war against the poor and oppressed of the world. We have no reason to sacrifice at home so our rulers can prepare for new Vietnams."

Merchant continued, "We have to say we oppose the draft for everyone, men and women. The Equal Rights Amendment doesn't mean the right to die."

Other speakers represented the Committee for Safe Energy, Morgantown Friends, Student Public Interest Research Group, Students for a Libertarian Society, Socialist Party-USA, and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 300 anti-draft demonstrators picketed in front of the White House January 29. Students from American University, George Washington University, and the University of Maryland participated. Other participating groups were the United States Student Association, American Civil Liberties Union, Washington Peace Center, and Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

New York

ALBANY—Two hundred people picketed the U.S. Post Office January 26 to protest Carter's threatened reinstatement of the draft. The post office housed the Selective Service office until the end of the draft in 1975.

New York demonstration

By Sally Rees

NEW YORK—The New York City Committee Against Registration and the Draft has called a demonstration for February 9 to protest Carter's attempt to revive the draft and drag Americans into another war.

One hundred people attended a January 28 planning meeting here and unanimously voted to endorse the February 9 protest. Representatives from twenty-four organizations were present. They included the American Friends Service Committee, Mobilization for Survival, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Free Libertarian Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and Youth International Party.

Students from Columbia University, Barnard College, New York University, Rutgers University, and City University of New York also attended.

The meeting decided upon three demands for the demonstration: No to registration! No to the draft! No to the U.S. war drive!

The protest will begin with a noon-time rally at the Times Square army recruitment station on Forty-second Street to be followed by a march to Carter's New York campaign office at Fifty-fourth Street and Madison Avenue.

An outreach committee was formed to involve unionists, high school students, and Black and Latino organizations.

Forums on the draft

CALIFORNIA

EAST BAY

SOCIALIST ANSWER TO CARTER'S STATE OF WAR SPEECH. Speakers: Jeff Mackler, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Barbara Kline, chairperson, East Bay Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$2. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

STOP THE DRAFT! NO MORE VIETNAM! Speak-out against the draft. Speakers: Linda Spence, Afro-American Student Union; Linda Thurston, president, K.C. National Organization for Women; Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Thurs., Feb. 7, 12 noon. Univ. of Missouri, Alumni Room, University Center. Aisp: American Civil Liberties Union, Young Socialist Alliance, others.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

BUILDING A MOVEMENT AGAINST THE DRAFT AND WASHINGTON'S WAR DRIVE. A discussion with members of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. Tues., Feb. 5, 4:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd Floor (one-half block east of Union Square). For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

NO TO THE DRAFT—DEFEND THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Thabo Ntweng, member United Auto Workers Local 217 and Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Andy Pollack, member UAW Local 217 and Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. Sun., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. 13002 Kinsman Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

VIRGINIA

TIDEWATER

SAY NO TO THE DRAFT. A panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 16, 4 p.m. 111 28th St., Newport News. Donation: \$1. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

Young Socialists: 'We won't be cannon fodder'

Two young auto workers running for U.S. Congress in New York have issued a strong statement denouncing Carter's attempts to reinstitute the draft.

Robert Miller, 24, is a member of United Auto Workers Local 980. He is running in the Seventeenth Congressional District on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Reba Williams-Dixon, 23, is a member of UAW Local 667 and is the SWP candidate in the Nineteenth Congressional District. Both are also members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"We are completely opposed to any draft of men and women to provide cannon-fodder for new U.S. wars," the two declared. They called Carter's plan to begin Selective Service registration "a dangerous threat to American working

people, especially to working youth, high school, and college students."

"The true threat of war comes from Washington's efforts to protect the interests of U.S. corporate profiteers," they explained.

"Working people in this country have absolutely no interest in fighting workers and peasants in other parts of the world. They are struggling for an end to poverty, disease, unemployment, and illiteracy—they are fighting to free themselves from the same big corporations who are responsible for the social crisis American workers and young people face at home.

"Carter's war drive abroad is part and parcel of the war waged against us at home: more inflation, more taxes, more pollution, more nuclear radiation, fewer jobs, less education and health care, and no

environmental safety."

The two candidates hailed the antidraft protests occurring on college campuses and in high schools. "These actions show the potential for organizing even broader opposition to the draft, especially for reaching out to the unions and to the millions of young workers whose lives are at stake," they said.

The Socialist Workers Party is running Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president. Miller and Williams-Dixon invite supporters to a Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann discussion on how to fight the draft on February 5 at 4:30 p.m. The location is 108 East Sixteenth Street, Second Floor, one-half block east of Union Square, in New York City.

Iran elections held after centuries of monarchy

By Cindy Jaquith

After centuries of domination by monarchy, Iranians went to the polls January 25 to elect a president. More than 100 candidates had entered the race.

The Interior Ministry announced January 28 that Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr had won the election, with 10.7 million votes or 75 percent of the

Morteza Gorgzadeh, one of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) members imprisoned in Ahwaz, Iran, has been released. Five HKE members remain in jail.

ballots cast.

As Iran's minister of Financial and Economic Affairs, Bani-Sadr had earlier announced plans to create more jobs, nationalize some U.S.-owned industries, and cut interest rates in half.

After his election he told the French daily *Le Monde* that in order to free the hostages at the U.S. Embassy, "the American government must first of all issue a declaration acknowledging the crimes it committed in Iran through the imperial regime, as well as our right to begin proceedings against the Shah and his followers. The problem of the hostages can then be easily resolved."

Slightly more than 14 million of the

22 million eligible voters turned out for the election. Naval chief Ahmad Madani came in a distant second with 14.6 percent of the vote. He had directed his campaign appeals to those middle-class Iranians who have grown hostile to the revolution.

Darioush Farouhar, former minister of labor, received 0.9 percent. Labor ministry officials have grown increasingly unpopular because of their resistance to workers' demands for greater control in the factories.

Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh got 0.3 percent, reflecting in part widespread opposition to his role in censoring the media.

Less than ten candidates were ruled eligible for media time in the race. Massoud Rajavi, candidate of the Mujahedeen, was disqualified after a decision that only those who voted in favor of the new constitution could run.

Rajavi's platform included support for the rights of Iran's oppressed nationalities. Most Kurds reportedly boycotted the elections in protest of Rajavi's disqualification.

In an effort to avert the boycott, the central government announced on the eve of the elections that troops would be withdrawn from two cities in Kurdistan. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini promised that the constitution would be changed to recognize the right of Sunni Muslims to control the

courts in areas where they are a majority. Most Kurds, Baluchis, and Turkomen are Sunnis.

Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh ran for president as the candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). He advocated full rights for oppressed nationalities and a government run by workers and farmers as the way to

achieve independence from imperialism.

The Islamic Revolutionary Council has called for parliamentary elections to be held in one month. Council spokesman Ali Akbar Moinefar said that the elections would be open to all political parties "regardless of their ideological inclination."

سنگرهای ضد امپریالیستی
را متحد کنیم

۱-متولد ۱۳۱۳ تبریز
۲-عضو کمیته سیاسی حزب کارگران انقلابی
۳-کاندیدای سوسیالیستی مجلس خبرگان از تبریز
۴-نویسنده کتاب ملیت و انقلاب در ایران
۵-۲۵ سال مبارزه علیه رژیم پهلوی و امپریالیسم در تبعید

محمود صیرفی زاده

Campaign leaflet for Revolutionary Workers Party's Mahmoud Sayrafiezadeh

Young workers discuss Iran: a different view

By Stu Singer

At the recent Young Socialist Alliance convention, Nancy Cole and I from the *Militant* sat down with four YSA members to discuss Iran.

One works in the non-union Avondale Shipyard near New Orleans. Another is a shipyard worker in Newport News. The third is a coal miner in West Virginia. And the fourth works at the giant Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore.

Excerpts of this discussion are below.

Here is a view of American workers totally different from the soap-opera version we are bombarded with from the news media.

And here is a glimpse of young socialist workers, who more and more represent this new generation of fighters.

A white male worker from Avondale Shipyard:

The majority sentiment of young workers, Black and white, is they don't want to go to war. Black workers seem to identify more with the Iranians' fight against the shah.

A tack welder I work with got into an argument with his shipfitter. He came down a level of the ship to get me to come up there to talk to this shipfitter about what I know on Iran.

A Black woman from Newport News Shipyard, member Steelworkers Local 8888:

In the morning people are reading the newspaper and the biggest topic of discussion is Iran. Every Black worker I've talked to says to send back the shah. One young worker said, "Why

are you asking me that? You know they should just send him back. They brought him here in the first place and knew what would happen."

I asked a union member in the shop why he missed the last union meeting. He said, "I was at an Army Reserve meeting. They're getting ready to send me over to Iran."

I asked if he wanted to go?

He said: "I think they should send back the shah and send Carter back with him."

Some of the white workers say things like "Bomb Iran." One worker I talked to is against sending the shah back. But he doesn't see going to die for the guy. He talks about this humanitarian thing and that people in Iran shouldn't be "blackmailing" us. He doesn't personally think people should be going to fight for the shah.

There was an editorial in the *Daily Press* where they supported drafting people for mandatory service. We had a discussion on that. Most people were not in favor of it.

Melissa Merchant, Republic Steel mine near Grafton, West Virginia:

These two guys around forty years old were talking about an incident where the Klan showed up at a shopping center. Then they started talking about Iran and getting upset.

I felt nervous. But I said, "Why don't we just send back the shah?"

And they said, "Of course, we should get rid of that motherfucker. Send him back on a platter."

I was surprised. I would have thought they were for sending the marines in from the way they were talking. There have been a lot of

things like that. People start talking really right wing and then say we should send the shah back.

One guy said when the shah was in the hospital, "They should have shot him full of air and sent him back dead."

Martin Koppel, Sparrows Point, Steelworkers Local 2609:

"We listen to the radio a lot when there is nothing else to do. I've been surprised a little. This real old white worker turns around to me and says, "Why the hell did they bring the shah to the U.S. in the first place? Isn't this guy a dictator? Didn't he kill all kinds of thousands of people? Why the hell did they bring him over here?"

The racist harassment of Iranians doesn't go over well at all. We see these signs saying "No dogs or Iranians" and people say, "That's out of place. That doesn't belong in our country."

Avondale: In the yard there's a school where you get training. Once a week there's a safety meeting. There are about 150 people. There is a marine there. Before the safety officer comes in the marine jokes around. He is gung-ho for war. He asked how many people want to go to Iran? Four raised their hands.

Merchant: People talk about terrorism and the hostages. I say you have to look at the issues. Which side are you sympathetic to? The Iranians have a justified demand that the shah should be sent back.

There was some "terrorism" in the miners' strike, some sabotage. Railroad bridges were blown up, things like that. No matter what you thought about this, you had to take sides.

Miners I was talking to said, "Yeah, I didn't think it was very good. But we really showed the company."

This guy who is nineteen or twenty years old said, "All the laid-off coal miners are going to be drafted." He mentioned that West Virginia had the highest proportion of fatalities in Vietnam.

Most people have heard about the large proportion of Blacks and Latinos who fought in Vietnam. What most people don't know is there was also a disproportionate number of people from Appalachia who had to fight, that got drafted. The younger people are very opposed to the draft. The older ones often say they don't want their

kids to go there.

Koppel: I've been wearing a "Why Die for the Shah?" button at work. I was walking by this one guy who said we should go bomb Iran. A worker who was with me is usually pretty quiet, but he just laughed and said, "You've got to be crazy. Why don't you just go over there? I am not going to go for any reason."

The *Militant* has played a good role. This nineteen- or twenty-year-old guy opened it up and as soon as he saw the center piece on the shah he said, "Oh, that's beautiful. Just leave that right there so everybody can see it."

One person put up the poster "Why Die for the Shah?" in one of the clock houses. Thousands of people go by there every day. It has stayed up for the past two weeks.

Merchant: I was selling the *Militant* at a shopping center and it had a headline about the war moves against Iran. There was this guy, he was about fifty, wearing a baseball hat and sitting in a pick-up truck in the parking lot. He was watching me for fifteen or twenty minutes, always frowning.

When he got out of the truck and started walking toward me, I thought, "OK, here it comes." I thought he was going to start yelling at me. But actually he walked up and said, "So they're ready to send our boys off somewhere else to die for them." He ended up buying the *Militant*.

Avondale: There is a group of workers, concentrated in the skilled trades, who have been won over to chauvinist sentiments. This includes some Blacks. They say Iran should be wiped off the map. It is a big yard so you get heterogeneous political expression. The majority we come in contact with are against the shah.

I rode home on the bus one day with a welder. He's totally opposed to the war, any war. He's concerned about going to war. It has him upset. For an hour on that bus we talked about the causes of war. Why did the U.S. win against Germany and lose against Vietnam?

Iran is an explosive type issue in that sense. It leads young workers to a lot of other questions. They ask general questions about the system, about war, the draft, why this is happening. They wonder why there is such a lack of other points of view you can hear.

'If Americans know the facts. . .'

By Tom Dynia

AUSTIN, Tex.—"I know that Americans hate foreign domination. You sacrificed many lives fighting the British Empire in your first revolution. And I know Americans hate oppression and slavery. That's why you sacrificed tens of thousands in your second revolution, the Civil War.

"So I know that if Americans know the facts about Iran they will support the struggle of the Iranian people."

These were the words of Kazem Ala, an Iranian twice imprisoned and tortured by the shah, at a January 24 forum of 300 here on Iran. It was sponsored by the Coalition Against Racism and Intervention in the Middle East and held at the University of Texas.

John Duncan of the Texas Civil Liberties Union also spoke, blasting the immigration roundups of Iranians in the United States and denouncing President Carter's moves to reintroduce the draft.

Iranian consulate seeks to get out truth

By Ike Nahem

CHICAGO—The continuing effort by the Carter administration to deport thousands of Iranians studying in this country has encouraged the harassment and victimization of Iranians by racist and right-wing forces.

Most of the facts have been kept out of the big-business press. But documentation of this harassment has been gathered by the Iranian Embassy in Washington and distributed by Iranian Consulates in other cities (see box below).

I recently talked with Reza Ghoraihi, a staff person at the Iranian Consulate in Chicago, about the situation of Iranians in the Chicago area.

The consulate is located in the plush Standard Oil skyscraper overlooking Lake Michigan. Upon entering the office, however, it is clear that things have changed in the consulate since the days of the shah.

Most of the consulate personnel are young people. Several are women. The outer waiting room is decorated with revolutionary posters of the street demonstrations that led to the shah's overthrow. Other posters and pictures commemorate martyrs who died in the uprising or in the shah's torture chambers.

Solidarity with other anti-imperialist struggles, particularly Vietnam and Palestine, is also expressed. One poster shows a caricature of Henry Kissinger as the architect of the 1973 military coup in Chile.

The consulate is a beehive of activity. Students are continually coming in to get news from their country and report to the consulate on harassment

they receive. An increasing number are checking in with the consulate before catching flights back to Iran.

Ghoraihi told me, "Every day at O'Hare Airport, you can see small groups of Iranians who cannot take the harassment anymore and are going home."

"Some students have been asked to leave classes by their teachers, because the teachers are angry with Iran," he said. "These students have paid for their studies and are kicked out of class."

"Other students report that their grades on classwork have dropped from A and B to C and D for the same quality work."

"And many students have had great difficulty cashing checks to pay for tuition in addition to purchasing other necessities such as food."

One student I talked to in the consulate told me that he has to have American friends cash checks for him.

Ghoraihi was particularly upset with the constant refrain in the American media about how "ungrateful" Iranian students in this country are.

"In the first place," he said, "the American regime of the shah spent more money on weapons and jails than schools, which meant that many students were forced to study abroad."

"But most students were also escaping the regime of the shah that the American government gave us."

"In the past, American universities actively recruited Iranian students and their money. And our students pay dearly to study here."

"The Iranians studying here want to finish their studies and receive their

degrees so they can use their skills to help their people and the revolution."

The consulate puts a great stress on the need to get out the truth about the Iranian revolution to the American people. A table in the waiting room contains literature about Iran and the revolution.

Most of this literature, which is widely distributed, is geared toward Americans, patiently explaining the events at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. It includes fact sheets on the shah's regime, Washington's role in Iran, an appeal to Afro-Americans from the

students inside the embassy, and statements and interviews with Ayatollah Khomeini and other leaders.

Ghoraihi is convinced that the majority of the American people would side with the Iranian people if they knew the truth.

"We receive phone calls every day from American people and organizations that are supporting us. We have to tell the American people the facts. People just do not know about the role of the CIA, not only in Iran, but also Chile, Vietnam, and today in Lebanon."

Hostage's mother wants shah tried

Toni Sickman of Krakow, Missouri, is the mother of Marine Corps Sgt. Rocky Sickmann, one of fifty Americans being held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

She "is urging an immediate trial for the deposed Shah of Iran," reported the January 21 St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*.

The situation "has gone on too long," she insisted. "I am bitter, but I'm not so much bitter at the students."

"They want to see some justice done. There's been a lot of injustice done in [Iran], and there's been a lot of people in this country involved in it."

She has written to President Carter and to United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim

asking that the shah be tried. And she is frustrated at their determination to protect the royal butcher regardless of what that means for her son and the other hostages.

"But how can I, such a little person in this country, fight the millionaires?" she asked angrily. "There are a lot of people in America who don't want the shah put on trial. It could be worse than Watergate."

She placed the oil companies at the top of the list of those trying to block a just solution of the embassy crisis.

"I wish to god the people in this country would stand up to what they've [the oil companies] done wrong. They're not worried about our boys over there."

Fact sheet on harassment of Iranians in U.S.

A statement being circulated by the Iranian Embassy in Washington protests the campaign of intimidation and victimization of Iranians in the United States, giving many examples.

This racist campaign was instigated by the Carter administration as part of its effort to win support for war moves in the Middle East and Persian Gulf region.

Iranians were fired from jobs and attacked by cops, while off-duty cops and ultra-right-wing groups like the Ku Klux Klan provided the muscle for anti-Iranian demonstrations.

The attacks on Iranians spilled over to include other people of Middle Eastern descent, Muslims, and those who defended Iranians.

Most working people were turned off by the blatant racism and brutality of the anti-Iranian campaign. Having failed to evoke the response its organizers were hoping for, the racist drive has tended to trail off, leaving a substantial list of victims.

The embassy protest notes that "the condition of some Iranians, especially those who have suffered brutalities at the hands of officials and private citizens, is worse than that of the hostages."

Noting that no hostage (or any other American in Iran, one might add) has been beaten or killed during the crisis, the embassy reported that "the body of a 22 year-old Iranian was found outside of Houston late last week with 38 stab wounds, 2 bullet wounds and his neck slit."

Since the statement was issued, two Iranian students have also been murdered in San Diego. The statement continues:

"In Boston a young Iranian was stabbed.

"In a small town in New York the American-born son of Iranian parents was badly beaten.

"In California, during an anti-shah protest, Iranian students were



Attacks on Iranians in U.S., inspired by Carter administration, have been unpopular with American people. Militant/Rita Lee

attacked by American students, and police not only did not try to stop them, but also helped them to beat the Iranians. . . .

"In San Francisco two students arrested by the police were beaten so savagely that one suffered a broken jaw. . . .

"In Maryland a pregnant woman was attacked near a Safeway store, but was fortunately rescued by some Americans.

"In Alabama a group of students were badly attacked, leaving one of them with a broken leg.

"At one airport an Iranian was jailed for carrying a Persian pamphlet and others have been arrested for the same reason. . . .

"In Oklahoma City a student was attacked with a baseball bat and left badly wounded.

"In Oklahoma bombs had been

installed in the cars of two Arab students. . . .

"In Washington, D.C. one boy was beaten until his jaw was broken and his stomach injured.

"Another was arrested for jaywalking and this embassy had to put up \$1500 bail for his release.

"In a demonstration in D.C. two Black Americans who were participating with Iranians to protest the presence of the ex-shah in the U.S. were arrested although they had done nothing. But the White American who had spit at them was released.

"A sixteen-year old was arrested after he had had a car accident and was held in custody for four days. . . .

"Mosques in Norman, Oklahoma, Cleveland, Ohio and Queens, New York were severely damaged by bombs and other explosives. . . .

"In many places Iranians cannot

get their cars serviced and cannot make purchases in food stores.

"The notorious 'No dogs, No Negroes' signs has been changed to 'No dogs, No Iranians' and placed at the entrance to many restaurants."

The embassy statement notes that "the American people, at least those who are looking for a just and peaceful solution to the problem that has now surfaced between Iran and the United States, would have been appalled to read such things, if they had been able to read them or hear about them in their media."

It concludes, "Unlike what has been reflected in the American media, a great many American people support our cause, because it is a search for truth and justice. The American people on the whole are a freedom and justice loving people. We believe in the adage, 'The truth will out.'"

Islamabad meeting backs Washington

Arab states oppose Carter invasion threat

By Fred Feldman

In the wake of the dispatching of Soviet troops to block U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary forces in Afghanistan, the Carter administration is trying to line up governments of Muslim countries behind its war moves.

In his State of the Union address, Carter threatened to invade the Middle East in order to "protect" it from "Soviet aggression." This kind offer did not sit too well with many Arab governments.

Iraq's foreign minister charged that Carter was "trying to justify and pave the way for a military interference in several countries of the world, particularly the Arabian Gulf."

"We will confront this new chapter of American arrogance, hegemony, and gunboat policy," declared the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Of the Arab regimes, even some of the more reactionary opposed the invasion threat. "We refuse any form of foreign interference in our internal affairs," said Abdul Aziz Hussein, Kuwait's minister of state for foreign affairs.

These stands reflect the hostility that millions of Arab working people feel to Washington's military and economic domination of their countries.

They know that it is U.S. oil companies, not the Soviet Union, that have drained them of their wealth for decades.

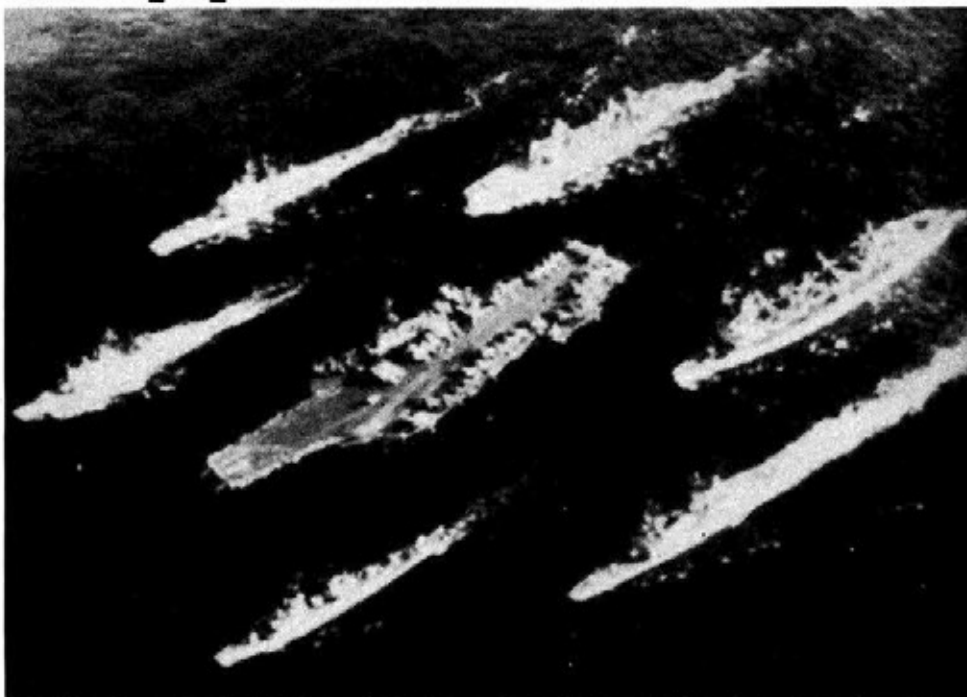
They know that it is the U.S. government, not the Soviet Union, that arms expansionist Israel to the teeth and has backed it in four wars against Arab peoples.

They know that it is the U.S. government, not the Soviet Union, that has massed an armada of warships near the Persian Gulf to threaten Iran.

That is why any Arab government that endorsed Carter's invasion talk would lessen its own chances of survival.

In fact, the Soviet Union is not the main target of Washington's threats. A "senior administration official" told *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman January 24 that a crisis requiring U.S. military intervention was "most likely to occur because of Soviet subversion of a country such as Iran rather than the direct entry of the Soviet Army."

"Soviet subversion" is Washington's favorite code for the struggles of the workers and peasants against imperialist domination. What Carter fears is not a Soviet march toward "warm water ports" or Arab oilfields but that working people in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere will take a cue from the Iranian and Afghan revolutions.



Task force around aircraft carrier Midway on duty in Arabian Sea. Carter's military moves aim to block revolutions like those in Iran, Afghanistan.

The prospect of new revolutionary upheavals haunts the Carter administration as it presses ahead with its military buildup. In the January 28 *New York Times*, Henry Tanner reported that, "if all goes well," U.S. planes will soon be using bases in Somalia, Kenya, and Oman.

But, he added, "the crucial question is whether the United States will be able to build up its air and naval power in the region without provoking political storms making the military gains illusory."

The reluctance of many capitalist governments in Muslim lands to take a blatantly pro-imperialist stand led to conflicts around the conference of foreign ministers of Islamic countries held January 27-29 in Islamabad, Pakistan.

The conference was engineered by the Saudi Arabian monarchy and Pakistani military dictatorship with the unabashed support of Washington. Its sole purpose was to denounce the Soviet role in barring the way to a Chile-style counterrevolution in Afghanistan.

The "Steadfastness Front" (a bloc of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the governments of Syria, Libya, Algeria, and Southern Yemen) called on January 16 for postponing the conference.

It charged: "America claims that it is protecting Islam and the Moslems and, at the same time, continues to plot against the Iranian revolution and continues to provide Israel with sophisticated weapons to maintain its occupation of Arab territories." When the postponement move failed, Syria and

Southern Yemen, along with the Karmal government in Afghanistan and three other regimes, refused to attend the Islamabad gathering.

In Iran the announcement by Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh that the government would be represented at the conference sparked a debate.

According to a Reuters dispatch in the January 27 *New York Times*, the students holding the U.S. Embassy denounced the conference as a "conspiracy against the Iranian revolution." The Qom Theological Society and the Revolutionary Guards also made critical statements.

Iranian officials demanded and obtained a one-day postponement of the conference. It had originally been scheduled for January 26, in open conflict with Palestinian protests against the

official opening of diplomatic relations between the Israeli and Egyptian regimes.

When the conference agreed to add U.S. threats against Iran to the agenda, the Iranian government sent a deputy foreign minister to Islamabad.

As expected, Washington scored a propaganda point when thirty-six representatives voted for a resolution echoing Carter's call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and suspending Afghanistan from membership in the body. None were reported to have opposed these measures.

The conference tried to legitimize the Afghan ultrarightists by hearing a representative of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan, a newly formed bloc of six pro-imperialist groups.

But nine governments withheld support from a proposal to break off diplomatic relations with Kabul, and eleven refused to endorse a motion "envisioning" the possibility of "non-participation" in the Moscow Olympics.

The Afghan revolution wasn't the only target of the organizers of the Islamabad meeting. According to a report in the January 30 *New York Times*, representatives of Tunisia, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and a few other countries sought to pressure the Iranian government to release the hostages in the U.S. Embassy. There was no suggestion of support to Iran's demand for the return of the shah.

Kamal Kharrazi, Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister, replied: "No compromise. We are not men of compromise. We will release the hostages when America returns the shah."

To provide some cover for its pro-imperialist stance, the conference criticized the Carter administration for its threats against Iran, and for backing the Camp David Accords.

Why Soviet Muslims don't back Afghan rightists

By Steve Clark

Some commentators in the press have speculated that the Soviet government sent troops into Afghanistan because it feared that the right-wing insurgency there would have an attractive power on Asian nationalities inside the Soviet Union.

"Western and other foreign specialists here are skeptical" of that theory, Anthony Austin reported from Moscow in the January 13 *New York Times*.

Austin goes on to explain why. "... almost everyone" in the Soviet Central Asian republics, says Austin, "seems proud of what has been achieved in turning stagnant czarist dependencies into modernizing, productive republics."

"This is particularly evident in Uzbekistan, the leading Central Asian republic and the one with the largest population, 10 to 12 million. Illiteracy, 98 percent before 1917, has been all but wiped out."

Illiteracy in Afghanistan is around 90 percent, and opposition to the government's literacy campaign has been one of the battle cries of the rightist bands that are somehow supposed to be attractive to Asians in the Soviet Union.

"Life expectancy [in Uzbekistan]," Austin continues, "which was 40 years before the revolution, is 70 today."

Life expectancy in Afghanistan is still around 40, but the government the rightist guerrillas are

trying to overthrow has been expanding medical facilities.

"There is one doctor for 386 people [in Uzbekistan]," Austin explains. "In Pakistan, by contrast, there is one for 6,000." The government of Pakistan is arming and equipping the right-wing rebels.

"In the four other Central Asian republics," says Austin, "the progress is almost as striking, though all five are still behind the rest of the Soviet Union in economic development."

This progress has been possible because of the planned and nationalized economy, which is an enduring conquest of the October 1917 revolution.

The parasitic caste that took hold of the Soviet government under Stalin reversed many of the progressive measures of the Bolsheviks, including the steps to eliminate national oppression among Asian and other non-Russian peoples. In addition, workers and peasants in these areas suffer under the undemocratic policies and bureaucratic misrule that victimizes all working people in the Soviet Union.

But in their struggle against the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Central Asian peoples will not look for inspiration to the reactionary landlords, usurers, and opium smugglers that have kept the Afghan peoples uneducated, hungry, disease-ridden, landless, and unemployed.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

It's official: they're lying

I know this will come as a shock, but the U.S. government is lying about Afghanistan.

This revelation appears in an article in the January 26 *New York Times* delicately entitled "U.S. Accuracy Code Relaxed Over Kabul."

You remember the "accuracy code." It's the one that guaranteed that the government gave us the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about Cuba, Chile, Vietnam, Iran, and other hot spots.

After those experiences, you may be wondering just how much more relaxed the "accuracy code" could get.

In any case, correspondent Bernard Gwertzman confirms that "the State Department and White House routinely publicize information about Afghanistan here, even

when its authenticity is questionable. . . .

"The result of these kinds of statements is to produce accounts suggesting Soviet actions for which the Administration itself has no solid confirmation."

As examples of unsubstantiated rumors, Gwertzman cited reports of Soviet casualties, of chemical warfare being used against rightist forces, and of differences within the Karmal government in Kabul.

And the media just as routinely presents it all as gospel!

So the next time you read about how unpopular the Afghan government is, or how brutal the Russians are, or how noble the Afghan counterrevolutionaries are, just remember that laid-back "accuracy code." —F.F.

S. African troops threaten Zimbabweans

By Ernest Harsch

The British colonial authorities now administering Zimbabwe have openly approved the South African military intervention into that country.

At a news conference in Salisbury January 6, a spokesman for British Governor Lord Soames said that a South African contingent—estimated to number from 200 to 300 troops—was based in southern Zimbabwe near the border with South Africa with Soames's authorization. He claimed that its purpose was to protect the rail and road bridge connecting the two countries at Bietbridge.

The decision was sharply denounced by both wings of the Patriotic Front, the Zimbabwean nationalist alliance. Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) condemned the authorization as a violation of the cease-fire accords that were signed in December.

The South African troops at Bietbridge are not the only ones in Zimbabwe. Before the cease-fire agreement was reached, up to 2,000 South African troops and police were directly assisting the Rhodesian military in its war against the Patriotic Front forces. They served as pilots, gunners, drivers, technicians, and artillery officers.

According to the Patriotic Front, these South African units have not been withdrawn, but have instead been dissolved directly into the Rhodesian armed forces.

This South African intervention is a serious threat to the more than 6 million Blacks of Zimbabwe, who are struggling to win national independence and to wrest power out of the hands of the 250,000 white Rhodesians. In recent months, the white supremacist regime in Pretoria has warned several times that it would intervene with even greater force if a Black government came to power in Salisbury that threatened South African economic and political interests.

Besides its military intervention and threats, the apartheid regime has acted to influence the outcome of the elections that have been scheduled for February 27-29. Pretoria's favored candidate is Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who openly calls for close ties with the apartheid regime and whose campaign



Zimbabwean freedom fighters greeted in Salisbury. Mass support for liberation struggle is major obstacle to imperialist powers.

is heavily financed from South Africa.

A lead article in the January 11 issue of the Johannesburg *Financial Mail*, one of South Africa's top business journals, spelled out South African imperialism's opposition to the Patriotic Front, particularly its ZANU wing, which is often branded "Marxist" in the South African press.

"South Africa's vital interests will be threatened should a Marxist government come to power in Rhodesia," it said. "It is, therefore, the duty of the South African government to employ

whatever moral and financial resources and pressures it can to ensure that Rhodesia does not fall to Marxist influence. . . .

"We see Bishop Muzorewa as the best hope for stability in our generation. . . ."

Lord Soames and the 1,200-man Commonwealth military force stationed in Zimbabwe claim that they are playing a "neutral" role and simply preparing for the elections and the granting of formal independence. But

Soames's okay to the South African intervention reveals London's actual aims—to contain the Zimbabwean freedom struggle.

Soames has taken other steps as well. Rhodesian troops—who according to the cease-fire accords should be confined to base—have been ordered into action against the several thousand ZANU guerrillas who have not reported to the "assembly points" set up under the accords. (Nearly 22,000 ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas have reported.)

Black "auxiliaries"—paramilitary forces attached to the Rhodesian army but politically loyal to Muzorewa—have been allowed to move into villages vacated by the Patriotic Front to help intimidate voters on behalf of Muzorewa.

On January 18, the state of emergency, which has been in effect for more than fourteen years, was extended by Soames for another six months. It allows censorship, martial law, and detention without trial.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, charged that 6,000 political prisoners were still being held.

The British have likewise sought to deepen the frictions between the two wings of the Patriotic Front, taking a harder line against the ZANU forces.

These measures, however, have not been particularly successful so far in dampening the militancy of the Zimbabwean masses. Since mid-December, there have been repeated mass demonstrations in the major cities in support of both ZANU and ZAPU.

When Nkomo returned from exile on January 13, up to 180,000 Blacks turned out to hear him in Salisbury's Highfields township. A week later, another 200,000 rallied for him in Bulawayo, the second largest city.

On January 27, Mugabe returned from exile as well. According to a dispatch from Salisbury in the *New York Times* the following day, he was greeted by "a near-riotous reception by 150,000 or more supporters."

The extent of mass support for the liberation struggle reflected in these actions will be an important obstacle to the efforts of London, Pretoria, and Washington to decide the future of Zimbabwe.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Sakharov exile is blow to Soviet masses

By David Russell

The Soviet government's expulsion from Moscow of dissident Andrei Sakharov is an attack against the interests of all workers and other citizens of the Soviet Union. It deserves the condemnation of working-class organizations throughout the world.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin accused Sakharov of "carrying out subversive activities against the Soviet state." They charged that he had "blabbed about things that any state protects as important secrets."

To the bureaucrats, it was a subversive action whenever Sakharov "blabbed" about the suppression of political freedom in the Soviet Union. He has helped expose frame-up trials against dissident artists and scientists, the jailing of government opponents in "psychiatric hospitals," denial of the right to organize and strike to Soviet workers, and the abuse of non-Russian nationalities.

As a member of Amnesty International, Sakharov had also supported the successful effort to free imprisoned Black activist Martin Sostre. He joined protests against the use of torture by right-wing military dictatorships in Uruguay and elsewhere.

For U.S. imperialism, the move against Sakharov could not have come at a better time. As David K. Willis pointed out in the January 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Action against

[Sakharov] came as President Carter was trying to gain support for shifting or boycotting the Olympic games in July, to isolate Moscow diplomatically after the Soviet strike into Afghanistan, and to counter Soviet missiles with increased long-range defense spending at home and in NATO.

"The move against Dr. Sakharov may help the President in all those fields. . . ."

The capitalist media wasted no time in picking up on Sakharov's victimization and linking it to Carter's call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics. To cite just one example, *New York Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney said in a January 22 dispatch from Moscow: "Diplomats speculated that the move against Dr. Sakharov was part of a long-rumored plan to clear Moscow of the most active dissidents before the Summer Olympics in July."

Carter and the capitalist press hope to convince working people that a boycott might actually help the fight for democratic rights in the USSR.

But the opposite is the case. Washington cares nothing about democratic rights anywhere in the world, and Olympic boycotts, trade bans, and rhetoric about human rights are all part of the ideological offensive that the ruling class has been carrying on in hopes of reversing the deep antiwar sentiment of American workers.

Thus, Carter's Olympic boycott is an act of hostility not only against the Soviet government, but also against the Soviet workers, the gains they have made through abolishing capitalism, and against workers and peasants throughout the world.

Sakharov himself has unfortunately supported such a boycott—an action that can only hurt his standing in the eyes of Soviet workers. He has also made statements opposing the use of Soviet troops in Afghanistan—a position that revolutionists disagree with.

But there is *nothing at all* progressive about the bureaucracy's attempts to silence Sakharov or prevent his views from being heard. To the contrary, by denying Sakharov the right to express his opinions, the Stalinist regime was issuing a warning to every single Soviet citizen that no expression of differences with the government will be tolerated. That is an attack on the rights of the Soviet workers and peasants, not on incorrect political ideas.

The only effective way to answer Sakharov's views on Afghanistan is by publicly explaining and debating the real issues there. That's how a revolutionary government in the Soviet Union would respond to political views it opposed. Such an open discussion would strengthen the position of the Soviet workers state internationally, and help to solidify support for

the Afghan revolution among Soviet workers and peasants.

But the privileged caste that rules the Soviet Union fears any open discussion. Free thought and debate is a direct challenge to the bureaucratic and undemocratic means by which they hold onto power and deny decision-making to the Soviet working class.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Victimization of Sakharov weakens Soviet Union in its confrontation with U.S. imperialism.

Miami rally launches Pulley trip to Cuba

By Caryn Swan and Jane Roland

MIAMI—Speaking at a news conference here January 24, Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley launched a special campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against right-wing terror.

Pulley demanded that Carter direct federal authorities to put a stop to the right-wing anti-Cuban terrorism that threatens all those who favor normalization of relations with Cuba. (See text of statement below.)

Pulley was here heading up a delegation of Socialist Workers preparing to leave on a fact-finding trip to Cuba. His call against terrorism and his plans to visit Cuba received much attention in the local media.

El Miami Herald, the daily Spanish-language edition of the *Miami Herald*, ran an article headlined "Socialist fights terrorism." It explained Pulley's call for a campaign against right-wing violence in Miami, in North Carolina, and around the country.

The socialist presidential nominee was also covered by the *Miami Times*, a Black newsweekly, and by local TV and radio.

On January 25, Pulley and several campaign supporters visited the hiring hall of the International Longshoremen's union. Pulley wanted to speak with the workers about the reactionary boycott of Soviet cargo and ships called by ILA bureaucrats in response



Militant/Lou Howort

N.Y. march against U.S. blockade of Cuba. SWP presidential candidate demanded Carter halt wave of bombings and assassinations against those who favor normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba. He also urged labor, civil rights, and women's movements to join antiterrorist campaign.

to Soviet troops fighting right-wing gangs in Afghanistan.

For almost two hours the 300 Black workers at the hall crowded around, talking with Pulley. The issue of Afghanistan was not seen as an immediate one since Soviet ships are not common here. But the workers voiced strong opposition to war.

"It was just another 'preparing us for war' talk," said one. "We've been

hearing that for a while now from Carter. And guess who he wants to go fight this war over oil: Blacks and other poor people."

"I'd rather go to prison than to war," said another. They snapped up the campaign brochures and leaflets.

Opposition to war and opposition to a new draft were the focus of Pulley's talk at the campaign rally that night. Nearly fifty people came to the send-off

rally, where Pulley explained why he and other socialists were visiting Cuba. He promised to return and tell the American people about the advances of the Cuban revolution.

"Lies are the rule of thumb for capitalist politicians when they are addressing the masses," Pulley said. Many in the audience, who came from a wide range of countries including Haiti, Algeria, Trinidad, and Turkey, nodded in agreement.

"The American rulers fear that their empire is falling apart. In fact, they see it falling apart throughout the world. They see revolution in Cuba and in Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa, Nicaragua, Iran, and now Afghanistan."

The rulers and the mass media lie about these revolutions and struggles for social change. Pulley said he planned to tour the United States from one end to the other explaining the gains made by the Cuban revolution—free health care, free education, minimal rent costs, full employment, the end to racism, and real gains for women's equality.

He also said that the demand to end the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba is a central plank in the SWP campaign platform. This blockade prevents even medical supplies from being sent to the Cuban people from the U.S.

After his talk Pulley answered questions for almost an hour.

Socialist candidate: 'End anti-Cuba terror'

The following statement was released in Miami by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President, just before leaving for Havana, Cuba, for a week-long tour of the island:

I am here today to demand that President Carter direct federal authorities to put a stop to the wave of assassinations and bombings being carried out by right-wing, anti-Cuba terrorists against all those who favor normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba.

The criminals responsible for these acts must be arrested immediately, and prosecuted to the full extent of the law. The government's continuing refusal to act against these terrorists endangers the lives, well-being and democratic rights of everyone in this country.

It is almost two months to the day since right-wing, anti-Cuba terrorists gunned down Eulalio José Negrín in Union City, New Jersey. Negrín was active in the Committee of 75, a group of Cubans working for normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. Two months, and yet not a single arrest has been made!

For months, Negrín reported to authorities he was receiving death threats and asked for protection—but to no avail. Omega 7, the Cuban exile terrorist gang, took credit for the murder.

In the last year alone, Omega 7 has claimed responsibility for six bombings. Just two weeks ago they set off bombs at Miami's Padron Cigar factory, and the New York offices of the Soviet airlines, Aeroflot. Their aim is to silence supporters of the Cuban revolution.

The government knows the names of these organizations and their leaders, but they have made no attempts whatsoever to stop them.

Federal authorities concede openly that Omega 7 is a front for the "Cuban Nationalist Movement," which has a public headquarters in Union City, New Jersey. Many of the terrorists in these groups were originally trained, armed, and financed by the CIA to be used against the Cuban revolution.

Every time these killers carry out an attack the government looks the other way. The government's inaction emboldens other right-wing scum, like the Ku Klux Klan, to carry out their anti-Black, antilabor assassinations, such as the recent KKK murder of five protesters in North Carolina.

The attacks by the anti-Cuba terror-

ists, like the violent acts of the KKK, are an attack on all working people—on our right to learn the truth, to say what we think, and to organize.

Working people know we can learn a lot from Cuba, where everyone is guaranteed a job and racism is outlawed. Our interests lie in learning the truth about the Cuban revolution, in lifting the blockade, and in normalizing relations between our two countries.

I am issuing an appeal today to the trade union, civil rights, and women's liberation movements, and to everyone who supports basic human and democratic rights, to join forces in launching a campaign to force the federal government to act to halt these terrorist attacks. Further delay in apprehending these assassins would be nothing less than out-and-out government complicity in these heinous crimes.

SWP Leadership School Fund



0 \$10,000 \$20,000 \$30,000 \$40,000 \$50,000

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

The \$50,000 fund drive to launch the Socialist Workers Party Leadership School got an inspiring start as five people contributed \$12,000 in the first week. Added to the \$10,800 raised last year by the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund, the new contributions put the fund at \$22,800. Not every person will be in a position to contribute such large amounts, however, and the fund's success depends on more modest donations to meet the goal. One timely way to contribute is to donate tax refunds.

The leadership school aims to free SWP leaders from their heavy daily responsibilities for five-month sessions of intensive study of basic Marx-

ist ideas.

On Saturday, February 23, the New York/New Jersey District of the SWP plans a fund-raising evening for the school and send-off party for several students from the area.

Paul Montauk, who is organizing the school's library, reports that two enthusiastic supporters of the school have donated books. He says the school welcomes more such gifts and especially needs complete sets of basic Marx, Engels, and related works.

The school begins March 1. The fund drive ends March 31. Please fill out the coupon and contribute all you can.

I want to contribute:
 \$1,000 \$500 \$200 \$100
 \$50 \$10 other _____

Make checks payable to:
 SWP Leadership School Fund

Mail to:
 SWP Leadership School Fund,
 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
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N.C. officials try to sabotage anti-Klan march

By Maceo Dixon

GREENSBORO, Jan. 30—Government officials have mounted a campaign to sabotage the February 2 anti-Klan march here. The government offensive, which escalated as the demonstration date neared, was aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation around the civil rights march.

The march was called by a National Conference on New Strategies to Counter the KKK, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization. It has been endorsed by more than fifty organizations and individuals.

The march was called to protest the brutal murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators, members of the Communist Workers Party, on a November 3 demonstration here.

The police, who had given the racist killers the march plan, disappeared from the scene shortly before the Klansmen and Nazis opened fire.

To cover their complicity in the slayings, police arrested three anti-Klan demonstrators, charging them with inciting to riot and resisting arrest. Thus the victims of the attack were made into criminals.

Fourteen racists were charged with the slaying, including several for first-degree murder. Many more were in the racists' caravan but not arrested. Bail for those charged was reduced so that all but one of the gunmen are now free.

Police intimidation tactics were successful in forcing cancellation of one anti-Klan demonstration scheduled last November to protest the killings. But they have not been able to prevent the February 2 march from gaining wide support. Hundreds have turned out to hear Rev. Ben Chavis and other speakers touring the state to rally support.

The response of state authorities has been to escalate their sabotage efforts. Gov. James Hunt demanded a loosening of controls on police spy agencies. The State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) began interrogating student lead-

ers across the state with the intent of discouraging participation in the march.

March organizers responded with a law suit in North Carolina Middle District Court. Depositions by students were made available to the media.

According to Delaney Wilson, Director of Intercollegiate Affairs at North Carolina Central University, SBI agents grilled him in the dean's office.

Wilson's deposition states: "The agents inquired as to the participation of the student government association in efforts to organize students to join the march. I informed them that there were campus efforts of that kind.

"They said that they were trying to get a 'head count' of the number of students from North Carolina Central University that would attend so they would be able to estimate the number of marchers. Further they would be at other campuses conducting the same type of interviews, they told me. They specifically said that they would also visit student leaders at St. Augustine College in Raleigh.

"They went on to say that the Communist Workers Party would be at the march, and that they were known to carry weapons in their car trunks.

"The agents' statements about the possibility of violence at the march initiated by the CWP had the effect of discouraging my personal participation in the march and my organizational efforts to broaden students' participation."

Other depositions testified to similar harassment.

On January 30 new allegations were filed in court by William Kunstler and Raymond McLaughlin, attorneys for the march coalition. The State Bureau of Investigation had attempted to block local coalitions from renting buses in the Raleigh-Durham area and in Norfolk, Virginia.

The city government also got into the act. First the city refused to rent the Greensboro Coliseum, the only adequate building for the rally, to the anti-Klan coalition. Moving quickly, the city booked a rhythm and blues

show for the coliseum the evening of the march.

With pious hypocrisy, the city fathers declared they were only trying to help out the Black promoter of the concert.

But the promoters and entertainers gladly postponed the event when they learned they were being used as pawns to block the rally.

When this gambit failed, the city made granting a permit contingent on raising a \$6,500 hall rental fee and buying \$100,000 worth of insurance. At *Militant* press time the city was continuing to stall on the permit.

The local news media joined in the government's campaign.

The January 29 editorial in the *Greensboro Record* charged that the march was not a civil rights march at all but a devious attempt to use the authority of the civil rights movement "to further a familiar leftist politics."

The press featured interviews with community residents who were not planning to join the march, while interviews with community and student leaders favoring the march were hardly to be found.

One TV news broadcast interviewed an NAACP leader from neighboring High Point who opposed the march. No mention has been made on television of the fact that the Greensboro NAACP and NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks are backing the march.

This selective reporting plays along with the government's scare campaign. It was this atmosphere that civil rights activists were attempting to counter in the final days before the march.

A successful march could deal a powerful blow to the long-standing campaign by North Carolina employers and state officials to suppress both the labor and civil rights movements. It could give expression to the sentiments of the big majority of North Carolinians, who oppose racist terrorism. And it could set back the government's attempt to whitewash the mas-

sacre of anti-Klan demonstrators last November.

By Jon Hillson

NORFOLK, Va.—"Ideals, dreams, and commitments of the 1960s still exist," Rev. Lavert Taylor, a Tidewater leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told a cheering anti-Klan rally here on January 26. "And the February 2 march on Greensboro is the first battle for the 1980s."

The rally, sponsored by the Tidewater Mobilization Committee for the Greensboro anti-Klan protest, was attended by 150 people, many of whom will be boarding buses from Norfolk for the national demonstration.

Rev. Milton Reed, the publisher of the *Norfolk Journal & Guide*, Tidewater's mass-circulation Black-oriented newspaper, raised the roof of the First Baptist Church as he blasted President Carter's phony human rights policy. Amidst roaring approval from the audience, he said money contributed to the fight against Klan terror was "the way to help to send the shah back to where he belongs—to Iran."

Rev. L.P. Watson, NAACP Area II director of branches, gave his organization's backing to the February 2 march. "We are going to say no to the KKK and its Nazi cohorts in Greensboro," he said.

Virginia Education Association President Suzanne Kelley, representing Labor for Equal Rights Now, stressed the unity needed between "those who are opposed to racism, to sexism, to antilabor employers, to poverty and hatred in the name of patriotism." All, she said, should be marching in Greensboro. This theme of the common interest between labor, Blacks, and women was noted by every speaker at the rally.

Other speakers included Lucius Walker, director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations; Sharon Grant, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Virginia's First Congressional District; Caroline Johnson of Black Vanguard Resource Center; and Louise Covington, Workers World Party.

Labor speaks out against Klan violence

The Ku Klux Klan is best known for its anti-Black terrorism. But throughout its history the racist outfit has also been a tool of the employers for attacking the labor movement and union organizers, Black or white. Following are some examples of union statements pointing to the Klan's treacherous role and condemning its violence.

Mine Workers

In response to KKK organizing efforts in eastern Kentucky in 1975, the *United Mine Workers Journal* ran an exposé by editor Don Stillman of the Klan's antilabor role. It urged miners to join in anti-Klan rallies being held that year in Kentucky and West Virginia.

The article quoted Arnold Miller, then UMWA president, as saying: "The Klan has used violence to fight against labor unions all across the South. They have beaten union organizers, tarred and feathered strikers manning picket lines and even murdered in their campaign of terror against the labor movement and working people."

The *UMWA Journal* continued: "Miller said the Klan often has been the tool of the coal operators and the Chamber of Commerce and has attempted to turn white workers against black workers in order to weaken the union movement.

"The KKK has a new line," Miller

said. 'From behind their hoods, they're trying to tell us that they really aren't opposed to unions now. They say they're not in favor of violence now. That's hogwash and they know it.

"Don't be fooled by this so-called 'new look' the Klan is pushing," he said. "Their goals are still exactly what they were when they were busting up picket lines and blowing up churches. They are trying to sell us fascism by calling it Americanism. . . .

"I hope no UMWA member believes the Klan's lies and gets involved in such activities," Miller said. "The Klan has a long, horrible record of criminal activity and there's no reason to assume they are any different today than when they were murdering, lynching, burning and beating black workers and white workers who stood against them. . . .

"Among the hundreds of incidents of Klan violence against unionists, Miller cited the following:

"• The brutal beating of Otis Matthews, financial secretary of L.U. 5-443 of the International Woodworkers. Masked KKK members ripped Matthews from his car, beat him with heavy straps and poured stinging liquid into his open wounds. Matthews had, as a union official, demanded compliance with federal law prohibiting discrimination by employers.

"• The stoning and vandalizing of the AFL Central Labor Council and CIO headquarters in Aberdeen, Washington by Klansmen, who joined with a group called the 'Better Business

Builders' opposed to unionizing efforts there.

"• The burning of crosses in front of homes and meeting halls in South Carolina where the CIO's Textile Workers Organizing Committee was attempting to unionize textile mills there and the flogging of union organizers.

"• The beating of union organizers for the Steelworkers Organizing Committee in Holt, Alabama on the eve of a representation election at Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co."

Longshore

The following is the text of a policy statement adopted last November by the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU):

"The Ku Klux Klan-Nazi Party murder of five demonstrators November 3 in Greensboro, North Carolina is a sickening and shocking reminder of the continued activity of organizations whose purposes are the advocacy of white supremacy, the preaching of racial hatred, and engaging in racist terrorism.

"The Klan and the Nazi Party have a special place in American life as the most brutal enforcers of repression. While they have directed their greatest hatred against Blacks, Catholics, Jews, trade unionists, and political activists, many others have suffered at the hands of these lawless, homicidal maniacs.

"Those guilty of conspiring and carrying out the cold-blooded assassinations in Greensboro must be brought to justice and punished to the fullest extent of the law. The International Executive Board urges all workers and their unions to keep a close eye on events in North Carolina related to these killings to see that justice is done.

"We also reaffirm our total opposition to and contempt for the KKK and the Nazi Party, and everything that they advocate and represent."

Hospital Workers

The January 1980 issue of *1199 News*, official publication of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, reports that the union's executive council was urging members "to unite against the bigotry and violence that the Klan represents."

The executive council adopted a statement calling for vigorous prosecution of the fourteen Klansmen indicted for killing the five anti-Klan demonstrators last November in Greensboro.

The statement concluded: "The brutality of the Klan has been directed over the years at Jews, Catholics, and trade unionists as well as blacks. These groups have a common interest in condemning blind prejudice. We urge our members to increase their united vigilance against the bigotry that characterizes the Klan mentality. There is no place in American life either for the Ku Klux Klan or for the hatred and violence it represents."

New moods of struggle in South

SWP ballot drive big success in N. Carolina

By Rebecca Finch and Holbrook Mahn

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—In just thirteen days, socialist campaigners collected 18,744 signatures, nearly double the 10,000 requirement to place the Socialist Workers Party on the North Carolina ballot in 1980.

The success of this effort is an important victory for working people in North Carolina. It confirms that workers in the South, as elsewhere, are looking for new ways to fight the government's drive against their living standard. And they are more open to socialist ideas than ever before.

Socialist campaign supporters around the country were inspired by this perspective. Forty-two came, some from as far as the Iron Range in northern Minnesota, to help campaign here.

SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley flew in to help in the second week of the drive. He was filmed by four television stations as he petitioned in Raleigh and Winston-Salem.

Petitioning teams on campuses in Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, and Charlotte found strong resistance to Carter's moves to reinstate the draft.

"We're the candidates who are against the draft," one petitioner explained as he asked students to sign. One student at the University of North Carolina in Charlotte had hung a banner out of his dormitory window. It said, "Stop this war before it starts." He signed to put the SWP on the ballot.

Won new supporters

This ballot drive has helped establish the Socialist Workers Party in North Carolina and has won new supporters for the socialist candidates and their ideas.

More than twenty-five people gave their names to petitioners to volunteer to campaign.

The coordinator of a local anti-nuclear group invited the socialists to have a speaker at their upcoming meeting.

A professor of public administration at North Carolina Central University, a Black campus in Durham, invited SWP gubernatorial candidate Douglas Cooper to speak in his class.

At the University of North Carolina in Charlotte, a student member of the campus newspaper staff volunteered to



Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president, takes time out from petitioning to talk to press. Thousands of North Carolinians learned of socialist campaign in course of ballot effort.

set up socialist literature tables on campus.

Some of those who contacted the SWP helped collect signatures. "I was really impressed by the way the SWP was carrying out the petitioning drive," said Erick Lowe, a native of Winston-Salem. "And I was inspired by the way the party is fighting for democratic rights."

Lowe learned about the drive from the television coverage of a January 3 press conference announcing the party's plans to get on the ballot. He came to the socialist campaign office the next day to see how he could help out and has been petitioning all day, every day, since.

Lowe is now the newest member of the Piedmont Young Socialist Alliance. He is part of a team of socialist campaigners who are now traveling throughout the Piedmont publicizing the February 2 Greensboro demonstration against Klan and Nazi violence.

Anti-Klan action

Throughout the petitioning effort, socialist campaigners talked to everyone they could about the February 2 march.

Petitioners found that many North Carolinians were inspired to see people standing up to the Klan and protesting the government's inaction against the right-wing thugs.

The North Carolina drive was a big challenge—especially since the Socialist Workers Party had never petitioned here before. Jeff Miller, SWP candidate for Congress in the Fifth Congressional District, explained that "careful planning was the key to the drive's success. We wanted to make sure that the petitioners, all of whom put out a big effort, weren't faced with any unnecessary obstacles."

How drive was organized

North Carolina, like many states, doesn't have many places with large concentrations of people. So finding petitioning sites was an important part of the preparation. Several members of the campaign committee were responsible for mapping out key petitioning sites throughout the state.

"We petitioned on campuses, on street corners, and outside the huge R.J. Reynolds tobacco plant gate," Miller explained. "And when the rain started to pour down, we petitioned in the neighborhoods door to door."

The drive was organized to be completed in as short a time as possible.

"This was important," Miller said. "By organizing a short drive, and at the same time not overprojecting what was possible to collect day to day, we were able to focus all our energy on petitioning and inspire those who participated to put out an extra effort. Everyone knew the daily goal and saw by the charts in the campaign headquarters where we stood. This helped us stay on schedule if problems arose."

Full time petitioners—mostly laid-off workers—collected the bulk of the signatures. And a crew of employed industrial workers, who petitioned before or after work, made a substantial contribution to the collective goal.

Steve Craine, an assembler at Binings Building Products, explained, "I work forty hours a week and travel an hour and a half a day. So I really had to organize my time around the two hours of petitioning I did every day. Since I work second shift I did my petitioning in the morning at shopping centers. So I was still able to collect a lot of signatures."

Friendly response

While of course not everyone who was approached signed the petitions, the response was overwhelmingly friendly. And the socialist cam-

paginers encountered no right-wing harassment.

Joan Levitt, a full-time petitioner who had never petitioned before, collected the most signatures in the drive. She said, "The response that we got from people here made the petitioning easy. You could really see the impact we made. People saw us downtown, at shopping centers, on campus, going door to door, and outside of churches. They would say, 'You socialists are everywhere.'"

Levitt explained that the two classes the campaign organized for petitioners on southern labor helped put the ballot drive in perspective.

"I saw that our ballot drive was really a part of the political life of North Carolina. It's part of the fight against the Klan and for the right to organize unions."

The petitioning campaign got a special boost from extensive coverage in the media. After Matilde Zimmermann, the SWP vice-presidential candidate, was seen petitioning on three different television stations, people would come up to petitioners and say, "Are you the socialists I saw on TV? Sure, I'll sign for you."

The North Carolina drive has introduced thousands of people to socialist ideas. And it gives working people here a real choice in the 1980 elections.

Letter from N.C. worker

Following is a letter received by the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign office from one of the many people who met the SWP for the first time through the North Carolina petitioning effort:

Socialist Workers Campaign,

My daughter and I were at North East Shopping Center this afternoon and one of your young men wanted us to sign a paper. My daughter signed but I told them I wanted to read the literature first. So I got a pamphlet and I just read it.

I am unable to work. I don't have any money. But if you'll send me a bunch of pamphlets I will pass them out to all my friends. And could I have a sample *Militant* weekly newspaper so I can show it around. I would appreciate it.

P.S. I am interested in the SWP, as some of my children are workers and I am a poor person, but I have a lot of working friends. As soon as my daughter heard you were for working people she signed.

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UAW women demand rights

Battle for ERA heating up in Missouri

By Bruce Lesnick

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The 1980 fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Missouri opened with a bang January 15. Nearly 1,000 supporters and opponents of the ERA converged on the state capitol here to participate in a hearing called by the Missouri Senate Constitutional Amendments Committee.

Groups began descending on the capitol early in the day for the evening hearing. First to arrive were opponents of the ERA, led by Stop ERA, who held a rally and prayer meeting in the capitol rotunda.

But as the time for the hearings grew closer, the number of anti-ERA forces dwindled and the ranks of ERA supporters swelled.

Spearheading the arrival of pro-ERA forces were two busloads of United Auto Workers from St. Louis and Kansas City. The sixty-five UAW members fanned out through the capitol to counter the presence of Stop ERA forces.

Members of the UAW and of the Coalition of Labor Union Women posted signs on railings, columns, and walls reading: "UAW/CLUW for ERA."

Inside the hearing chamber it seemed at times like a rally. The Stop ERA forces would cheer when one of their banners was unfurled, but they were drowned out by chants of "Hey, Hey, What do you say, Ratify the ERA!" Huge cheers greeted the raising of pro-ERA banners from the Grey Panthers, Unitarian Church, and National Organization for Women (NOW).

By the start of the hearing, the pro-ERA forces outnumbered the opposition by nearly three to one.

Testimony in support of the ERA was presented by a broad range of labor, civil rights, religious, and academic figures.

Margaret Bush Wilson, chair of the national board of directors of the NAACP, offered testimony on the ERA's importance for Black women. "Black women have it the worst," she explained, in terms of wages, layoffs, and unemployment.

"When you deny the rights of one segment of labor, you deny the rights of the whole of labor," stated Daniel McVey, executive treasurer of the Missouri AFL-CIO.

Joan Krauskopf, professor of law at the University of Missouri-Columbia, cited polls and studies showing that the majority of Americans and Missourians back the ERA.

Other speakers urging ratification of the amendment included Bishop Michael McAuliffe, Mary Ann Sedey of



ERA supporters flood capitol rotunda in Jefferson City.

the Missouri ERA Coalition, and Charles Curry, a former judge.

Speaking against the ERA were Phyllis Schlafly, national chair of Stop ERA; Norma Tracy of the Missouri Citizens Council, organized by the Mormon Church; and Jules Gerard, a law professor at Washington University. Three anti-abortion groups had representatives testifying, and a retired U.S. Army brigadier general also opposed the ERA.

After each side had presented its scheduled speakers, the remaining time was given to speakers from the floor.

Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri, addressed the hearing, emphasizing the support of working people for the ERA. A member of UAW Local 93 in Kansas City, Pettit also spoke about the successful labor march for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13.

The hearing here was different than previous legislative sessions on the ERA held in Missouri. What made it so was not just the size of the crowd or the relative proportion of "pro" to "anti" ERA forces, but the participation of organized labor.

Since the backing given by women's groups, especially NOW, to the successful effort to defeat the 1978 "right to work" referendum in Missouri, there has been a strengthening of ties between the women's and labor movements in this state. For example, the state Community Action Program Council of the UAW decided last December to make ratification of the ERA in Missouri one of its highest priorities.

As the ERA debate heats up and as future actions are given greater advance preparation, there will be even more opportunity for labor to unite with women's organizations to win ratification of the ERA in Missouri.

By Diane Groth

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The atmosphere at the statehouse here on January 15, the day of the Equal Rights Amendment hearing, was tense. You could tell from the feeling in the air that a battle was going on.

Members of the United Auto Workers arrived early in the day. We had come to talk to legislators before the hearing began and to position ourselves by the railing directly above the table of the Senate's Constitutional Amendments Committee, which had called the hearing.

We hoped to hold onto this space until a big ERA banner arrived to be placed there. So we brought chairs and sat down.

The Stop ERA people tried to force their way into this area—pushing and shoving—but we held firm.

During the day we also organized into groups of four to six to meet with the legislators in our districts, although it turned out that most were "too busy" to see us.

While we were waiting for them, an anti-ERA woman came up to a co-worker of mine. She claimed that women would lose out if the ERA were passed.

"There comes a time in a woman's life," she argued, "when she needs protection and should be supported."

"ERA," she said, "would break up the family."

My co-worker, a Black UAW member, responded that she was a grandmother and had raised her whole family while working.

"I've worked many a time next to a white man who was making two dollars an hour while I was making a dollar. So don't tell me what the ERA is about." And she abruptly turned around and walked away.

In the rotunda, where the hearing took place, tension mounted as the

night went on. As each group would unfurl its own banners over the railings or onto the walls, cheers would burst out from different parts of the jammed balcony.

Stop ERA forces cheered as a banner entitled "Missouri does not want ERA" was displayed. Everyone looked to see whose it was, and a loud "boo" emanated spontaneously from the crowd.

The biggest cheer occurred when ERA supporters unraveled a banner and placed it in the spot reserved by UAW members. It read: "ERA Now. Show Me Equality. Missouri National Organization for Women."

Auto workers were excited about how many union members came to join with other ERA supporters. One bus each came from St. Louis and Kansas City, organized by the UAW Community Action Program Council.

Most women in the St. Louis bus were from the newly formed UAW CAP Women's Committee. At our first meeting we had decided to send buses to the hearing to show our support for ERA.

One member later suggested that we get all the laid-off auto workers in our area here next time. Nineteen thousand auto workers are currently laid off in the St. Louis area alone.

At the hearing, Stop ERA head Phyllis Schlafly argued that "ERA is not what the American people want. ERA is a slogan whose time has passed. It doesn't belong in the Constitution."

Schlafly is dead wrong.

ERA is what the working people of this country want. You could see it in the fighting spirit of our union members who came to the capitol on January 15. You could see that for us ERA is a demand for equality whose time is now.

Bulletin

January 30—Although voted out of committee subsequent to the January 15 hearings in Jefferson City, the Equal Rights Amendment was withdrawn today from the Missouri Senate by its Democratic Party sponsors.

The Democrats justified this stab in the back by saying there were insufficient votes for passage.

Unless the ERA can be reintroduced in the Senate, Missouri ratification is ruled out this year.

Anti-ERA rally in Va.

In the wake of the successful labor march for the Equal Rights Amendment of more than 5,000 people held in Richmond, Virginia, January 13, opponents of the ERA attempted to rally their forces on January 17.

The result? According to *Militant* correspondent Jon Hillson, the anti-ERA forces could muster only about 700 people for their Richmond rally.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Virginia State Steering Committee to Stop the Equal Rights Amendment. Literature from Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA, as well as the racist, anti-union John Birch Society, was in abundance.

Bay Area CLUW, NOW: ERA, yes!

By Ruth Cheney

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 250 people braved one of the Bay Area's worst storms to attend a rally for the Equal Rights Amendment here January 11. The rally was organized by the Bay Area chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Endorsed by four labor councils and more than ninety unions, the meeting was held in solidarity with the January 13 labor march for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia (see last week's *Militant*). A NOW activist on her way to the Richmond demonstration was presented here with thousands of signatures in support of ERA ratification in Virginia.

John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, spoke enthusiastically to the crowd about the added muscle women are bringing to the labor movement in terms of

numbers and their political fight for equal rights.

NOW state coordinator Karen Peters welcomed the unionists present and said it would take the combined power of the labor and women's movement to achieve ERA ratification.

When Cheron Dudley, vice-president of United Transportation Union Local 31 spoke, some twenty rail workers in the audience cheered and held up signs hailing the ERA and women's growing presence in the rail yards.

Other speakers were Jeannine Whitlow, United Steelworkers; Chuck Mack, Teamsters; Walter Johnson, Department Store Employees; and actress Joan Hackett. The rally was chaired by CLUW and NOW chapter presidents.

CLUW activists were especially pleased with the meeting, which helped them to build their chapters throughout the Bay Area and demonstrated the key role CLUW can play in the labor movement.



Militant/Susan Muysenberg
Rail contingent holds up signs at rally.

Chicago school teachers: 'no pay, no work'

CHICAGO—In bitter cold weather, 4,000 teachers marched and rallied here on Monday, January 28, to denounce city officials and what Chicago Teachers Union President Robert Healey called the "bloodsuckers."

The bloodsuckers are the banks, whose demands for exorbitant interest payments have thrown Chicago into its worst financial crisis since the depression.

Holding Chicago's school children—a majority of whom are Black and Latino—as hostages, Continental Bank and First National Bank here, along with New York banks, have refused to help finance the school system until the school board cuts \$60 million from its budget.

Chicago school teachers and other school employees have not been paid in over two weeks and have had three payless paydays since last December.

Teachers voted overwhelmingly to stay off the job beginning January 28 until they are paid in full. Less than 4 percent of teachers and 7 percent of students showed up at schools on Monday.

The CTU is also demanding no more teacher layoffs and maintenance of the

full thirty-nine-week school year.

So far the school board, in compliance with bank demands, has cut \$55.6 million from the budget. This means the layoff of 1,718 teachers and 560 teacher aides.

For the banks, however, this is not enough. They demand the full \$60 million in cuts by February 1 and another \$160-200 million cutback next year.

Healey charged at the rally that under the plan worked out between school officials, Mayor Jane Byrne, Gov. James Thompson, and the banks, the latter would collect \$90 million in interest to finance the schools through April. There is no legal basis, he said, for the interest rates the bankers are demanding.

Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, endorsed the Monday rally in a statement supporting Chicago's teachers. Artz, a member of Steelworkers Local 1527, urged the entire labor movement to back the teachers in their demands.

"The union movement should launch a solidarity campaign with the CTU. This could become the focus of a fight against all the cutbacks and the gen-

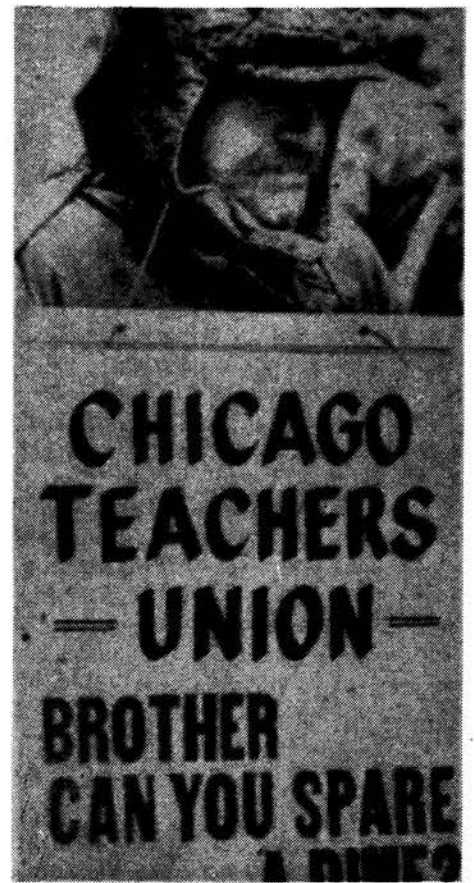
eral assault on the rights and living standards of all working people. This solidarity campaign could also build an alliance with the Black and Latino communities, which will be hardest hit by the cutbacks."

Artz proposed "a moratorium on interest payments to the banks to make this money available for the schools."

The banks, Artz said, are given priority over working people because Democratic and Republican officials like Byrne and Thompson "represent the interests of the banks and big corporations."

The fight against the cutbacks is a political fight, Artz pointed out. To be effective in this fight, the labor movement needs its own party—a labor party.

Representing the majority of the people of Chicago, a labor party could wage a successful fight against cutbacks in education and demand an expansion of all social services. "This," the SWP candidate said, "is the strategy needed to defeat the racist, anti-labor drive of the Democratic and Republican parties."



UAW strikers fight Chrysler-style takebacks

By Tony Dutrow

DETROIT—As of 6 p.m., January 15, 10,000 Budd Company workers were on strike nationwide.

Budd, a German-owned company since 1978, is a major auto parts manufacturer covered by the Independent Parts and Suppliers department of the United Auto Workers. The company's world headquarters is in Troy, Michigan.

This is the first nationwide strike against Budd in twenty-two years. The workers are calling it a lockout. Since the November 2 opening of bargaining, the company has submitted only one proposal—one modeled after the Chrysler takeaway agreement.

Budd plants are shut down in Ashland and Frankfort, Ohio; Philadelphia and Red Lion, Pennsylvania; and Gary, Indiana. In this area, 2,100 workers are on strike in Detroit and 300 in Clinton, Michigan.

Budd is part of the general assault on auto workers—widespread unemployment, plant shutdowns, irregular work schedules, and company take-back demands. Also on strike are more than 35,000 members of the UAW at International Harvester, now in the third month of their walkout. That farm equipment company is trying to eliminate a ban on forced overtime won years ago by Harvester workers.

The attack on Budd workers is directly based on the Chrysler "survival" swindle, which thus far has extorted \$400 million-plus from Chrysler workers' future paychecks. Budd is surely only the first company that will try to use the Chrysler settlement as a pattern to rip off its workers.

Budd is proposing cutting eight paid personal holidays from the number negotiated for General Motors and Ford workers. The company wants wage increases in the second and third year of the contract deferred three months, as well as a delay for pension raises.

Further, it is demanding that twenty-four cents of the cost-of-living increase be given back to the company to pay for pensions, in comparison with fourteen cents in the Ford and GM contracts.

It wants probationary workers to take a seventy-cent an hour cut, while the Big Two contracts specify sixty cents.



UAW members picket Budd plant in Detroit

Workers on the picket line in Detroit view the strike as a lockout. For example, on cue from company negotiators many believe, plant management turned out the lights and sent afternoon shift workers home after a couple hours without any prior notice.

Strikers say that layoff slips were coming down every day before January 15, and inventories were piled to the roof due to the plant closing by Ford and Chrysler. In turn, Ford is now blaming its extended assembly plant shutdowns across the country on the Budd strike.

Budd picketers report that supervisors crossing the picket line are loading so-called hot jobs onto rail cars bound for the Dearborn assembly plant. Rail workers servicing the plant refused to cross the line, forcing rail supervisors to switch the cars under police escort.

Spirits are high on the picket lines here. At least thirty workers on two-hour shifts are huddled around empty oil drums with plenty of firewood to keep them warm while picketing the three gates.

UAW Local 212 at Chrysler Mack Stamping plant is providing its hall, across the street from the Budd plant, as a strike center. At the hall, strikers sign up for picket duty, and picketers can get warm and have a cup of coffee.

Budd workers are fighting back. They deserve a lot more such solidarity from auto workers and all unionists. The stakes are high.

Detroit

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—Joseph Toomer, who has worked at Budd Wheel here since 1948, believes "the Chrysler deal encouraged Budd to shove a bad contract down our throats. Budd is certainly not in any financial trouble."

As Toomer and others walked the picket line here, supervisors were going in and out of the gate. What really riled J.J. Robinson was that the loaded trains were going out of one of the gates with a police escort.

"They claim they have an injunction," said Robinson. "I don't know about any injunction. It's ridiculous. The UAW doesn't interfere with the police. Why do they have to interfere with the UAW?"

While Robinson was talking, picketer Jim Twomey was yelling, "Miserable scab!" at a supervisor driving through the gate. "Hell, down at Gate 2 they had two cop cars, a Pinkerton guard, and Budd security while railroad top brass were moving the trains in and out," Twomey said.

"This strike is going to be a long one," he went on, "because they're trying to break the union. They have plenty of stock piled up, and the orders from the auto plants are down. They're going to try to starve us out."

There was some discussion about whether Budd was making any money now. "They're making profits," said Gil Roberts. "They're not making as many as they want, that's all. They dragged their feet until the contract

expired so the union would have to strike. It's what you'd call an old capitalist trick."

Over at strike headquarters, some strikers were talking angrily about a law that prevents other laid-off workers, even Budd workers, from walking the picket lines with them. So-called participation in a strike cancels a worker's right to unemployment benefits.

Philadelphia

By John Werntz

PHILADELPHIA—Five thousand auto workers at two Budd plants are on strike here.

Thyssen A.G., the West German firm that owns Budd, recently fought the German Metal Workers Union in a bitter seventeen-week strike.

"They're taking a hard line against us, too," explained one picket, "but they've never come up against the United Auto Workers before."

"Last night we saw the foreman finish loading two rail cars," said another as he pointed through the padlocked iron gates. As most material moves in and out by rail, it is vital to the strikers that the Conrail train crews, members of the United Transportation Union, honor their picket lines.

UAW Local 92 President Bill Hill, from the Red Lion Road plant in northeast Philadelphia, sees no problem, saying that "traditionally, the UTU members have been good union brothers and sisters."

Budd is out to exhaust the UAW ranks. In a calculated move, the company called back 600 workers from layoff two days before the contract expired. Pennsylvania law denies these workers unemployment benefits while on strike. Many of the 600 went from \$160 a week unemployment benefits to \$150 a week strike benefits.

The recalled workers, explained Local 813 President Henry Gryn, from the Hunting Park Avenue plant, "were put on jobs that were not ready to run, the material wasn't there, there was no effort to get the jobs running."

A Black unionist on the picket line says, "Budd needs us to start tooling up for the 1981 model soon. If they wait too long, they're going to lose their contracts with Ford and General Motors. As long as we all stick together, we can win."

D.C. meeting boosts April

By Dick Roberts

WASHINGTON—Antinuclear activists from around the country met here January 26-27 to push forward plans for the April 26 March on Washington for a Non-Nuclear World.

They came from Texas and the Dakotas, from a number of midwestern states, and from most of the East Coast. Shirts, buttons, and brochures promoting the action were taken up in quantities. The more than one hundred participants were eager to go back to the regions and build the April protest.

The gathering was an open coordinating committee meeting of the national Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

Extensive discussion on the organizational structure of the coalition gave the go-ahead to the Washington staff and task forces for an all-out campaign to build the march.

Stepped-up war-mongering propaganda by the Carter administration, the attempt to reimpose the draft, and recent developments concerning nuclear energy itself all lent a sense of urgency to the meeting.

On January 24 a Nuclear Regulatory Commission-sponsored investigation of Three Mile Island had released its report that the accident actually came within thirty to sixty minutes of a catastrophic core meltdown.

Headed by Washington lawyer Mitchell Rogovin, this new Three Mile Island report declared that the NRC "is incapable, in its present configuration, of managing a comprehensive national safety program for existing

nuclear power plants adequate to ensure public health and safety."

Only a few days earlier an earthquake had rippled through the Livermore, California, nuclear power facility and laboratory with still unknown effect. Some 500 pounds of plutonium are stored at Livermore for the development of nuclear missiles and bombs.

Cold war

"Cold war has been declared by our country," Vera Williams of the New York War Resisters League told the coalition meeting. "Washington introduced naval fleets into the Persian Gulf, Carter threatened atomic war, they are developing new first-strike nuclear weaponry and they threaten to reintroduce the draft. All of these questions will be focused on in the April actions."

"We want the largest demonstration to take place that has ever been held in the antinuclear movement," said Mary Roe, a leader of the Lone Star Alliance of Texas.

Under the urging of Jerry Gordon, the meeting voted to send a letter to trade unionists all over the country asking them to endorse and take part in the April 26 march. Gordon is executive assistant to the director of Region 2 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

Trade union locals in Washington and New York are working in the national coalition and it has been endorsed by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Together with a similarly successful

meeting of western states antinuclear activists in Oakland, California, the previous weekend, this gathering showed that organizations the length and breadth of the land are gearing up for a massive show of opposition to nuclear energy three months from now.

A leaflet listing those already taking part in Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World activities shows 64 national organizations and 142 local and regional organizations in thirty-nine states and three provinces of Canada.

These groups include political, trade union, student, religious, pacifist, feminist, Black, and Native American organizations in addition to the environmental and antinuclear alliances which form the nucleus of the coalition.

Also addressing the Washington meeting was a spokesperson of the Downwind Alliance in Windsor, Ontario. The alliance got its name from the fact that Windsor is downwind from the Fermi I plant near Detroit that had a nearly disastrous partial meltdown in 1966.

Ontario-wide demonstrations are planned for April 26 in Toronto. The same day, a conference exposing the dangers of uranium mining is planned for British Columbia.

An enthusiastic welcome was given as well to members of the Three Mile Island March 28 Coalition. On March 28-30, the first anniversary of the accident, demonstrations are planned in Harrisburg and at Three Mile Island to close down this nuclear facility for good. Those who cannot attend these

activities were urged to hold protests and wear armbands in their own communities. These events can help pave the way for the April 26-28 demonstrations.

Five demands

Besides the Saturday march and rally April 26, a nonviolent civil dis-



Nuclear workers honor picket line

By Nelson González

BOSTON—One hundred and fifty members of Laborers International Union Local 721 refused on January 17 to cross an informational picket line of the Pilgrim Alliance and Clamshell Alliance, antinuclear groups in New England.

The maintenance workers are part of a fourteen-week refueling team at the controversial Pilgrim I nuclear plant in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

They have economic and safety grievances against the Boston Edison Company, which runs Pilgrim I.

According to the *Boston Globe*, the laborers find especially galling the discriminatory practices in assigning jobs in "hot" radioactively contaminated areas.

"When a place is hot we can do boilermakers and pipefitters work," one laborer said. "But when the place is cool then suddenly it's a skilled job. Even when we're changing a light bulb it's okay when the area's hot, but when it's a cool area the electricians claim the job."

When asked by the *Globe* about their relationship to the Pilgrim Alliance picket line, the laborers explained they did not agree with all the sentiments of the protesters, but went along with the protesters' denunciation of Boston Edison as a place where "the workers pay!" as a placard carried by the demonstrators said.

After honoring the picket line Thursday morning, 62 of the 150 were laid off that afternoon. When the workers

heard about these layoffs the rest of the 150 refused to work also.

Louis Palavanachi, business agent for the Laborers union, explained, "It's unacceptable to us that the company will decide who can work and who can't."

He continued, "Under the constitution everyone has a right to respect a picket line. It was totally irresponsible for Boston Edison Company to do this. It makes you believe there is more truth to the Clamshell Alliance than people realize."

On the next day, two White Fuel trucks, driven by members of Teamsters Local 25, also honored the picket line and refused to deliver oil to the plant.

An agreement was reached over the following weekend between the Laborers international and the company. The workers agreed to return to work and the company promised no retaliation.

Despite the agreement, twenty of the laborers were laid off Monday, January 21, and another twenty on Tuesday, according to Palavanachi.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant* January 23 Palavanachi explained that the company pays no attention to Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations and that it is an extremely unsafe place for anyone to work. In the past few days while workers were out there were six undetected incidents of fires, according to Palavanachi.

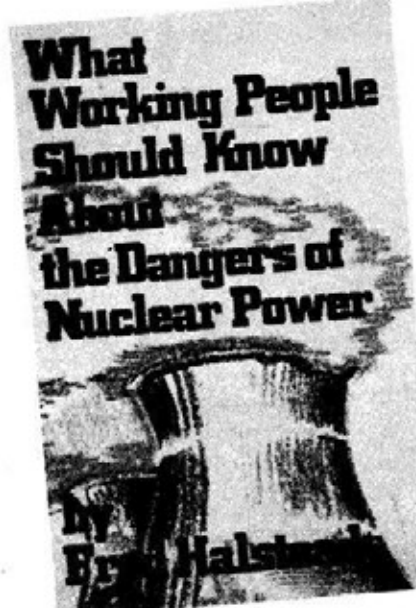
"If you complain, you're laid off," he said.

In discussing last year's antinuclear demonstration at the Pilgrim plant, Palavanachi felt the members are a lot more aware today than they were a year ago.

As a result, "there is a lot of fear and uncertainty about the dangers of nuclear power."

He said, "Ninety percent of the workers at the plant would not be working there if they could find jobs somewhere else."

New from Pathfinder: a weapon in the anti-nuclear fight



What are the dangers of nuclear radiation? What caused the Three Mile Island nuclear accident? What are the alternatives to nuclear power? This pamphlet answers these and other questions about the problems and dangers of nuclear power.

Also included is a statement "What We Can Do To End Nuclear Power" by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

40 pp., \$.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.75 for postage.

1 26 antinuclear march

obedience activity is planned at the Department of Energy April 28. A week of congressional lobbying is also being planned. The Saturday demonstration will feature musical groups at four sound stages in addition to political speakers.

These Washington activities center around five coalition demands: Stop

Nuclear Power; Zero Nuclear Weapons; Safe Energy; Full Employment; and Honor Native American Treaties.

A sixth demand, to Stop the Draft, was suggested by a number of participants. Following coalition procedures, the proposal will go back to regional bodies for discussion. It will then be acted on at the next coordinating committee meeting scheduled for the weekend of March 2-3 in Washington.

The prospect of a national antinuclear, antidraft march on Washington this spring is one that will surely capture the imagination of tens of thousands of young students and workers.

Coal

There was some discussion about where the perspective of coal as an immediate alternative to nuclear energy should fit in with coalition activities. The proposed letter to trade

unionists read at the meeting by Jerry Gordon said in part:

"We know that a cheap and alternate source of energy already exists in immediate and almost inexhaustible supply—coal. Technology is presently available to mine and burn coal safely. A longer term goal is the development of other safe energy sources—such as solar, water, and wind, which would provide more jobs than nuclear power does."

But a layer of activists from the environmental and antinuclear movement remains unconvinced that any use of coal should be recommended. They voted for sending out the letter on the basis that various task forces should have leeway to build the demonstration in the way they think will bring the greatest number of people to Washington.

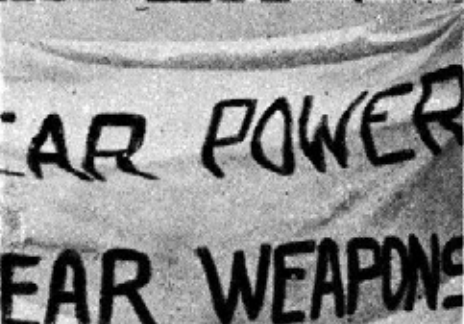
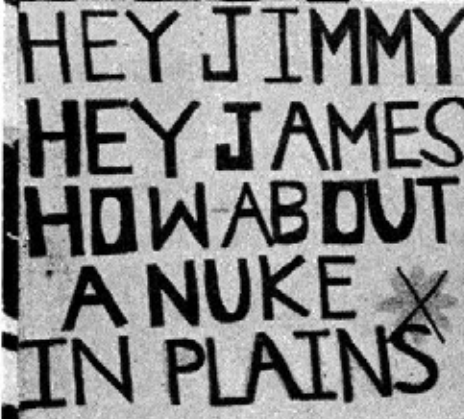
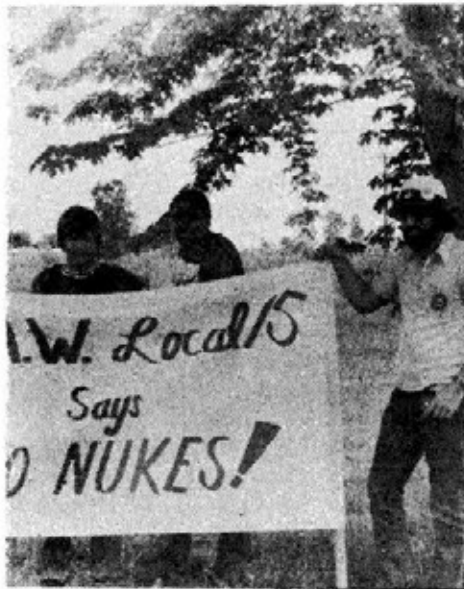
Reaching out to the millions of

Americans who have not yet taken part in the antinuclear movement is the top priority.

"From now on," Ada Sanchez told the *Militant*, "it's nitty-gritty, reaching out to the media, and in every way educating on a local level to explain to everyone the nuclear danger and to build April 26-28."

T-shirts, buttons, and brochures for April 26-28 are available from Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E. #506, Washington, D.C. 20002. The T-shirts are \$5.00 individually, \$4.00 for ten or more; buttons, \$.75 each; \$.50 for fifty or more; \$.25 for 100 or more.

Three Mile Island armbands for March 28-30 are available from the March 28 Coalition, 1037 Maclay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103: one dollar each or sixty cents each for orders of fifty or more.



International days of protest set

WASHINGTON — Simultaneous with the U.S. national actions against nuclear power and weapons April 26-28, international demonstrations with the same demands are planned for Canada, Brazil, and eight European nations.

In Europe, antinuclear forces intend to march either on their own capitols or the U.S. embassies in Holland, Spain, the Basque region of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, England, West Germany, and France.

Two of the people who played key roles in helping to bring about this plan for an unprecedented demonstration of international solidarity are Ada Sanchez and Kitty Tucker, who are also central leaders of the U.S. Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World. Both have traveled to Europe and spoken in a number of countries about the antinuclear movement.

"The desire of European activists to build April 26-28 protests was greatly intensified by the imposition of the U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles on NATO that took place in November," Sanchez told the *Militant*.



Militant/Dick Roberts
Kitty Tucker (left) and Ada Sanchez

"This, coupled, with the stepping up of U.S. war moves, makes it all the more important to launch an international antinuclear campaign."

Tucker explained that the European groups wanted to use four of the same demands the coalition is advancing here: stopping nuclear power, zero nuclear weapons, safe energy and full employment.

The decision to undertake coordi-

nated international demonstrations was made at the European-wide International Coordination Conference of the Antinuclear Movement in Freiburg, West Germany, January 18-20.

"There is much we can do to help the international movement," Tucker said. She explained, for example, that the British Official Secrets Act makes it more difficult for activists there to get data on nuclear power and weapons that is accessible in the United States.

Information on the international movement can be gotten from the World Information Service on Energy (WISE), which publishes a bimonthly magazine and regular press releases. Subscriptions are \$7.50 and can be obtained from 520 Butternut Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20012.

Tucker and Sanchez were both leaders of the campaign to reveal the truth about the murder of Karen Silkwood. Since the National No-Nuke Strategy Conference in Louisville in August 1978 they have been active in building the national coalition and are now full-time staff members in its Washington office. —D.R.

...Livermore

Continued from back page

sors last summer underlined the potential hazards.

Dr. John Gofman, one of the discoverers of plutonium and a former employee at Livermore, said plutonium will ignite spontaneously in air. Geologist Robert Stolzman emphasized the fact that the area around Livermore has a number of active faults, some of which may run under the lab.

John Rutherford, a structural engineer who had inspected Building 332 the day before the June hearings, said that far from being impregnable, Building 332 didn't meet state earthquake code requirements for schools and hospitals. He documented this assertion in detail.

A fact-finding team led by George Johnson, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from California, went to Livermore January 25 after the first earthquake.

The laboratory itself was shut down tight and the visitors center was closed due to quake damage.

Almost everyone Johnson talked to was worried about the possibility of a new and more damaging earthquake. Many, who had believed the official

line about the safety of the region before, now were considering moving.

Some of the destruction caused by the quake included the Sunrise Mobile Home park where 95 of 133 homes were jarred from their foundations. Most of the people living in the park were elderly residents who had to be housed in a Red Cross emergency evacuation center. Few were covered by insurance.

At the Greenville Road overpass on Interstate 580 there was a huge gap where part of the highway had sunk almost one foot.

A woman from the Safety Alliance for the Valley Environment (SAVE) told the *Militant* that she thought there was definitely a credibility gap in the information the laboratory was willing to give out on the accident.

She said, "It's scary because you just don't know what's going on. We should at least be allowed information to make our own decisions. A friend of mine with two babies took off on Thursday [the day of the first earthquake]."

"I've lived here nine years. There was an earthquake last August 6 about two hours before the Hiroshima rally and I thought about turning around and going the other way. You really feel threatened when something like this happens—they should just shut down the lab."

George Johnson underlined that the laboratory officials have been lying for years that the nuclear facility is earthquake proof.

"There are eighty-eight laboratories, corporations, and military facilities licensed to handle radioactive materials in the seven Bay Area counties," Johnson said. "Any one of them could be sitting on an active fault and it's just a matter of time before an earthquake big enough to cause a catastrophic nuclear accident comes along."

"We've had two warnings this week. We should shut down these nuclear reactors and research facilities immediately."



Cartoon from WISE

Nicaragua leader describes literacy drive

900,000 will learn to read and write

The following article is based on an interview obtained with Octavio Rivas, assistant minister of education, in Managua January 3.

The literacy campaign is something our people greatly need. We are going to organize some 170,000 literacy brigade members, but we actually need more. We estimate that between 850,000 and 900,000 persons above the age of ten do not know how to read. We need on average one brigade member for every four illiterates.

The human needs are very great, and we are hoping for the help of compañeros from around the world. Our problem is that we are undergoing an unprecedented economic crisis. According to the report prepared by the Latin American Economic Commission (CEPAL), a unit of the United Nations, this crisis is without equal in the history of any country in Latin America.

Economic crisis

This is a terrible crisis. We are a small country, with a debt approaching \$1.8 billion. This is equivalent to the debt held by some countries with four times our population. That gives you an idea of the scope of the problem.

In addition, 40 percent of our industry lies in ruins, as well as 40 percent of our commercial establishments.

In agriculture, in a crop as important as cotton, only 30 percent was planted last year, which means a loss of millions of dollars at the very least.

We are not totally ruined. We can reestablish agriculture in a year or two. Rebuilding our industry will take several years. But in agriculture, we think the 1981 crops will be comparable to those of 1978.

In short, we don't have the means to finance those who come to help. Every day I receive letters from all over the world, from Europe to Australia. We say the same thing in reply to all of them: "Great. Come help. We'll greet you with open arms. But we can't provide you with a single córdoba while you're here."

Cuban solidarity

The only possible solution is the one that has been worked out with the teacher compañeros from Cuba. Their government, in a genuine gesture of human solidarity, has undertaken to pay them during their stay here. We have provided the only things our country can offer—a roof over their heads, food, and our great affection.

We are very interested in having teaching compañeros come from a number of countries. You are well aware that reactionaries around the world have violently criticized the presence of the Cubans. Here, of course, it is a totally different story. The peasants and the others who are benefiting from Cuban solidarity have greeted these compañeros with open arms.

But internationally, the reactionaries have used their monopoly over the media to proclaim that the Cubans have come to spread their ideology.

This is a maneuver designed to harm Nicaragua, to isolate us internationally in the economic sphere and to refuse us the aid that other countries could easily provide. We want to initiate a counterattack, and are seeking teachers from all over the world.

This is the real spirit of our revolution, which is a broad and democratic revolution that is going to lead us toward a different society, a structurally different society. We don't hide this; we aren't trying to fool anyone. This is a revolution that is marching toward socialism.

But we also say, and repeat over and over, that the Nicaraguan people themselves are making this revolution. Here reforms and changes are introduced step by step, in accordance with the degree to which the people attain the necessary level of consciousness to carry through these changes themselves.

Right to education

The literacy campaign that we are going to carry out in the first year of the revolution is a clear sign of the democratic character of this revolution, for the weapon of knowledge is going to enable each individual to obtain an education, to be really free.

The right to education involves a whole series of other rights that only an educated person can enjoy—the right to participate in politics, to organize, to give one's opinion, and so forth.

In addition to the literacy campaign, we are planning to provide an education to more than 600,000 persons—that is, twice the present school population.

Imagine what that represents financially. The budget for education, the second largest after the budget for health care, will reach one billion córdobas [US\$100 million] this year—three times what Somoza spent on education.

The literacy campaign will wind up July 31. The following day regular

classes will begin again. We don't know where they will be held—under the trees, in the factories, who knows where—but this education will be provided.

Everyone is astonished that all this has already been planned for and prepared. The Cubans launched their literacy campaign two years after the revolution. We are moving faster.

We began in August 1979, two weeks after the victory over Somoza. All the plans for education were ready. All that was necessary was getting rid of the dictator.

On the Atlantic coast, people speak three languages—Spanish, English,

and Misquito. So, there we will be carrying out the literacy campaign in three languages.

This is all part of our culture, and we are going to preserve and protect every element of our culture. That means all the songs, dances, and fables—the entire oral culture—will be saved and preserved.

In closing, I would like to appeal to the teachers unions, to the trade unions in general, to ask that they donate an hour's pay in support of the literacy campaign. That would be a concrete way of assuring its success.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Solidarity with Nicaragua!

Boston to host regional conference

Sonia de Chamorro will give a public talk on Friday, February 8, at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Chamorro, who is on tour in the United States from February 4-14, is fund-raising director for Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade. Her talk will begin at 5 p.m. at Gutman Library, on Appian Way in Cambridge. That evening, at 7 p.m., the Phillips Brooks House at Harvard Yard is hosting a fund-raising reception for Chamorro.

The Boston Nicaragua Solidarity Committee is in the midst of a film series at Boston University to raise money for the literacy crusade. At two showings of the first film, \$300 was collected.

Then on February 23, the Boston University Free School, in conjunction with the solidarity committee, will hold a Northeast regional conference in solidarity with Nicaragua. The keynote speaker at 11 a.m. will be Hilde Sequeira, the Nicaraguan consul in Washington, D.C. Saturday afternoon there will be a series of workshops on such topics as literature and revolution, U.S. foreign policy in Latin America, and building the Nicaraguan solidarity movement.

Speakers at the workshops will include Jonathan Kozol, author of *Children of Revolution*, a book on the Cuban literacy drive; Howard Zin, Boston University professor; Larry Simon, OXFAM-America, recently returned from studying agrarian reform in Nicaragua; and Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Martin Diskin.

The February 23 conference is scheduled for the College of Basic Studies Auditorium at Boston University. For more information, call (617) 547-3810.

Chamorro to speak at Tulane in New Orleans

Sonia de Chamorro is scheduled to speak in New Orleans on Saturday, February 9. The "Discussion on Nicaragua's Literacy Campaign" is sponsored by the New Orleans Nicaragua Solidarity Organization and the Tulane University Latin American Studies Department. It will be at 7 p.m. at Richardson Hall on the Tulane campus.

New Orleans activities during the February 17-23 week of national solidarity include a requiem mass on February 21 and a February 24 public meeting sponsored by NONSO, where the slide show available from the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People will be shown.

Chamorro's other tour stops are: Miami on February 4, Washington, D.C. on February 5-6, New York City on February 7, Detroit on February 11-12, and San Francisco on February 13-14.

For more information, and to order the slide show and other solidarity materials, contact the National Network at 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 223-2328.

Philadelphia group plans Feb. 29 rally

The Committee for a Free Nicaragua in Philadelphia plans a February 29 fund-raising rally at the Antioch College Extension, 401 North Broad Street at 8 p.m. The event will feature speakers, entertainment, and the slide show available from the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

100 attend Milwaukee meeting

The Milwaukee Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy held its first public meeting January 24 at the Esperanza Unida, a Latino community center. Nearly 100 people turned out to hear Father Jim Kileman, who just returned from Nicaragua, and Father Peter Marchetti, who has accepted an invitation to visit Nicaragua to help with its agrarian reform program.

Also speaking was Berta Zamudia, assistant editor of *La Guardia*, the largest Spanish-language paper in Milwaukee.

A collection netted \$200, and seventy people signed up to be informed of future activities.

Compiled by Nancy Cole



Militant/Fred Murphy

'Weapon of knowledge will enable each individual to be really free.'

Massacre fails to intimidate Salvadorans

By Gerhard Müller

SAN SALVADOR—I was among the hundreds of people trapped in the Metropolitan Cathedral after the military carried out a massacre against an enormous demonstration here January 22.

Inspired by the recent formation of the National Revolutionary Coordinating Committee (CNR), which involves the four main leftist organizations in El Salvador, the LP-28, FAPU, BPR, and UDN,* more than 200,000 persons took to the streets on January 22 in the first united demonstration convoked by the four organizations.

Although right-wing terror groups had vowed to stop the demonstration, the demonstration was by far the largest action held in El Salvador during the more than fifty years this country has been governed by military juntas.

The protesters chanted "Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!"; "The fascist military junta will die when the revolution comes!"; "All power to the workers and peasants!"; and "Long live revolutionary unity!"

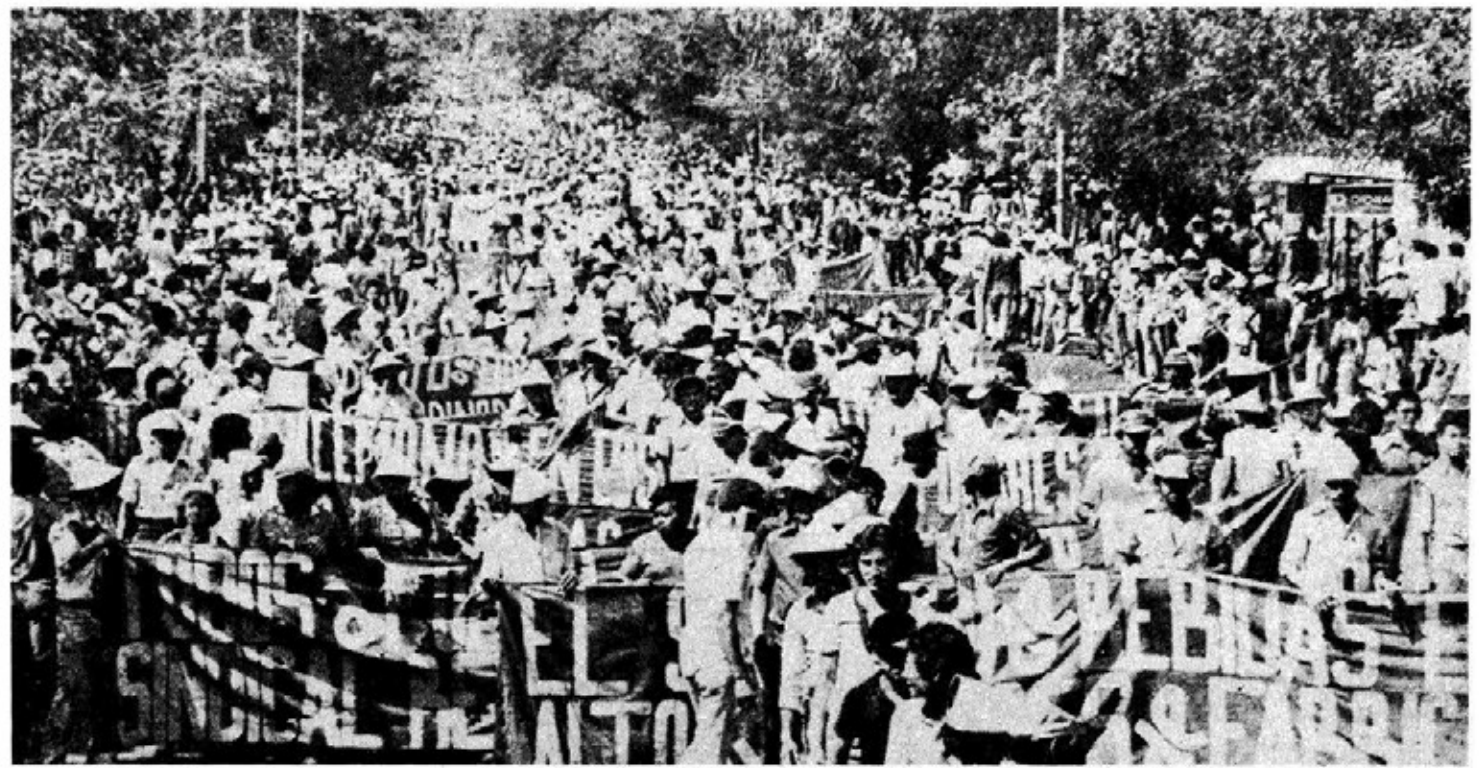
The demonstrators marched in a completely peaceful demonstration through the most important streets of the capital.

The majority of the demonstrators were San Salvador workers, peasants who had come into the capital from the countryside, as well as teachers, students, slum dwellers, and market vendors.

During the demonstration, a new clandestine radio station, the Revolutionary People's Radio, broadcast for almost two hours.

At about 1 p.m., when the FAPU contingent was passing the National Palace in the center of the capital, National Guard troops opened fire from the balconies of the palace, instantly killing or wounding many persons.

There is absolutely no doubt that the massacre was started by the Salvadoran army. It was carried out simultaneously from several locations, and ap-



More than 200,000 turned out for January 22 antigovernment demonstration in San Salvador.

parently the whole operation was directed by officers in army helicopters circling over the crowd.

When the shooting began, I was standing on the roof of the Metropolitan Cathedral, sixty meters away from the National Palace.

Demonstrators instantly sought cover wherever they could. More than 300 demonstrators managed to get into the cathedral, which had been occupied earlier by the FAPU.

For more than an hour the shooting did not stop for one second. And for more than five hours the cathedral was surrounded by the army, which was apparently cooperating with the right-wing terror organizations ORDEN and the White Warriors Union (UGB).

The interior of the cathedral was a nightmare. Bullets from the National Guard's German-produced G-3 rifles penetrated the windows and doors.

The bodies of slain peasants lay on the floor. Ten or more demonstrators were wounded. Those of us inside sought cover wherever possible.

Through the windows, one could see bodies of murdered demonstrators scat-

tered around the square in front of the National Palace.

The situation was critical. There was no food, nor medicine to treat the wounded. But at no time did people panic. Discipline, organization, and confidence in the revolutionary leadership were beyond description.

About fifteen journalists from Europe and Latin America were among those inside the cathedral. Using the loud speakers of the church, each of us appealed to the Red Cross, the Human Rights Commission, and the San Salvador diplomatic corps to do everything possible to guarantee the safety of everyone inside the cathedral.

After about an hour and a half, a Red Cross team was allowed to enter the cathedral to bring out the wounded. Finally, after five hours, the rest of the demonstrators were escorted away by the Red Cross.

After the attack on the demonstration, more than 40,000 participants, mostly peasants from outside the capital, sought refuge inside the campus of San Salvador University.

A few hours later, the military launched a new siege, this time against the university, which was totally cut off. Snipers fired into the campus, killing a member of the LP-28 and wounding several others. Insecticides were sprayed over the people by military airplanes.

Once more, the organization and discipline of the Salvadoran revolutionists impressed me enormously. Although many had not eaten for two days, and despite the intense pressure from the military encirclement of the campus, the people remained organized.

There were absolutely no signs of panic—on the contrary, time was spent in political discussions and organization of self-defense groups. Everyone remained calm.

It was thus a major political victory that the military, after ten hours of siege, had to give in to public pressure and return to their bases. Shortly afterwards, the 40,000 workers, peasants, and students marched out of the university grounds in a protest demonstration against the massacre of the previous day.

The CNR at the same time declared a three-day nationwide period of mourning and protest strike. The bodies of the slain were carried to the cathedral, where Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero celebrated a mass.

Official figures claim that only twenty persons were killed during the massacre. This number is far below the real toll. At the university and in the cathedral I saw at least fifteen dead. There is no doubt that the Salvadoran

junta is lying when it puts the number of victims so low.

On January 24 the junta held a news conference and denied any participation in the massacre. Antonio Morales Ehrlich, a Christian Democrat and junta member, put all the blame on "members of the extreme right." Later this story was altered. The government claimed that some police at the National Palace had fired "in self defense."

The junta, its Christian Democratic supporters, and the capitalist-landlord oligarchy are more isolated than ever, and the Salvadoran workers and peasants are organizing and preparing for further battles.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

*The February 28 People's Leagues, United People's Action Front, Revolutionary People's Bloc, and Nationalist Democratic Union, the legal arm of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

'No one can stop this revolution'

Reports from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* correspondents in Central America indicate that the Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting back in response to the January 22 massacre.

The following day, more than 150,000 workers in the cities and countryside answered a CNR call for a three-day strike.

On January 24, thousands defied the threat of a new massacre and held a funeral march in honor of those who had been gunned down in the big demonstration.

As the coffins were being lowered into the ground, marchers chanted, "No one can stop this revolution."

The growing strength of the revolutionary forces was clearly shown in the massive march, the outcome of the January 11 meeting that established unity among the main opposition groups.

Since that meeting, left-wing groups and guerrilla organizations have occupied dozens of churches and schools, organized meetings in working-class neighborhoods to explain the need for armed struggle against the dictatorship, and, in at least one neighborhood, repeatedly set up barricades and provided military training to the young people.

While there have not yet been large military confrontations, the government over the past several months has been evicting peasants from land they have occupied all over the country. In the north, several hundred peasants have been killed. In the cities, political and trade-union leaders are being murdered daily.

Meanwhile, the workers and peasants of El Salvador are under attack on the economic front as well. The country is in a deep economic crisis, with many basic items of consumption in short supply or unavailable.

Unemployment is rising steadily, as local and foreign capitalists sabotage the economy. An estimated \$100 million in capital was sent out of the country in the last three months of 1979 alone.

In an effort to appear to be doing something to stop the flight of capital, the junta announced January 9 that it was nationalizing the Bank of El Salvador. And in an attempt to stem the rapidly growing support for revolutionary change, the military rulers declared that they are in favor of agrarian reform and nationalization of other sectors of the economy.

But these measures are a case of too little, too late.

U.S. arms military junta

The bloody repression unleashed by the Salvadoran military junta has the full support of the U.S. government. The day after the January 22 massacre, Robert White, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, met behind closed doors with the country's military rulers.

"A source close to the [Salvadoran] government... said that they discussed the possibility of the United States sending military aid," the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario* reported.

White House backing has not been limited to promises. On January 24, U.S. Undersecretary of State William G. Bowdler flew to San Salvador to demonstrate the Carter administration's political support to the junta.

At the end of Bowdler's visit, the regime announced that the promised U.S. aid would amount to "millions of dollars."

At a January 26 news conference in Managua, Nicaragua, Bowdler declared, "The United States supports the [Salvadoran] government," and he claimed that the regime "is pressing forward basic reforms for social and economic development, respect for human rights, and a return to constitutionality."

But El Salvador's ruling classes showed long ago that they are incapable of governing peacefully. Washington's dollars are aimed at strengthening the repressive military apparatus to enable the junta to carry out even greater attacks on El Salvador's working people.

By August Nimitz

(sixth of a series)

On September 18, 1978, President Carter addressed a special joint session of Congress, hailing the completion the night before of the Camp David agreements signed by President Sadat of Egypt, Prime Minister Begin of Israel, and Carter.

"The guns will now fall silent," Carter declared. "The bombs will no longer fall."

But since the signing of the accords, Israeli air and artillery attacks on Palestinian refugee camps and on Arab towns and villages in Lebanon have continued on a regular basis. Hundreds of people, mostly civilians, have been killed and thousands wounded. The hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians who were driven from their homes during the Israeli invasion of March 1978 have been prevented from returning.

The editor of *An Nahar*, Lebanon's largest newspaper, explained to a group of visiting Americans last summer the real meaning of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty of March 1979—the major product of Camp David: "The United States presents the peace treaty as a constraint on Israel, but it has provided them with a license to kill. It serves as a cover for Israel to intensify and diversify its attacks on us, striking at will" (*Seven Days*, September 28).

Why has the euphoria that originally greeted the Camp David agreement given way to disillusionment? Why has Camp David failed to bring peace to the Middle East?

Because the sponsors of the Camp David accords never had any intention of seriously addressing the fundamental issue—self-determination for the Palestinians.

Denial of self-determination

Israel was established at the expense of the Palestinians. More than a million of them have been driven from their homeland, beginning in 1948, to make way for the exclusivist Jewish state. As a result, Palestinians live either as second-class citizens in Israel, or under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, or as homeless and destitute refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria.

Without their own homeland, and existing at best at the sufferance of others, the Palestinians are a



Issues in Mideast Conflict

people who lack the basic right to decide their own affairs.

As long as Palestinians live in such circumstances, they will continue to fight against their oppression. The Israeli attempt to maintain the unjust status quo will lead the Zionist regime to launch new aggressive attacks on Lebanon, and new Middle East wars.

Clearly, then, there can be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinians obtain the right to self-determination.

The simple truth is that the Camp David agreement never recognized that right. The accords spoke of "self-government" and "autonomy" for Palestinians; only for those, however, in the West Bank and Gaza—about 36 percent of all Palestinians. And the Israeli government has made clear since then that even this truncated form of "autonomy" was nothing but a charade meant to cloak continued Israeli rule.

Furthermore, the Palestinians were neither represented nor had their wishes made known at the Camp David talks. Nor are they even permitted to decide for themselves whom they would want to represent them in subsequent talks. The majority of Palestinians consider the Palestine Liberation Organization as their representative. Yet the PLO is barred from discussions over its fate, because of Israeli objections.

Israel objected to the PLO on grounds that the organization uses terrorism. The massive terrorism of Israel, whose cluster bombs, napalm, and other high-technology weapons have killed thousands of civilians, is passed over in silence.

Israel's real position on Palestinian participation in the negotiations has nothing to do with terrorism. As the *New York Times* said on November 5, reporting on a discussion of the matter in the Israeli cabinet: "The consensus among the ministers was that no exclusively Palestinian organization could be a party to the negotiations, terrorist or not."

It's an obvious contradiction in terms to talk about self-determination if the people whose destiny

What road to Mideast peace?



Carter, Begin, and Sadat after signing Egyptian-Israeli 'peace' treaty in September 1978. Pact served as a license for new Israeli aggression.

is in question aren't even permitted to take part in the discussions, much less determine for themselves. This was exactly how the problem began in the first place. Every major decision about the Palestinians, beginning with the Balfour declaration in 1917—the promise of a Jewish settlement of Palestine that Britain made to the Zionist movement—has been made without their consent. Camp David continues this ignominious tradition.

The understandable decision by Palestinians not to participate in the current talks, given these conditions, and the obstinacy of Israel to any proposal that might lead to real self-determination for the Palestinians means that peace has not and cannot emerge from these negotiations.

Dismantle Zionist state

Any real solution to the Middle East crisis must begin with the recognition that any institution or practices that prevent Palestinians from exercising self-determination must be eliminated. In other words, the Israeli state, which is constructed on the basis of special privileges for Jews at the expense of the Arabs, must be dismantled.

Does this mean the destruction or expulsion of Israeli Jews?

Definitely not! Contrary to what Zionists claim, the aim of the Palestinian liberation movement is not to "slaughter Jews" or "throw them into the sea."

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an influential Palestinian group, stated unequivocally its position on this issue in a 1969 document: "The Palestinian liberation movement is not a racial movement with aggressive intentions against the Jews. It is not directed against the Jews. Its object is to destroy the state of Israel as a military, political, and economic establishment which rests on aggression, expansion and organic connection with imperialist interests in our homeland."

What then is to replace Israel? Al Fatah, the largest component of the PLO, calls for a democratic secular Palestine. Al Fatah's view was expressed in its 1970 document, *Towards a Democratic State in Palestine*: "All the Jews, Moslems and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship. . . . It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group of people by any other group or individual; a state that provides equal opportunities for its people in work, worship, education, political decision-making, and cultural and artistic expression."

To make such a Palestine a reality, the new state will include all territories that originally comprised Palestine—the present Israeli state and the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The establishment of such a Palestine will require the mobilization of the masses who have the most to gain—the Palestinian Arab working class and its peasant allies, along with Israeli Jewish workers. A successful struggle by these groups, in alliance with the Arab revolution as a whole, will inevitably bring them into conflict with the forces that benefit the most from the maintenance of Israel—imperialism and its local allies, the Israeli and Arab ruling classes.

Revolutionary struggle

To achieve its democratic goals, the struggle of the masses will infringe upon the interests of the bourgeois minority and its imperialist allies. In other words, the revolution will have to continue uninterruptedly toward a socialist conclusion.

What are the chances that a struggle can be successfully waged? That depends, first of all, on organizing the masses in support of the goal of the liberation of Palestine.

The Palestinians have made tremendous strides in mobilizing toward this end since about 1964 when the PLO was organized.

More time will be needed to win the Israeli Jewish workers to this perspective, but the chances have never been better. Disillusionment among Israeli workers with the Zionist state, as reflected in growing protests against the attacks on their standard of living, is at an historic high.

The Peace Now movement in Israel, which originated to protest the intransigence of the Begin government to reach an agreement with Egypt, has now shifted its attention to protesting the government's support to the right-wing settlement movement in the West Bank. Last October 20, in one of the largest mobilizations in Israeli history (40,000 in Tel Aviv alone), Israelis marched against the regime's decision to expand the settlements.

While Peace Now does not consider itself an anti-Zionist movement, its objectives are in conflict with one of the basic dynamics of Zionism—expansionism.

As the bankruptcy of Israel becomes clearer to the Jewish working class, increasing numbers will come to accept the invitation that Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the PLO, made to them in his historic speech before the United Nations in 1974: ". . . I call upon Jews one by one to turn away from the illusory promises made to them by Zionist ideology and Israeli leadership. Those offer Jews perpetual bloodshed, endless war and continuous thralldom. . . ."

"We offer them the most generous solution that we might live together in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine."

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Background to revolution

Afghanistan's 140-year fight against imperialist domination

By Ernest Harsch

The struggles of Afghanistan's peoples for social progress and freedom from imperialist domination are inseparably linked.

Throughout Afghan history, every serious attempt to lift the country out of economic and social backwardness, to improve the conditions of its population, to spread literacy and social reform, and to achieve real national independence has met with imperialist opposition and intervention.

That is now being echoed on Afghanistan's battlefields, as supporters of the Afghan revolution and their Soviet allies seek to beat back an American-sponsored counterrevolution.

The actors today may be new ones, but the conflict itself is rooted in the evolution of Afghan society and the country's long struggle against imperialist aggression.

Resistance to colonialism

The area that is now Afghanistan had been swept by foreign conquests and invasions for millennia. But it was not until 1747 that the first identifiable Afghan state came into existence. The monarchical form of rule—in which an amir (king) was chosen by Pushtun tribal leaders—survived until 1973.

The early Afghan state rested on precapitalist economic and social foundations. Over time, the tribal leaders, or khans, were transformed into powerful landlords, owning vast estates on which peasants were forced to work under semifeudal conditions.

Islamic religious figures, who were closely tied to the khans and who themselves became landlords or petty exploiters, played a prominent role in the state.

Geographically, Afghanistan at that time encompassed not only the Pushtun regions (including the Pushtun areas of present-day Pakistan), but also those inhabited by Uzbeks, Baluchis, Hazaras, Nuristanis, Turcomans, and other peoples. The Tajiks, a Persian-speaking nationality, predominated in and around Kabul and a few other major cities.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Afghanistan began to arouse the interest of the European imperialists, as the British, French, and Russians maneuvered for dominance in central Asia and the Arab-Persian Gulf. Britain—then the most powerful imperialist state and the colonial master over India—was in the best position to move against Afghanistan.

British conquest

In 1838 a British mission arrived in Kabul and placed a series of demands before Amir Dost Mohammad, aimed at forestalling a growth in Russian influence in the country and preventing the existence of an independent Afghanistan from undermining Britain's hold over India. Dost Mohammad rejected the British demands.

In 1839 the British launched their first war against Afghanistan. Dost



Amanullah (right) with Soviet President Kallinin, visiting Moscow in 1928.

Mohammad was deposed and a British puppet, Shah Shuja, placed on the throne.

This provoked a massive revolt throughout Afghanistan two years later. An attempt to evacuate the British garrison in Kabul ended in disaster for the colonialists. A British force of 4,500 troops and 12,000 camp followers was annihilated; only one survivor escaped to tell the tale. Bereft of British protection, Shah Shuja was executed by the Afghan insurgents.

Though the British retaliated with barbaric force—razing entire villages and massacring inhabitants—they were nevertheless compelled to return Dost Mohammad to the throne.

Several decades later, in 1878, the British again attacked Afghanistan, under the pretext that Amir Sher Ali (Dost Mohammad's successor) had received a Russian mission in Kabul while spurning a British diplomatic overture.

After several years of often fierce fighting, the British were successful in imposing their dominance. They annexed about half of the Pushtun territory and incorporated it into India (the area is now Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province).

They likewise forced the Afghan monarchy to subordinate its foreign policy to the "wishes and advice of the British Government." To buy the ac-

quiescence of the amirs, the British paid them substantial subsidies.

Although Afghanistan was not converted into a direct British colony like India, it had nevertheless lost its independence.

The war for liberation

By the beginning of the twentieth century, hostility to British dominance and the examples of the Iranian revolution of 1906 and the Young Turk movement in Turkey helped foster a new nationalist awakening among Afghan intellectuals, including some members of the royal family. It was known as the Young Afghan movement.

The Russian revolution of 1917 further inspired political ferment. Afghan nationalists hailed the overthrow of the tsar, welcomed the Bolsheviks' granting of national self-determination to the oppressed peoples of the old Russian empire, and greeted the clause in the Brest Litovsk treaty recognizing Afghanistan's independence.

This first socialist revolution was a powerful blow to the world capitalist system and greatly strengthened Afghanistan's own struggle against British imperialism.

Against this background, Amanullah Khan, a member of the Young Afghan movement, ascended to the throne in February 1919. Reflecting the

growing anti-imperialist sentiments of his followers, Amanullah promised in his first royal proclamation to win Afghanistan's "total liberation."

Within weeks of being proclaimed amir, Amanullah declared Afghanistan an independent and sovereign state. Anticipating a British attack, he ordered his troops to strike into British-occupied India and attempted to initiate revolts among the Pushtun tribes along the border.

In August 1919, the British recognized Afghanistan's full sovereignty.

Though the Afghan and Soviet states rested on completely different social foundations, they were both locked in a struggle against imperialism. Collaboration in that struggle was to their mutual advantage.

Amanullah's first message to a foreign state—even before he launched the war of independence—was sent to the head of the new revolutionary government in Russia, Lenin. He proposed the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Lenin replied on May 27, 1919. He accepted Amanullah's offer and conveyed

... the greetings of the Workers' and Peasants' Government and the entire people of Russia to the independent Afghan people, who are heroically upholding their freedom against foreign oppression. I wish to congratulate Your Majesty on your accession to the throne on February 21, 1919.

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

May the desire of the Afghan people to follow the Russian example be the best guarantee of the strength and independence of the Afghan state.¹

Diplomatic envoys were soon exchanged: On November 27, 1919, Lenin had a further letter sent to Amanullah in which he greeted Afghanistan as "the only independent Muslim state in the world" with "the great historic task of uniting around itself all enslaved Muslim peoples and leading them on the road to freedom and independence."

Lenin proposed the establishment of trade and other agreements, "the purpose of which is not only the buttressing of good neighbourly relations in the best interests of both nations, but the joint struggle together with Afghanistan against the most rapacious imperialist government on earth, Great Britain."²

Continued on next page

1. This letter is not included in Lenin's collected Works. It is printed, however, in V.I. Lenin, *The National-Liberation Movement in the East* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962), pp. 218-19.

2. E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Vol. 3 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 241. This letter, too, is absent from Lenin's *Collected Works*. According to Carr, it may not have been personally drafted by Lenin, though it reflects his thinking.

...Afghan

Continued from preceding page

A treaty was subsequently signed between the two countries. Moscow agreed to provide financial aid and to allow Afghan trade to pass through Russia untaxed.

Kabul agreed not to enter into any military or political accords that might be prejudicial to the Soviet state.

Amanullah did not seek close ties with Moscow out of any revolutionary convictions. Far from it. He feared the impact of the socialist revolution within Afghanistan and even sent troops and material aid to the counter-revolutionary Emir of Bukhara, who was fighting against the Red Army in central Asia. But the treaty with Russia did help strengthen Afghanistan in its conflicts with British imperialism.

The Bolsheviks, for their part, viewed their relations with Afghanistan—despite the semifederal character of the Afghan state—as an important breach in the imperialist encirclement of the Russian revolution.

They also recognized that Afghanistan's successful war for independence was an important blow to British imperialism and set an example to colonized peoples elsewhere.

Reform and reaction

The anti-imperialist struggle in Afghanistan inevitably brought with it numerous demands for social and economic betterment. Although Amanullah was determined to maintain the monarchy, he at the same time introduced a program of domestic reform aimed at "modernizing" the country and laying the basis for future economic growth.

Throughout the 1920s, Amanullah sought to implement a variety of measures, including abolition of child marriage, the introduction of secular law, steps to improve the position of women, the establishment of free education, the development of the press, and the introduction of general military conscription (to replace the archaic system of tribal levies).

In a new proposed constitution, he also called for the establishment of a national assembly, elected by all adult men and women, that would have important legislative powers.

In the context of Afghanistan's level of economic and social development at the time, these democratic reforms were far-reaching and stirred the opposition of conservative sectors of society.

The British imperialists, meanwhile, had not given up their plans to subjugate Afghanistan. They feared that the

example of Afghanistan's war for independence could weaken their hold on India. They were worried about Amanullah's ties with anticolonial Pushtun groups in the North-West Frontier Province. They were alarmed at the spreading influence of the Russian revolution.

While formally recognizing Afghan independence, the British acted to undermine it, using the opposition to Amanullah's reforms as an opening.

The first armed opposition to Amanullah began in 1924, led by religious and tribal leaders who were against the opening of public schools to women and the liberalization of restrictions on women.

The Afghan and Soviet governments accused the British authorities in India of instigating the revolt. Amanullah moved to crush the reactionary rebellion, and was aided in his drive by Soviet pilots.

British back bandits

In 1928 a more serious revolt began, led by Bacha-i Saaqo, an archreactionary bandit chief. He was widely believed to have had direct British backing, and articles in the Soviet, German, French, and even British press pointed to a British hand behind the revolt.

In January 1929, Amanullah was forced to abdicate and flee Kabul. Although he attempted for several months to rally continued opposition to Bacha, he gave up in April and went into exile.

Bacha marched into Kabul and proclaimed himself amir. His regime was promptly recognized by Britain.

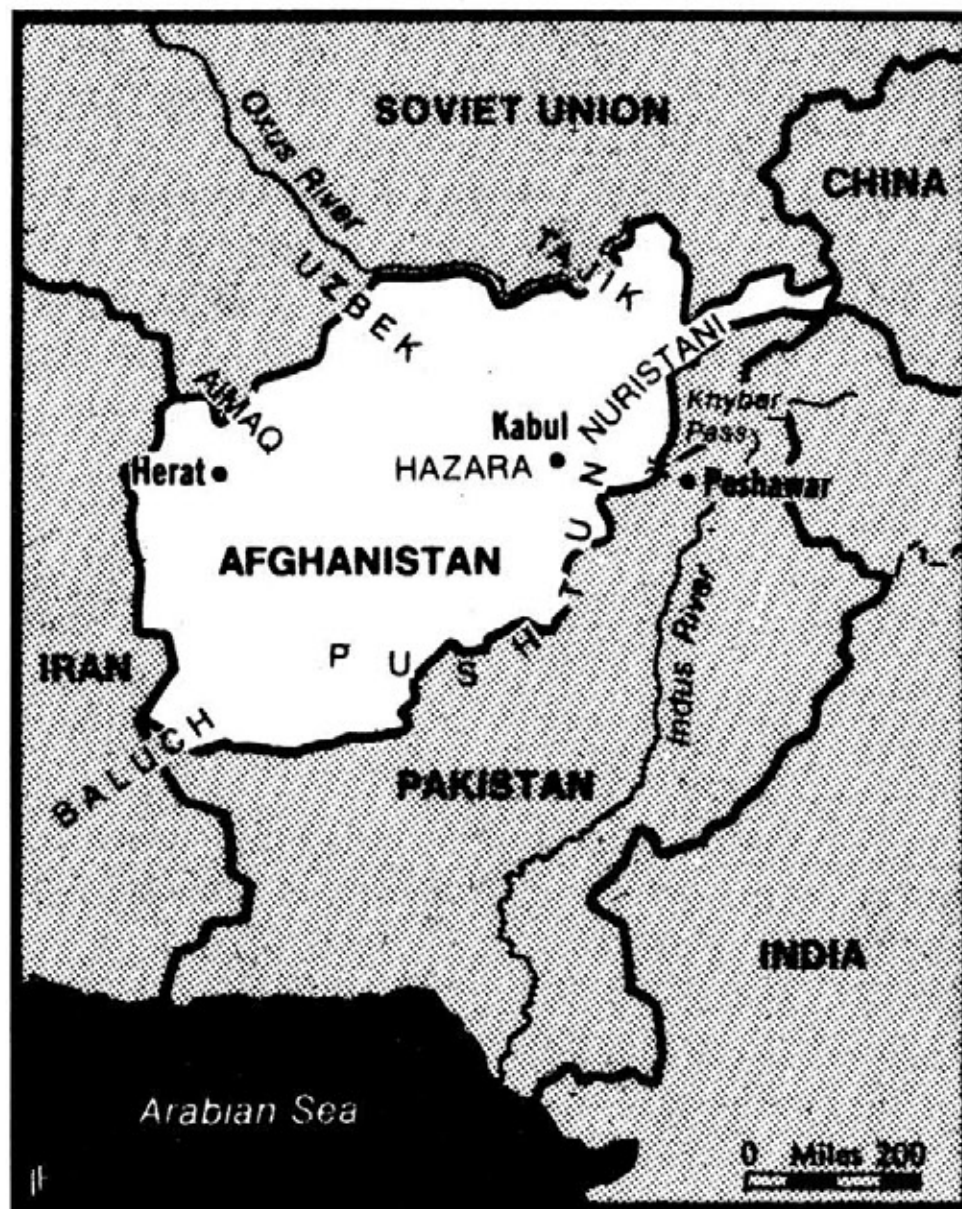
Bacha reversed all of Amanullah's reforms. He closed the secular schools, recalled women students who were studying abroad, and reinstated the laws allowing polygamy.

Laboratories, libraries, and museums were sacked. Supporters of Amanullah and educated Afghans in general were gunned down in the streets, blown apart by cannons, impaled, or starved to death.

Bacha's usefulness to Britain was limited, however. As a bandit leader, he did not have a sufficient social base among the landlords and tribal leaders to set up a stable regime. After he had sufficiently terrorized the urban population, the British decided to dump him and instead back Nadir Shah, a member of the old royal family.

After only nine months in power, Bacha was swinging from the gallows. Nadir Shah seized the throne in October 1929.

The British signalled their approval, dispatching to Kabul an interest-free loan of \$1 million and crates of arms and ammunition.



Having been brought to power with imperialist backing, Nadir Shah set about entrenching the monarchy and strengthening the conservative grip over society of the landlords, khans, and religious leaders. He dropped Amanullah's policy of giving aid to the anticolonial Pushtun groups across the border in India.

Conservative grip

Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1933, but his son, Zahir Shah, continued along the same course. For four decades, until 1973, Zahir Shah ruled Afghanistan as a semifederal monarch.

Despite the predominance of landlord and aristocratic influences, some capitalist development did occur. Private and state banks were set up, government workshops were established, and a minimal amount of industrialization took root.

Between 1962 and 1971, the industrial work force grew from 18,000 to 27,000 (out of a total working population of around 4 million). Another 50,000 workers were employed in construction.

Most industry was government owned and only five private companies employed more than 200 workers each. Some of these capitalist interests, moreover, were directly tied to the royal family.

Together with the limited economic growth came a few modernization measures, including an expanded—but still quite small—educational system.

Though independent in name, Afghanistan remained a semicolony of imperialism. The imperialist role in propping up the monarchy and the rule of the landlord class was a key element blocking the country's social advance.

Ties with Moscow

At the same time, because of Afghanistan's proximity to the Soviet Union, the government could not avoid having extensive relations with Moscow.

By this time, the revolutionary Soviet government led by Lenin and Trotsky had been purged by Stalin and

replaced by a regime reflecting the interests of a privileged bureaucratic caste. The revolutionary internationalist policies of the Soviet government and Communist International under the Bolsheviks gave way to a policy of class collaboration—"peaceful coexistence"—with imperialism.

Since the material benefits of the conservative caste depend on the survival of the Soviet Union, however, the Moscow government continued to value a special relationship with Afghanistan, although now on the basis of "socialism in one country" instead of extension of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

The ties between the Soviet and Afghan governments became especially significant during the 1950s, while Mohammad Daud, a cousin of Zahir Shah, served as prime minister.

At the time, frictions between Afghanistan and Pakistan had sharpened over the artificially drawn border that divided the Pushtun people, as the Kabul regime raised the call for the creation of an independent Pushtunistan that would include the North-West Frontier Province.

Washington was a major backer of the Pakistani regime and refused Daud's appeals for greater economic and military aid. So he turned northward.

In 1956, the Afghan regime reached an agreement with Moscow to obtain \$25 million worth of Soviet arms. Other agreements followed.

Over the years, thousands of Afghan officers, technicians, and administrators were trained in the Soviet Union. Moscow helped build a modern road system. Trade between the two countries flourished. Between 1954 and 1976, Moscow gave Afghanistan \$1.3 billion in aid, the largest per capita amount of Soviet aid to any capitalist country.

Although Afghanistan was still tied to imperialism, these close Soviet relations assured Moscow that the country did not serve as a direct imperialist military bastion on the Soviet Union's southern border, as Iran, Pakistan,



Bacha-i Saaqo (seated, second from left), archreactionary bandit chief, seized power in January 1928.



After April 1978 revolution, extensive land reform was begun. Here peasants in Alingar are receiving acres of land.

and Turkey had become through their membership in the American-dominated Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Rumblings of discontent

Moscow did not seek to promote opposition to the monarchy, but it developed anyway, rooted in the social conflicts inherent in Afghan society.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s a pro-republican urban opposition movement, the Wikh-i Zalmaiyan (Awakened Youth), emerged to challenge the government's policies. A number of its supporters were elected to the showcase parliament.

Noor Mohammad Taraki and Babrak Karmal, who were to become central leaders of the April 1978 revolution, were both members of the Wikh-i Zalmaiyan at the time.

The amir cracked down in 1952, however, and the movement was suppressed.

A decade later, Zahir Shah authorized the establishment of a new parliament and again allowed elections. A number of oppositionists were elected, including Karmal. In October 1964, several hundred students demonstrated in support of Karmal and other opposition members, leading to clashes with the army and several deaths.

In January 1965, the first congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was held in Kabul, electing Taraki secretary-general and Karmal to the Central Committee. It was a pro-Moscow Communist party, its leaders having been educated in the policies and practice of Stalinism.

PDPA gains influence

The PDPA's program called for a "national democratic revolution" and advanced a series of democratic demands, including recognition of the language rights of all nationalities, equality for women, a ban on child labor, and an end to imperialist influence over the country.

Within just a few years, however, the party split into two public factions, the Khalq (Masses) wing led by Taraki and the Parcham (Flag) led by Karmal.

The formation of the PDPA was symptomatic of a more general discontent that was surfacing, particularly in the cities.

Students demonstrated in opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam.

The Afghan working class began to stir, launching the biggest strike wave in the country's history. Between April and June 1968, there were twenty-one strikes affecting the construction,

transport, textile, cement, petroleum, and gold industries. Students demonstrated in support of the strikers.

In May-June 1969, up to 15,000 university and high-school students clashed with riot police.

In 1970, women took to the streets to protest against restrictions on their rights.

The PDPA, despite its Stalinist approach and its internal factional disputes, won growing influence. It was the only organized political force to offer any real opposition to the monarchy. Karmal's Parcham faction in particular carried out clandestine political work within the military.

Discontent was further heightened by a severe famine in the early 1970s, in which up to half a million persons died while landlords and traders hoarded grain and corrupt officials misappropriated relief aid.

The 1973 coup

The social tensions building up within Afghanistan fostered divisions among ruling circles and undermined the monarchy's position.

Seeking to head off a mass upheaval, Mohammad Daud, the amir's cousin and former prime minister, seized power in July 1973 while Zahir Shah was abroad. He abolished the monarchy and declared Afghanistan a republic.

Reflecting the pressures he was under, Daud initially adopted a seemingly radical stance. He appointed four members of the PDPA's Parcham wing to the cabinet (pro-Parcham officers had played the central role in carrying out the coup).

Political prisoners were released. All banks were nationalized. A land reform program was drawn up. Daud appeared to favor even closer ties with Moscow.

Although the government was republican in form, members of the royal family (like Daud himself) continued to wield considerable influence. The Parcham supporters of the regime were soon removed from positions of authority and political repression was stepped up. Daud moved to establish a one-party state, with all parties outlawed except his own Hizb-i Inqelabi

Melli (National Revolutionary Party).

The land reform program demagogically announced by Daud was never implemented.

Worried about Daud's initially more pro-Soviet posture, Washington and the shah of Iran went on a concerted campaign to woo Daud toward an openly proimperialist stance.

Ties to shah

Agents of the shah's secret police, SAVAK, began to play an important role in Afghanistan and helped Daud purge the armed forces and administration of suspected radicals.

Under American and Iranian urging, Daud closed the border with Baluchistan, across which Baluchi guerrillas had been operating in their struggle against the Pakistani regime; he soft-pedaled his earlier proposals for the establishment of a separate Pushtunistan.

The shah offered Daud \$2 billion in credits for the construction of a railway from Kabul to the Iranian city of Mashad. The number of Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan dropped from 1,000 in 1972 to 200 in 1976.

By early 1978, after nearly five years of the Daud regime, the Afghan masses continued to face conditions as wretched as those under the monarchy.

Average life expectancy in the country was a bare forty years. Half of all children died before the age of five. In some areas, three-quarters of the population suffered from trachoma. Half of all Afghans had intestinal problems.

Illiteracy was between 90 and 95 percent. Although education was supposed to be free and compulsory, only 17 percent of all school-age children were actually in school in 1977; of those, only 11 percent were female.

Women were barred from most urban employment. In rural areas, young women were still being sold into marriage.

Unemployment was high. Poor peasants were tied to their landlords through constant debt, as virtual serfs. Per capita income was among the lowest in the world.

It was conditions like these that provided the social tinder for the revolutionary upheavals that began in April 1978.

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Oil strike diary: fight for medical rights

Jana Pellusch is a member of OCAW Local 4-227 in Houston, on strike against Arco. This is the third part of her strike diary, which has appeared in the 'Militant' since the strike began.

January 22: On the fifteenth day of the strike we hear that 540 oilfield workers in East Texas and along the Texas coast have joined the nationwide strike.

Amoco Production Company claims that supervisory and non-union employees will be able to keep the field operations at a normal level. Oilfield workers in West Texas are reportedly still working.

Strikers at the Charter International Oil Refinery are told the company's monthly payments for medi-

cal insurance will cease for the duration of the strike. Union members will have to pay the entire amount of \$141 per month or forfeit all medical coverage for themselves and their families.

At Arco we were informed earlier that the company would pay both company and worker contributions to the medical plan during the strike, but bargaining unit members will have to repay the entire amount when we return to work. Our union took the position we will not return under those conditions.

After receiving our final pay check this week, we find that although the contract did not end until midnight January 7, Arco paid none of the sickness or disability benefits due for the first week of January. The union is fighting this clear violation

of the contract.

January 23: I am visiting a picket line at the Charter refinery. Pickets tell me Charter is a diversified company owning tire plants and several magazines.

At one gate an old green sofa serves as the picketers' living room, a fifty-five gallon drum full of burning wood is their fireplace and stove, and they are considering painting a pro-union mural on a plywood wall they have propped up as a wind-break.

At our weekly strike meeting of Local 4-227 at Arco, we learn that the right to picket at two contractors' gates, unsuccessfully challenged last week by the company, was revoked upon appeal to a higher

level of the National Labor Relations Board.

January 24: I speak with John Reaux, a pipefitter at Arco, about the strike and the progress of negotiations.

"The union is correctly pushing for good medical and dental plans," he says. "This is why we are out, really. A wage increase of 15 percent would not be sufficient without the medical and dental improvements. You would be ahead for a while and then see that increase eaten up by inflation."

"When I hired on in 1973, I made \$3.89 as a laborer. Now I make a little under \$10 an hour. But the cost of living has climbed 300 percent! I figure I'm making the equivalent of \$3.25 an hour in '73 dollars."

...OCAW

Continued from back page

and maintenance department painter, drove to the plant contractors' gate that morning. He allegedly rolled down his car window and fired three shots, killing the plant maintenance supervisor, John "Buddy" Hurst.

The company used the shooting to get a temporary court injunction halting picketing. The local press publi-

cized several Tenneco statements blaming organize labor for the violence.

Under cover of the shooting, the company began other attacks on the union, including firing at least three strikers.

The local media have failed to cover the union's side. And the OCAW workers are mad.

On January 23, Local 4-522 members met to discuss their strike. Two hundred of the 400 local members were

there, expressing their concern at the way the press had portrayed the shooting incident.

The local passed a motion to collect a ten-dollar donation from every striker to aid Massey's family. They voted to continue his Blue Cross and insurance coverage despite his incarceration. As one worker put it, "You treat people like animals and sometimes a few of them are going to react that way."

Local 4-522 resumed picketing on Monday, January 28, at 10 a.m. when the injunction ran out. They had about

twenty pickets covering the four plant gates.

By Arlene Rubinstein

OAKLAND, Calif.—On January 23 there was a march of about 100 strikers and their families in Rodeo. They marched to the gate of the Union Oil refinery there.

In addition to supporting the union demands in the strike, demonstrators pointed to the danger to residents of Rodeo and Martinez from scab operation of the refineries.

'Op-Craft News' pushes rail bosses' line

By Lynn Henderson and Doug Hord

Recently a new publication called *Op-Craft News* has been appearing in rail yards and depots in a few cities around the country.

Issue number two, published after the United Transportation Union convention, contained a thirteen-point policy statement which included the following:

- "To promote greater harmony between management and labor."
- "To maximize each individual's concern with productivity."
- "To create and enhance lines of communication between labor and management."
- "To promote greater profitability in the rail industry for the purpose of benefit to all its constituents."

Issue number three continues along the same lines with a major article on rail workers' wages.

OCN admits rail workers are poorly paid. But what do they point to as the source of these low wages?

Is it the rail carriers and their drive for ever higher profits? Or government policies and laws which restrict our right to strike and bargain effectively against the huge rail companies?

No—according to OCN the source of low wages in the rail industry is the rail unions.

The rail unions, OCN explains, cause low wages by insisting on "various job protection clauses in labor contracts." This hurts railroad companies' profits, OCN further explains. "It's really simple," OCN tells us, "if the company makes money you make money."

In other words give up our work rules protection and the company will make more money and then give us some of it. I suppose OCN would also have us believe in the Tooth Fairy.

But what's so strange about all this, you may ask. It's the same kind of company propaganda we've been hearing for years.

What makes it strange is OCN claims not to be a company publication, but rather a rank-and-file newsletter speaking for rail unionists in the operating crafts.

OCN is a small publication that was founded last spring, originally to campaign for membership ratification of contracts at the June convention of the UTU.

Lynn Henderson is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1000 in Minneapolis. Doug Hord is a member of UTU Local 620 in Chicago.

Because of the role it played in supporting the progressive demand of membership ratification, OCN for a time drew the attention of a few local officials and rank-and-file members of the UTU who are striving to build a strong and democratic union.

But beginning with the second issue OCN made a sharp turn to the right by adopting its present anti-union, pro-company line.

This rapid shift toward management by OCN has not gone unnoticed.

One local officer in the UTU on the Milwaukee Road in Chicago reports observing trainmasters discreetly leaving copies of OCN around where workers will pick them up and read them.

From Minneapolis, C.W. Wilson, secretary and local chairman for UTU Local 263, wrote OCN objecting to their articles on the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy in which they defended the management from criticism raised by Milwaukee Road workers. The letter read in part:

"We can say your answers contained in this issue of OCN [number two] are just exactly those management wanted publicized. . . . Your issue echoed the answers our employees have heard for three years during which time lucrative revenue shipments have been refused, interchanged to other railroads, or discouraged in the delaying or other manners used by a management."

Defending management in the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy has become a favorite theme for OCN. In an article entitled "Milwaukee 'Gate' Opens at Last," OCN conducted an uncritical interview with the vice-presidents of Labor Relations and Corporate Communications on the Milwaukee.

These company officials were given full reign to counter the charges raised by the union movement and other affected parties that the Milwaukee Road has been purposely driven into bankruptcy by the railroad's owners, creditors, and managers.

The same issue of OCN carried an editorial which in the name of "free enterprise" and the "middle class" attacked everybody who is fighting to stop the Milwaukee's shutdown as an "unholy coalition of SWPers [Socialist Workers Party members], railway unions, and certain congressmen who are attempting to sell you [the tax burdened middle class] the bankrupt Milwaukee Road."

Nowhere does the OCN mention that the nation's rail system is a vital social necessity.

Each passing day further proves that this national rail system, of which the Milwaukee is a key part, is being run into the ground by private owners' "free enterprise."

In Review

'Cuba': shows impact of the revolution

Cuba. Directed by Richard Lester. Produced by Arlene Sellers and Alex Winitzky. Screenplay by Charles Wood. Starring Sean Connery and Brooke Adams.

Cuba is a melodrama that takes place during the last weeks of the Batista regime. Robert Dapes (Sean Connery), a British ex-officer who has been successful in crushing guerrillas in Malaysia, is hired by the regime to do the same with the Castroists. He meets again the woman with whom he had an affair fifteen years ago, now married to a man who is heir to one of Cuba's great fortunes.

The conclusion is a switch on *Casablanca*, in which Humphrey Bogart, reunited with Ingrid Bergman, lets her go so that she may continue as the wife of the noble Paul Henreid, a leader in the



General Bello (Martin Balsam) and Robert Dapes (Sean Connery) discuss plans to harass and kill Fidelistas in 'Cuba.'

Film

French Resistance during World War II. Here it is Brooke Adams who lets Sean Connery go, watching him with tears running down her cheeks as he leaves on the last plane from Havana before the Fidelistas take over. She gives him up because she wishes to stay with her weakling husband, of whom she is fond, and because she cannot bear to leave Cuba.

It may basically be, in the words of the well-known song in *Casablanca*, "still the same old story," but *Cuba* is miles away from *Casablanca* in film quality as well as geographical distance. Taking itself seriously, it lacks the unabashed schmaltziness and humor of *Casablanca*. And Sean Connery and Brooke Adams simply don't come close to Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman.

Instead of saying nostalgically to ourselves, "Play it again, Sam," we exclaim, "Oh, no—not again!"

The chief interest of *Cuba* is the accuracy of its setting. This goes a good way toward compensating for the melodrama. We see the utter corruption of the Batista regime, the degeneracy of the ruling class, the greed of the American businessmen fattening off Cuba.

Against such as these the guerrillas, with their youthful dedication and zeal, come off very well. They are shown as capturing the imagination of the people. The workers leave their jobs promptly when summoned to a general strike by the rebel radio.

However, no doubt to avoid being seen as too sympathetic to the Cuban revolution, the film departs from historical accuracy to take a quick swipe at the Castroists.

"How are you going to control these thugs?" asks the British ex-officer, who is remarkably high-minded for a leader of the Malaysian counterinsurgency forces, from whom the American command in Vietnam learned some bloody lessons.

He is referring to a trigger-happy revolutionary student who wishes to kill all prisoners. The suggestion evidently is that such "thugs" did shortly go berserk and were responsible for the killing of the 500 Batista police officials, which the American press at the time used to launch an anti-Castro propaganda campaign.

But these officials were professional torturers. The U.S. press had managed to contain its indignation while their crimes were being committed. They

were executed only after open trials at the demand of the entire nation.

Nevertheless, a film such as *Cuba* could not have been released twenty years ago or even ten years ago, when Castro was being pictured in the American mass media as a lunatic delivering raving anti-American harangues. Today the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution are such that blind reaction doesn't have things entirely to itself, and it is possible to have a film that is not wildly distorted.

Who knows? Maybe in twenty years Hollywood will even give us a film that shows the shah as the mass murderer and torturer that he is and the Iranian revolution that overthrew him as a heroic struggle.

—Paul Siegel

'Good as Gold': no 'Catch-22'

Good as Gold. By Joseph Heller. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979. 447 pp. \$12.95.

In Joseph Heller's first and most successful novel, *Catch-22*, he pilloried the insanity of war and the military machine. Men and women were caught up in an immense bureaucracy, designed to ship them off to kill and be killed. "The enemy," the book's hero explains at one point, "is anybody who's trying to get you killed."

Catch-22 was released in 1961 and reached its height of popularity during the Vietnam War, when thousands of young people were being disillusioned with the American dream. The lunatic logic of the

Books

military bureaucracy in *Catch-22* appeared every day in newspaper headlines, as generals announced that in order to save a village it had become necessary to destroy it.

In Heller's latest novel, *Good as Gold*, his target is the imbecility of Washington politics.

Bruce Gold, a New York English professor, is working on a book on the Jewish experience in America. At the same time, he is offered a post in the administration as a token Jew. *Good as Gold* is the story of his one-year orbit around the fringes of the White House, with the job offer always dangling

just beyond his reach. It is also Heller's own comment on the Jewish experience in America.

Gold's encounters with presidential aide Ralph Newsome are filled with the sort of dialogue that Heller used to such great effect in *Catch-22*:

"[The president] probably wants you here as soon as you can make the necessary arrangements, although he probably doesn't want you making any yet. That much is definite."

"Working as what?" asked Gold.

"As anything you want, Bruce. You can have your choice of anything that's open that we're willing to let you have. At the moment, there's nothing."

"I would go for Secretary of State, if I were you," Ralph advises him.

"But I don't know anything," said Gold doubtfully, "and I've got no experience."

"That's never made a difference," said Ralph."

By the end of the book, Gold has come to accept this sort of thing. Even though he eventually turns down the post that was never really offered him, it doesn't apparently bother him that the Ralph Newsomes of the administration are continuing in exactly the same way as before.

One gets the impression that Gold (and Heller) look on politics as a relatively harmless collection of lunatics, all playing in an asylum called Washington.

There is one place, however, in which Heller displays anger. This is in the sections of his book

dealing with Henry Kissinger. Gold is collecting material for a critical biography of the former secretary of state, and this material—much of it in the form of newspaper clippings—is scattered throughout the book.

"Kissinger urged sending B-52s against Cambodia, supported dictatorships in Chile, Greece, and the Philippines, was dedicated to the perpetuation of racist minority rule in Africa, and contributed to the reelection of Richard Nixon. . . . Gold had a title he liked. He would call his book *The Little Prussian*."

Kissinger, Heller seems to feel, is representative of those Jews who sell themselves to the anti-Semites. One remembers Nixon's anti-Jewish slurs on the White House tapes.

Gold's family is made up of a domineering, ignorant father, a malicious mother, a collection of sisters, each wrapped in their own emotional problems, and a brother whose favorite pastime is twitting Bruce Gold with his college degree. Their self-absorption is like that of the politicians in the Washington lunatic asylum.

In regarding his characters as harmless grotesques, Heller deprives his satire of bite. It is anger which gives satire its strength and there is little anger in *Good as Gold*. For this reason it is a novel far inferior to *Catch-22*, whose key element was the white heat of Heller's rage against the senseless killing of war.

—Peter Archer

In Brief

RIGHTS VICTORY IN AGE CASE

A victory for civil liberties was won January 28 when a federal judge ordered the Carter administration to return the passport of Philip Agee. The State Department had revoked Agee's passport in December after he suggested that Washington turn over CIA files on its activities against Iran in exchange for the hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

Agee, a U.S. citizen now living in West Germany, is the author of *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary*. He has been active in exposing CIA crimes. Judge Gerhard Gesell over-

turned a regulation allowing the secretary of state to revoke passports if he determines that the holder's activities abroad are harming "national security." But the judge added that he "in no way intended" to stop Carter from blocking Agee's travel by other means.

'MILITANT' WINS A ROUND IN MINNESOTA

After an absence of nearly five years, the *Militant* will once again be sold in the arcade of the downtown Minneapolis Public Library, reports correspondent Mimi Pichey.

On January 9 U.S. District Judge Earl Larson ruled that a

library regulation prohibiting sales on library property was an infringement of the Socialist Workers Party's right to free speech.

SWP members were denied the right to sell the *Militant* in the library arcade in the spring of 1975. They subsequently filed suit, aided by the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, claiming that the library regulation prohibiting sales was an abridgement of First Amendment rights. The Library Board argued that the regulation was designed to control noise.

Judge Larson ruled that "being public property, the library

is subject to the citizen's fundamental right to express freely his or her views in a public place." He added that "less restrictive means are available to the Library Board to control noise levels. . . ."

This ruling sets an important precedent. In the past year in the Twin Cities, *Militant* salespeople have been prevented from selling both at the University of Minnesota and on the streets of St. Paul. Socialists here intend to use this ruling to further assert First Amendment rights for circulation of the *Militant*.

BORDER COPS CONVICTED IN VIGILANTE ASSAULTS

Two U.S. Border Patrol cops were found guilty of having led a vigilante group that systematically and brutally beat Mexicans who crossed the border in San Ysidro, California.

Jeffrey Otherson and Bruce Brown were convicted January 29 in federal district court in San Diego in the first criminal brutality charges ever brought against agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

This is also only the second time the government has ever ruled that civil rights protection extends to undocumented workers as well as U.S. citizens.

Michael Walsh, the U.S. Attorney in San Diego, said he is continuing to pursue reports that similar vigilante groups had been set up among other border patrol officers in the area.

Meanwhile, on the same day as the San Diego conviction, federal INS agents in New York City arrested eighty-five undocumented workers in an early morning raid of bus stops in Manhattan.

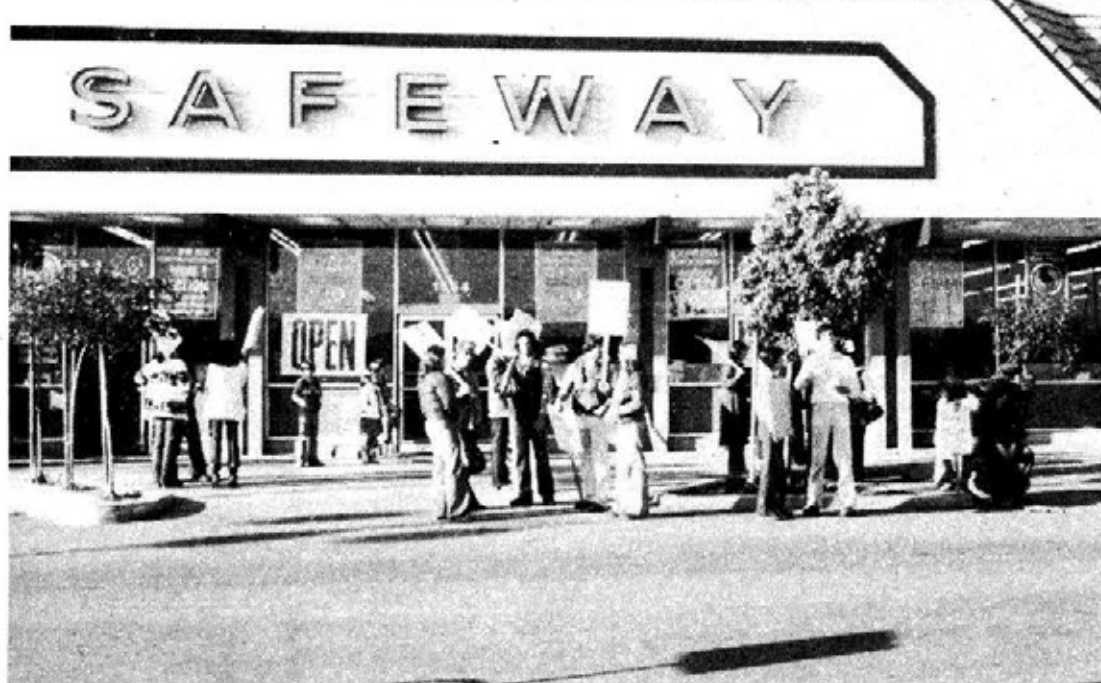
The *New York Times* reported that this is "the largest roundup of domestic workers believed to be illegal aliens that immigration agents could remember making in the area."

The eighty-five were jammed into a room in the bus terminal for questioning. Twelve are still being held because they couldn't produce the proper papers.

MIAMI COPS RATE THEIR BEATINGS

William Hanlon, one of five

Retail Clerks face union-busting in Bay Area



Militant/Louise Goodman

United Food and Commercial Workers union members picket Safeway at Livermore, California.

By Don Harmon

SAN FRANCISCO—Grocery store clerks, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, struck against Safeway on January 20, affecting 175 stores in eight Bay Area counties.

On January 23 other major supermarkets—Albertsons, Ralphs, Lucky, and Alpha Beta—locked out their union clerks in retaliation for the selective strike. To date, only Safeway stores are being picketed, as the union attempts to put the most pressure on the largest supermarket chain. Safeway employs 40 percent of the 17,000 unionized clerks in the Bay Area.

There are no pickets at the Safeway warehouse. Teams-

ter drivers bring their trucks to the store parking lots and scabs drive them to the docks to be unloaded.

The initial impact of the strike is shown by Safeway laying off 500 Teamster warehouse workers, one third of the total work force, at their Richmond distribution center. Fresh produce from the Richmond warehouse is down 70 percent.

The employers' final proposal, rejected by the membership 7,531 to 231, included takeaways in fifteen major areas. These include immediate dismissal for cash register irregularities, whereas warnings are now required; reduced maternity leave; expanded probation from thirty to sixty days; increased duties of lower-

paid non-food clerks; and a sharp attack on seniority, which would take away rights of full-time clerks and encourage the use of part-time clerks.

The Safeway-led Food Employers Council is organizing to deal a heavy blow against the union. Scabs are being brought in from the West Coast and the Midwest. This is the same outfit that forced Teamster Warehouse workers out on a 128-day strike in 1978, resulting in a big setback for the union.

A labor support rally is being organized by the Coalition of Labor Union Women and United Food and Commercial Workers Local 428. For more information call (408) 998-0428.

Solidarity with British steel strike

More than 100,000 British steelworkers have been on strike since January 2 at the nationalized British Steel Corporation. They are demanding a wage increase in line with the 17 percent inflation rate.

Just before the strike the company announced plans to eliminate one-third of the jobs of BSC workers in an austerity move.

Coal miners and dock and transportation workers throughout Britain are supporting the strike. Important support has also come from other countries. Swedish dockworkers are refusing to load steel for Britain.

The following letter was sent to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the largest union on strike, by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Pulley is a member of Local 1066, United Steelworkers of America, and is one of thousands laid off from U.S. Steel Corporation Gary Works in Gary, Indiana.

"As a steelworker I want to express solidarity with your strike.

"We face the same problems—trying to keep our wages up with inflation and preserve our jobs against mill closings.

"Your industry seems to run on the same basis as here: maximize profit regardless of cost in safety, jobs or production itself.

"Steel is needed everywhere for housing, schools, hospitals, appliances, transportation. But our bosses complain of a steel surplus.

"When American mills are closed the blame is put on competition from steelworkers in other countries.

"It is not 'foreign' steelworkers who are our enemies. It is our own bosses and their governments.

"I am urging steelworker union locals in the U.S. to support your strike in every way possible.

"Our response has to be international solidarity."

What's Going On

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

KLAN TERROR: WHO'S BEHIND IT AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speakers: Rev. Franklin Tate, Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Austin Thomas, Kingston Community leader; Dwight Davis, spokesperson for Communist Workers Party; Sandy Porter, member United Steelworkers Local 3036 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 1609 5th Ave. N. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN: ITS MEANING FOR AMERICAN WORKERS. Speaker: Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 1609 5th Ave. N. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 328-9403.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

HOW WE CAN WIN THE ERA. A report from the Labor for Equal Rights Now rally and march. Speakers: Janice Ball, member of International Association of Machinists District 727 and Coalition of Labor Union Women; Gwendolyn Marshall, member of United Auto Workers Local 148 Women's Committee and Socialist Workers Party; David Dismore, chair of ERA Task Force for L.A. National Organization for Women. Sat., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (off Golden State Freeway). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

NICARAGUA NATIONAL LITERACY CRUSADE FUND RAISER. Speaker: Sonia de Chamorro, fund raising director for literacy crusade. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St. (at Vermont). Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, L.A. Committee. For more information call (213) 224-2878.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

LABOR'S STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM AND THE RIGHT WING. Speakers: Chris Alston, founding member of United Auto Workers; report on the February 2 Greensboro anti-Klan march. Sun., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

OHIO TOLEDO

ISSUES FACING WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. Speakers: Janet Post, member of United Auto Workers Local 12 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

RALLY AGAINST KU KLUX KLAN: STOP RACIST VIOLENCE FROM OHIO

TO NORTH CAROLINA. Speakers: Lynn Edmiston, member United Auto Workers Local 12 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON PORTLAND

WHY U.S. WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor columnist for the *Militant*, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

RUNAWAY SHOPS: HOW TO FIGHT

BACK. Speakers: George Dolph, member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2005 and member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 9, 3 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY MX MISSILE: WHAT IT MEANS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Stan Holmes, Brine-Shrimp Alliance and MX Information Hot-Line; Bob Bruce, chair, Salt Lake Young Socialist Alliance and member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1525; Ken Olson, spokesperson for Utah State Task Force on the MX. Sun., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.



Miami police officers being tried for the bludgeoning death of Arthur McDuffie, a Black insurance executive, revealed in a deposition before prosecutors that cops there view the beating of civilians as commonplace. So commonplace, in fact, that they use a scale of 1 to 30 to rate injuries they inflict. McDuffie, Hanlon said, looked "like a 29." A 30-point injury means death.

McDuffie was savagely clubbed to death on December 17 by the five white cops. Hanlon said he witnessed a fellow

officer, Alex Morrero, standing over McDuffie with "his flashlight and he had it gripped with both hands—he reared back and came down on top of his head." Hanlon added, "I recall at least three times. It was very strong, very powerful blows."

McDuffie died of massive head injuries. "They hit him in vengeance" said a witness to the brutal murder. "Everybody was beating this guy up."

The five cops are pleading not guilty.

A scoop—We hope New Yorkers were not unduly astonished on reading a front-page *New York Times* article which flatly asserts that there is a shortage of apartments in the city and that rents have been rising quite steadily.

How thoughtful can you get?—Philadelphia cops arrested a trio toting handguns, silencers, "commando" daggers, false IDs and "electronic warfare" equipment. Their claim that they were CIA agents was finally discounted and they are now being queried about the execution of a Texas judge. Their lawyer insists they are "decent" businessmen. Asked why the silencers, he responded, "They didn't want to disturb anyone."

Hardly worthy mentioning—Shell Oil kicked off the new year by hiking its gas a dime a gallon. Meanwhile, the company president said 1979 earnings were up 23 percent over 1978, and would

be "a little over a billion dollars." That's the nice part of getting into the billion bracket. Every 0.1 percent represents a million.

That'll learn 'em—The Justice Department says it's trying to deport Valerian Trifa, a bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church based in Michigan. They say he concealed his role in the slaughter of 4,000 Jews in Romania under the Nazis. Meanwhile, Radio Free Europe sponsored a broadcast by the good bishop. Two employees angrily notified a member of Congress. Action was prompt. The two were fired.

Who me? What?—Former Rep. Daniel Flood, being tried on bribery charges for the second time, is now pleading he's too senile to defend himself. On the stand, he couldn't remember what year it was. But he was clear-headed enough to deny the charges.

Renewed abortion rights fight urged

By Mary Sears

NEW YORK—January 22 marked the seventh anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling that women had the constitutional right to choose abortion.

On January 15 of this year, another landmark decision on abortion was won. Judge John Dooling of the Federal District Court in Brooklyn ruled that the Congressional cut-off of Medicaid funds for abortion is unconstitutional. If upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, this ruling would strike down the infamous Hyde Amendment.

In the wake of this abortion rights victory, the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women held its fourth annual abortion rights forum at New York University.

Some 175 people, mostly young women, turned out to hear speakers including Rhonda Copelon of the Center for Constitutional Rights, one of the lawyers involved in the Dooling decision; Bill Baird, a long-time activist in the abortion rights movement; Carol Bellamy, president of the New York City Council; Erica Jong, poet and author; and others.

"We should want to cele-

brate this victory, but we should not cover up the crisis that is continuing," Copelon told the audience. Other speakers also stressed the need for continued action to defend abortion rights.

Marcella Martínez, special advisor to the United Nations Secretary General, pointed out that women seek abortions whether or not they are legal. The difference is in whether a woman will have a safe legal abortion or whether she will run a great risk of death from a back-alley or self-induced abortion.

According to Martínez, 40 million abortions are recorded worldwide each year, and it is estimated that half of these are performed illegally. She noted that a major cause of death, chronic illness, and sterilization among women of child-bearing age in the world is unsafe, illegal abortions.

The anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling was also marked by a convocation and march in Midtown Manhattan sponsored by the Religious Leaders for a Free Choice and by a march in the financial district sponsored by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization.

Pa. steel local fights '18th century' conditions

By Clare Fraenzl

LAWRENCEVILLE, Pa.—Members of United Steelworkers Local 1531 walked off their jobs here for nearly a week to protest conditions "like an eighteenth century plantation."

The 400 workers at McConway and Torley make railroad couplers. On the picket line, the wife of a striker said: "I know how they drive those men. I pack my husband's lunch. He doesn't get time to eat it. He brings his lunchpail home full."

Forced overtime is routine. The company president "arbitrates" grievances. Armed security guards prowl the plant, with the same authority as foremen to discipline workers.

"They're out to break the union," an elected grievor said. "Anyone who speaks up is harassed or fired."

Stepped-up attacks on the union began last year after a new local leadership moved to strengthen the

grievance committee and establish a civil rights committee. Workers were outraged over company harassment of Blacks and women. Of the ten women who have been hired, only three remain.

Several activists in the National Organization for Women joined the picket lines when Local 1531 appealed to NOW to support the strike and help defend its women members.

The strike ended when a slave-labor court order imposed heavy fines on the strikers. In violation of Pennsylvania law, the judge authorized the company to garnish wages and seize personal property to collect the fines. Seven workers were fined \$500 a day each and others \$50 a day for remaining on strike after the initial court order.

Since the end of the strike, fifteen workers have been fired and others suspended.

The local union is discussing further action.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig

Draft no, ERA yes!



President Carter's call for reinstating selective service registration—with the possible inclusion of women—has sparked a debate. Should women be drafted? Is this the logic of our fight for equality?

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown says he favors registering women along with men. His reason? It "is mostly a matter of equity."

Equity? This is quite a switch. Here we have the government that has systematically denied women equal opportunities, access to abortion, and child care, suddenly offering to put us on the front lines of its next war—in the name of equality.

Figures in the women's rights movement have been quick to oppose the draft for women or men.

In a January 25 *New York Times* interview, Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, stated that NOW is "totally opposed"—to drafting women or men.

Janyce Katz, public information manager of the National Women's Political Caucus, told the *Times* that her organization also was in "total opposition" to the draft.

Ethyl Taylor, national coordinator of Women Strike for Peace and a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, said, "We oppose the draft for all Americans, male or female, and as we did during the Vietnam War, we will be supportive of those who resist on a matter of principle, because it creates bodies for foreign adventures."

Bella Abzug told the *New York Daily News*: "I categorically oppose the reinstatement of the draft for men, or women, and I regard any move to do so as anti-feminist."

Some people are arguing that women's rights groups and ERA supporters have brought the draft on themselves.

This is the position of right-wing ERA opponent Phyllis Schlafly. She told the *Times* that "Carter's proposal proves what we've been saying for the last seven years, that the E.R.A. proponents want to draft women and treat them just like men in the military."

This is false. The women's rights movement has never urged support for the ERA so that women could be drafted. Quite the opposite. Millions of women, and many women's groups, participated in protesting the Vietnam War and the draft.

NOW has a long history of opposition to U.S. military intervention. The 1971 na-

tional NOW conference passed a resolution calling for the "immediate end to all American military activity" in Vietnam. Opposition to the draft was discussed again at NOW's 1979 national conference.

The argument that the ERA leads to sending women to war is a trick to confuse people. It's not the fighters for women's equality who are responsible for the draft. It is the opponents of the ERA and women's equality who are beating the war drums and demanding that American working-class youth serve as cannon fodder for wars against our sisters and brothers abroad.

That includes Schlafly. When she's not besmirching the ERA in the pages of her right-wing *Eagle Forum* newsletter, she's arguing for such things as an increase in the war budget, production of the B-1 bomber, and sending troops to Africa and Asia.

Schlafly reflects the interests of big business, which alone stands to profit from U.S. military adventures. And it is big business that also has the most to gain from women's inequality, from paying us fifty-nine cents to every dollar earned by men. That's why the ERA is still not ratified.

If the government tries to take us into another Vietnam—which was the threat in Carter's State of the Union address January 23—it will mean the lives of our friends and relatives, and possibly our own lives as well. It will mean higher inflation, further cuts in social services, steeper energy rates, and more nuclear weapons.

If they draft women, working-class women, especially Blacks and Latinas, will be at the top of the list. And even if they don't, you can be sure that we'll be told to sacrifice our demands for equality to the "national interest."

To oppose the draft, however, does not mean that women are incapable of combat.

One only has to look at the heroic role of women in Vietnam, Iran, and Nicaragua to see this. Women have fought side by side with their brothers to rid their countries of U.S.-supported dictators.

Discussion on, debate around, and actions against the draft are on the increase. Women on the campuses and in the workplace can and will play a big role in organizing opposition to the draft and U.S. military intervention.

Greensboro sit-ins

February 1 marks the twentieth anniversary of the 1960 sit-in by four Black students at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina—one of the major events that heralded the dawn of the civil rights movement. Two years ago the 'Militant' initiated the 'Revolutionary Heritage' column with an article about that historic event. With the February 2 March Against Klan and Nazi Terror set for Greensboro, we are reprinting that article from the February 3, 1978, 'Militant.'

The names of the pioneers were Ezell Blair, David Richmond, Franklin McLain, and Joseph MacNeil. But you won't find them in many history books.

They were students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, a Black college in Greensboro, and they had formed a Student Executive Committee for Justice.

On Monday, February 1, 1960, they walked into the F.W. Woolworth's store near the campus and sat down at the lunch counter. To get some justice.

Refused service at the "whites only" counter, they continued to sit quietly until the store closed.

The next day more than thirty students sat in. The day after it was forty-five, including a few white student supporters.

"If they can sell us merchandise from other counters, we say they should serve us at the lunch counter," said a spokesperson for the Black students.

Some Ku Klux Klaners and white teenagers—with hunting knives strapped to their belts—tried unsuccessfully to intimidate the demonstrators.

By the end of the week, reported the February 15, 1960, *Militant*, "the aisles of the Woolworth store were jammed with Negroes carrying American flags and whites waving Confederate flags." Management closed the store.

The Black demonstrators moved on to the segregated lunch counter at an S. H. Kress store. It also closed.

The Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools . . . the Montgomery bus boycott . . . the confrontation in Little Rock—these events and others through the 1950s had set the stage for the eruption of a massive civil rights movement. But it was the courageous action of four Black students in Greensboro that struck the spark. It was the right move at the right time.

"A tide of youthful militancy in the struggle against Jim Crow is flooding the South," reported George Weissman in the February 22 *Militant*.

Exactly one week after the first Greensboro sit-in, Black students sat down at

lunch counters in Durham, North Carolina. Then Charlotte. Then Raleigh, Elizabeth City, High Point, and Fayetteville.

"At noon in Winston-Salem," Weissman wrote, "a lone Negro sat down at the Kress lunch counter and, when refused service, continued sitting. The item was broadcast on the radio and within a few hours he was joined by scores of students from the Negro Teachers' College in that city. By the end of the next day they had caused the closing of five lunch counters in the downtown area."

The movement swept into South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, and across the South.

"The student movement in the South is giving new inspiration, as well as providing valuable lessons in direct mass action, to the Negro people and their white allies throughout the country," Weissman wrote. "It is the most important thing now happening in the United States."

The racist local authorities were initially taken by surprise. But soon Black students were being assaulted by white mobs and arrested for "trespassing."

The *Militant* editorially called for "vigorous supporting action" for the sit-ins "from opponents of the Jim Crow system throughout the country."

The time was ripe for this, too.

Supporters of the *Young Socialist* newspaper—especially in New York and Philadelphia—moved quickly to initiate student committees to picket Woolworths.

The picketing spread rapidly. Unions began to join in. By April 2, the *New York Times* reported that desegregation pickets marched "in front of a majority of the 3,000 F. W. Woolworth stores throughout the nation."

That day, 5,000 people picketed in New York City, led by the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Youth Committee for Integration.

On April 17, 1960—in the midst of the upsurge—the Young Socialist Alliance was founded at a convention in Philadelphia. Delegates came directly from protests at segregated chain stores, the *Militant* reported. And during the lunch breaks they joined Philadelphia picket lines.

The sit-ins and the northern support actions marked a significant shift in the mood on campuses—the end of the "silent generation" and the beginning of the student radicalization. These were the first nationwide protests against segregation, opening a new era in American politics.

And, on July 25, 1960, the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro opened again.

To anyone.

Afghan 'outlaws'

I am proud to be defending the position of the *Militant* on Afghanistan on the shop floor. Holding my ideas did lead to a very heated argument with an older worker. After the words and curses stopped flying, another younger worker came over to congratulate me on telling him off.

I found his comments on the "anti-communist freedom fighters" quite exact. He called those fighting the Soviet and Afghan government forces—"outlaws."

What else is a counterrevolutionary if not someone opposed to the laws and actions of a progressive government?

Who makes up this gang of outlaws? Why the former big landlords, the dope dealers, the thieves, the smugglers—the dregs of society and the former parasites. Fitting company by historical design.

Who wants to die for that filth? Not me. Or the guy who works beside me.

Buddy Beck
UE Local 610
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Info on Afghanistan

My husband and I have political arguments every so often, and after reading your view of the Afghanistan situation in the January 18 *Militant* he said basically that your paper is a dupe of Moscow. I know full well you are anything but that.

In light of the news we just heard about the bureaucrats arresting Sakharov, my husband thinks your comments will be "why didn't they do it earlier?" I know you're against it.

When I read your account of how the three most recent Afghanistan rulers asked for Soviet intervention, I wracked my brain trying to remember articles you may have written in the past year confirming that, but I do not recall any.

Can you point me to articles you wrote about the buildup of rightist bands? Were there articles about the demand for Soviet intervention against those bands? Was there any urging on your part for the Soviet Union to get off its ass and act? If you can give me the dates of the *Militants* with such articles I'd appreciate it.

Amy Lowenstein
Yardley, Pennsylvania

[In reply: Several articles appeared in the *Militant* in the past year taking up issues in the Afghan revolution. See "Afghanistan: Imperialist drive to push back social reforms," May 4, 1979; "Revolution in Afghanistan faces imperialist offensive," July 20, 1979; and "Behind U.S. lies on Afghanistan," October 19, 1979. Each of these articles was authored by Ernest Harsch and originally appeared in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

[See also "New Powder Keg in Middle East: Will Ferment in Afghanistan Spread to Iran and Pakistan?" July 17, 1978, *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, by Javad Sadeeg.]

Opposes Soviet move

I was most upset by the front-page editorial in the January 18 *Militant* on the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan.

I find that the Soviets' blatant act of military intervention in Afghanistan is as serious a blow to world peace and the progressive development of nations as were the Soviet invasions of Finland in 1940; Poland in 1939, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the American military intervention in Cuba in 1961, Dominican Republic in 1965, and Vietnam from the 1950s until 1975.

More on rent control debate

In the November 30 article on rent control in the *Militant* I was shocked to read that the Socialist Workers Party urged voters not to vote on a question of public policy, but at the same time you continue to press for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which doesn't guarantee that there will be equal rights under the law, and also has its share of liberal Democratic politicians supporting that amendment and who give people the idea that all they need do is vote in a law and the struggle is won.

The SWP's observation of the measure to govern "tenant-landlord relations" is different from my observations as a native of Baltimore and an organizer there for six years.

Gerry Gaeng and Laila Atallah know more than you newcomers when they say the rent control campaign was "an attack on the self-styled progressive business and political establishments of this city," and that the "campaign was a significant repudiation by our

city's working people of Democratic Party capitalist politics" [letter in December 21 *Militant*]. It is, at the very least, as significant a victory as passage of the ERA.

In the context of the political climate I remember in Baltimore, this measure is a "victory" of extreme moral significance and an overthrow of archaic notions that prevailed that landlords and tenants cannot even get equal treatment. Its limitations will show up, and an educated people will grasp these and push for still greater, more revolutionary changes. The people of Baltimore are not as stupid as the all-knowing SWP arrogantly assumes.

Do you think you might try to educate people without directly opposing their own best efforts towards the same goals? By isolating yourself from organizers and other progressive working people, you fail to accomplish significant daily changes that will lead to a qualitative leap.

Terry Mulcahy
Albuquerque, New Mexico

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Learning About Socialism

The introduction of 100,000 Soviet troops, tanks, bombers, helicopter gunships, etc. cannot take the place of a true Afghan social revolutionary movement that has any chance of success. Rather, what we are seeing in Afghanistan is not the Soviet defense of the Afghan revolution, but the modern-day version of long-standing Russian national visions of southward expansion, clothed in the rhetoric of aid to an embattled Afghan revolution.

Revolution cannot be imposed on an unwilling people, struggling to develop their own form of socialism, by the tanks and guns and soldiers of a foreign army, without the most dire of consequences (witness Cambodia, and in the obverse, the failure of imposing counterrevolution in Vietnam).

I urge you to make a deeper analysis before you support a continued Soviet "presence" in Afghanistan, as L. Trotsky urged in the 1920 debate on the Polish war, in order to prevent a long and unprofitable Vietnam-like situation. See L. Trotsky, *My Life* (Pathfinder Press, 1970), page 457. Without such a change in your position, you become no more than apologists for a thinly-veiled superpower-created imperialist war.

R.M.D.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Afghan coverage

Keep up the excellent job; especially appreciated are your articles on Afghanistan! I have never felt kept so much in the dark on the facts nor so anxiously awaited clarification from the *Militant* on anything so much as Afghanistan.

J.B.
Buena Park, California

Not convinced

Your January 25 article on the "betrayal" of the Spanish and Italian CPs for opposing the USSR's military adventure in Afghanistan was not convincing to me and to many others I'm sure.

To say that the Italian and Spanish "Stalinists" are still following "Moscow's line" by "siding with their own capitalist class" against the USSR on this issue is a little silly.

The *Militant* is probably right to actively oppose U.S. union boycotts of the Soviet Union—but you won't have much influence among working people with such all-or-nothing praise for the Soviet affair. The situation is much more complex.

Steve Karian
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Afghanistan—Russia's Vietnam?

When Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan to help fight counterrevolutionary forces, the capitalist media sang a single tune. "It's a new Vietnam!" they chanted. "Russia will bog down in a fight against fiercely independent Afghans just as we did in the war with the Vietnamese! It will end in a catastrophe for Moscow!"

The refrain became somewhat muted when the overwhelming majority of Afghans put up no resistance to the Soviet presence, and thousands of Afghan troops stood with Soviet soldiers against the rightists. But the theme is still a feature of Washington's propaganda.

It is a cynical attempt to manipulate the opposition that American working people felt to Washington's war in Indochina. By appealing to those sentiments, Carter hopes to soften up public opinion for the next Vietnam.

During the Vietnam war, most Americans found to their disgust that the U.S.-backed Saigon government was a corrupt dictatorship hated by the people. They increasingly saw the war as a brutal assault on a people who were determined to get the occupation forces out of their country.

With this experience deeply etched in their minds, it is understandable that many workers accept the media claims which equate the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan with Vietnam. In fact, the two interventions differ like day from night.

Much more was involved in the Vietnamese struggle than opposition to the presence of foreign troops. The Vietnamese were fighting for a social revolution. They wanted to change a social and economic system that had become intolerable for the masses.

The Vietnamese masses fought to divide the holdings of the rich landlords among the impoverished peasants. They fought for education and medical care for all. They wanted a more equal distribution of vital necessities like food, clothing, and shelter. And they saw the need for a planned economy that could foster modernization of the economy.

Vietnam was dominated by imperialism—first as a colony by France and then through the "independent" Saigon regime by Washington. Foreign corporations drained the country of much wealth. Imperialist domination distorted the society, creating massive unemployment, prostitution, and drug addiction.

Imperialist domination preserved the backward and oppressive institutions that most Vietnamese wanted to change. That is why they fought with such fierce determination against the U.S. and French occupiers.

In their fight for social and economic progress, the Vietnamese people had no inclination to go it alone. They gladly accepted whatever Soviet military and economic aid they could get. They encouraged Peking to station thousands of soldiers in North Vietnam, where they built roads, guarded key facilities, and acted as a deterrent to any moves by Washington to invade North Vietnam.

Without such outside help, the Vietnamese struggle for liberation would have been even more difficult and costly. In Afghanistan, people began to rise up in April 1978

against the same kind of oppressive conditions that sparked the Vietnamese revolution. Responding to this mood, the government initiated a land reform, began a literacy campaign, and sought to free women from age-old slavery.

For all its drawbacks, the basic social measures that the government was trying to push forward represented the only road out of growing misery for the Afghan masses. And wide sections of the population knew this.

U.S. imperialism could not live with the reforms which the Afghan government had initiated. It feared that the revolutionary process, once under way, could not be stopped. So Washington began to back opposition groups representing the landlords, heroin traders, capitalists, and loan sharks whose interests were threatened by the revolution.

If the counterrevolutionaries had won, they would have had to carry out a bloodbath against the workers, peasants, and all others who saw the need for social progress. The mass slaughter in Chile in 1973 and Indonesia in 1965 when ultraright forces triumphed were examples of what the "freedom fighters" had in store for the Afghan masses.

That is the context in which we must judge the roles of the U.S. and Soviet governments in Afghanistan. The Soviet rulers intervened in Afghanistan to protect strategic military interests. But to do so they had to push back the counterrevolutionary bands and thus strengthen the Afghan revolution.

By contrast, Washington's intervention—as in Vietnam—placed it on the side of the most reactionary forces and a doomed social order.

This context reveals the fallacy of the predictions that the Soviet forces and their Afghan allies will soon be "bogged down," just as U.S. imperialism was in Vietnam. This assumes that the Afghan people long for the victory of the counterrevolution. Events are showing that they do not.

Contrary to the racist and condescending portraits of "fiercely independent tribesmen," who just love their semi-feudal landlords, Afghan working people are not so different from working people in Vietnam, Iran, or the United States.

They don't want to be unemployed. They don't want hunger and poverty. They don't want to till land so that some big landlord can get richer. They don't want to be illiterate. They don't want women to be bought and sold like cattle.

And so they don't like the program of the counterrevolution and its bankrollers in Washington, which aims to push them back into the dark ages.

The only solid base of support for the reactionary alliance of dope traders, landlords, usurers, and capitalists is world imperialism. Working people should demand that Carter put a stop to arms aid to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and to the Pakistani government that supports them.

Far from being a "Russian Vietnam," the dispatching of Soviet troops to Afghanistan placed a big new obstacle in the way of Washington's drive to prepare new Vietnams in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. —Fred Feldman

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ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

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

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

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

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

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rick Drozd,

203 East Cashin, U. of Mass. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. 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.

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. 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. 16th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA,

13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-0084. 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. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 806 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8781. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

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.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Earthquake cracks deadly nuclear lab

Calif. officials cover up danger from radioactive leak

By Louise Goodman

SAN FRANCISCO—A second Three Mile Island? That was the question on nearly everybody's mind as a powerful earthquake shook northern California, causing a leak of radioactive water at the Livermore nuclear weapons facility east of San Francisco January 24.

The quake forced the evacuation of the 7,100 employees of the nuclear facility. And just two days later another major earthquake shook the Bay Area.

Officials are going out of their way to play down the seriousness of the danger, just as they did during Three Mile Island.

California has no evacuation plan

for residents in the case of a major accident at Livermore. With two major quakes, nine major aftershocks, and one hundred smaller aftershocks, it is clear that northern California is in the middle of an earthquake swarm. It could be hit again in the immediate period ahead.

Livermore laboratory officials stepped in quickly to try to minimize the hazard caused by the leak of 50 gallons from a crack in a 30,000-gallon Livermore tank holding a mixture of water and radioactive tritium.

To begin with, laboratory officials covered up for a day the fact that any leak had taken place.

Then they held a news conference to insist there was no danger. With TV cameras focusing on an innocent-looking puddle, a lab spokesperson asserted the radioactive water was safe enough to drink. The official didn't volunteer to sample the water.

Tritium is a hydrogen isotope used in the release of nuclear energy through fusion. It emits beta radiation. Even the lowest levels of radiation from such isotopes, especially if taken into the body, can do serious cell damage and cause cancer, mutations, and birth defects. Tritium poses the special threat of replacing hydrogen in the genetic material of cells.

Last summer a tritium leak in Tucson, Arizona, contaminated local schoolchildren and workers. Mass protest forced the closing of the American Atomics plant there.

Alarming as the tritium leakage is, antinuclear activists believe the greatest danger at Livermore is the Plutonium Metallurgy Laboratory (Building 332). Some 500 pounds of plutonium are stored there.

Dispersed into the air, that is enough plutonium to cause lung cancer in millions of people.

Extensive expert testimony before the Alameda County Board of Supervisors

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Oil strikers face company stonewalling

Oil workers throughout the United States have been on strike since January 8. On January 25 the union bought an ad in the *New York Times* explaining some of the issues.

"Isn't it incredible that the U.S. oil industry—the richest and most profitable industry in the world—won't provide the full cost of adequate health care benefits for its wage earning employees?"

"This is a principal reason that we—approximately 55,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, AFL-CIO—are on strike against 100 oil, petrochemical and pipeline companies in this country. . . ."

"The reason we are on strike is simple: we are seeking a much-needed wage increase; a fully paid, adequate health care benefits plan with dental and prescription drug coverage; and additional vacation time."

In trying to win these modest demands, oil workers are up against both company stonewalling and government hostility.

Last year OCAW was the first major union victimized by Carter's wage guideline; oil workers saw their 8 percent raise gobbled up by inflation higher than 13 percent. This year OCAW faces a new set of pay guidelines plus demands by Carter for "res-



OCAW pickets at Martinez, California, refineries

Militant/Joel Ryan

traint" and sacrifice in the interests of Washington's war drive.

Local cops and courts are doing their part by limiting OCAW pickets and covering up the danger of fires and explosions at scab-run refineries.

With public outrage at oil company price-gouging at an all-time high, a big potential exists for winning broad public support to the oil workers' cause. The entire labor movement and all the victims of Big Oil's profiteering and ripoffs have a stake in this fight.

Militant correspondents from around the country have been at the picket lines with the strikers and have sent in the following reports:

Torrance

By Joette Baity

TORRANCE, Calif.—At Mobil Oil's Torrance refinery, the scabs are living inside. From the street you can see their trailers and campers. Some are supposed to be living right in the company office building in the plant.

The police are playing their usual role. At the front gate they force picketers to stop for traffic signals. They ticket strikers for crossing the street

against a flashing "Don't Walk" sign. They hand out tickets for things like a burned out tail light when a striker drives away from the line.

The cops are enforcing an injunction that limits the number of picketers at the front gate to nine and four each at the other gates. The injunction even specifies the distance between pickets.

One striker told me that electricians, boilermakers, and Teamsters are honoring the picket line.

At the Vernon refinery, Teamster drivers bring the trucks up to the picket line. Management scabs then take over driving into the plant, loading and driving back out.

Strikers at Torrance say rail workers are doing the same kind of thing.

Mobil has been using helicopters and rented trucks to bring in the scabs.

Several strikers I spoke with were concerned about accidents. One told me that a tank had overflowed and flooded a protective back-up container. He also said the scabs are operating a receiving tank that was damaged in an accident in September. When the strikers left the plant January 8, there was a six-foot crack in that tank.

Another striker said he is glad he lives twenty miles away. "If there's any problem at all, there's going to be an explosion," he said.

New Orleans

By Greg Nelson

NEW ORLEANS—Oil workers here are conducting their strike in a difficult situation.

On January 18 at 7:30 a.m. a foreman was shot to death at the Tenneco refinery in Chalmette, a town adjacent to New Orleans. The foreman was shot as he directed scab traffic into the struck facility.

The shooting created a tremendous uproar of anti-union, anti-strike propaganda from the local media and put OCAW Local 4-522 on the defensive.

According to reports, Audrey "Ed" Massey, a twelve-year local member

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Big Oil can afford to pay

	1979 profits	Increase
Exxon	\$4,295 million	55%
Mobil	2,010	78
Texaco	1,759	106
Standard Indiana (Amoco)	1,510	40
Gulf	1,322	68
Standard Ohio (Sohio)	1,186	163
Arco	1,160	45
Shell	1,130	38
Phillips	891	24
Conoco	815	81

chart compiled by the Militant