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THE MILITANT

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

International outcry demands:

STOP EXECUTION OF SOCIALISTS IN IRAN!

By David Frankel

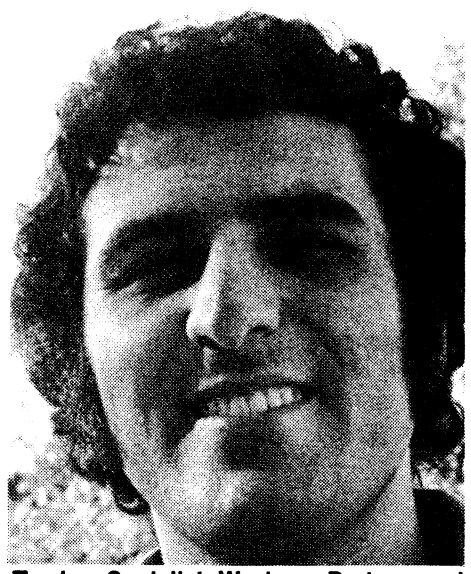
AUGUST 29—Sentences of death were handed down by a secret tribunal in Ahwaz, Iran, against twelve imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) on August 26. An international outcry and protests within Iran have blocked the immediate execution of the twelve, but they remain in the gravest danger. Emergency protests from around the world are vital to saving their lives.

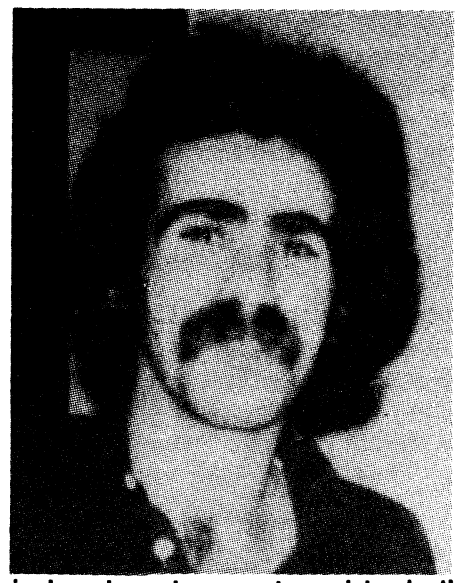
None of the twelve socialists condemned to death, nor two others condemned to life imprisonment on August 25, have committed any crime.

All of them were tried in secret by the government's Special Court in Ahwaz. They were denied any legal representation, the right to call witnesses in their behalf, and even the right to speak in their own defense.

All of them have been victimized solely for their political ideas.

Sentenced to death are: Hadi Adib, Hormoz Fallahi, Firooz Farzinpour, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Ali Hashemi, Kambiz Lajevardi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kia Mahdevi, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.





Twelve Socialist Workers Party members in Iran have been sentenced to death. Left and center are Hamid Shahrabi and Mustafa Gorgzadeh, both facing execution. At right is Mahsa Hashemi, one of two socialists condemned to life imprisonment.

Two women HKS members received life sentences—Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi.

A dispatch from the government's Pars News Agency, published in the August 26 issue of the Tehran daily *Baamdad,* listed the following charges against Fallahi and Hashemi:

Participation in anti-Islamic and anti-popular activities.

Agitation against the central government.

Criticism of the central government for being undemocratic.

Instigation of riot.

Responsibility for the "tragedy in Naqadeh" (one of the earliest clashes in which the army of the central government was sent in against the Kurdish population).

Having praised the "antirevolutionary Kurdish people."

Encouraging the armed struggle of the Kurdish people against the central government.

Continued on page 4

Nicaraguan leaders appeal for international aid

Eyewitness report: gov't attacks profiteers

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The real terrorists in Ireland

The big-business news media went wild over the August 27 death of Earl Mountbatten, a member of the British royal family and former "Viceroy of India."

The fact that the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army claimed responsibility for the killing is used to portray "Irish terrorists" as the cause of continuing violence in Ireland. As with much of what appears in the capitalist press, this portrayal bears no resemblance to truth.

The source of violence in Ireland is British domination—particularly British colonial rule and occupation of Northern Ireland.

The British capitalist ruling class has combatted Irish freedom fighters with massacres and brutality for hundreds of years.

After a bloody war of independence, the British were forced in 1922 to grant formal independence to the twenty-six southern counties. But six northern counties ("Ulster") were kept under British rule. The Irish people, especially the northern Catholics, who suffered severe discrimination, could not be forced to accept the imperialist-imposed division. The IRA, which had been forged in the struggle against the British, continued the fight for a united, independent Ireland.

To buttress colonial domination, the British rulers fostered racist discrimination against the Catholic population of Northern Ireland in jobs, housing, education, and other fields. Sections of the Protestant population (descended from British settler-colonists), were played off against the Catholics. Racist pogroms against Catholics were a regular occurrence.

Beginning in 1967-69, mass marches and other protests by the Catholic population challenged the poverty and oppression imposed by British rule. Support for a united independent Ireland grew and became more open. Thousands of British troops were sent to occupy the colony, supposedly to protect Catholics from right-wing Protestant gangs but actually to suppress the struggle for equality and independence. The British government tried to put an end to the ferment by gunning down thirteen peaceful demonstrators on January 30, 1972.

Many hundreds suspected of opposing British rule were arrested and held without trial in concentration camps.

Amnesty International and many other independent observers have condemned the systematic use of torture by the British rulers against their Irish prisoners.

While the British government and news media pour out sanctimonious denunciations of IRA terrorism, the violence of procolonialist Protestant terrorists is ignored or played down.

British occupation forces carry out assassination on a large scale. The Special Air Services (counterinsurgency forces sent to Ireland) have organized undercover squads to assassinate suspected opponents of British rule and others. The goal is to terrorize the nationalist population.

The record is clear. British rule and occupation in Ireland are inseparable from bloodshed and oppression. These are the conditions that have impelled generation after generation of Irish patriots to struggle to free their homeland—including spectacular armed actions.

The most recent bombings by the IRA are aimed at forcing the British to withdraw from Ireland and grant independence. But as in the past, the effect of these terrorist acts by a small group is exactly the opposite.

The British government has been given a pretext to step up repression in both Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The neocolonial government of Ireland will also take advantage of the occasion to step up its collaboration with the British cops against Irish freedom fighters.

The IRA's actions reflect a lack of understanding of how to mobilize the Irish workers and farmers to fight for freedom from Britain, and ultimately a lack of confidence in the ability of the working people to change the world. It is not the actions of small groups assassinating British soldiers and aging peers that will free Ireland from oppression and exploitation, but the action of masses of Irish working people.

Capitalist press reaction to the latest bombings gives a good gauge of how the ruling class values lives. Oceans of tears are shed for Mountbatten—the *New York Times* has the nerve to call this arch-imperialist "the liberator of India."

The seventeen British soldiers who died in another bombing the same day in Northern Ireland got short shift. To the capitalists, they were just cannon fodder in the fight against Irish independence.

And the hundreds of Irish nationalists killed, jailed, or tortured by British forces in Ireland rate no mention at all.

Working people have a different set of priorities. We say:

British troops out of Ireland!

Free all Irish political prisoners!

Start with Marroquin

The three-day confrontation between U.S. State Department and Soviet officials at Kennedy Airport in New York City was a classic bit of Cold War melodrama.

First Aleksandr Godunov, a dancer with the Bolshoi Ballet, defected to the United States at the end of the troupe's New York visit. Not satisfied with one defector, U.S. officials decided to try for a double play.

For three days they held the airplane carrying Lyudmila Vlasova, Godunov's wife and also a dancer. Propaganda poured out claiming that Vlasova was being spirited back to the USSR against her will.

It soon became evident that Vlasova was not going to respond to appeals that she defect. Finally, U.S. officials let her go home.

The Carter administration explained its actions as "a victory for the principle of no forced repatriation."

If that's what Carter was trying to establish, there were better ways to do it than by forcing a planeload of Soviet citizens to remain in a U.S. airport for three days against their will.

For instance, there is the case of Héctor Marroquín. Why doesn't the Carter administration drop its effort to forcibly deport this young socialist to Mexico, where he faces frame-up charges and the likelihood of torture and execution?

Ending the government's drive to expel Marroquín would be a real victory for "the principle of no forced repatriation."

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Socialist Workers Party convention

Gathering pledges all-out defense of Nicaraguan revolution, marks big advances in building party of industrial workers. **Page 17.**

UAW protest

Worker-correspondents report on the actions and reactions of auto workers during six-minute 'work stoppage.' **Page 14.**

Andrew Young

Whose interests did he really serve as UN ambassador? Have Blacks lost a voice in Carter administration? 'By Any Means Necessary' column, **page 23.**

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Pulley answers layoffs

By Roger Rudenstein

CHICAGO—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley blasted the massive layoffs in auto and steel at a news conference here August 28.

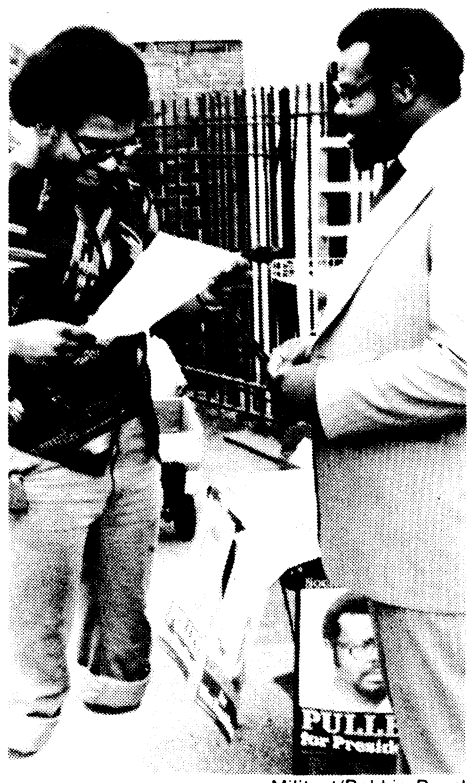
The news conference announced the launching of the SWP 1980 campaign in the Midwest.

"Last week I was forced to join the growing army of laid-off workers," said Pulley, who was laid off from the U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Indiana, August 18. "There are over 2,000 others like me at the Gary Works and hundreds more at South Works here in Chicago."

Across the country, thousands of industrial workers are being shown the door by their bosses, and Pulley urged the unions to demand that these corporations open their records and books to public inspection. That way the labor movement and consumer groups could find out just how much money big business is raking in at the same time it pleads poverty and throws workers out of work.

"Not one single person should be laid off," the socialist candidate declared. Instead, the labor movement should campaign for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

Pulley also called for a massive public works program to build schools, housing, hospitals, child-care centers, and other needed facilities. Such a program would provide millions more jobs.



Militant/Bobbie Bagel

Socialist presidential candidate Andrew Pulley campaigns among co-workers at Gary steel plant.

"We should take the money from the Pentagon and use it to fund these programs," he proposed. "The $136 billion war budget exists only to threaten the workers and peasants of the world."

Pulley also pointed to the problem of discriminatory layoffs.

"In the steel industry and others," he said, "women who were recently hired are being pushed out as a result of the layoffs under the 'last hired—first fired' principle." The same thing is also happening to Blacks and Latinos, he observed.

"There need to be separate, dual seniority systems within the unions," said Pulley, "to accommodate and alleviate the fact that women, Blacks, and Latinos have traditionally been excluded from industry and thus have the least amount of seniority."

Such a seniority sytem would insure that the percentage of Blacks, Latinos, and women in industry remains the same after any layoffs. And by cutting across the employers' efforts to keep working people divided, a campaign against discriminatory layoffs would put the unions in a better position to fight against *all* layoffs and for jobs for all.

"The energy 'problem' is really a swindle," Pulley told reporters. "There's no real and genuine energy shortage. It was all fabricated. It was designed at the behest of the American oil cartels, not OPEC.

Pulley called on the government to nationalize the energy companies so that human needs come before the drive for profits.

All the problems that working people face, concluded Pulley, "cry out for a political solution. The energy swindle, unemployment, the destruction of the environment, and so on—what stands out is the absence of any political power on the part of working people."

It is no solution to support the Democrats and Republicans time and again like most labor officials have, he said.

"To think that millionaires or a party of millionaires can serve the interest of the poor or working people is a ludicrous concept."

A major aim of the socialist campaign, he explained, will be to educate about the need for an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

"A labor party would give us the political clout to fight back against the layoffs, the energy crisis hoax, and discrimination against Blacks, Latinos and women. It could become a rallying ground for the whole labor movement as well as for farmers and other allies of the working class."

The news conference was attended by both major daily papers—the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Sun-Times*—and by the *Defender*, a Black community paper. Also attending were radio stations WMET, WBBM, and the *Daily Calumet*, a newspaper published in South Chicago.

Socialists campaign at Gary steel plant

GARY, Ind.—"Didn't you run for mayor? I saw your picture on TV."

Andrew Pulley is campaigning outside the U.S. Steel plant here.

The Socialist Workers Party's presidential candidate is accompanied by his vice-presidential running mate, Matilde Zimmermann, and a bunch of campaign supporters who are giving out leaflets and selling the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

Many workers stop to shake hands with Pulley and talk about the campaign. Some recognize him from seeing his picture in the news when he ran in the Chicago mayoral election last spring.

"They don't want us to read in the mill," complains an older Black worker, turning down an offer to buy the *Militant*. "We can't take stuff in. But I'll buy a copy when I come out," he adds.

Pulley greets several co-workers. He was laid off August 18 from his job in the mill. He is only twenty-eight years old and low on the seniority list. However, like many workers at his plant, he has a family, including a small child who depends on his income.

"The labor movement needs its own candidates," Pulley tells a young worker who has come over to meet the socialist candidate. He explains the need for the union movement to organize an independent labor party with a fighting program.

"This is true," the young worker says. "I go along with that one hundred percent."

A young Black man approaches Pulley and asks, "Are you for a violent or a non-violent revolution?"

"We're not for violence," Pulley explains. "We're for working people, who are the majority, organizing themselves to run this society. It's the minority, the small handful of capitalists, who always try to prevent that from happening by violent means.

"When that occurs, the working-class majority has every right to defend itself by whatever means necessary—the way the people of Nicaragua did against the dictator Somoza."

The young man asks several more questions. Finally he volunteers to help raise money for the campaign. A campaign supporter jots down his name and number.

The Gary *Post-Tribune* shows up and photographs Pulley and Zimmermann. A reporter from a local radio station arrives and interviews Pulley.

Militant/Bobbie Bagel

Zimmermann (right) at U.S. Steel Gary Works. Thirty people attended campaign open house later that day, including ten from the Gary plant.

At the end of the shift change, campaign workers are satisfied. They've passed out hundreds of leaflets for their campaign open house that night. They've sold *Militants*. And they've talked to scores of fellow workers about the socialist campaign.

"People were very friendly," campaigner Linda Loew tells me. "They're really impressed that people are here who are willing to meet them and talk with them about what's going on. They're very receptive to the fact that another steelworker, Andrew Pulley, is taking such a bold step as running for president.

"One guy told me that he always felt he never had the time to get involved with political issues but now he really wants to know what it's about."

—R.R.

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...stop execution of Iranian socialists!

Continued from front page

Responsibility for the "explosive situation" in Khuzestan Province.

Dissemination of "poisonous ideas" and "sexy magazines."

Membership in the Executive Committee of the HKS in Khuzestan Province.

Every one of these charges is based on Fallahi and Hashemi's political views, not on any illegal actions.

The HKS prisoners were originally arrested in May and June during the central government's attacks against Arabs, oil workers, and steelworkers in Khuzestan Province, which is the center of Iran's oil industry.

They were hauled into court and handed death sentences last week in the midst of a sweeping crackdown throughout Iran by the government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

- The government has launced a civil war in Kurdistan, bombing villages and towns and killing hundreds. In addition, many Kurds have been executed for demanding their right to self-determination.
- Most newspapers have been banned throughout the country.
- Headquarters of various political groups have been occupied or sacked by rightist gangs operating with official tolerance.
- Strikes and political demonstrations have been banned.

Iranian revolutionists reported to the *Militant* that two members of Pishgam, a People's Fedayeen youth group, were publicly beheaded by Khomeini supporters in Kerman August 26 for selling literature.

On August 27, two members of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party were executed in Kermanshah.

Execution of the twelve HKS members in Ahwaz had been scheduled for 2:30 a.m. on August 27, but was blocked at the last minute by the intervention of other government officials. Divisions within the regime over how to handle the case were a result of popular support for the socialists in Iran and around the world.

Within Iran, protests demanding the release of the prisoners have come from university professors, members of the Writers Associations, oil workers in Ahwaz, Arab organizations, the Tudeh Party, and Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini (the best-known leader of the Kurdish people in Iran).

Trade unions and workers parties around the world, as well as many leaders of social protest movements internationally, have come to the defense of the socialists.

The HKS defendants have won broad backing from supporters of the Iranian revolution because theirs is a test case for defending and extending the gains of the revolution. The case raises the issues of the right to free speech, the right to form political parties, the democratic rights of Iran's national minorities, and workers' right to organize.

The HKS prisoners championed all these rights, and it was for this reason they were jailed.

All the prisoners are longtime fighters against the shah and his U.S. backers. Some worked underground in Iran before his downfall. Others worked in exile in the United States, helping build the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

The prisoners participated in the February insurrection that overthrew the shah and in the struggles of the Iranian masses that followed to secure the justice long denied them.

Inspired by the destruction of the shah's police state, the workers and poor peasants have sought to deepen the revolution and achieve social and economic equality. Peasants have seized the land and livestock of landlords and formed their own councils, especially in Kurdistan and Turkmenistan.

Workers have demanded wage increases to offset inflation and the right to form committees and unions in the factories.

The Kurdish, Arab, and Turkoman nationalities demand autonomy in their regions and an end to national oppression.

In solidarizing with these struggles, the HKS also pointed the way forward, calling for the right of the Iranian workers and peasants to their own independent organizations, for a democratically elected sovereign constituent assembly, and for a workers and peasants government.

The Iranian capitalist class has opposed the demands of the masses. Unable to crush their revolutionary aspirations through other means, the Khomeini-Bazargan government finally moved in August to stamp out all opposition through brute force.

But the Iranian working masses will not easily yield the conquests of the revolution they made at the cost of thousands of lives. The battle that is unfolding in Iran today is taking place in a new class framework—qualitatively changed by the ouster of the shah and his U.S. backers.

The Iranian masses drove out the CIA agents, U.S. Army officers, and Israeli agents who operated openly in their country in collaboration with SAVAK, the shah's secret police. The oil workers forced the new government to cut off oil to the racist regimes in South Africa and Israel. These conquests against imperialism, and the deep internationalist sentiments of the Iranian people, cannot be turned back without a major struggle.

The shah's military apparatus was shattered and the government has been unable to rebuild an army that it can rely on to suppress the workers and peasants.

The masses also made their revolution to secure the right to free speech and the freedom to form political organizations, which were crimes punishable by death under the shah. They have protested by the hundreds of thousands against efforts of the new government to censor the press and silence criticism of the regime.

It is this confidence in their right to decide their fate that has inspired the working masses to fight for the social and economic gains they need. To fight for land. For an end to national oppression. For better working conditions, jobs, and social services.

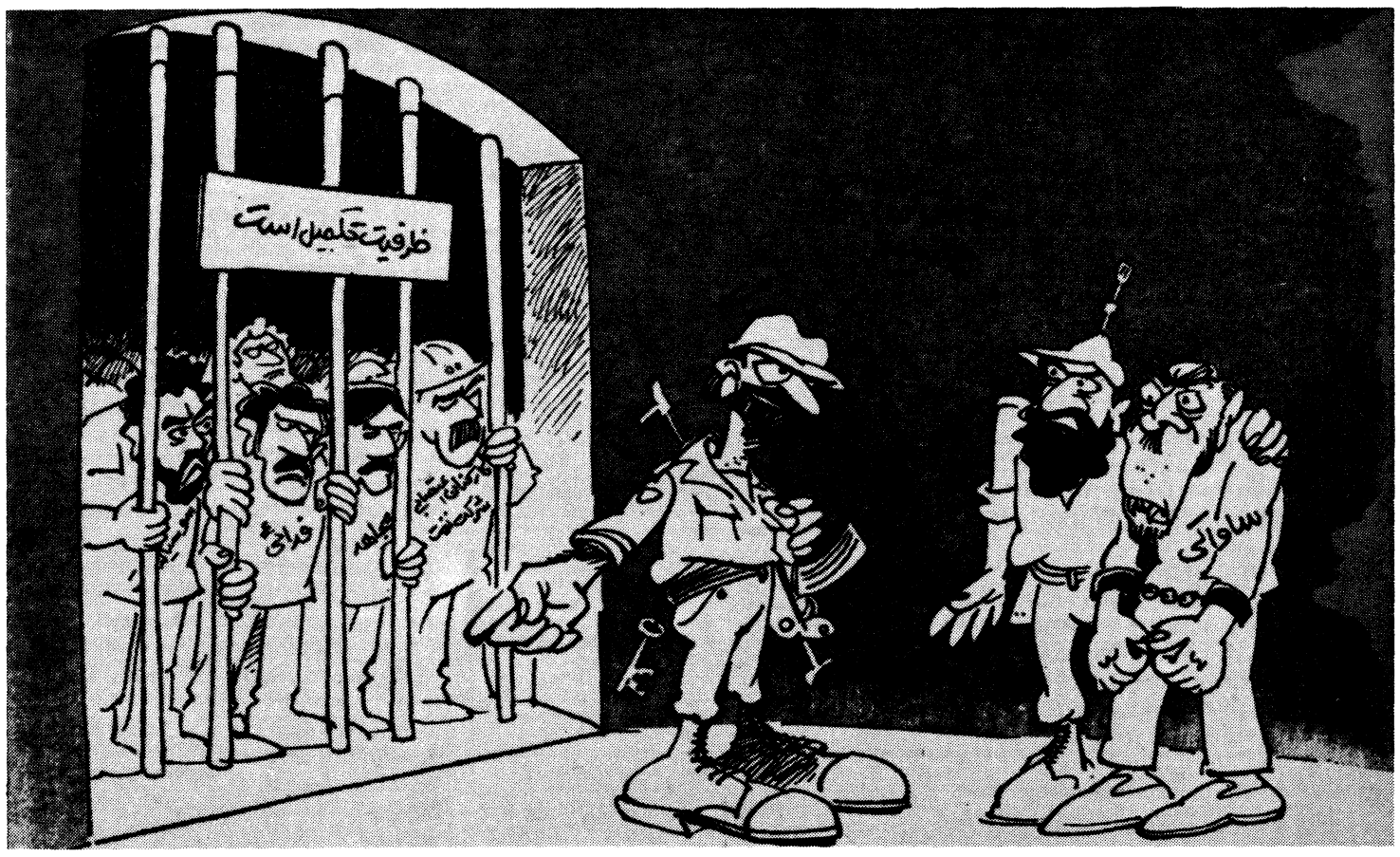
This is the real relationship of class forces in Iran today, and this is why the Iranian rulers have lashed out so brutally against the masses. The government does so from a position of relative weakness. While the regime will surely inflict some setbacks on the workers movement, its repressive moves today are creating the conditions for a major class confrontation and a political break by the working masses from the Khomeini-Bazargan regime.

It is in this context that the case of the HKS prisoners assumes special importance. A victory in their case will be a tremendous victory for the masses as a whole and an inspiration to everyone fighting to extend the revolution.

The revolutionists of the HKS are instilled with confidence in the Iranian masses. The HKS is a fighting party, a party convinced that its socialist program represents the aspirations of the Iranian masses.

Faced with severe repression and the threat of death, the Iranian socialists are continuing their fight today, refusing to be intimidated or to compromise their revolutionary program.

Their courage and determination is rooted in the shining example of the heroic, selfless struggle of the Iranian working class itself.



Cartoon from banned Iranian satirical weekly 'Ahangar.' Guard is explaining that there is no room for SAVAK torturer because prison is filled with oil workers, HKS members, and other anti-shah fighters.

International protests back HKS prisoners

News of the death sentences handed down against twelve Trotskyists in Ahwaz spurred Amnesty International to issue an urgent call to action on their behalf August 28. Amnesty had previously protested the threat of secret trials without legal representation.

Meanwhile, five members of Parliament in Britain signed a letter of protest against "the sentence of death imposed on twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party after their trial in Ahwaz without legal representation and behind closed doors. . . .

"Our protests extend to the executions carried out in Kurdistan, particularly those of the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Tudeh Party in the last weeks."

Tony Benn, Michael Meacher, Stan Newens, Alf Stubbs, and Ernie Roberts were the Labour Party representatives in Parliament who signed the letter.

Alex Kitson, the deputy general secretary of Britain's huge Transport and General Workers Union also sent a telegram of protest.

In Australia, Bob Hawke, head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, telegrammed his opposition to the death sentences.

A message was also sent by the Italian Federation of Metal Workers. See the article on page 6 for further reports on international solidarity.

How you can help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the HKS prisoners in Ahwaz and demanding that their lives be saved should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran. Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran, and to the *Militant*.

Forums and public meetings to publicize the case should be organized.

Petitions on behalf of the imprisoned socialists can be circulated in workplaces and sent to the above addresses.

Forums

DENVER

NATIONAL STRUGGLES IN IRAN: COUNTERREVOLUTION OR SOCIAL PROGRESS? Speakers: Jim Altenberg, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., September 7, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: $1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

NEW YORK CITY

STOP THE EXECUTIONS OF IRANIAN SOCIALISTS. Speakers: Cindy Jaquith, Associate Editor, the *Militant;* Farhad Nouri, Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS); Louis Clayton Jones, contributor to *Amsterdam News*. Fri., August 31, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd fl. Donation: $2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

D.C. delegation protests to Iran embassy

By Janice Lynn

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An emergency appeal was presented here to the Iranian embassy August 28 by supporters of the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) who have been sentenced to death.

Following the meeting with the embassy, a news conference was held. Featured participants were human rights activist Philip Berrigan; Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations secretary of the Association of Kurdistan Students Abroad; and Farhad Nouri, staff writer for *Kargar* (Worker), the newspaper of the HKS.

Craig Honts, who has been active in defense efforts for the Iranian socialists, chaired the news conference and read a letter presented to the embassy. The letter called on embassy officials to take whatever action necessary to save the lives of the HKS members.

It also called for a halt to the executions of Kurds, Arabs, members of the Tudeh Party, and the Fedayeen. It urged the lifting of the ban on political parties and newspapers.

Berrigan and Nouri reported on the results of a meeting the two had with Hossein Ava, press attaché for the embassy. Berrigan stated, "We asked him why the charges against the HKS members were not made public, why the trials were held in secret, why no defense counsel was allowed, and we asked about the severity of charges. None of this was answered."

Berrigan said Ava promised to convey to Tehran that day by telex or cable the profound concern of the American people.

Nouri stated, "Officially the Iranian government has charged the prisoners only with holding certain political views. But, at this meeting Mr. Ava accused them of blowing up oil pipes and bridges. These explosions took place while the fourteen were all in prison. There was no way they could have been involved.

"We must raise our voices immediately on behalf of these prisoners, who are not allowed to defend themselves. Outside pressure is very important at this time," he said.

Ali Mahmoud spoke about the Kurdish struggle for democratic rights.

"We believe the Kurdish revolution in Iran is part of the revolution of the people of Iran," he said. It contributed heavily to the downfall of the shah. Nobody can deny that.

"We call upon the Khomeini government to stop these executions because the continuation of executions of progressive elements, of revolutionaries, will only give the imperialist powers, especially U.S. imperialism, the chance to intervene in Iran's affairs," Mahmoud continued.

"I call upon all . . . people who believe in basic human rights to call on the Iranian government to stop these executions, to democratize Iran, let political parties work freely and turn Iran into a democratic government which was the basic objective of overthrowing the shah. . . ," he said.

Cindy Jaquith, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and associate editor of the *Militant*, was in Iran during the February insurrection which overthrew the shah.

She told the news conference, "Working people in the United States won a big victory when the Iranian people threw out Carter's shah in February. Today we must support those who are trying to carry through that revolution. We must speak out about the case of these twelve revolutionaries who may be executed any time simply for expressing their political views. Our voices can make a difference."

Also speaking at the news conference was Frank Shaffer-Corona, member of the Washington, D.C., Board of Education and the Raza Unida Party.

Militant/Flax Hermes

Washington news conference. From left, Frank Shaffer-Corona, Philip Berrigan, Farhad Nouri, Ali Mahmoud, Craig Honts.

Labor backs HKS prisoners

U.S. supporters of the Iranian revolution are rushing off emergency telegrams and petitions demanding the immediate release of the HKS prisoners.

Hundreds of trade unionists and union officials have spearheaded the campaign. They include: Wilfred (Andy) Anderson, president, Local 1845, United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Los Angeles; Al Belmontez, president, Local 216, United Auto Workers (UAW), L.A.; Hank Gonzales, international representative, Region Six, UAW; Harry Sivley, president, Local 2058, USWA; Glenn DiSilva, president, Local 4997, USWA; John Perez, chair, Human Rights Committee, subdistrict One of USWA District 38; Lalo Sanchez, recording secretary, Local 5504, USWA; and Bob Kilpatrick, secretary-treasurer, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Burlington Northern Local, Denver.

Petitions have been signed by more than 200 members of UAW Local 980 at the Ford-Metuchen plant in New Jersey; thirty workers from International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 685 at Solar Turbines International in San Diego, including Local 685 president Ed Maudlin and business agent Lee Pearson; and sixty members of District Lodge 751, Locals C,E, and F of the IAM at Boeing in Seattle.

Other individuals who have sent telegrams include actors Jon Voight and Edward Asner; *Amsterdam News* writer and attorney Louis Clayton Jones; Bob Duren, southern California coordinator of the Black Panther Party; Dorothy Healey of the New American Movement; Dennis Weinstock of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.; and scores of university professors, feminists, attorneys and civil libertarians.

Also, Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen of *Black Scholar* magazine; National Lawyers Guild; Noreen Connell and Carol DeSaram, past presidents of New York National Organization for Women; Dr. Mohammed Mehdi of the Organization for Arab-American Relations; attorney Abdeen Jabarra; and Leon Harris, president of the Village-Chelsea NAACP.

150 telegrams were sent from Boston.

News conferences have been held in Los Angeles and Seattle. More are planned elsewhere.

Emergency forums are scheduled in New York City, Denver, and other cities.

Carter offers arms to Khomeini government

By Fred Feldman

The Carter administration, which supported and armed the bloody tryanny of the shah of Iran until it was toppled by a popular insurrection last February, is now offering military and other aid to the regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

This is a shift in the public stand of the administration, which has criticized Khomeini for his denunciations of U.S. imperialism and for the execution of some of the shah's hangmen and torturers.

On August 22 Carter approved the sale of 2 million barrels of heating oil and kerosene to Iran.

Further overtures from Washington followed rapidly. The August 24th *New York Times* reported that "Defense Department officials said today that the Carter Administration was talking with the Government of Iran about resuming large-scale shipments of American arms to that country.

"The officials said authorities in Teheran, faced with a Kurdish rebellion in western Iran and political unrest elsewhere, had recently shown new interest in signing contracts for a part of some $5 billion worth of arms and other military equipment ordered by the Government of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi."

According to the *Times* dispatch, "Officials said Iran was regularly sending large transport jets to New York to pick up equipment paid for earlier."

The report said the arms talks began four weeks ago in the American Embassy. Deputy Prime Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, a close aide to Ayatollah Khomeini, was said to have represented the Iranian government.

Carter's offer of military hardware signals Washington's approval of the stepped-up government drive to crush the revolutionary ferment in Iran and preserve capitalism there.

In recent weeks, Khomeini's government issued an amnesty for thousands of secret police agents and military officers of the shah—while simultaneously carrying out executions of Arab workers and other anti-shah fighters.

The regime banned working-class and liberal newspapers and political parties. Leaders of opposition parties have been forced into hiding, and twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party are now under sentence of death in Ahwaz.

Khomeini has now assumed the office of commander in chief of the armed forces, attempting to mobilize the army and the "revolutionary guards" to crush the workers and farmers of Kurdistan.

The Kurds' only crime was to begin breaking up the landlords' estates and to claim their democratic right to autonomy within Iran. The offensive in Kurdistan follows similar attacks on the Arab masses in Khuzistan.

The August 25 *New York Times* reported that the State Department is backing the Iranian government's actions in Kurdistan. State Department official Tom Reston "left the impression with reporters that the Administration was more concerned about the survival of a strong central Government in Iran than about the Kurdish goal of political independence."

But the U.S. rulers are far from confident that Khomeini will be able to put down the struggles of the workers and peasants throughout Iran. In particular they are concerned about the army, where rank-and-file soldiers continue to demand their right to speak, organize, and elect their officers.

"There is a complete lack of military discipline," complained one Pentagon official.

The U.S. imperialist overtures to the Iranian regime show where the policy of upholding the interests of the capitalists and landlords is leading. Khomeini won mass support by his resolute opposition to the slavishly pro-imperialist regime of the shah.

He held on to much of that popularity in the first months after the shah's downfall by cutting off oil shipments to South Africa and Israel, aligning his regime with the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, and fiercely denouncing U.S. imperialism's backing of the shah.

But Khomeini also found ways to indicate that he would accept imperialist support if that was necessary to prevent further advances in the Iranian revolution. That was the clear meaning of his backing for the CIA-organized drive to isolate and topple the government in neighboring Afghanistan, which has instituted a radical agrarian reform and other progressive measures. Reactionary forces in Afghanistan use "Islamic" proclamations as a cover for protecting the interests of the capitalists and landlords, just as Khomeini does today in Iran.

The overwhelming majority of the Iranian people want to defend the democratic rights that tens of thousands sacrificed their lives to win. And they want to carry out the kind of fundamental social change needed to establish an economy capable of meeting the needs of the Iranian people.

Only U.S. imperialism can provide the Iranian rulers with the arms, repressive forces, and economic aid and investment to block such an overwhelming desire for change. Khomeini's moves against the Iranian working people—aimed to protect the ill-gotten gains of the landlords and capitalists—lead him toward subordination to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the anti-imperialist posture he has tried to adopt up until now.

Begin vows further raids

Israeli forces rain death over Lebanon

By David Frankel

Six days of Israeli air and artillery attacks on towns and villages in southern Lebanon have left more than 100 civilians dead and wounded. Fruit orchards, houses, fishing boats, and livestock were among the targets described by Israeli officials as "terrorist bases."

The latest raids were the first since July 22, when Israeli pilots killed nineteen civilians heading home from a day at the beach.

Reacting to worldwide revulsion at the renewed attacks, Israeli spokesperson Aryeh Naor declared August 26, "We will continue to strike. Nothing has influenced our position to change it."

It was not accidental that the latest murderous round of attacks on Lebanon began August 20, as U.S. special ambassador Robert Strauss was returning home from Jerusalem. Strauss had presented a proposal from the Carter administration for a U.S.-sponsored resolution in the United Nations claiming to support the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people.

This proposal was intended as part of a diplomatic offensive designed to further split the Arab world and the Palestine Liberation Organization in particular. While seeking to draw some section of the Palestinian movement into the framework of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty signed last March, Carter explicitly restated Washington's opposition to any independent Palestinian state.

But even the vaguest reference to the rights of the Palestinian people is unacceptable to the Zionist regime. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin is pushing ahead with the expropriation of Arab land in the occupied West Bank and the establishment of Zionist settlements in the area, with the intention of eventually annexing it formally.

Begin signaled his dissatisfaction with Carter's proposal by ordering the six-day killing spree in southern Lebanon.

Then, on August 27, he had the gall to declare that "whoever recognizes the so-called PLO is in effect recognizing genocide, both as far as the objectives and methods are concerned."

Such slanders are becoming less and less effective. Masses of working people around the world are aware of the Israeli regime's support for the ousted dictatorships in Iran and Nicaragua, of its close ties with the racist regime in South Africa, of its savage policy in Lebanon, and of its continued oppression and dispossession of Palestinians living under its rule.

These policies flow from the character of the Israeli state. It is a colonial settler-state established on land stolen from the Palestinian people. It can sustain itself only with support from U.S. imperialism.

The survival of such an outpost of U.S. corporate domination in the Middle East is in conflict with the needs and aspirations of the working masses around the world. This is becoming increasingly apparent, and that is the basis of the Israeli state's growing isolation.

The declarations in the United States for the right of the Palestinian people to establish their own state is only the latest example of Israel's worsening position in world public opinion.

In order to sustain itself, the Zionist state must not only attack the working masses in the Arab world when they challenge imperialism. It must also attack the Jewish workers within Israel itself.

The burden of Israel's massive military machine, combined with the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis, has resulted in an inflation rate in Israel that is expected to hit 100 percent by the end of this year. On August 11 the Israeli regime slashed subsidies on basic foods. Prices for bread, cooking oil, and dairy products rose by an average of 50 percent. Two days later, more than 1 million workers took part in a protest strike over inflation.

At the same time, Begin has been tightening government censorship over Israel's state-owned television system. His newly appointed director general of the Broadcasting Authority, Yosef Lapid, has already forced editors to delete portions of news broadcasts and has purged several key administrators.

War, economic hardship, and attacks on democratic rights are the prospect offered to the Jewish workers by the Zionist state. It is that state and its ruling class, not the Palestinian people fighting for their rights, who are the real enemies of the Israeli working masses.

'Looks like Israel had a bad day in the UN again!'

Int'l protests blast trial of Iranian Trotskyists

By Janice Lynn

Twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) have been condemned to death by an Islamic court in Ahwaz. Although Iranian authorities have responded to protests by delaying the threatened executions, international solidarity is urgently needed to save the lives of the HKS prisoners.

Sentenced to death for their socialist ideas are Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, Hormoz Fallahi, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Hamid Shahrabi, Hadi Adib, Kambiz Lajejardi, Firooz Farzinpour, Mahmoud Kafaie, Ali Hashemi, and Kia Mahdevi.

Two women, Fatima Fallahi and Mahsa Hashemi, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Even before the secret trials, in which the socialists were denied legal representation and the right to speak in their own defense, telegrams demanding the release of the HKS members began pouring in to Ayatollah Khomeini in Qum and to Iranian embassies and consulates around the world.

In Britain, telegrams were sent by Amnesty International; Bernadette Devlin McAlisky, the well-known fighter for Irish independence; the International Marxist Group; the Communist Party; the Socialist Workers Party; the International Communist League; the Workers Socialist League; and the Socialist Labor Group.

Amnesty International opposed the threat of death hanging over the HKS members and protested any trial held in secret or without legal representation.

On August 23 an emergency news conference was held in London to protest this latest danger to the lives of the antishah fighters.

Speaking at the news conference were Fred Halliday, author of *Iran: Dictatorship and Development,* who had just returned from Tehran; Hojabr Khosrai of the Iranian HKS who was arrested along with the fourteen prisoners, but later released; a representative from the Kurdish Solidarity Campaign; and Tariq Ali, a leader of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The news conference was covered widely in the British press, including by the *Guardian* newspaper, which carried an extensive article.

In addition, an interview with Khosrai by Independent Radio News was carried on local radio throughout the country. BBC-Radio Four broadcast the news as well.

The *Morning Star,* the newspaper which reflects the views of the British Communist Party, carried two articles in the August 23 and 24 issues in which they protested the reports of a secret trial of the Iranian socialists.

In an official statement, the Communist Party wrote, "The British labor and progressive movements which welcomed the overthrow of the Shah should now raise its voice against the new wave of repression in Iran. It should call for the release of the fourteen arrested members of the Socialist Workers Party, the lifting of the ban on the democratic newspapers, return of the premises to the democratic parties, an end to the persecution of the Kurdish Democratic Party, and an end to the repression."

Supporters of the imprisoned revolutionists and of the Kurdish Solidarity Campaign held a demonstration of 300 outside the Iranian embassy in London August 25 to protest the latest crackdown on democratic rights and to demand release of the political prisoners.

The same day a delegation from the Civil and Public Servants Association, the largest organization representing these workers, delivered a message to the embassy demanding a halt to the repression of the Kurdish population and release of the fourteen HKS prisoners.

In France protest telegrams have already been sent by François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party; the leadership of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), the second-largest union federation in France; and the National Education Federation (FEN), the largest teachers union.

A demonstration was slated for August 24 in front of the Iranian embassy in Paris, jointly sponsored by the three French Trotskyist organizations, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, Lutte Ouvriére, and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

In Canada, three New Democratic Party (NDP) members of the Ontario provincial parliament from Hamilton, are among those who have already sent protest telegrams.

The Canadian director of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, Neil Reimer, also sent a protest telegram. Grant Notley, the leader of the Alberta NDP was among those who signed protest statements.

Telegrams and telephone calls protesting the secret trials and demanding the immediate release of all the HKS members should be sent to: Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran.

Send copies of all messages to the *Militant,* 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014 and to the Iranian daily *Baamdad,* Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran.

Fears agrarian revolution

Khomeini orders offensive in Kurdistan

By Gerry Foley

Using a combined force consisting of remnants of the old imperial army and chauvinist gangs recruited in the Persian centers, the Khomeini-Bazargan government launched massive punitive strikes August 22 against the Kurdish people.

The government's objective was clearly to halt the advance of the peasant revolution in Iranian Kurdistan by inflicting maximum terror on the population. It was a killer operation.

According to the first reports, fighting centered around the town of Saqqez, which was described as a key strategic position seized by the "Kurdish rebels."

Actually, this is a large market town sitting on steeply rolling terrain in the Kurdish mountains. Its flimsy buildings provide no cover against attacks from the air.

Kurdish rebels await execution in Paveh. Khomeini has tried to whip up chauvinist hysteria against Kurds.

Murderous attack

The character of the central government's attack was indicated in an August 23 Reuters dispatch. In Saqqez, it said:

"Three government helicopters made repeated strafing runs over the town through the day, firing machine guns, and the shooting was too heavy for rescue teams to remove bodies from the streets. As night fell, the helicopters began dropping flares every three minutes to light up their targets." Two days later, the strafing was still going on.

The opening of the campaign against the Kurdish people was heralded in Tehran by the publication of pictures of a scene in the streets of Paveh, a town just occupied by central government troops. They showed Kurds tied by their necks to iron window gratings, facing the guns of a firing squad. A total of twenty-nine Kurdish militants had been executed by August 25.

It is notable that two of the three towns now listed in the government's reports as being held by the "Kurdish rebels"—Bowkan and Saqqez—were cited in an interview with a Kurdish revolutionary socialist in the August 8 issue of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party paper, *Kargar*, as centers of the agrarian revolution in Kurdistan.

The Kurdish revolutionist indicated that the various armed political organizations that have a mass following in Kurdistan joined together in the process of forming united-front bodies representing the peasantry. He described the development as follows:

Peasant councils

> In the region around Mahabad and Bowkan, we see that village councils have been formed . . . and that they have demanded the expulsion of the landlords from the villages and in many places they have sown the land of the landlords or harvested the crops already sown and divided them up. These councils are growing very quickly, especially around Bowkan, Mahabad, and Saqqez.

He went on to describe the character of these councils:

> The peasants gather in one fairly central, large village and form a council representing fifteen or twenty villages. This council runs the internal affairs of the villages and armed individuals in every village have to accept its authority. It is planned that these councils will come under a central council.

In July, these councils had already begun to develop armed self-defense forces:

> The councils have called on those peasants that have arms to work in the armed wings of the councils and for all armed forces to unite under their authority.

In fact, the councils were forced to form armed forces to defend themselves from the attacks of the landlords:

> Every time that one of these councils was being formed, without exception, the local landlords and reactionaries sent armed men to try to prevent this and to try to disperse the assembly called to discuss setting up the council. But armed groups came from cities and towns where councils had not yet been set up to defend the councils that were under attack.

The process of agrarian revolution is not limited to Kurdistan, but it is politically and organizationally more advanced there than it is in the Persian areas. One reason for this is that there were already a number of organizations in Kurdistan with mass support that rejected the authority of the central government.

Moreover, the main figure looked to for leadership by the Kurdish people, Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini of Mahabad, was forced at an early stage to take an opposition stance toward the central government.

Attack on democracy

The government launched its attack on the Kurdish people at the same time as it moved to liquidate the democratic rights and freedoms won by the masses throughout Iran in their struggle against the shah. The two actions are inseparably intertwined.

Among other things, the government needed total press censorship in order to whip up a war hysteria against the Kurds. In fact, in the period before the attack, sympathy had been growing throughout the country with the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities.

This shift in public opinion was evidenced by the fact that liberal intellectuals who had previously avoided the national question began speaking out on behalf of the oppressed nationalities.

The only Kurdish leader quoted in wire service reports in the first days of the government's new offensive has been Abdul Rahman Qassemlou, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), which has been the most conciliatory of the Kurdish left groups toward the Khomeini-Bazargan government.

Qassemlou was quoted in an August 25 Reuters dispatch as saying:

> We are not just fighting for autonomy in Kurdistan but for democracy in Iran. We will never accept a dictatorship of mullahs trying to impose themselves on the people of Iran.

The KDP is dominated by pro-Moscow Stalinists but it gets its support mainly on the basis of its old reputation as a nationalist party. So, it is subject to the pressure of nationalist feeling.

For example, while the all-Iran CP, the Tudeh Party, called for a vote for the Islamic Republic in the March referendum, the KDP called for a boycott, although it did so only on the eve of the vote.

In the area where the fighting has so far centered, the KDP was weak to the point of being invisible in April. Other more militant radicalized nationalist forces predominated. The prominence given to the KDP in the news reports probably reflects a decision by the central government to focus its propaganda on the KDP as a means of whipping up anti-Communism.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government's escalating attacks on the Kurdish people are part and parcel of its attempt to reconsolidate a capitalist state capable of containing and driving back the Iranian revolution.

Socialists back Kurds

The Iranian Trotskyists made defense of the Kurdish people a central part of their campaign for the Assembly of Experts elections August 3. It was emphasized especially strongly in Azerbaijan, which borders on the Kurdish areas.

For example, in a July 31 press conference reported by all the Iranian dailies, one of the HKS candidates in the Azerbaijani capital of Tabriz, Dr. Mahmud Seyrafiazadeh, said:

> The heroic people of Kurdistan have risen up in defense of freedom. They are resisting the repressive operations of the central government, which are part of the assault against all the toilers of this country, against all the oppressed peoples, and against all the workers organizations and militants in this country.

In launching an all-out attack on the Kurds, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has taken a great risk. Every time they have attacked the Kurds in the past months, they have been defeated, and found themselves still less able to hold back the advance of the Iranian revolution.

The government is now making a greater effort. But the position of the Kurds is also stronger.

The Arab masses in the vital oil producing areas have fought pitched battles with the government and remain armed and mobilized, defying the military forces of the regime. The Arab region is a powderkeg, and any weakening of the government's position could set it off.

Moreover, the largest of the oppressed nationalities in Iran, the Azerbaijanis, who make up a third of the population, have begun to move into open opposition to the government. This has been prompted largely by the increasingly dictatorial moves the regime has made in trying to beat back the advance of the revolutionary process.

Growing opposition

Previously the regime had been able, to some extent, to pit Azerbaijanis against Kurds. Now the government is threatened with having to face opposition from all the oppressed nationalities, which constitute a majority of the population.

At the same time, while throwing its motley repressive forces into battle against the national minorities, the government confronts the revival of struggles by the decisive power in the country, the industrial working class.

Moreover, the fact that the government has chosen to use the war hysteria whipped up against the Kurds as a cover for attacks on militant workers makes it easier for the Persian workers to see the relation between their fight and that of the oppressed nationalities.

So, if the government forces get bogged down in Kurdistan, the authorities face the danger of a chain reaction of explosions throughout the rest of the country.

But right now the Khomeini-Bazargan government has the firepower to carry out mass murder in Kurdistan, and to create a chaotic situation that could enable outside reactionary forces such as the Turkish and Iraqi armies and the imperialists to intervene. Therefore, it is extremely important to mobilize international public opinion in defense of the Kurdish people in Iran. This is also the best way to defend the gains of the revolution and the independence of all the Iranian peoples from imperialist domination.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Blow to Somocista profiteers

Nicaraguan gov't attacks currency hoarders

By Mirta Vidal

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, August 27—Striking a stunning financial blow against those who profiteered under ousted dictator Somoza, the Nicaraguan government announced on August 25 that bills of 500 or 1,000 *cordobas* (U.S. $50 and $100) would be immediately invalid.

With the slogan, "Let's take back from *Somocismo* the money that belongs to the people," the government urged everyone to deposit their large denomination bills in the bank. In exchange, depositors received coupons to be refunded in six months, with 8 percent interest.

Airports and international borders were shut down as people waited in lines all day Saturday to make their deposits.

The swiftness with which the new measure was carried out prevented many of Somoza's henchmen, now hiding in embassies and elsewhere around the country, from making arrangements to obtain reimbursement for their now-worthless currency.

The surprise move will also make it impossible for those who fled the country with Nicaraguan currency from making use of it. *Barricada*, official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), estimates that Somoza and his cohorts fled the country with more than $4 billion.

The new measure will help stabilize the nation's currency. Many wealthy people, uncertain of which way the revolution would go, had taken considerable sums of money out of the banks and were hoarding it until they felt it was safer to invest. Many had rushed to buy U.S. dollars at a much higher rate than the official rate of exchange. Economic sabotage and disruption of this type will now be more difficult.

Furthermore, those who had been accumulating funds by corrupt and illicit means, and who cannot explain the sources of their assets in currency, will be wiped out.

Workers support action

Despite the inconvenience that the measure caused to many working people—especially to public employees, who had received lump sum payments the day before for two months back wages—the response was overwhelmingly favorable to the government's action.

Most people see it as a revolutionary measure by the Sandinista leadership aimed at benefiting the workers and other oppressed sectors of the population. A government education campaign along these lines is being carried out in the media.

As soon as the 500 and 1,000 *cordoba* bills had been rounded up, the government announced that those making deposits no larger than 3,000 *cordobas*—60 percent of the total number of depositors, and clearly comprised overwhelmingly of working people—would be reimbursed this week. Those who chose to leave their money in the bank over the six-month period will earn 8 percent interest.

Larger depositors, however, will be investigated, and decisions concerning reimbursement will be made case by case.

Sergio Ramírez, a member of the Junta for National Reconstruction, explained on national television that this final provision had been decided in advance, but had not been made public in order to catch the money hoarders and *Somocistas* off guard.

Sandinista army consolidated

Another important step taken in the past few days was a constitutional decree replacing the hated National Guard with the Sandinista army.

The decision was announced by Sergio Ramírez at an August 22 rally to commemorate the first anniversary of a daring Sandinista assault on the National Palace. That raid secured the release of fifty-eight political prisoners and was the opening event in a round of anti-Somoza strikes and business shutdowns last year.

FSLN leaders have explained the need to set up an effective fighting force. In line with this, a decision was recently made to incorporate the people's militias that arose during the revolution into the regular Sandinista army. There the armed workers and peasants will receive combat training and political education.

The need to be prepared to defend the revolution from the ever-present threat of imperialist intervention seems to be widely understood by the Nicaraguan people.

Education a priority

A literacy campaign is to be launched in 1980. This campaign, a key aspect of the program for national reconstruction, aims to teach 600,000 people to read and write in the course of twenty months.

Many thousands of teachers will be needed to carry out the ambitious plan. To meet the goal, the 10,000 teachers now available will be supplemented with volunteer students and workers.

The Cuban government, which accumulated considerable experience in its own literacy campaign after the victory of the revolution there, has offered to provide material and human resources for this effort.

Fernando Vecino Alegret, the Cuban minister of higher education, arrived this week with a delegation headed by José Ramón Fernández, vice-president of the Cuban Council of Ministers, to begin briefing Nicaraguan teachers. The Cubans have also provided some 150 different texts for use in the Nicaraguan schools.

Meanwhile, the National Association of Nicaraguan Educators met this week in Managua to prepare the reopening of the grammar and high schools. They also approved the reinstatement of teachers fired ten years ago for refusing to support the Somoza dictatorship.

As the teachers met to make this decision, hundreds of spirited students rallied outside the Ruben Dario auditorium to demonstrate their support for the victimized "teacher-compañeros."

Aid vitally necessary

With hunger a critical problem for nearly 1 million people, food aid remains the number one problem facing the Nicaraguan revolution today. The leaders of the revolution have appealed to all possible sources for help. (See accompanying interview with the Minister of Social Welfare.)

Despite its promises, the United States government has refused to provide the kind of aid it is capable of giving. For example, while Washington had promised 3,258 tons of aid by September 1, only 1,851 have arrived so far.

Harry Wilkinson, subdirector of the Agency for International Development (AID), through which U.S. aid is now being channeled, has explained that aid will be given only if certain political conditions are fulfilled. He described these conditions as: "No violations of human rights."

Ironically, AID has an outstanding debt of over $25 million that it had agreed to provide to Nicaragua when the Somoza regime was in power. No conditions were imposed on the murderous dictator, one of the worst violators of human rights in the world.

Clearly, Washington is using the promise of aid as a lever to pressure the Sandinistas to pull back from advancing the Nicaraguan revolution. An international campaign exposing Washington's aims and pressing for all the aid required remains vitally necessary.

Neighborhood committees

'Organizing to defend our Sandinista revolution'

The following is a description of how neighborhood committees in Managua are organized, as told to 'Militant' reporters by a leader of the committee in the Monseñor Lescano neighborhood.

Militant/Fred Murphy

Contingent from Monseñor Lescano neighborhood committee at August 2 march in Masaya.

Civil defense committees and people's action committees were formed before the insurrection, when we saw the need to organize people to prepare them for the eventuality of war.

We needed people who could offer medicine and food, and we needed to instruct people to produce shelters in their homes for protection against the bombing and shelling. We needed committees for civil defense, supplies, and health, and also vigilance committees to detect paramilitary Somocista groups that might be on the loose.

With the victory of the insurrection, we have initiated the task of organizing ourselves to defend our Sandinista revolution. So the civil defense committees became Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS).

Each CDS is organized on a block-by-block basis, four blocks at a time.

Representatives are democratically elected for each block. A supplies representative is elected to distribute the foodstuffs or solidarity packages that we receive from abroad. A person is elected to be in charge of health, responsible for promoting discussions on health among the people of the neighborhood, and for preparing a store of medical supplies. A propaganda committee is set up to inform people of the present situation, so that they will understand what we are doing and where we are headed.

So, the neighborhood CDS structure includes all those who live in those blocks.

The committees meet once a week.

The various neighborhood committees in a given area elect a council. These councils explain the needs and transmit the suggestions of the population to the authorities in charge. For example, solving the problem of water is important, because many pipes were broken during the war. Much public lighting was also rendered useless. A way must be found to distribute goods equitably among the neediest.

At the same time we promote different activities to solve these problems. For example, if the government junta tells us we need to fumigate all the empty buildings to prevent contamination, the neighborhood committees carry out the work on the basis of the overall plans.

We also have militias in each neighborhood. They are independent of the neighborhood committees, and are tied directly to the army. They handle problems of a military nature, for example, leftovers from the Somocista forces that might be around.

Each neighborhood committee has a headquarters, a "Casa Sandinista." This is the Casa Sandinista for the Monseñor Lescano neighborhood. The office personnel here all work on a volunteer basis. After working at their jobs, they dedicate the rest of their time to working here.

The members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front who are here put forth the positions of the FSLN, and look into the needs of the people so that the Government of the Provisional Junta can begin to make plans.

One of our main functions here at the Casa Sandinista is to promote political discussions and to initiate an education campaign so that people will have a clear understanding of our goals and how best to carry them out.

We are now conducting a discussion of the plans for national reconstruction, so that people will know what the Junta and the FSLN leadership are doing.

On the Managua level, the Casa Sandinista de Ricardo Morales Avile houses the committee which is in charge of everything related to mass organizations, such as the neighborhood committees, the Sandinista trade union federation (CST), the Sandinista youth organizations, and other organizations of this type.

People come daily from all over to ask help in getting organized. In these first couple of months after the insurrection, people have really demonstrated the need to organize.

We are on a campaign footing to carry out this revolution in an organized way—block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, city by city, province by province—until we have an organization that will ensure the triumph of the revolution.

Interview with Social Welfare Minister

Guido de Lopez: 'International help is vital'

The following interview with Lea Guido de López, Minister of Social Welfare in the new government in Nicaragua, was obtained by the 'Militant' on August 21.

Question. What are the goals of your ministry?

Answer. As far as social welfare is concerned, this is a totally new ministry. Before the revolution there were only a few programs concerning social welfare policy, and these were pretty much dispersed in different ministries. There was no policy on behalf of children, the youth, women, or the old. Absolutely nothing. And what there was was totally corrupt. We have found a whole series of frauds.

We are faced with two problems. On the one hand, we lack an infrastructure and the human resources to carry out our tasks. On the other hand, the people have great expectations concerning the social plan. People are raising many demands to improve their standard of living.

The government considers this social plan to be the area in which we are most able to carry out a number of fundamental programs concerning health, education, and welfare that can meet the basic demands being raised by the people.

We foresee one of the ministry's principal functions to be overseeing an improvement in the standard of living, giving priority to those sectors outside of production—children, women, the aged, the disabled, etc. We also want to take up a series of political and cultural measures.

In addition, the ministry has to continually evaluate living conditions. This will serve as a barometer to measure the causes of problems and gauge the effect of our programs.

Our problem is that we have many plans, but few material resources to carry out these plans.

Administered by the people

Q. How do you plan to implement your goals?

A. Our vision of this ministry is to integrate the government's policy in the social sector with the communities so that little by little social services will be administered by the people.

This ministry is particularly interested in stimulating and supporting community organizations to ensure the participation of the people in urban and rural areas all over the country.

In the course of the struggle against Somoza, civil defense committees were created massively in urban and rural areas. We think that these rank-and-file committees can deal with a number of problems in administering services.

Militant/Fred Murphy

Young women march to celebrate Sandinista victory. Signs say 'Workers and peasants to power' and 'The sovereignty of a people is not discussed, it is defended with arms in hand.'

For example, at this time we have not appointed anyone to be in charge of the distribution of food. What we have created is an infrastructure for distribution—grocery stores in the different towns—and have arranged for the FSLN in the different towns to conduct a census so that the little food that we have can be distributed.

We think we should create community organizations where they do not exist, or combine them with the defense committees, to carry out a series of social welfare programs.

We need to be linked to the masses, and that's what we're tying to establish.

In each city, councils will be set up with representatives of each neighborhood. We will meet with the leaderships of these councils to find out their basic problems and determine what should be given priority.

This ministry is the one most suited to have this contact with the masses.

In the ministry we have a community action section which is in charge of this.

Q. What are some of the most immediate problems that you face?

A. The problem of hunger is an emergency that we face right now. According to the figures that we have there are more than one million people who suffer from hunger. This is a gigantic problem.

International help is vital. We have been working with international agencies and governments to obtain this badly needed aid. The situation is critical for the next four to five months; after that we hope that a new harvest can meet our needs.

So far international aid has not been as massive as we had hoped. It has improved in this last week due to the calls we made and the pressure we exerted on an international scale. We hope to be able to solve this problem in any way we can. We are even prepared to go further into debt to buy foodstuffs from abroad if the aid is not massive enough to solve the problems.

U.S. aid minimal

Q. Has the U.S. sent aid?

A. In the first week of August the U.S. sent $5 million through the Red Cross. Later, when the Junta of National Reconstruction took power, it appointed this ministry as the vehicle to distribute international aid.

Up to now direct aid from government to government has been quite minimal. The aid was mostly channeled through the Red Cross.

Before, during the war, all the aid was channeled through the Red Cross, and I think this was correct; otherwise all the aid would have gone to the Somocista National Guard.

Now the situation has changed. We now have the state apparatus to distribute this aid. And we have made this known to all the governments, including the U.S. In fact, tomorrow we will receive the first shipment sent directly to Nicaragua from the AID [Agency for International Development].

But the little that the government and Red Cross receive is not enough to fulfill our present needs. We need between 300 and 400 metric tons of food daily to be able to solve our problems.

Q. What about other countries?

A. Among the countries from which we have received direct aid to the government is the GDR [East Germany].

The Cuban government has been sending us daily shipments of milk. The bulk of the milk we have been distributing has been Cuban milk, and this has helped us solve a critical problem that we had with babies.

The Soviet Union has just sent us forty tons of food in the first plane that came. We have also received aid from Mexico, and even Chile.

We have received positive responses to our requests from various governments. The GDR and Czechoslovakia have promised to organize the countries of the Eastern bloc to send food.

Q. All that still seems like very little.

A. Yes. The aid is not enough to solve the emergency needs. For example, two old people died of hunger in a home for the aged a few weeks ago.

I would like to appeal to people around the world to show their solidarity with us in this situation that the Nicaraguan people face today.

Statement on Bolivar group

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—As the *Militant* reported last week, the activities of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade" have been falsely labeled as "Trotskyist" by the capitalist news media around the world in an attempt to attack the Nicaraguan revolution and divide the solidarity movement.

In a communique issued August 20, the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior noted "that the media of the Republic of Colombia have published false news items about imprisonment of members of the Simón Bolívar Brigade." The communique stated that members of the brigade "have been transported to the city of Panama, from which they will depart to Bogota, Colombia."

'Before we had bosses—now things are different'

The following is a 'Militant' interview with a woman worker in a match factory in the Altagrasia neighborhood of Managua.

Question. How have workers responded to the nationalizations?

Answer. The boss has left. Before we had bosses. Now the factory belongs to the state.

We are working more willingly and with enthusiasm now, because we have a free Nicaragua. We can say anything we want.

We are willing to build. We're ready to make sacrifices in order to build a free country.

Q. What do you expect from the government today?

A. I'm fifty years old, and for all my working life Somoza was in power. What they paid was pathetic. Everything was outrageously expensive. We could barely eat.

Somoza used to say everything was going well. But it was a lie. Now things are different. We expect the best.

Q. Did people ever try to form a union before?

A. A lot of people tried. But whenever people had meetings and elected representatives to try and form a union, the bosses would immediately take punitive measures and fire them. And if you got fired, you couldn't find work anywhere else.

We tried a lot of times, but we couldn't get a union going. So we went through many hard times in this place.

Q. And today?

A. We are organizing a union. But we don't want to join the first one that comes along. We are discussing which is in our best interests. We will go to the Casa del Obrero to get ourselves organized and decide which one is best for us. [The Casa del Obrero is a workers center set up by the Sandinistas to coordinate trade union organization.]

Q. How do women workers manage to work, take care of your children, and keep a home?

A. Before we used to leave the children with neighbors or relatives, or pay someone to take care of them.

The new government has promised to set up child-care centers—places where we can leave our children while we work, where they will get proper meals, medicine, and so on.

We hope this plan will be implemented, because for us workers it would be a relief to know that our children are being cared for. Before we had none of this.

Before, our children—even eleven-year-olds—were harassed by Somoza's National Guard. We were constantly worried. Often when a working mother got home, they would tell her that her child had been arrested. She would ask why, and they would tell her that the child was suspected of being a Sandinista.

It was horrible to live that way. It was really horrible. Now we are all at ease.

Q. What if Somoza tried to come back?

A. Somoza left us in a terrible state. He'd better not think of ever coming back, because we're not going to let him. We're ready to fight. Even we older women are ready to pick up the gun.

Solidarity actions demand aid for Nicaragua

Washington

By Margarita Suarez

WASHINGTON—The D.C. Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition (NICA), formed just three weeks ago, opened its solidarity campaign August 26 with a slide presentation entitled "The Reconstruction of Nicaragua."

The coalition is part of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, an information clearinghouse on Nicaragua solidarity activities.

The event brought together 250 supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution. Many families came with their children.

Jésus Romo delivered a welcoming message detailing the four-decades-long struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the butcher Somoza. He emphasized the repressive role consistently played up to the very end by the U.S. government in its attempts to keep Somoza in power.

He explained the great need for reconstruction aid created by the civil war and the ever-present threat of U.S. backed military intervention.

Cindy Arnson presented the slides—an eyewitness account of the days following the overthrow of the regime. The presentations showed the devastation caused by the Somoza dictatorship's genocidal bombing of major cities.

The audience—in its majority Latino, a large number of whom were Nicaraguans—responded enthusiastically to any symbols of the Sandinista victory and clapped approvingly at the familiar FSLN initials scratched on what once were monuments to the Somoza dictatorship.

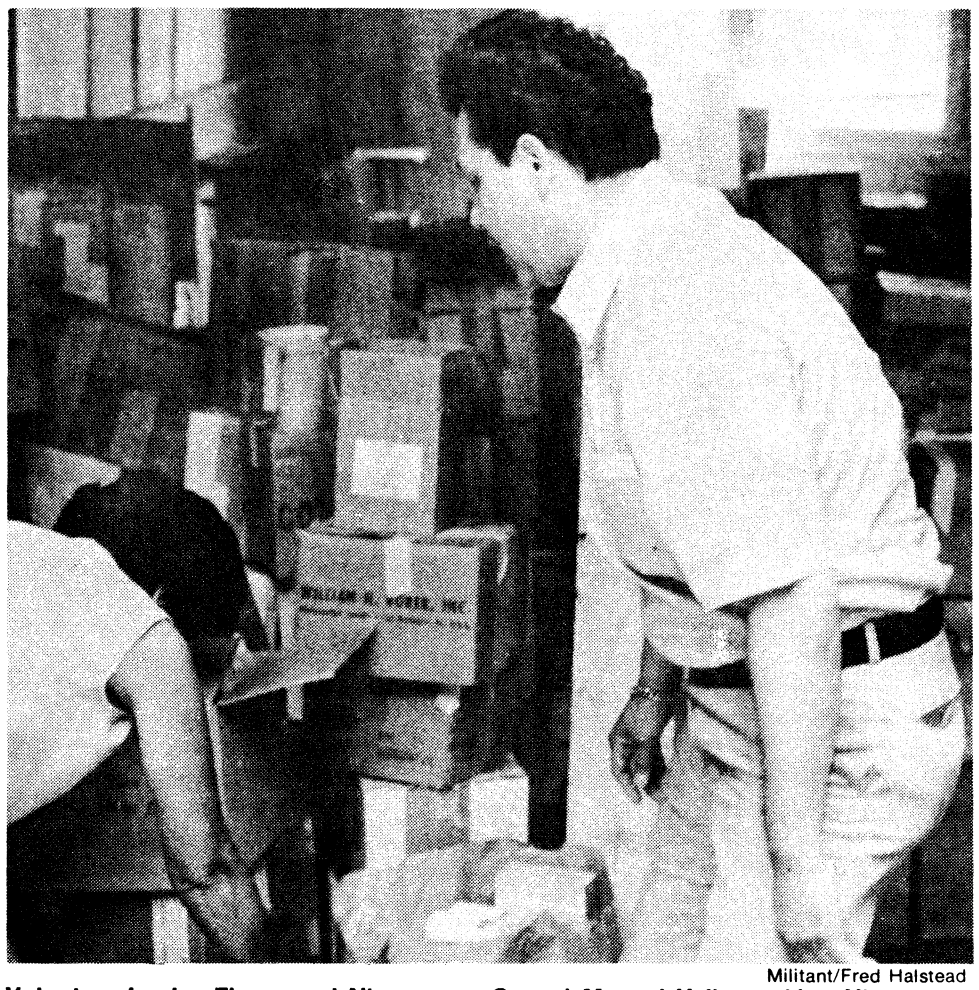
Three Nicaraguan students, activists in the Nicaraguan solidarity movement for the past three years, were present to answer questions after the presentation.

They talked about the specific need for food and medical supplies and explained how the United States government, which throws away large quantities of food every day, has not fulfilled its promise to provide "generous" material assistance to the Nicaraguan people.

The Nicaraguans called on all those present to participate in the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution and to demand that Carter come through on his promise of aid with no strings attached. They urged everyone to sign and help circulate petitions demanding such aid and to join in the work of D.C. NICA.

Militant/Lou Howort

Solidarity actions, like this one in 1978, helped prevent U.S. military intervention. Bigger protests are needed today to keep the U.S. out and secure aid.



Militant/Fred Halstead

Volunteer Louisa Flores and Nicaraguan Consul Manuel Valle packing Nicaragua-bound food and medicine in Los Angeles.

The coalition plans to take their solidarity campaign to trade unionists, campuses, and church groups.

In addition, the coalition and the national network are organizing to collect money and food for Nicaragua from supporters of the revolution.

NICA meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Wilson Center, 1470 Irving Street NW, Washington, D.C. Telephone (202) 667-0417.

A documentary film on the September 1978 insurrection in Nicaragua can be rented for $150 from: National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 18th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 223-2328.

Miami

By Pat O'Reilly

MIAMI—More than 100 people gathered at the Center for Dialog August 25 to express their support for the Nicaraguan revolution. The rally, called by the Committee For Non-Intervention in Nicaragua, was preceeded by a reception for Franklin Chávez, Nicaraguan consul for Miami.

Florida International University Prof. Mark Rosenberg led the program by giving a brief history of Nicaragua, describing how the U.S. government propped up the Somoza dictatorship.

Haitian refugee activist Paul Sylvester indicated the similarity of the Somoza tyranny with that of the Duvalier regime in Haiti. He pointed out that Washington had sent troops to crush popular movements in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and added:

"We are here tonight to protest against that project and to say that Haitians are ready to aid, to defend the new government of Nicaragua and its people by any means."

Consul Franklin Chávez recalled a few of the names of those fallen in battle and expressed the solidarity of the Nicaraguan revolution with revolutionary movements around the world.

He called attention to one of the country's major problems: starvation and malnutrition, particularly affecting young children.

Chávez ended his remarks with an appeal: ". . . Our country needs you, needs everybody in this room, needs the solidarity movement of all the people of the world."

Following the rally the film, "Patria Libre o Morir" ("Nicaragua: free homeland or death,") which documents the Sandinista struggle, was shown.

The Committee For Non-Intervention in Nicaragua announced plans for a March For Justice For Nicaragua scheduled for 1 p.m. Saturday, September 1, at the Federal Building in downtown Miami.

The march is demanding that the U.S. government provide immediate, unconditional aid to Nicaragua; freeze Somoza's financial holdings and return them to the Nicaraguan people; and extradite Somoza upon his return to the U.S.

The film, "Patria Libre o Morir" can be ordered through: Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Avenue of the Americas, New York City, N.Y. 10014. Phone: (212) 989-3330.

Last week's *Militant* listed the American Civil Liberties Union of Miami as one of the sponsors of the September 1 Nicaragua solidarity demonstration.

The ACLU as an organization is not endorsing the action. Eleanor Ginsburg, chairperson of the ACLU, is an individual sponsor of the action and a leading activist in the coalition building it.

Los Angeles

By Fred Halstead

LOS ANGELES—The National Reconstruction Committee of Nicaragua is collecting food and medicine for a ship that is leaving here for Nicaragua on September 13.

The ship will hold 150 tons; they currently have 100 tons of material.

The committee maintains a warehouse and office at 2121½ West Pico, Los Angeles, California 90006. Telephone: (213) 380-1166. They are open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

The committee is asking mainly for medicine and food—preferably dried foods such as beans, corn, and rice. The corn needed is not American corn meal but grains of dried corn. They also will take canned goods.

Dr. Mario Bonilla, a physician, is in charge of the warehouse. A list—in both Spanish and English—of the medicines needed is available from the committee. Basically they want medicine that doctors need for their offices.

They are not taking clothes at the present time because they found that the clothing donated from North America is not suitable for so hot a country as Nicaragua.

Money is also needed to pay for shipping expenses and more medicine.

The National Reconstruction Committee is now collecting food and clothing from the western United States.

People who want to donate food or medicine or make a financial contribution can make arrangements in California with the committee or send donations there directly.

If people have large quantities of materials and want to bring them in a pick-up truck, they can call and arrange to have the warehouse open other than the normal hours.

Checks should be made out to the National Reconstruction Committee, which has a special account for this campaign at the Bank of America, account number 2285556.

SAN FRANCISCO—Casa Nicaragua will hold an organizing meeting Wednesday, September 5, at 3015 24th Street, San Francisco.

The organization is trying to raise $1 million for food, medical supplies, clothing, tools, vehicles, education supplies, and construction material for Nicaragua.

For more information call: (415)824-9728.

Forums on Nicaragua

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

FREE HOMELAND OR DEATH. A film showing. Fri., Sept. 7, 8 p.m. Phoenix Unitarian Church, 470 Candler Park Rd. Donation: $2. Ausp: Atlanta Committee for Aid to Nicaragua.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. Speakers: Jim Hamon, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; representative of Latin American Solidarity Committee; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: $1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

THE TRUTH ABOUT NICARAGUA. Speakers: Steve Ridler, member, Chile Solidarity Club; others to be announced. Sat., Sept. 8, 2:00 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: $1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

NEW YORK CITY

THE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Also, a film on Nicaragua. Sun., Sept. 9, 3 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. at 6th Ave. Donation: $2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO

CLEVELAND

SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTORY IN NICARAGUA. Speakers: Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for mayor, UAW Local 217; Norma Ruiz, UAW Local 1747; Charles Welch, Chile Solidarity Committee. Sun., Sept. 9, 7 p.m. University Center Rm. 364, Cleveland State University. Donation: $1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TEXAS

HOUSTON

THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Romeo Lopez, Nicaraguan consul in Houston; José Alvarado, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 7, 8 p.m. 806 Elgin St. #1. Donation: $1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

SAN ANTONIO

NICARAGUA: EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW. Speakers: Carlos Spector-Calderon, recently returned from Nicaragua; Agnes Chapa, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Sat., Sept. 8, 7 p.m. 112 Fredericksburg. Donation: $1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 735-3141.

Nicaragua issues set fast pace as Militant...

By Peter Seidman

Washington's reactionary maneuvers against the deepening revolution in Nicaragua have been cloaked in a virtually complete news blackout.

At their August 5-11 national convention, members of the Socialist Workers Party—in collaboration with the Young Socialist Alliance—decided to launch an immediate campaign to defend Nicaragua.

As the first step, they decided to help get out the truth about Nicaragua by publishing special issues of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The socialists used these special issues to kick off their fall press circulation drive one month earlier than originally planned.

To meet these revolutionary opportunities and responsibilities, the staffs that write and print the *Militant* and *PM* reorganized their vacation and production schedules. SWP branches from coast to coast also cut short summer breaks and speeded up their post-convention planning.

Now the first week's results of this campaign are in. As the scoreboard on this page shows, our efforts were well rewarded.

Altogether, we sold 8,097 papers. These sales were higher than all but three weeks of our successful circulation drive last spring.

"It was a fantastic start for the fall drive," reported Manuel Barrera, who organizes press circulation in Chicago.

"We had the highest sales ever in Kansas City. Also our highest *PM* sales. And our highest sales ever (twenty-seven papers) at Armco Steel," Bruce Lesnick reported.

The high percentage of papers sold at plantgates and to co-workers on the job was an outstanding feature of special issue sales.

The SWP convention set the goal of doubling the number of papers sold this way from last spring's 9.2 percent to 20 percent of total sales this fall.

We're well on our way towards making this goal. Branches reported industrial sales of 18.8 percent.

Many areas noted their co-workers' serious political interest in the special *Militant*—even though the paper focused completely on Nicaragua and had none of its usual news and analysis on the U.S. labor movement and other national and international issues.

Despite the media blackout, working people clearly understood the importance of learning about the struggle in Nicaragua.

Some highlights:

• Socialists in the Ford plant at Metuchen, New Jersey, and the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, sold 140 papers on the job.

• In Chicago, SWP members sold sixty papers at the Fisher Body plant and thirty more at U.S. Steel.

They report that workers, especially Latinos, were especially interested in Fidel Castro's speech on Nicaragua. Some twenty-five co-workers from various plants attended a Militant forum on Nicaragua that week.

• Aircraft workers in Seattle and Tacoma area Boeing plants bought forty-one *Militants* at gates and on the job. In Los Angeles, aerospace workers bought sixteen papers during one shift change at Martin-Marietta.

• St. Louis socialists organized their first sale ever at a Peabody Coal mine in southern Illinois. They sold nine papers there—as well as thirty-one more to Chevrolet workers and steelworkers at plants closer by.

• One Atlanta socialist sold twenty-one *Militants* to her co-workers at Atlantic Steel. This was "our first really good week of on-the-job sales."

Sales have also been brisk in working class neighborhoods—and especially in Latino and Black communities.

Katherine Sojourner reports, for example, that many of the young Chicanos she sold to at a Salt Lake City shopping center "wanted to stop and talk. They had lots of questions. Would the revolution in Nicaragua be like the one in Iran? What was the Cuban role? All were glad that Somoza was gone. They wanted to know what the SWP thought should be done."

In Denver, a thirteen-year-old Chicano "practically lunged" for the *Militant* when he saw the Nicaragua headline. He explained that he knew how young the Sandinista freedom fighters were—and wanted to find out as much as he could about them.

In Dallas, three socialists sold thirty-five *PMs* and twenty *Militants* in just ninety minutes in one Chicano area.

One city that didn't do so well on the scoreboard this week was Phoenix. The SWP branch there is devoting extra energy to petitioning to get socialist candidates on the ballot this fall. When this time consuming project is completed, they expect to get back to high sales.

SWP branches will decide this week on their weekly and overall single copy and subscription goals for the fall circulation campaign.

As soon as all the figures are in, we'll announce our targets and publish a scoreboard showing where we stand.

Meanwhile, it's clear that our campaign to get out the truth about Nicaragua will make this circulation drive one of the biggest—and most politically exciting—efforts in years.

Militant/Bobbie Bagel

Selling special Nicaragua 'Militant' outside U.S. Steel's Gary Works. Sales at plant gates and to co-workers on the job were 18.8 percent of total for this first issue of the fall circulation drive.

Sales scoreboard

City	Number sold Militant	Number sold PM	City	Number sold Militant	Number sold PM
Albany	118	23	Newark	115	3
Albuquerque	310	19	New Orleans	74	
Atlanta	238		New York	650	151
Baltimore	54		Oakland-Berkeley	220	
Birmingham	180		Philadelphia	205	6
Boston	157	8	Phoenix	17	
Chicago	260	11	Piedmont	86	
Cincinnati	68		Pittsburgh	418	
Cleveland	136	18	Portland	73	
Dallas	262	102	Salt Lake City	158	
Denver	117	10	San Antonio	67	1
Detroit	296		San Diego	50	30
Gary	128	14	San Francisco	275	
Houston	129		San Jose	152	83
Indianapolis	103		Seattle	156	
Iron Range	90		St. Louis	173	
Kansas City	438	26	Tacoma	114	
Louisville	258		Tidewater	64	
Miami	322	61	Toledo	165	7
Milwaukee	50		Washington, D.C.	222	39
Minneapolis	85		TOTALS	7485	612
Morgantown	232		TOTAL SOLD	8097	

Not reporting: Los Angeles, St. Paul. Covers sales of issue number 32 of the 'Militant' and partial sales of issues 15 and 16 of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

...Perspectiva Mundial sales drive opens

By Rich Ariza

The special issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* on the Nicaraguan revolution has been on sale for only a few days. But already, areas report selling 612 copies.

These results confirm the vital role *PM* has to play among Spanish-speaking workers in the United States.

In most places around the country, these Spanish-language readers are forced to rely on lying right-wing newspapers for information on Nicaragua.

But *Perspectiva Mundial* tells the truth about Nicaragua. It's a unique source of eyewitness reporting and socialist analysis for the Latino communities in this country.

One of these communities is in Washington, D.C. Socialists sold more than 130 copies there within days. One sales team sold all its *PMs* just walking to the place where it intended to sell. More than 60 *PMs* and *Militants* were sold at a forum sponsored by the Nicaragua Coalition.

Several SWP branches that have not sold *PM* before are now beginning to experiment with *PM* sales.

Seattle began by taking *PMs* to a meeting of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

The Gary, Indiana, branch of the SWP began selling in East Chicago, a predominantly Chicano and Mexicano community near the Inland Steel plant. Many of the residents there are steelworkers.

While results so far in Miami are good, sales teams have often been confronted with arguments from right-wing Cubans.

While debating with these people on the street corners, socialists are able to sell lots of *PMs* to other Cubans who are attracted by the discussions.

The events in Nicaragua are of great interest to Latinos. Their enthusiasm and support is reminiscent of their reaction twenty years ago to the Cuban revolution.

But there are big differences. Twenty years ago the United States was barely beginning to emerge from the McCarthyite witch-hunt.

It was difficult—and often dangerous—to express support for the Cuban revolution. This made it easier for Washington to impose its blockade against Cuba.

Because of their experience with the dirty war in Vietnam, the American people today are more ready to go into action against Washington's moves to crush liberation movements in other countries.

Also, Latinos today are a much larger percentage of the U.S. population.

This means the potential to build the kind of solidarity movement that can keep Washington's hands off Nicaragua is good. A lot better than twenty years ago.

The first step in building this kind of movement is getting out the truth. This is what *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* are doing.

We will be selling this special issue for another two weeks. We can use the interest it is generating to experiment with new sales locations.

We can also take this issue to Latino groups and begin discussions with them—and other organizations—about united actions in solidarity with Nicaragua.

Hunger is growing threat

Vietnam resists imperialist economic squeeze

By Fred Feldman

A tightening imperialist economic blockade and military conflicts on three fronts—accompanied by droughts, floods, and other natural disasters—are confronting the Vietnamese revolution with grave economic difficulties.

"The Vietnamese people do not have enough to eat," Dr. Ton That Tung told *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm in Hanoi. Kamm's interview with Dr. Tung, former surgeon general of the Vietminh during the war with France and later Ho Chi Minh's personal physician, appeared in the August 20 *New York Times*. "You see it on people's faces. They are pale, anemic, and skinny. Yes. They are emaciated."

"Dr. Tung said," according to Kamm, "that nutrition had always been a problem during the decades of war in Vietnam, but that it was worse since China cut off its aid, which included great quantities of food, last year." The imperialist powers began cutting off the dribble of aid they had permitted to flow into Vietnam after Vietnamese forces helped topple the Pol Pot tyranny in Kampuchea last January.

Kamm reported that malnutrition "had left the urban population in particular in a state of low resistance to all infectious diseases. . . . Any outbreak of such illnesses rapidly affects large numbers of people."

Kamm reported the monthly meat ration for most Vietnamese as only seven ounces. The monthly ration of basic foodstuffs amounts to "less than a pound a day."

The average birth weight of Vietnamese babies has dropped recently, Tung told Kamm. "A whole generation will bear the stigmata [of hunger] all their lives."

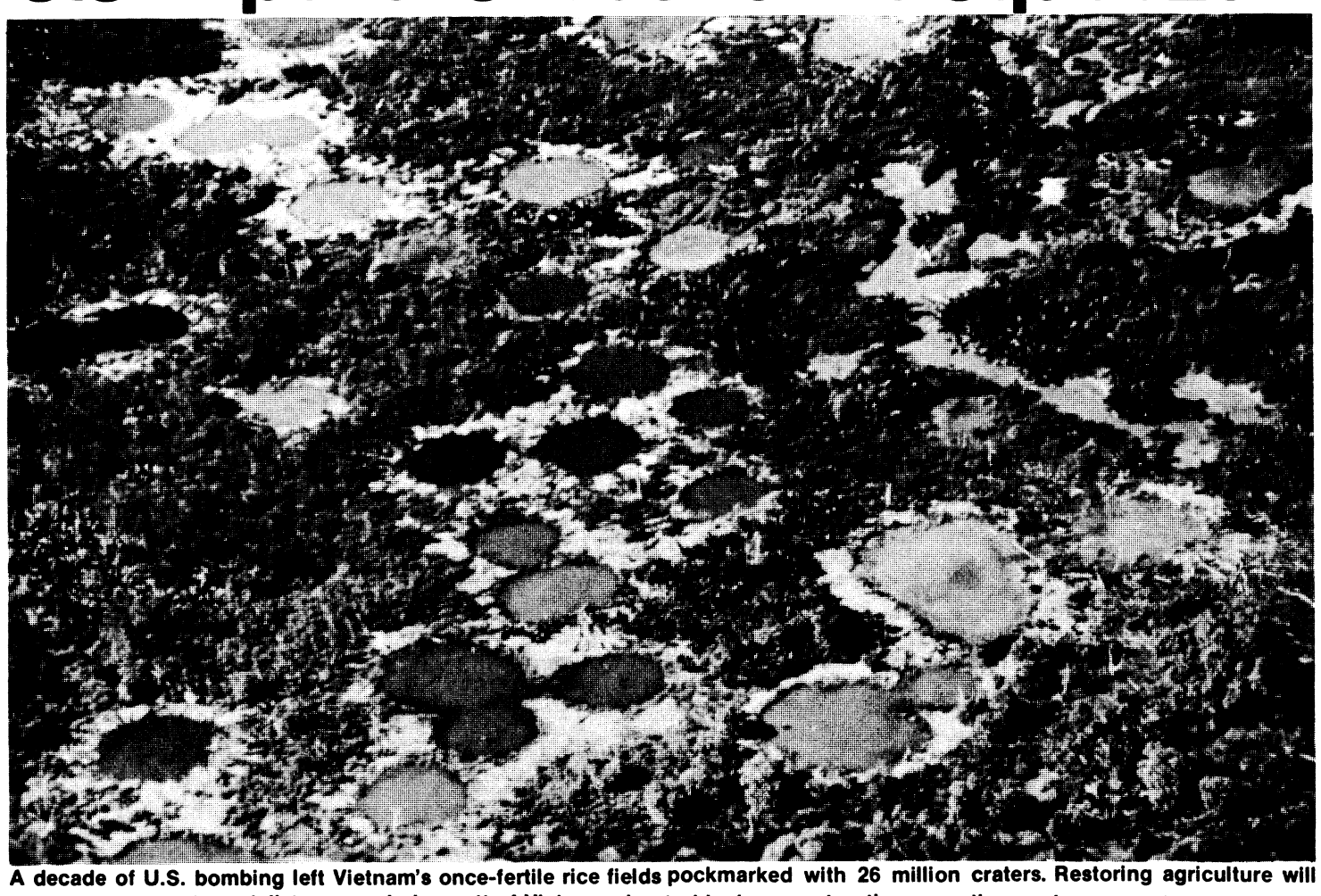
The main cause of Vietnam's food difficulties is the destruction of millions of acres of agricultural land during ten years of U.S. bombing and defoliation.

Kamm continued:

> Everything, not only food, is in short supply, said Dr. Tung. His hospital, which is believed to be the best supplied in the country, lacks everything, from basic medicines to soap, from plastic tubing to corks for the infusion bottles into which the tubing is inserted.
>
> Dr. Tung said he badly needed such simple supplies as needles for the extraction of blood samples and transfusions, and surgeon's gloves.

One result of the scarcity of all necessities has been continued inflation, despite the rationing of most goods. Increases of about 100 percent were reported in the price of some basic consumer goods over the last eighteen months. And added pressure has been placed on the economy by the need to share food and other goods with war-torn and famine-stricken Kampuchea.

Together with the impact on Vietnam's ethnic Chinese population of Peking's break with Hanoi and its subsequent invasion, these economic conditions are major driving forces in the continuing flow of emigrants from Vietnam. And the emigration is dealing added blows to Vietnam's economy.



A decade of U.S. bombing left Vietnam's once-fertile rice fields pockmarked with 26 million craters. Restoring agriculture will take many years. Imperialist economic boycott of Vietnam aims to block reconstruction, counting on hunger to break the spirit of the workers and peasants.

Seymour M. Hersh reported in the August 9 *New York Times* after a visit to Vietnam:

> There are precious few factories in underindustrialized Vietnam, but some of them had to be closed down recently because of a lack of skilled workers.
>
> The missing workers were ethnic Chinese, and Vietnam's leaders acknowledged in interviews in Hanoi last week that their nation is facing a major "brain drain" in part because of the exodus of Chinese residents over the last year.

One official told Hersh that some parts of Vietnam have no doctors today because of emigration. "We don't like to let the skilled people go away," he said.

The devastation brought by the U.S.-inspired Chinese invasion of Vietnam last February is a further drain. Cities like Lang Son and Cao Bang, destroyed during the brief war, have not been rebuilt. Bridges, hospitals, administration buildings, homes, and farms were systematically destroyed by retreating Peking forces.

"According to government officials," wrote Murray Hiebert from Hanoi in the June 15, 1979, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "1.5 million people were displaced and 60,000 sq. metres of housing were destroyed. They said more than 85,000 hectares of rice fields were either burned or abandoned and 150,000 water buffalo and cows were killed."

Preparations to fend off another attack—which has been threatened by Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping—are also costly in time and resources, Hiebert reported:

> In preparation, farmers, factory and office workers and students throughout the country spend two hours daily in marching drills and target practice in city parks, open fields and schoolyards. Hanoi's roadside bomb shelters, filled in following the collapse of the Thieu government, have been redug and stand ready for use. As during the war with the US, children and old people are being evacuated to the countryside.

In spite of the poverty which he saw everywhere, Hersh—like others who have visited Vietnam in the past year—was impressed by the depth of support for the revolution which he found:

> During a weeklong visit to Hanoi, a correspondent could only describe the attitude of the people as happy. . . .
>
> In many interviews, Western and nonaligned diplomats in Hanoi confirmed that, despite the continuing hardships, individual loyalty to the Government was the cornerstone of Vietnam's viability.
>
> Asked about the Government's seemingly strong support at home, Nguyen Co Thach, Vietnam's Acting Foreign Minister, raised the issue of foreign criticism over the refugee exodus.
>
> "You see," Mr. Thach said in an interview, "there are some people from the West who say there is a lack of human rights and that lack is why people want to go from Vietnam. So I must tell you that if there are no human rights, Vietnam could not stand these 30 years through these unthinkable difficulties, these unthinkable tests, if we do not have the support of the people."

The success of Vietnamese forces in beating back imperialist-backed Pol Pot forces in Kampuchea, stalemating Peking's invasion, and helping the Pathet Lao regime fight CIA-organized mercenaries are a further indication of the masses' readiness to sacrifice to preserve the gains of the revolution.

As was the case during the U.S. war in Vietnam, imperialist officials are frustrated by the Vietnamese masses' refusal thus far to bow to military and economic punishment. Hersh reported:

"The Vietnamese certitude and self-assuredness is a source of constant annoyance to Western diplomats, who repeatedly used the term 'arrogant' to describe some Government views."

The reports by Kamm and Hersh from Vietnam expose the sinister purposes of those imperialist powers that cut off food and other aid to Vietnam in the name of helping the "boat people." Such moves are aimed at breaking the spirits of tens of millions of workers and farmers who have no intention of leaving and are defending themselves against imperialist attacks.

Working people around the world have a vital stake in helping the Vietnamese workers and peasants turn back these attacks today.

We must campaign for an end to the economic blockade of Vietnam, for diplomatic recognition of Hanoi by Washington, and of Pnompenh by all the imperialist powers. The imperialists must provide massive food and reconstruction aid for all the countries of Indochina.

1,000 protest cop killing of Puerto Rican

By Mary Sears

BROOKLYN—Police clubbed and beat demonstrators protesting a cop murder here August 27.

More than 1,000 protesters were demanding the immediate suspension of the five cops who had pumped sixteen bullets into Luis Baez five days earlier, killing him. Baez, a Puerto Rican, lived in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

Participants reported that the cops rampaged through the streets, clubbing anyone they could corner.

Puerto Ricans with Pride, one of the groups active in the protest, is demanding a federal investigation like the one now underway in Philadelphia into police brutality.

"The same violence that the police used in murdering Luis is now being used against citizens who were peacefully protesting such an abominable act," declared Julio Pabón of the Coalition in Defense of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Rights.

The cops claimed Baez had lunged at them with a pair of scissors. Baez had recently been released from a psychiatric hospital. On the evening he died, Baez had been agitated. His mother called the police, hoping they would calm him down or take him to a clinic.

When the police arrived, Baez became terrified and tried to flee. Witnesses reported that he had dropped a pair of scissors and was completely unarmed when the police opened fire.

The protest was organized by the Black United Front, which also led protests last year after Brooklyn cops killed Black businessman and community activist Arthur Miller. It was supported by a number of Puerto Rican groups.

A coffin inscribed with the names of the two victims, Miller and Baez, symbolized the threat the cops pose to both Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Suit exposes brutality, racism of Phila. cops

By Steve Eckardt

PHILADELPHIA—This city's cops "are equipped to fight a war," Mayor Frank Rizzo said in a recent national TV interview. "We could invade Cuba and win."

But according to a lawsuit filed August 13 by the U.S. Justice Department, the war is against the working people of Philadelphia, especially the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The unprecedented lawsuit charges the city, Mayor Rizzo, and eighteen top city and police officials with condoning sweeping violations of constitutional rights by Philadelphia cops. The "use of force" by police, it contends, "is arbitrary, unreasonable, or shocking to the conscience."

Rizzo, a former police commissioner, dismissed the lawsuit as "complete hogwash."

The legal complaint provides a glimpse into the operations of the country's fourth largest police force.

One case cited is a good example. A young Black man was arrested for smoking on a subway. He was handcuffed and beaten by two cops who were unaware that a transit TV camera was videotaping the scene. The tape was then turned over to the police commissioner. The result? Nothing—not even a reprimand to the cops.

Philadelphia cops about to beat MOVE member Delbert Africa last year.

The lawsuit says that seventy-five persons are shot by Philadelphia police each year and more than 1,100 civilian complaints are filed.

Among its charges against the Philadelphia police department are:

- "Shooting criminal suspects who make gestures or verbal comments while surrendering themselves";
- "Shooting innocent bystanders while engaging in firearm conduct that is in reckless disregard of life and liberty";
- "Physically abusing prisoners who are handcuffed or otherwise under police control";
- "Conducting illegal searches and seizures";
- "Verbally abusing persons, including directing racial slurs at them";
- "Preparing and recording statements from PPD [Philadelphia Police Department] officers and witnesses in a manner calculated to justify the conduct of the officers under investigation regardless of the actual circumstances"; and
- "Surveillance and harassment of political leaders and racial minority groups."

These charges, of course, aren't new. For more than a decade, community activists have contended that the police brutality is *not* random, that it is not isolated acts by a few "bad cops." Rather, they have said that it is systematic, widespread, and encouraged by the highest levels of both the police department and the entire city government.

Not just city officials, but top businessmen are responsible for the police behavior. For instance, Thatcher Longstreth, head of the Chamber of Commerce, recently praised the police and spoke of the "warm relationship between the business community and the police."

The Justice Department has no intention of disrupting that "warm relationship." But anger in the Black community here and a growing public spotlight on the brutality forced the federal government to take some action.

Last summer, on national TV, Philadelphia cops stomped a Black MOVE organization member. Newspaper articles have documented police violence as victims stepped forward to tell their stories.

And any illusions that whites were somehow safe from brutalization were dispelled when fourteen different Pennsylvania police departments assaulted the overwhelmingly white Levittown gas protesters near here in June.

The Justice Department's lawsuit asks that the policies and actions of the Philadelphia police be judged unconstitutional, and that no more federal funds be given the department until the violations are "corrected."

Rizzo has vowed to fight the case. He will find aid in a 1976 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that said there was insufficient proof of systematic brutality by the Philadelphia police.

Meanwhile Philadelphia's killer cops remain on the loose.

Phila. jury frees killer cop

PHILADELPHIA—If you're a cop, you can get away with murder.

That's the clear message given here last week when police officer Thomas Bowe was acquitted of murder charges in the killing of Cornell Warren, a young Black stopped for a traffic violation.

That Bowe put a gun to Warren's head while Warren lay face down on the ground handcuffed was never disputed. Bowe claimed that the gun went off by itself and brought in a former CIA weapons official to say that it could have happened.

But eyewitnesses told how Warren was handcuffed and stomped by Bowe and how the cop got on Warren's back, put a gun to his head and fired.

The federal prosecutor refused to bring charges against Bowe after his acquittal, saying that only in *extreme* cases of injustice do the federal authorities try to overturn local verdicts.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Nora Danielson said in a statement released after the acquittal, "Once again the criminal justice system has shown it is criminal, not just.

"Cornell Warren died because he is young and Black. And his murderer, Thomas Bowe, is free because he is part of a police system set up to keep Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and all working people intimidated from standing up for their rights.

"If the U.S. Justice Department is serious about 'correcting' the systematic brutality of the Philadelphia Police Department, it should immediately move to indict this killer cop for violations of civil rights. I and my campaign supporters demand that Thomas Bowe be brought to justice!"

La. socialist candidate addresses labor debate

By Naomi Bracey

NEW ORLEANS—"Which way for labor in the Louisiana gubernatorial election?" was the central topic at a recent debate sponsored by the Louisiana AFL-CIO, NAACP, and Urban League for all gubernatorial candidates. All nine candidates were invited but only one bothered to attend—Greg Nelson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, who is the only candidate to speak out against Louisiana's anti-labor "right-to-work" law.

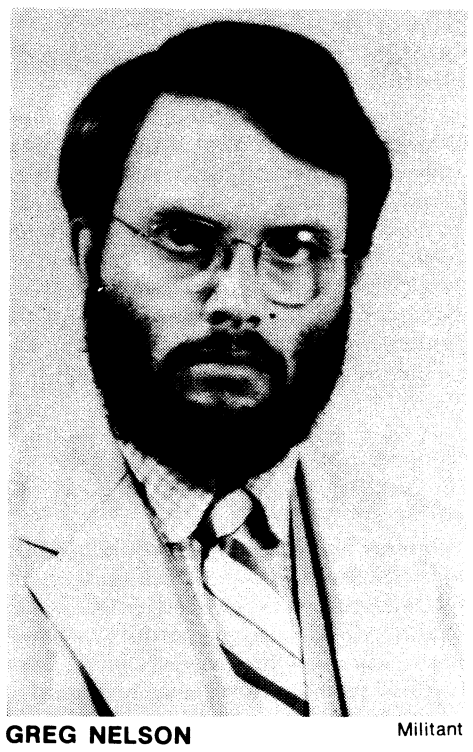
The meeting, attended by about 100 members of local union and civil rights organizations, was held at the headquarters of the Communication Workers of America in New Orleans. It was chaired by Willie Montgomery, AFL-CIO field organizer.

Montgomery opened his remarks by bemoaning the low percentage of registered Black voters in Louisiana and by soliciting support of those present for voter registration drives.

Nelson prefaced his remarks by explaining that "trying to get people excited about voting for the Democrats and Republicans is like beating your head against a wall. If you want people to register to vote then you have to offer them a real alternative. The Democratic and Republican candidates have made it obvious by their support of right-to-work, and by their absence here tonight, that they don't give a damn about working people. They don't represent us. Why register to vote for them?"

Nelson, a member of the Steelworkers union at Kaiser Aluminum in Chalmette, explained:

"We union members, and all working people, are at a crossroads. We have to make a break from the Democrats and Republicans. We have to form a labor party, based on our union power. A group of people like us in this room tonight could start it out. We could use this fine headquarters as our offices. We could run one of our members for mayor, or governor, or president." The audience broke into applause at this point and Nelson went on to explain the other points of his program, including the repeal of right-to-work, defense of the right to strike, nationalization of Louisiana's massive oil industry, immediate halt to nuclear power, and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.



GREG NELSON Militant

Three of the other candidates sent representatives to speak on their behalf. Much of the discussion that evening reflected the crowd's anger at the failure of the candidates themselves to appear in person. During the discussion, the editor of the *Louisiana Weekly*, the largest Black newspaper in the state, said: "We might start listening to this socialist, what he says sounds pretty good to me." Nelson received several invitations to speak to local unions, including the International Longshoremen's Association, the Amalgamated Transit Union, and the Louisiana A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Letter threatens violence against Utah SWP

By Clemens Bak

SALT LAKE CITY—A letter threatening violence against the Socialist Workers Party was received at the party's campaign headquarters and bookstore here August 16.

The letter, signed "American Liberation Army," read: "A State of War now is in effect. Your members are prime military targets. Your stores are also targets. There can be no peace between your forces or ours. This is total war. You supported the forces that killed 55,000 americans. You shall not go on conducting your treason unharmed we will strike without any more warning Your blood shall run in rivers" (All errors were in the original).

No one in the city has ever heard of the "American Liberation Army."

The threat was aimed at intimidating campaign supporters of Pam Burchett, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City. Burchett has been campaigning in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution and urging working people to break with the Democrats and Republicans.

The threat is particularly ominous in light of the still unsolved murder of SWP member Tony Adams. Adams, an activist in the gay and Black movements, had been the victim of a police frame-up but won acquittal in court. Last November 3, just a few days after his trial, Adams was murdered in his apartment under mysterious circumstances. The police have never solved the case and have refused to carry out a full investigation into the role of provocateurs and undercover agents in the original frame-up and the murder.

In a statement released to the press August 17, Utah SWP chairperson Ed Berger demanded that the police launch an immediate and thorough investigation into the latest threat. "Acts of intimidation such as this one endanger the basic democratic right of all persons to participate in political activity free from harassment," Berger said.

Berger and Bill Hoyle, former SWP congressional candidate, were interviewed on a local television station.

In response to a question about the police, Berger noted that "while the threat we have received represents the intentions of a tiny violent minority, evidence proves that these groups often function with the unofficial sanction of the police and in some cases with their foreknowledge of criminal acts."

Berger urged "a united response of all organizations and individuals active in the defense of the rights of working people" to protest the threat.

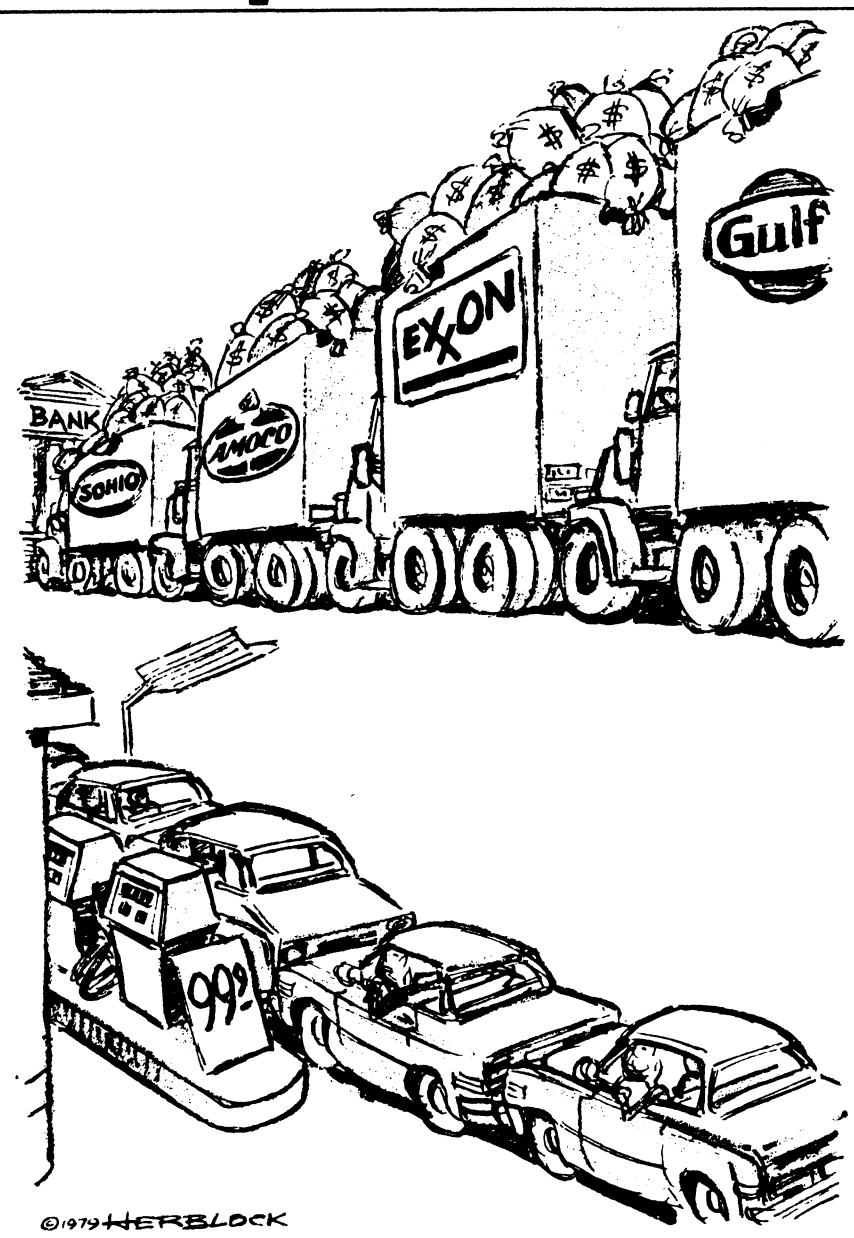
Auto workers 'put down tools' to prot

Some one million members of the United Auto Workers union stopped work for six minutes August 22 to sign postcards to Carter and Congress protesting the energy crisis, according to official union estimates. The Big Three auto companies responded by threatening to dock workers' pay.

When first-shift workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Framingham, Massachusetts, heard about the pay cut, 1,500 walked off their jobs. Later, 1,500 second-shift workers followed suit.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce condemned the action as an "illegal strike" and charged UAW leaders with trying to "take the United States down the road to socialism."

The following reports from worker-correspondents to the 'Militant' give a picture of how auto workers viewed the protest.



If your gas tank is full... your wallet is empty.

The cartoon above was featured on a leaflet publicizing the UAW's August 22 work stoppage.

Detroit

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—UAW President Douglas Fraser's plan to "put down the tools and pick up the pens" to protest the gas price rip-off August 22 sounded like a good idea to auto workers here in Detroit.

For 1.5 million UAW members to act as a united force to grind production to a halt—even if only for six minutes—is an opportunity to express our anger and potential power.

But unfortunately the August 22 stoppage was not effectively organized. We were handed leaflets early in the week telling us to await instructions from committeepersons and stewards as to timing and procedure. In most plants the instructions never came.

On August 22 a worker who called UAW Solidarity House would be told: "Of course, stop work for six minutes."

But if you called Ford Local 600, the UAW's largest, you would hear this prepared response: "Do not stop work to sign cards. This is not a locally authorized work stoppage." As the day unfolded it became clear that members of Local 600 are eager and willing to fight the oil trusts—but they were given no leadership.

In some locals, however, leaders did step forward to bring the work stoppage off. Our officials in Solidarity House would learn a lot from the workers in Local 174 at Chrylser's Detroit Universal.

According to shop chairperson Tom Neal, that plant was completely shut down for one-half hour while workers held meetings to denounce the oil companies and discuss a resolution passed at their last membership meeting. Their resolution calls for the UAW to fight for the nationalization of the entire oil industry.

Toledo

By Jeff Stephenson

TOLEDO, Ohio—Toledo UAW members were not given the go-ahead to down tools in order to participate in the union's write-in over the energy crisis. But in Local 1058 at Doehler-Jarvis Castings, we were able to turn August 22 into a day of protest that caught the attention of all three local television stations.

The local's solidarity committee helped to organize the distribution of postcards inside the shop.

At the same time the committee set up informational tables to educate the membership about the issues at stake. At these tables union members could pick up posters displaying messages like: "Open the books of the energy trusts! Nationalize oil! No layoffs, no lies!"

We also urged workers who stopped by to cross out sections of the UAW postcards that cast blame on OPEC for the energy crisis. Committee members pointed out that U.S. oil giants are the real culprits. We found no disagreement on this score and some local members followed our suggestion.

As a result of our discussions, many workers are looking forward to October 17—the day national labor protests are planned against the energy rip-off. They want to see Toledo unions join forces to bring about a more effective protest action.

New Jersey

METUCHEN, New Jersey—Most lines at the Ford plant here stopped for five minutes at 7 p.m. "One of the workers yelled 'last car,'" reported Mary Jo Vogel, "and from that point the workers stepped back in a wave."

On another line, where the cars are sanded down, the line failed to stop on schedule. "The committeemen said we would lay down our tools and pick up our pens," Dianne Feeley said. "But our committeeman wasn't around.

"So we stopped working and left the booth we work in. The line continued but the cars were going by and no one was sanding them. After two minutes the line stopped.

"I called to friends on another line, telling them we had shut down our line," she continued. "They shouted back that the foreman hadn't shut down their line, and they stopped working too. People felt real good about the stoppage."

This was true even though most workers discounted the impact of a five-minute write-in.

"Workers around me tended to be dubious about the work stoppage doing any good," one worker told the *Militant*. "But when 7 p.m. rolled around and the line didn't stop, a number of workers stepped back from the line and sat down. Within seconds the line was shut down. But practically no one bothered to sign cards. Several workers commented that it was pointless because 'the politicians are all crooks.'"

Members of Local 980 felt the five-

Bay Area: IAM, UAW locals strike over cc

Caterpillar

By Roberta Frick

SAN LEANDRO, California—Fifteen hundred angry workers at Caterpillar Tractor Company walked off the job August 20 after the company suspended three of their shop stewards. The workers are members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 284.

Since the last contract was settled in 1977, the company has suspended and/or fired sixteen shop stewards. While some workers have won back their jobs, others have had to wait over a year for arbitration.

John Williams, a Black shop steward, pointed to another source of tension.

"Most shop stewards who have been fired are Black," he said. "A lot of the Black women out here have families to support and are 100 percent behind the strike because they are fed up with the way Black workers are treated."

Black workers, especially women, are kept in the lowest paid, least skilled jobs and are rarely promoted. A disproportionate number of minority workers are fired, especially during probation.

This recent incident, however, was the last straw. On August 14 Leroy Tatum, chief shop steward and Black union activist, was talking to a co-worker on his way to the coffee machine. When a foreman asked what they were discussing, Tatum refused to answer. The next day he was suspended for "insubordination"—as were three other stewards who came to his assistance.

"What we are faced with is union-busting," IAM business agent Walter Henry told a press conference held in front of the plant next day. "The best thing we can do is unite all unions together."

The press conference was attended by several hundred unionists and featured Dick Groulx, executive secretary treasurer of the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

On August 23, 1,500 Caterpillar workers poured into the Oakland Auditorium to hear an update on the strike situation. Ray Gabel, the union's directing business representative, explained that the company was testing the strength of the union prior to contract negotiations next spring. Local 284 members responded with an overwhelming vote to continue their strike.

The next day the company succeeded in obtaining a temporary court order against the strike. It was to take effect when the company posted a $500,000 bond. The bond was to cover wages lost in the strike if the court rules against the company.

However, the company refused to post bond, hoping instead to organize a back-to-work movement. On Monday, August 27, management escorted about 100 workers across the line but failed to coerce more IAM members to scab.

The union will end the strike only if amnesty is extended to all those who honored the picket lines. At this point the stewards' suspensions are up. But so far the company has refused to grant amnesty.

Roberta Frick is a member of Machinists Local 284 at Caterpillar Tractor Company.

Mack Truck

By Jim Watson

HAYWARD, California—A five-day strike by 1,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 76 at the Mack Truck assembly plant here ended in a setback for the company, August 26.

The walkout was triggered by a series of suspensions of union representatives. Five hundred workers voted to go back to work on union terms after the company announced it would take back all those suspended, except the shop chairperson, who would have to serve one remaining week of a two-

Jim Watson is a member of United Auto Workers Local 76 at Mack Truck.

est energy rip-off

minute stoppage wasn't enough to put a scare into Big Oil.

"Why only five minutes, why not five hours?" one asked. "We're strong enough to take them on."

"If we shut down for a day or a week, then we'd really be doing something," another said.

Some of the workers complained that the union planned the protest without any rank-and-file input. Others objected to the fact that the UAW's postcards laid blame on OPEC for causing the gas crisis.

The work stoppage triggered discussions over how to stage more powerful protests against the gas rip-off.

Older workers, discussing the need for a bigger national response with all labor sticking together, harkened back to what the miners did in the 1940s and the role of leaders like John L. Lewis.

Others responded favorably to suggestions by socialists that the oil industry be nationalized and placed under workers' control.

These discussions—and the glimpse of what union action could accomplish—were the most important outcome of August 22. As one Ford worker told the *Militant*, "The five-minute stoppage—as botched up as it was—scared the hell out of the bosses because it brought to the fore our potential power to take matters into our own hands."

Cleveland

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—In the Cleveland area the UAW's "write-in" over the gas crisis took place during lunch breaks for the most part. This was due to more or less overt company pressure.

The company I work for, Baker Material Handling, circulated a letter threatening the officers of Local 451 with disciplinary action if they led a work stoppage. At the big Brookpark Ford complex, however, Local 1250 was able to shut down the assembly line in two out of three plants.

The problems we faced were already evident at an August 15 Ohio UAW meeting called to plan the August 22 protest. Here UAW President Douglas Fraser shifted the axis of the planned actions from "work stoppages" to "write-ins." And cut the time from the initially projected ten minutes to five. These changes followed the auto companies' threats to dock pay and impose disciplinary penalties.

Fraser explained that the union had sent the employers letters notifying them of our intentions. But from here on "it's up to you to organize." This left each local to its own devices.

The general response in Local 451 was that the write-in was OK but that the UAW can and should do much more. It would take a three-day stoppage to do anything at all, our local president pointed out.

Twin Cities

By Libby Moser

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Twenty-two hundred Ford workers in the Twin Cities, members of United Auto Workers Local 879, participated in the UAW write-in on August 15. This was one week before the majority of our brothers and sisters, because the Ford Twin Cities Assembly Plant was down for model changeover the following week.

Auto workers here have had numerous discussions about the energy crisis. The conclusion of all the conversations I've been involved in is the same: The oil companies want more money and they expect to get it from working people. One way or another.

It was no surprise, then, that most people thought the work stoppage was a good idea and were ready to participate in it. As the summer progressed, a new sentiment about the protest began to be expressed.

With the September 14 contract expiration drawing nearer, more local members have been attending union meetings and asking questions about the contract negotiations. The big question is: Who will be the strike target?

At a special union meeting August 8 one member of the local asked why the UAW selects only one company as a target and doesn't take on the Big Three. Not satisfied with the answer he received, he noted that the miners weren't afraid to take on both the coal companies and the government in 1978 and that the UAW shouldn't be afraid either.

Over the next week this sentiment was expressed to me more than once.

One person put it very well. Observing that if nearly 2 million UAW members "putting down our tools and picking up our pens" will send the politicians a message they won't be able to ignore or forget—as the union says—then those same UAW members going out on strike together when our contract expires probably could get a message across to the Big Three automakers too.

I agree.

mpany harassment

week suspension. The local plans to fight his case through the grievance procedure.

The ranks returned to work feeling victorious.

This company-provoked strike came only two weeks before the UAW begins negotiations with Mack Truck over our next three-year contract.

Over the past eighteen months the company has increased production by 50 percent through imposing heavier work loads, unsafe working conditions, and an unpopular "attendance control" program. The response of the workers has been increasingly to turn to their union for help.

The company tried to curb the union's ability to defend workers on the shop floor by subjecting the leadership to write-ups, suspensions, and other disciplinary actions. Committeepersons were required to carry passes in order to move through the plant on union business during work hours.

On Friday, August 17, the shop committee decided to resist this new form of harassment and refuse to relinquish their passes. Immediately a committeewoman was suspended and walked out of the plant by management personnel because she would not hand over her pass.

By the following Monday more than twenty union reps had been indefinitely suspended for the same reason.

On Tuesday morning the company announced it would not recognize the new union reps appointed to take their place. In effect, union representation no longer existed in the plant. At lunchtime a majority of workers walked out.

In the course of the walkout, one of the staunchest union defenders, Bob Pacheco, collapsed of a heart attack and died. Many workers held the company harassment responsible.

By the next morning there were hundreds of workers on the picket line. While the international union never sanctioned the strike, it remained solid until the end and attracted growing labor support throughout the Bay Area.

Black leader urges all-out labor involvement for ERA

On August 12 more than 500 trade unionists, along with members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), civil rights groups, and others attended a Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

The conference unanimously passed a proposal for a campaign of education and action by labor and its allies—including a January 20, 1980, march and rally in Richmond—to win ratification of the ERA in Virginia.

Among the keynote speakers was Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and executive vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Below are excerpts from his speech.

Militant/Suzanne Haig

CHARLES HAYES: 'Those of you who are unionists, organize your own people in support of ERA.'

We know if women are continuously deprived of their rights, we too can be adversely affected as trade unionists by the same forces who deprive women of their rights.

Legislation to make more equitable people's efforts to organize [into unions] has been scuttled and filibustered in the halls of Congress by the same forces who stand to block efforts to pass ERA.

If we just look at it in a straight economic sense—those of us who are from the northern and eastern states, as we witness jobs leaving our organized areas and going to those states where unions are very sparse—we can see the importance of our trying to unify and become a part of this movement.

"Labor says: Pass the Equal Rights Amendment Now!" is the title of a program to be held Sunday, September 23, 1 p.m. at the Labor Education Center, Rutgers University, in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Speakers will include Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and a leader of Labor for Equal Rights Now. For more information call (201) 761-4479 or (609) 665-8224.

We can't afford the kind of divisions that have existed between us in many, many instances.

I just wound up a situation our own union had in Thomasville, Georgia, where we struck for seven months for the right to have a union and get decent wages, something above the federal minimum wage.

I've never seen such a division among people. Out of 700 and some people who work at that plant, we had just a little over 300 who participated in the strike. And only about 4 of them were white.

The plant was about 60 percent Black, 40 percent white. This meant that in this company they could persuade the whites that it was in their best interests to remain on the job, while essentially the Black workers struck.

I would venture to say that the bulk of the people that we have out on the picket line, our strongest support, was among those Black women on that picket line.

If we are ever to develop the kind of union in that plant that the people deserve and need in Thomasville, Georgia, the women will have been the backbone of that struggle [applause].

'All-out involvement'

The fight for ERA can and must be won. But it's going to take an all-out labor involvement for this to be accomplished. The forces against ERA recognize quite clearly the kind of force we could be if we were united, white and Black, men and women.

The numbers of working women in this country have grown, not just because they want to work all the time, but because they have to work in order to make ends meet in the family budget.

What good does it do a man to starve and say, "Well, I'll starve, but because I'm white I'm better than that Black man who's starving." Or starve because they maintain the position that some men still feel that they are all powerful and dominate the women. Your position of dominance may lead to your own demise [applause].

Your fate is inescapably interwoven with that sister, if you really understood. To be a king without a throne is of very little value [laughter].

You're not about to be the kind of ruler that the shah of Iran was—and he was put out [cheers and applause].

You won't have the millions that he brought around with him. Or the most recent change that took place in Nicaragua [cheers and applause]. His millions didn't save him. He's in Florida now [laughter], last time I read. Still, the power of the people moved in on all his riches.

Now, you little kings on your throne at home, you're not in that kind of an economic position [laughter]. You may be fortunate enough to have a job today, but all it takes is a meeting of the board of directors of the firm for whom you work and they may decide while you're sleeping as to whether or not you have a job when you wake up. That's the way it works.

'We need unity'

So we need unity among us. I don't care what your political persuasions are. I don't want to talk to you as a Republican or as a Democrat. I'm talking to you as men and women who have a common interest around one issue, that's to pass ERA in the state of Virginia [applause and cheers].

And you've scratched the surface as a result of this conference here in the state of Virginia. You ought to be about the business of forming the most powerful coalition that you can possibly form in this state in order to reach success on the issue that you want to pass—that's ERA.

You ought to make contact with church leaders. And yes, those of you who are unionists ought to begin to do the kind of job that you're capable of doing—organizing your own people, your own families in support of ERA.

You ought to go into these college campuses and in these high schools and get the broadest kind of support you can get for ERA.

That's the way you organize people behind a movement and this is what you started here, a movement.

I want to close by saying that our organization, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, is committed to support the struggle for ERA in the state of Virginia and wherever else is necessary.

Milwaukee Road bankruptcy

Rail locals protest threatened shutdown

By David McDonald

CHICAGO—More than 400 railroad workers met here July 31 to protest the manipulated bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road.

The meeting, sponsored jointly by United Transportation Union Locals 1433 and 1258 (representing switchpersons on the Milwaukee Road), was attended by railroad workers from many different crafts working on many different railroads.

The meeting featured speeches by John McGinness, Illinois State legislative representative for the UTU; Bill Brodsky, a former high-level management official of the Milwaukee Road; and Kendall Gustafson, a former Milwaukee Road sales representative.

Gustafson was fired for sending a telegraphic wire to all points on the Milwaukee Road, exposing the manipulations of Milwaukee Road management to bankrupt the railroad and turn over its profitable segments to the Burlington Northern and other carriers.

The meeting also featured an open microphone to encourage rank-and-file railroad workers to tell what they knew about the bankruptcy.

Without exception, the speakers denounced the intentional bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road. McGinness, the keynote speaker, said: "I view the effort to break up and destroy the Milwaukee as part and parcel of the current merger mania whereby certain aggressive and profit-swollen railroads are attempting to extend their empires."

Brodsky and Gustafson detailed how the Milwaukee Road was systematically bled dry in order to throw its attractive assets onto the capital market and to enable the railroad to force Milwaukee Road employees to accept draconian work-rule changes.

Brodsky asserted that as early as 1950 management of the Milwaukee Road began to overlook needed maintenance—first on the tracks and property, next on the rolling stock, and finally on the locomotive fleet—in order to improve their cash flow position and provide additional profits for the owners.

Militant/David McDonald

Chicago meeting of over 400 railroad workers protests liquidation of Milwaukee Road.

Several workers chimed in with examples of obvious attempts to destroy the Milwaukee Road.

The meeting was divided on the question of how Milwaukee Road employees should proceed in their attempts to save their jobs.

McGinness said, "If the vast territory served by the Milwaukee is to be monopolized by a single railroad than it is only natural that the government eventually will step in to provide the necessary nationalization in order to protect the public interest." Most of the other rail labor officials present favored an employee ownership plan. Under such a plan, participating employees would give a certain amount of their wages each pay period in return for ownership of Milwaukee Road stock. This plan, called ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan), has been proposed by the Railway Labor Executives Association as the most effective response to the threatened liquidation scheme.

However, strong opposition to this sort of plan was voiced at the meeting. Guy Miller, chairperson of the solidarity committee of UTU Local 577 on the Chicago and North Western, said that the experience of C&NW workers with an ESOP plan showed it to be a device for milking the employees through a forced loan that paid no dividends.

And, said Miller, "there's not a bit of real employee ownership involved. The same people make the same decisions, and they all go against us. What is really needed on the Milwaukee Road is to force the government to nationalize the railroad and run it by a publicly elected board." Miller's remarks were greeted with the loudest applause of the night.

Doug Hord, a switchperson who helped form UTU Local 620's solidarity committee, explained why workers on the Burlington Northern should stand with their brothers and sisters on the Milwaukee Road. "It may seem," said Hord, "that BN workers would gain from the bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road since the BN is behind all of this. But it's not true.

"We at the BN think that if they can destroy your jobs, ours won't be far behind. We'd rather pitch in and help defeat them on your turf, before they get to us."

Hord then listed the main points of Local 620's resolution of solidarity. It included demands for 1) no layoffs; 2) no reduction in service; 3) full disclosure of all relevant facts that have emerged in the courts, in Congress, and in the boardrooms; and 4) open the books and records of the Milwaukee Road to get out the truth.

The Chicago meeting was inspired by a similar protest meeting held June 5 in Minneapolis. Several railroad workers from Minneapolis attended the Chicago meeting. One of them, Bill Peterson of the UTU Local 911 Save the Milwaukee Committee, laid out what he saw as the road forward:

"We in 911 are alive and kicking. What we need now is to win massive public support to maintain the Milwaukee Road as it exists now," Peterson said. "How can we stop the shutdown in the face of opposition from the government, the Department of Transportation, and the owners?

"We must build the biggest, most massive movement possible, to put maximum pressure on the government to step in and halt the shutdown. We shouldn't ask the government, we should demand."

Rob Bartlett of UTU Local 577 echoed this sentiment a few moments later when he said, "The only reason the Milwaukee Road isn't shut down already is the fact that meetings like this are happening. We need more meetings like this in Milwaukee, in Portland, wherever, to keep the pressure up."

Company proposes new liquidation scheme

By David McDonald and Dick Roberts

The owners of the Milwaukee Road have come up with a new plan for reorganizing it. Dubbed "Milwaukee II," the plan has been sent to the Illinois district court and to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Milwaukee II would shrink the 9,800 mile system down to a 3,400 mile core. It would mean permanent job losses for more than 4,000 present Milwaukee Road employees.

The company is also demanding new sacrifices from the workers who would remain with the reorganized railroad.

In court in Chicago, bankruptcy trustee Richard Ogilvie is claiming that the line is about to run out of funds. He called on the court to approve ceasing operations in October on the 6,400 miles the company wants to eliminate.

According to the August 28 *Wall Street Journal*, "Mr. Ogilvie said the railroad . . . has been told by the Transportation Department that federal assistance won't be provided to maintain service on the track that won't be part of Milwaukee II."

If this is true it is a clear signal which side the government is going to come down on. Stopping Department of Transportation funds to the part of the line the Milwaukee Road wants to eliminate will certainly speed up the process of that elimination.

Meanwhile the ICC has announced that it will hold hearings on the bankruptcy beginning in September and that it will act on the abandonment bid by January 10. This is further indication of the speed with which the rulers of this country are trying to force through the Milwaukee Road liquidation. Normal ICC abandonment proceedings can take years.

In this case an "expedited procedure" is being undertaken, according to an ICC official.

ICC hearings will be held in seven cities, beginning with Butte, Montana, September 10. The other cities are Great Falls and Missoula, Montana; Spokane, Moses Lake, and Seattle, Washington; and Chicago. The Chicago hearings are scheduled for September 24-28 and October 15-26.

Those wishing to testify should send comments to the Secretary of the ICC, Washington, D.C. 20423 (refer to Docket No. AB7-86F).

Meanwhile the management of the Milwaukee has served notice of the work-rule changes it is demanding for the reorganized road. Management even has put a dollar value on its projected savings for each of the work rules.

These include doing away with a bonus that switchpersons normally get for hooking up air hoses, starting new employees at 75 percent of full pay, elimination of cabooses on most trains, elimination of starting time and shift restrictions, and elimination of brake persons on intermodal trains (leaving a one-person crew!).

Management-projected savings: $11,581,400.

As one Milwaukee Road worker said from the open microphone of the July 31 meeting: "First they wanted the two-man crew because they were in money trouble. We gave them that and now they want to do away with the whole railroad. They don't ever seem to be satisfied."

Railway clerks strike Rock Island Line

By Doug Hord

CHICAGO, August 28—Eighteen hundred members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) in fourteen states struck the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad this morning.

All other rail unions are honoring BRAC's picket lines. One member of the United Transportation Union on the Rock Island here in Chicago said it all. "I'm glad somebody is finally going after them."

The issue is the 1978 national wage agreement. Rock Island management refuses to sign this pattern agreement with any provisions for back pay. Consequently workers on the Rock Island haven't had a pay increase since October 1977.

For clerks, back pay since April 1978 approaches $3,000. For the operating crafts it is even more.

The Rock Island has been under federal receivership since it went bankrupt in 1975. Management claims that back pay provisions totalling $2.5 million for the clerks would drive it all the way under.

For workers on the Rock Island this poorhouse argument is beginning to wear a little thin. One picketer put it this way: "Too bad for them. Let them liquidate. Somebody has to work here and make this railroad run. I don't care who I work for. Just give us our money."

Key to this strike's success will be whether it is extended to other roads.

Clerks on the Norfolk and Western (N&W) went for over eighty days in 1978 while the railroad received $800,000 a day in "strike insurance" from sixty-seven other roads.

During the final weeks of the strike termination notices were served on workers in all crafts honoring BRAC's picket lines. Outright union busting was in the air.

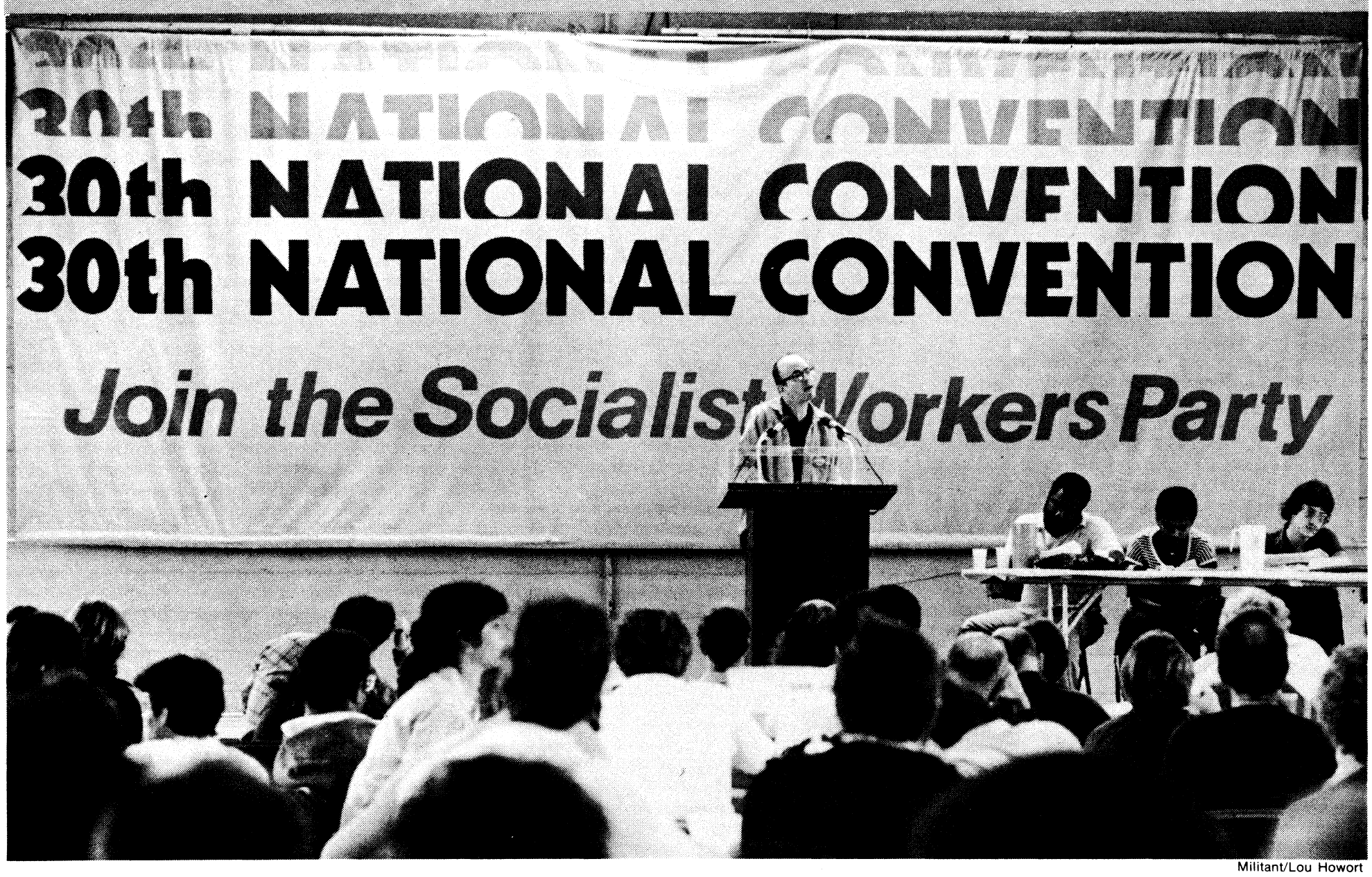
Then BRAC struck for four days nationally on all roads involved in the strike insurance fund and on all roads interchanging with the N&W. At the end of four days BRAC and all other N&W crafts were back to work.

Four months later, at the threat of resuming the national strike, the clerks had a contract on the N&W.

This is what it will take on the Rock Island. And if Rock Island management can't afford it, "too bad for them.'

Socialists meet

Big advance in building party of industrial workers



Militant/Lou Howort

Confidence in working class

By Fred Feldman

Enthusiasm and confidence in the working class, reinforced by the opening of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua, dominated the proceedings of the Thirtieth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Held August 5-11 in Oberlin, Ohio, the convention was attended by more than 1,550 socialist workers and their supporters from all parts of the United States and around the world.

The Nicaraguan revolution provided an inspiring new demonstration of the rising combativity of the world's working people and the weakened position of U.S. imperialism.

The convention heard a special report by SWP leader Pedro Camejo, who had just returned from Managua, on the advances being made by the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). A rally launching the 1980 SWP presidential campaign also heard greetings from a young Nicaraguan who fought with the FSLN.

The delegates voted to launch a major national campaign in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, getting out the truth about the progressive goals and actions of the revolution's leadership and demanding that the U.S. government provide material aid to rebuild the country. The SWP pledged to be in the forefront of opposition to moves by the Carter administration to exert military and economic pressure against Nicaragua, or to step up threats against revolutionary Cuba because of its support to Nicaragua.

Socialist campaigns

The convention decided to put out special issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* including eyewitness reports from Nicaragua, Fidel Castro's July 26 speech hailing the revolution, and a statement by the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, calling for a worldwide campaign in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The convention launched two major campaigns to reach working people with socialist answers to the Carter administration's efforts to make workers and farmers pay for the deep-going economic problems of world capitalism.

It nominated Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann as its candidates for president and vice-president in 1980. Pulley, Zimmermann, and their supporters will travel from one end of the country to the other to get out working-class answers to the energy crisis, inflation and unemployment, Washington's war drive, racist and sexist discrimination, and all the other ripoffs and catastrophic breakdowns that the capitalist rulers have in store for us.

They will campaign against Carter's wage controls, for women's right to abortion, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, against police brutality, and for the unrestricted right of workers to organize and strike.

The socialist candidates will explain that these are all political fights, and that to carry them out effectively the unions will have to break from the parties of the employers, the Democrats and Republicans, and launch their own independent labor party.

Getting the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible will require the collection of hundreds of thousands of signatures on nominating petitions in the coming year. Socialist workers will be petitioning widely for the SWP ticket, including on the job, and will seek to involve co-workers in the fight for ballot rights for the working-class alternative in the elections.

The convention also adopted a proposal for a drive to sell more than 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the coming three months, with the major emphasis on sales of subscriptions and single copies to co-workers at plant gates and on the job.

The convention registered a big advance in the SWP's drive to center its activities and its membership in the major workplaces and unions of industrial workers, a move initiated at the February 1978 meeting of the SWP National Committee.

During the 1960s and early 1970s the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party recruited many hundreds of young working people and students through wholehearted participation in the anti-Vietnam war movement and in the Black, Chicano, and women's liberation struggles. These big social and political struggles had a profound impact on the consciousness of millions of workers. But they were fought largely without major participation or commitment of power from the organized labor movement.

In the mid to late 1970s, the industrial working class has become increasingly distrustful of capitalist institutions and open to radical ideas. Economic and social breakdowns, accompanied by attacks from the capitalists and their government—attacks that center more and more on the industrial workers and their unions—have bred a growing desire to fight back.

These changes have made it possible for the SWP to greatly strengthen its forces in the industrial working class, which socialists have always regarded as the decisive force for winning social progress.

Today more than 46 percent of SWP members are industrial workers. These include 170 members of the United Steelworkers, 142 members of the United Auto Workers, more than 100 railroad workers, and about 90 members of the Machinists union, and 55 electrical workers.

Meetings of these socialist workers, organized by industry, were held right before the convention to map out plans to participate in the struggles of workers in their industries, to carry out the party's campaigns in this decisive arena, and to win more co-workers to socialism.

The reports and discussions at the convention showed that deeper involvement in the organizations of industrial workers has helped the SWP place itself increasingly in the center of progressive social and political struggles.

Socialist workers have been actively involved, for example, in organizing drives in the South, in the fight for the ERA, the antinuclear movement, affirmative-action battles, strike solidarity efforts,

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unemployed committees, and many others.

Through carrying out rounded political activity on the job and in the unions, socialist workers are winning a layer of their co-workers to the perspective of transforming the unions into powerful, democratic, class-struggle organizations that can build a labor party and fight to establish a workers government.

SWP members are meeting hundreds of workers interested in reading the *Militant,* supporting socialist election campaigns, and attending forums or classes. Some are joining the SWP or YSA now; more will join in the future as they learn more about socialist politics and see the SWP's perspectives confirmed in action.

Democratic discussion

The Oberlin convention concluded a six-month period of discussion in the Socialist Workers Party, with the first three months devoted solely to international issues. Written contributions totaling some 1,000 typeset pages filled twenty-seven printed discussion bulletins.

At the end of the discussion, 124 delegates were elected from the SWP branches to have the decisive vote at the convention itself.

Although a wide range of sometimes conflicting views were raised and discussed, this democratic process—together with the test of experience—led to near-unanimous conclusions about the growing crisis of U.S. imperialism, advances in the world revolution, and the road forward in building a revolutionary socialist party of industrial workers in the heartland of imperialism.

This orientation was embodied in the draft political resolution submitted to the convention by the SWP National Committee. The delegates heard a report on this resolution given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

A counter-resolution, entitled "Against the Workerist Turn: A Critique and Some Proposals," was submitted by several party members in Miami. It argued that the SWP majority was wrong in seeing a big increase in the social and political consciousness of workers over the past decade. And, it predicted, many coming social struggles "will still tend to bypass the unions" as in the past.

In the voting in SWP branches before the convention, this resolution received less than 2 percent of the vote. It was presented to the convention by Jack Lieberman. After a full day of discussion, the National Committee resolution and the report on it were adopted by the delegates to the convention with only one dissenting vote.

The convention's success in uniting and inspiring the membership with a common perspective and orientation was reflected by the decision made by thirty-five people to join the party during the proceedings, and by scores of party members to get into industrial jobs and unions when they returned home.

International debates

The convention opened with debates over the stand the SWP has taken on two central issues in world politics: Cuba and Indochina.

Reporting for the SWP Political Committee, Larry Seigle explained the party's stand that the Castro leadership and its growing role in Africa and Latin America are revolutionary. He noted the sweeping advances instituted by the Cuban government in health, education, racial equality, women's rights, and the rights of workers. And he pointed to its readiness to risk everything to extend the Cuban revolution—the opposite of the Soviet bureaucracy's policy of betraying revolutionary struggles in exchange for deals with imperialism.

These are characteristics of a government that is committed to the interests of the workers and peasants. Seigle noted how the wide popular support that the Cuban leadership has retained for twenty years made it possible to take such bold revolutionary initiatives as releasing all political prisoners and opening a dialogue with the Cuban community abroad. These actions will enhance the attractiveness of the Cuban revolution to workers in the United States and have a big impact on U.S. politics.

Seigle called for the SWP to step up its campaign for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba. And he urged SWP members to visit Cuba to see for themselves what a socialist revolution looks like.

Tim Wohlforth presented an opposing view, characterizing the Castro leadership as counterrevolutionary Stalinists and urging the party to take essentially the same political stance toward the Cuban government as toward the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Wohlforth's view was unanimously rejected by the delegates.

Bruce Levine, a National Committee member who had been scheduled to present the view that Cuba was "state capitalist," explained to the delegates why he had concluded through the course of the discussion that Cuba was in fact a workers state. A number of other party members, former members like Levine of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee which fused with the SWP in 1977, also indicated that they had rejected the state capitalist analysis of Cuba during the convention. The state capitalist position received only one delegate's vote.

On Indochina, the SWP leadership's view, embodied in a resolution, "New Advances in the Indochinese Revolution and Imperialism's Response," was presented by Gus Horowitz. Charles Duret, a leader of the Fourth International, reported in favor of an opposing resolution, "The Sino-Indochinese Crisis," endorsed by a majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. (Both resolutions were published in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor,* June 4, 1979.)

Horowitz argued that the ongoing military conflicts in Indochina stem from U.S. imperialism's opposition to advances in the Indochinese revolution. As examples he pointed to the overturn of capitalism in South Vietnam in the spring of 1978, and the action of Vietnamese forces and Kampuchean (Cambodian) rebels in toppling the capitalist Pol Pot regime in January 1979.

Duret defended the view that the use of Vietnamese troops in overthrowing Pol Pot had set back rather than advanced the revolution in the region. He held that the SWP was exaggerating the role of U.S. imperialism in the military clashes in Indochina.

Both sides agreed on the need to expose the imperialist campaign of lies against the Vietnamese revolution around the issue of the "boat people."

At the conclusion of several hours of discussion, the convention delegates voted overwhelmingly to uphold the current positions of the SWP on both Cuba and Indochina.

Internationalist outlook

The priority given to international questions at the convention is in harmony with the internationalist traditions of the revolutionary socialist movement. Socialist workers know that U.S. imperialism and the U.S. working class have opposed stakes in every struggle that takes place in the world. When a shah or a Somoza falls, or when Cuban troops aid a national liberation struggle in Africa, the U.S. rulers lose ground and the workers at home are strengthened.

One of the highest duties of working-class fighters in this country is to oppose the reactionary role of U.S. corporations and the U.S. government around the world.

This internationalist outlook was enriched by the presence at the convention of nearly 200 guests from other countries. These included leaders of the Trotskyist movement from Argentina, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Iran, Israel, Mexico, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Spain, and Switzerland. An exiled representative of the South African Black Consciousness Movement also gave greetings to the convention.

The SWP's course toward centering its activities in the factories, mines, mills, and railroads is not based on developments in the United States alone, but on the rising stakes of the international class struggle. Advances in the world revolution and the response of the imperialists to these advances are posing life-and-death questions before the working people of the whole world. And revolutionary socialists in other countries have similar or even greater opportunities to build revolutionary workers parties than socialist workers in the United States.

That is why the convention delegates voted unanimously to approve a package of resolutions submitted by the United Secretariat for the Eleventh World Congress of the Fourth International, to be held later this year. These include resolutions on the world political situation, Europe, Latin America, and on the historic significance of the international women's liberation movement and the role socialists should play in building it. A report on the latter resolution was given to the convention by Mary-Alice Waters.

Worldwide orientation

All these resolutions point toward the task of orienting the parties of the Fourth International toward new party-building opportunities in the industrial working class.

A majority caucus has been formed within the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to win support for this course. According to a letter circulated by two leaders of this caucus, this course includes "winning the majority of our cadres recruited in the previous period to the perspective of going into industry. . . .

"Without making this turn, we risk being marginalized from the confrontations shaping up and therefore from the central arena of politics."

In his report on the political resolution, Jack Barnes summarized the thinking behind the adoption of this orientation in the United States:

"Underlying this decision was our estimate of the

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Delegates to convention were elected following six months of discussion in SWP branches.

state of the world economy and changes in world politics following the defeat for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the 1974-5 worldwide recession; the economic and political changes in this country—the deepening class polarization and growth of combativity and class consciousness among American workers; and what all this would mean in preparing the party to lead the struggles of the oppressed and exploited.

"For the first time in three decades we could do political work in the decisive sectors of our class."

Driving forward all these changes, he explained, was the end of the long capitalist economic boom that followed World War II. This boom allowed the capitalists to reap enormous profits while countenancing a slow but significant rise in the standard of living of most workers. At the same time, the relative prosperity made it possible for a bureaucratic officialdom to consolidate its stranglehold over the unions without facing overwhelming opposition from the ranks.

This boom was fizzling out as early as 1969, but the crisis first exploded on a world scale with the depression of 1974-5.

Antilabor offensive

Under pressure to preserve and increase their profit rates in the face of intensifying international competition, the rulers of the imperialist countries launched a two-pronged offensive against working people—an economic offensive against the workers in their own countries and a war drive aimed at preserving and extending imperialist domination around the world.

This offensive is inspiring growing resistance from working people—from the U.S. coal miners' strike in 1977-8 to last winter's national steel strike in Germany, the first in fifty years. It is stripping away illusions that capitalism can provide prosperity or an expansion of human freedoms.

The real driving force of all world politics is more clearly revealed—the conflict between the capitalist class, which lives by appropriating the wealth produced by working people and profits from exploitation and oppression, and the working class, whose interests require the abolition of every form of exploitation and oppression.

One prong of the ruling-class offensive is aimed directly at the wages, living standards, and working conditions of workers in the imperialist countries. This means lengthening working hours and increasing speedup, jacking up prices of vital necessities such as food and energy while holding down wages, expanding the destructive but profitable use of nuclear power, slashing public services, and lifting restrictions on destruction of the environment. Similar austerity drives are unfolding from Britain to Japan, from Spain to Sweden.

The capitalists in this country were in a stronger position than most to launch such an offensive, because of the political imprisonment of labor within the capitalist two-party system and the decades-long weakening of the unions by a privileged bureaucracy committed to collaboration with the employers rather than struggle for the workers' interests.

Workers are increasingly turning toward their unions for defense against these attacks. They are more and more seeing the need to expand, strengthen, and democratize the unions in order to make them effective in the fight against the employers.

'No more Vietnams'

The domestic antilabor offensive is intertwined with the imperialist drive to protect and expand profits by beating back revolutionary upheavals in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. U.S. imperialism—the strongest military power and the only strategic nuclear power among the capitalist states—needs the capacity to crush revolutions with its own military forces.

But the push to restore the draft, to build up arms, and to intervene militarily against popular struggles is running into a persistent obstacle: the antiwar convictions of the American workers.

"The Vietnam War changed everything in American politics," Barnes stated. "Slowly but surely the American working class drew some conscious conclusions. 'No more Vietnams' has become perhaps the most popular single slogan in this country."

The Vietnam War convinced a generation of American workers that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by helping their rulers suppress other peoples.

The leaders of the Cuban government showed their revolutionary mettle by recognizing this shift of forces against imperialism and taking full advantage of it to advance the African revolution. They sent tens of thousands of troops to defeat a South African invasion of Angola and to stymie subsequent imperialist moves against the regime there. And they moved in troops in early 1978 to block a U.S.-inspired invasion by the Somali regime aimed at crushing the Ethiopian revolution. Washington's moves toward direct military intervention were paralyzed by fear of opposition at home.

Since then, in the face of mass uprisings that eventually toppled the shah of Iran and the Somoza tyranny in Nicaragua, Washington has had to

Continued on next page

Concert benefits Latin American prisoners

By Michael Smith

Brazilian jazz musician and composer Guadencio Thiago de Mello led an eight-piece band in a benefit concert for Latin American political prisoners on August 9, during the Socialist Workers Party convention. The concert was sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Some 700 people heard Thiago on a warm August night in the large, high-roofed stone chapel on the Oberlin College campus.

Thiago was introduced by Barry Fatland, executive secretary of USLA. Fatland said the concert was special, in that it was occurring just after the Nicaraguan people's inspiring ouster of Somoza. He announced that a record of it was being made to benefit USLA.

USLA was founded in 1966 to defend political prisoners and to mobilize public opinion in the United States against American military aid and support to Latin American tyrants. Thiago is a member of its board of directors.

Thiago played the opening number on the African birim bao, a bowed percussion instrument anchored to a stripped gourd. It is played by pushing the gourd into the chest and popping it off while striking the bow with a wand.

The birim bao is common in northeast Brazil, Thiago said, and also in Cuba, because the slaves in Brazil were from the same part of Africa as the slaves who were taken to Cuba.

Thiago, Llew Matthews from Los Angeles, and Carol Sudhalter from New York wrote all original numbers for the evening. Thiago's contribution was a series of *"abracos"* or "embraces," each one dedicated to a different person, some of whom were in the band.

Bandera Blanca, he said, is a song for all of us revolutionaries, that "we should never give up, surrender, shake the white flag." The gentleness of the song, the quietness of Thiago's voice, and the delicacy of his guitar evoked a resolve, it seemed, even in those who didn't understand its Portuguese lyrics.

Militant/Lou Howort

From left: Guadencio Thiago de Mello, Richard Lesnik, Carol Sudhalter, Mauricio Smith, Claudio Roditi.

Then Thiago brought the rest of the band on stage: Haroldo Mauro Jr., Nico Assuncão, Claudio Roditi from Brazil, and Mauricio Smith from Panama all now live in and play professionally out of New York, as does Carol Sudhalter. From the West Coast came Richard Lesnik from San Diego and Llew Matthews from Los Angeles.

All are top flight musicians and several have impressive credits. Mauricio has played with Dizzy Gillespie and Machita; Llew just finished a review backing up Lena Horne; and Claudio has recorded with Herbie Mann.

"Let's work," Thiago said. They played *Your Eyes*, a lovely ballad with a series of solos where the musicians introduced themselves musically, while Thiago kept time shaking a gourd.

The room was filled with multiple Latin rhythms, deep harmonies, pungent beats, Debussy-like flute solos by Mauricio Smith, fantastic tradings of complicated figures in continuous double-time by Llew on piano and Nico on bass, Haroldo's fine drumming, Richard's distinctive mellow tenor sax, the tasteful phrasing and gorgeous sound of Claudio's fluegelhorn, and the coloring and dimension of Carol's deep-voiced baritone sax.

Then the Sudhalter arrangement of *Mitchell*, a piece she wrote and first played at the Women's Jazz Festival in New York, was played beautifully with Carol leading the swing tempo 12 bar jazz piece on baritone sax.

Get It was written so as to bring in an exuberant clapping audience, who stopped abruptly and frequently to let in Llew's terrific piano tinkle, or the baritone's boom, or Mauricio's stretched out soprano.

The mood changed as Thiago introduced his *Sleeping Giant* (Brazil), observing that "there is only one way to wake her up." The song, said the Brazilian, "was for all people in exile, especially for one who is fighting very hard for a place to stay in this country: Héctor Marroquín," the Mexican socialist who the U.S. government is trying to deport.

For an encore Thiago introduced *Another Feeling*, which he was inspired to write after listening to an old Black Afro-Cuban piano player. Along with the Cuban influence and Thiago's own Brazilian-Indian roots one could hear in the piece a North American New Orleans sound.

And one could hear eight fine musicians playing the new music of the Americas.

Continued from preceding page
restrict itself to arms shipments, naval maneuvers, and diplomatic warnings.

In Southeast Asia, the imperialist-instigated invasion of Vietnam by the Peking rulers failed to achieve its main goal of forcing Hanoi to pull out of Kampuchea and allow a pro-imperialist regime to be installed there.

Each of these advances for the colonial revolution was made possible in large part by the refusal of the American workers to go to war for their employers' profits. For this reason, as the SWP political resolution states, "the American working class has emerged as the crucial ally of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist fighters around the world."

Growing fightback

The imperialist drive against the working class is going to be a permanent feature of the 1980s. The ruling class cannot afford to grant the kind of massive, long-term concessions that—together with the bureaucratization of the unions, the Cold War, and McCarthyism—made it possible to turn back the radicalization of the 1930s and 1940s.

In fact, the rulers are determined to slash or reverse many of the gains won by working people in the past—whether recent ones such as affirmative action for Blacks and women, or more longstanding ones such as Social Security and the right to organize unions.

Defeating these attacks will require the mobilization of more powerful social forces than were required to score the major advances won by Blacks, women, and other working people in the 1960s and early '70s.

But the imperialist offensive is also bringing those larger forces into action. The struggles of Blacks, Latinos, and women—like the antiwar movement—deeply affected the attitudes of the entire working class. Sentiment for equality and against discrimination, for democratic liberties and against police spying and repression, is stronger than ever in the working class. And there is a growing realization that these are *class* questions, which ought to be championed by the unions.

This means the defense of these gains takes place in a new and more favorable framework. And this is true even though the ruling class still holds the offensive. In the course of today's defensive struggles the workers are gaining experience and drawing valuable conclusions about how to fight back.

The growing combativity of the industrial work force—which includes more Blacks, Latinos, and women than any time in history—will serve to inspire all the oppressed with confidence in the possibility of victories.

Crisis of petty-bourgeois left

The correctness of the SWP's turn to the industrial working class is highlighted by the crisis and decay that infect petty-bourgeois radical formations that looked elsewhere for solutions.

More than a few radicals of the 1960s now denounce affirmative action as unfair to white males. Some, like Joan Baez, who opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam, have enlisted in the imperialist propaganda campaign that continues the war against the Vietnamese revolution in the guise of concern for the "boat people." Still others have drifted into the search for personal solutions through "liberating lifestyles."

"Marxists" such as the editors of the *Guardian* cry that "these are sorry days for socialism," while *Monthly Review* editor Paul Sweezy pronounces Marxism inadequate to explain today's world.

Isolated from and indifferent to the growing proletarian resistance to the rulers' drive, and completely incapable of charting an independent course, such petty-bourgeois ex-radicals are being drawn in the wake of the imperialist offensive. Invariably they cover their retreat by proclaiming that the American workers are moving to the right. They mistake their own drift for that of the masses. The experiences of socialist workers as described by delegates on the floor of the convention and by other SWP members in industrial union fraction meetings and workshops show how far off the mark the ex-radical doomsayers are.

Changing moods

Socialists from southern branches of the SWP told of the changing moods there. Shipyard workers from Newport News, Virginia, described how workers in Steelworkers Local 8888—Black and white, men and women—are waging a united fight for union recognition at the biggest private shipyard in the country.

Rebecca Finch, organizer of the newly formed Greensboro, North Carolina, SWP branch, told how hundreds of workers in the Piedmont region are pouring into the Teamsters union, unswayed by racist anti-union propaganda.

A member of the United Steelworkers from Louisiana described the "jubilation" of workers in her aluminum plant when Brian Weber's racist lawsuit against affirmative action in the union contract was thrown out by the Supreme Court.

The convention heard a talk by Nelson Blackstock, organizer of the new SWP branch in Birmingham, Alabama, on the meaning of these changes in the South. Blackstock, a native of Georgia, described how the defeat of Jim Crow segregation in the 1960s has inspired self-confidence in southern Blacks while undermining the racism of white workers.

"Many thought it would take the organization of labor in the South to end Jim Crow," Blackstock noted. "However, it's turning out that the end of Jim Crow is helping to accelerate the organization of labor."

Changes in the attitudes and thinking of workers are not by any means restricted to the South.

Machinists from San Diego explained how they succeeded in bringing their union local into the struggle against the *Weber* suit.

Aerospace workers from Los Angeles and auto workers from New Jersey described the universal conviction among their co-workers that the oil shortage was engineered by the government and the oil companies to jack up prices. These workers responded positively to socialist proposals for a fight to expose the secret reserves and transactions of the oil companies, and to nationalize the energy industry and put workers in control of production.

Rail workers from Minneapolis and Chicago talked about how employees of the Milwaukee Road are fighting a fradulent bankruptcy scheme aimed at denying the workers either jobs or unemployment compensation. Their slogan, emblazoned on T-shirts and buttons: "Investigate the Milwaukee-gate!"

Rail workers and steelworkers at a workshop on the struggle to shut down nuclear power plants described the readiness of workers in their unions to take action against nuclear power, and the initiating role that unions are beginning to play in such actions in some areas. This trend has been strengthened by the stepping up of the United Mine Workers campaign to shut down nuclear plants and burn coal instead.

Transforming the unions

Socialists find that their co-workers are angry about the same things they are—ten and twelve-hour workdays; speedup that undermines health and safety and produces shoddy or dangerous products; the threat of war; racial and sexual inequality; the deteriorating environment; and the growing awareness that things are likely to get a lot worse under the present social system.

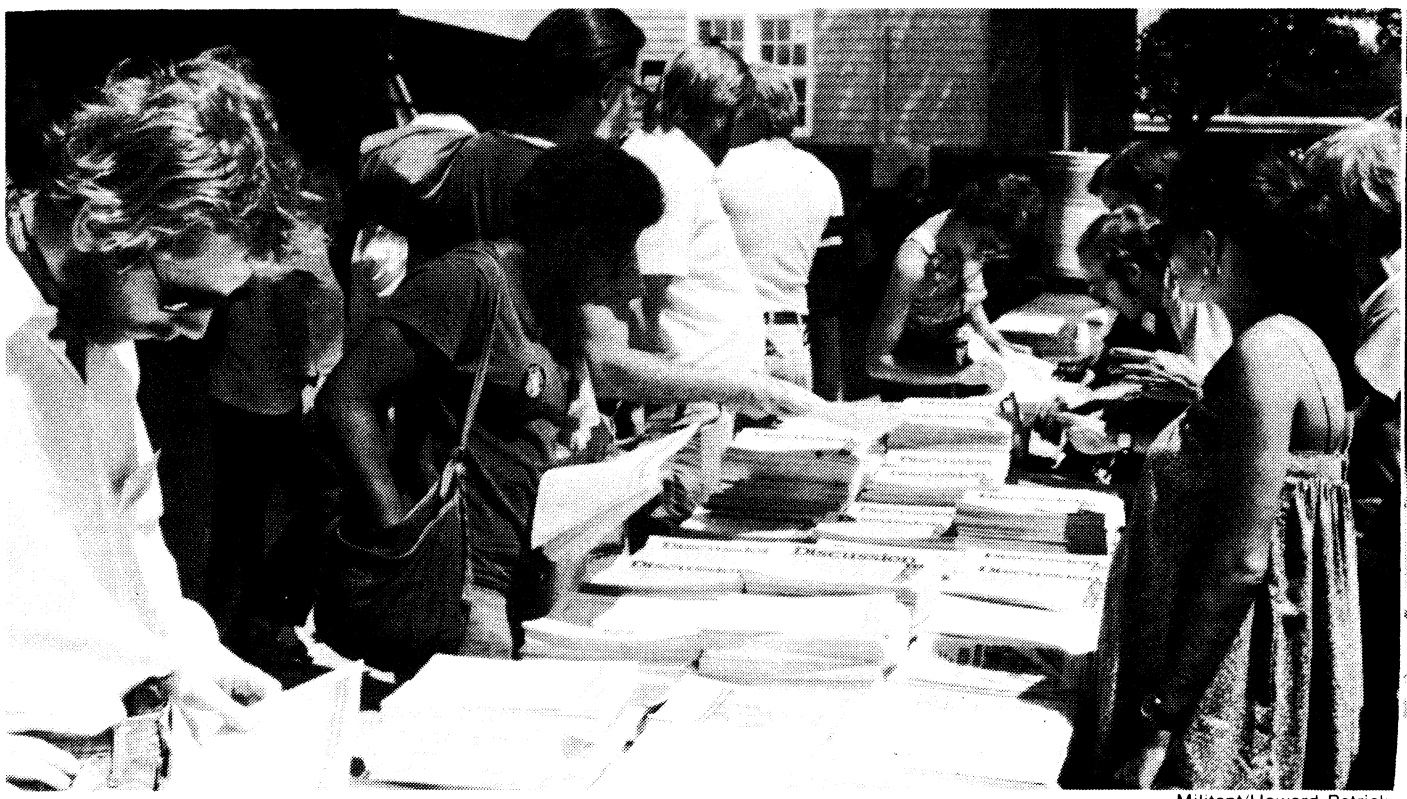
The only thing that distinguishes socialist workers from others is that they have a strategy for building a revolutionary workers party capable of putting an end to these evils.

The pivot of that strategy is the struggle to transform the unions into revolutionary organizations, organizations that can consistently defend the political and economic interests of workers against the rulers' take-back drive.

Transforming the unions means fighting for the solidarity and unity of the unions with all other working people—whether it is other workers on strike, Blacks or women fighting for equal treatment, or workers in other countries fighting to free themselves from imperialist domination.

It means fighting for union democracy so that the ranks can bring the full power of their unions to bear in the struggle against the employers, cutting across the union officialdom's readiness to yield ground in the name of class peace.

And it means breaking out of the capitalist political trap by forming a labor party based on the



Militant/Howard Petrick

Militant/Lou Howort

From plentiful literature tables to child-care activities, convention arrangements were organized with professionalism.

unions. This will give working people a means of fighting for their interests on every question in the national political arena. It will not only unleash the power of the unions, but also make it possible for them to attract and unite in struggle all the victims of the decaying capitalist system.

Marxist current

A major topic of discussion at the convention was how to win workers to this perspective. Many delegates and other contributors to the discussion pointed out that it's not enough to stress the immediate economic issues that arise in the daily conflict with the boss. Important as those issues are, they are more and more inseparable from other big social and political questions.

Johanna Ryan, a former railroad worker who is now helping to build the new SWP branch in Greensboro, put it this way:

"When you demand a raise, your boss is bound to bring up a whole range of social issues—everything from Carter's 7 percent wage ceiling and the high cost of 'bothersome' environmental and safety regulations, to the threat of imports and the possibility of moving the plant to the non-union South. On the railroad in Philadelphia, I found that the best time to talk international politics was on Friday afternoons when we'd get together to check our paystubs and discuss the wonderful things Uncle Sam was doing with our overtime pay."

A vital task, insisted the reporters and delegates alike, is to build a Marxist current in the unions around the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party. Such a class-conscious layer is indispensable to the forging of a class-struggle left wing capable of reorienting and strengthening the unions for the battles ahead. On-the-job sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and winning support among co-workers for the 1980 SWP presidential campaign, are central to this goal.

In his report to the convention on organizational and educational tasks, Maceo Dixon explained that building a Marxist current in the working class requires such moves as establishing attractive, well-located bookstores and headquarters for SWP branches; holding regular forum series on the big questions of the day; and strengthening such basic branch functions as finances.

'Not reckless, but audacious'

Delegates stressed the importance of speaking out openly for socialist ideas.

"We want to be identified by our co-workers as members of the Socialist Workers Party," said Greg Nelson, a New Orleans steelworker who is the SWP candidate for governor of Louisiana. "We are the honest to goodness, out front, dyed in the wool socialists. Not reckless, but certainly audacious. We choose this policy not only because it is possible now, but because it makes it easier to win. It is easier for our co-workers to understand us, to join us, if they see who we really are."

Nelson emphasized the importance of the revolutionary press to socialist workers: "The *Militant* is our tool. You can't make a revolution without the *Militant*. Are we selling on the job? If not, then something's mixed up.

"Talking socialism and selling the *Militant* are inseparable. They are our number one priority because they are the foundation on which we are building the left wing of the trade union movement."

Nelson and other delegates described their experiences running for office or campaigning for other SWP candidates. They found this was a good way to introduce themselves as socialists to their co-workers, who are often excited about the idea of a worker taking on the capitalist politicians in the elections.

Delegates also observed that co-workers, while often not yet convinced of the necessity of a socialist revolution, are interested in socialist ideas. They are hostile to the red-baiting campaigns occasionally launched by company officials or union bureaucrats.

Clockwise from top left: Jack Barnes, Olga Rodríguez, Gus Horowitz, Cathy Sedwick, Andrea Morell, Larry Seigle, Maceo Dixon, Mary-Alice Waters.

Women's rights movement

Perspectives for SWP participation in the women's rights movement were presented by Andrea Morell, a member of the Political Committee who directs the party's work in this area.

She noted the growing involvement of women workers in the struggle for equality as the biggest gain for the women's movement since the second wave of feminism began in the late 1960s. This development was highlighted by the July 9, 1978, march for the Equal Rights Amendment, which followed shortly after the powerful fight by coal miners in their 110-day strike. The march, called by the National Organization for Women, won wide support from unions and attracted some 100,000 demonstrators.

Since then women's committees in the United Auto Workers have been infused with new life, while similar committees have proliferated in the United Steelworkers and other unions. Conferences of women postal workers and coal miners, and the recent Labor for Equal Rights Now conference of 500 in Richmond, Virginia, have added impetus to women unionists' fight for their rights.

These developments reflect the fight women are waging to get into industry through affirmative-action programs, to hold onto their jobs in the face of company harassment, and to win equal treatment. Delegate after delegate described struggles they had participated in against sexist harassment across the country. Especially noted was the willingness of many male workers to support women in such fights for equal rights.

Morell stressed that women need not only powerful and democratic unions but also a national women's organization to back up their fight. She strongly urged women workers to become active in NOW, which remains the largest and most authoritative women's rights organization, and to step up labor's participation in the fight for the ERA.

Women workers have a decisive contribution to make to the women's movement, Morell concluded, since they have the deepest stake in eliminating every trace of female oppression.

Black and Chicano struggles

Political Committee member Olga Rodríguez reported on the SWP's perspectives in advancing the Black and Chicano liberation struggles.

She pointed to the crucial role played by unions in defeating Weber's attack on affirmative action as an indication of the new opportunities to bring labor's power into action on the side of Black and Chicano rights.

She quoted an editorial in the *Amsterdam News*, one of the country's largest Black community newspapers, which made this point succinctly:

"If we are not to be pushed back further, we must continue the campaigning that produced a defeat

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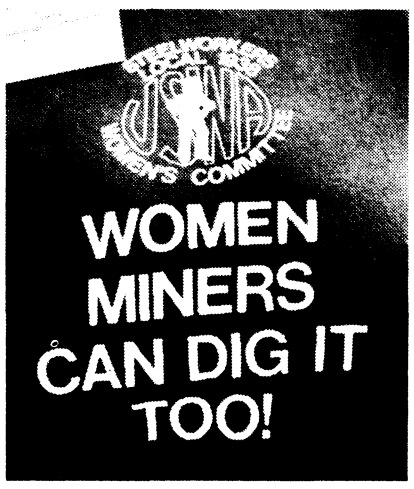
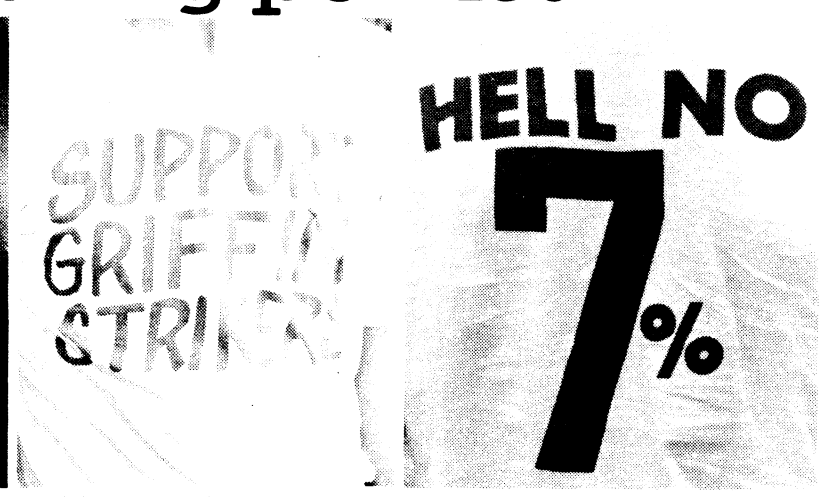
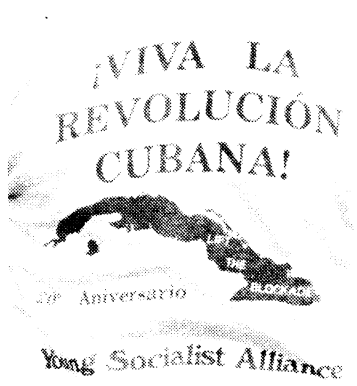
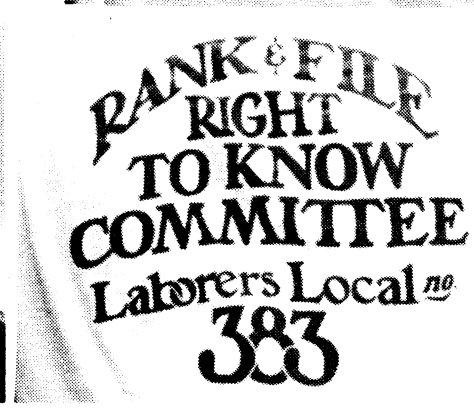
Wearing politics









In the plants, mines, and mills, T-shirts and stickers are a growing form of political protest and commentary. As the above sampling of T-shirts at the Socialist Workers Party convention shows, socialist workers are in step with this trend.

Among the more than 100 T-shirt slogans recorded by one *Militant* reporter at the Ohio meeting were: "Support the E.R.A.—'The rights you save may be your own'"; "Stop bank loans to South Africa"; "Free all Latin American Political Prisoners"; "Footloose rebels"; "The only good nuke is no nuke!"; "Cost of living on pensions No. 1 in '79—UAW"; and "Don't let New Mexico go to waste."

Convention attendees proceeded to stock up on T-shirts, wiping out the supply of "Human Needs Before Profits—Vote SWP" shirts on sale from the national campaign committee.

This fall, socialists have vowed to make sure that among the many and varied slogans on shirts and hardhats at work sites across the country, there will be plenty of those that propose voting socialist and reading the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Continued from preceding page
for Brian Weber. In particular, we must press the labor unions, for if one is to explain how we went from the disaster of *Bakke* to the hope provided by *Weber* in less than a year, the simple answer is the involvement of labor."

In the space of just a few years, such unions as the United Steelworkers have shifted from opposing affirmative action to defending it. This dramatic change shows the growing power of Black workers in these unions, their growing insistence that the union defend their interests, and the awareness of larger numbers of white workers that racial discrimination weakens the unions and helps only the bosses.

Rodríguez argued that a new generation of Black and Chicano fighters in industry will create a new leadership in the Black and Chicano movements. This will make possible the building of truly powerful independent struggles by Blacks and Chicanos.

"The work that our comrades in Birmingham, Atlanta, Greensboro, and New Orleans did to defend Black rights through our participation in the actions in support of [Black frame-up victim] Tommy Lee Hines, demanding that the killer-cop who murdered Bonita Carter be brought to justice, and protesting Klan terror in Tupelo, Mississippi, and Decatur, Alabama, are examples of the way we want to participate in coalitions and organizations that develop to fight for Black and Chicano rights," she said.

"We want to participate in these struggles as socialist workers. We want to involve our unions in these struggles to help ensure their success. And we want to bring our co-workers with us to coalitions and protest activities that develop in defense of Black and Chicano rights."

Young Socialist Alliance

The convention also heard a debate on the decision of the Young Socialist Alliance to orient toward new opportunities to win a hearing among young workers in industry. More than 40 percent of YSA members are now in industry, a big shift in just the past few months.

Supporting this move, YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick explained how this course will help the YSA recruit the young rebels who are beginning to change the political face of the industrial work force today. A base in the industrial unions, she predicted, will also help the YSA recruit among unemployed youth and on high school and college campuses.

A minority report was given by YSA National Committee member Roger Horowitz. He argued that the college campuses would, for the time being, be more important than industry as centers for organizing youth, because of the conservative policies of the union bureaucracy.

Sedwick's report won approval by the delegates with only one dissenting vote.

The convention also discussed the need to defend the working class against efforts of the employers and government to silence socialist workers and other militants—efforts that will grow as class conflicts heat up.

The defense of Héctor Marroquín—whom the Carter administration is trying to deport to Mexico, where he faces torture and possible execution for his anticapitalist views—and the international campaign to win the release of fourteen jailed Iranian Trotskyists were cited as key tasks.

Drug victimizations

Joel Britton from the SWP's Trade Union Coordinating Committee reported on discussions in the industrial union fraction meetings on the increasing use of drug laws against working-class militants.

Despite the passage of so-called decriminalization laws in a few states, possession of marijuana is still illegal throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands of working people are arrested each year on marijuana charges. Many delegates described how the employers work hand in glove with the cops to intimidate the work force by staging drug raids and frame-ups.

In light of such facts, Britton said, the SWP leadership and the industrial union fractions called for reaffirming the long-established policy that use of illegal drugs, including marijuana, is incompatible with membership in the SWP. This policy, which is strictly enforced by the SWP, is a vital part of protecting the ability of socialist workers to fight for the rights of their class. This recommendation was unanimously endorsed by the delegates.

Education & leadership development

The report to the convention on the party's organizational and educational tasks by Maceo Dixon set an additional ambitious effort for SWP members this fall: a campaign of education in the basic ideas of Marxism.

Dixon asked convention approval for the establishment of a leadership training school in upstate New York where SWP members will be able to devote full time for several months to the study of revolutionary strategy, Marxist economics, and philosophy.

Dixon also proposed socialist educational conferences to be held by branches in the fall, and intensive study by all members of such basic works as the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels, *The Materialist Conception of History* by Plekhanov, and *State and Revolution* by Lenin.

These proposals met with an enthusiastic response from socialist workers, who have learned from experience that they need a thorough grasp of the scientific foundations of the socialist movement in order to explain the causes and solutions of today's capitalist crisis.

At the final convention session, delegates elected a new National Committee to lead the party until the next convention. Aside from those NC members who have been asked to work full time in the party's national departments and publications, the great majority of those elected are industrial workers.

The convention discussed the importance of continuing to devote special attention to developing women, Black, and Latino members as party leaders. The progress the SWP has made is reflected in the fact that 24 percent of the members of the new National Committee are Black, 8 percent are Latino, and 31 percent are women.

The Thirtieth National Convention demonstrated that the Socialist Workers Party has become an integral and effective part of the working class and its daily struggles.

Inspired by this and by the new advances in the world revolution, SWP members returned to their localities with a new confidence in their capacity to build the revolutionary party and thus forge a new political leadership for the labor movement from among millions of young workers who are now moving into struggle. With such a leadership, the American working class stands to win the coming showdown battles with the most brutal ruling class in history.

This victory will bring to an end the era of world capitalism, as American workers join with their brothers and sisters around the world in building a socialist future for humanity.

JOIN US

If you share the Socialist Workers Party's confidence in the world working class, join us in building a socialist future.

☐ I want to join the Socialist Workers Party.
☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.
☐ Please send me more information.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____
Send to: SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

By Any Means Necessary

August Nimtz

Andrew Young—serving whose interests?

The forced resignation of Andrew Young reinforces the feeling among Blacks that the Carter administration is fundamentally racist and is continuing to back away from what was thought to have been a commitment to equality for Blacks.

This feeling is given added weight by the fact that the most outspoken racists have been seeking Young's dismissal almost from the beginning of his tenure as United Nations ambassador and are now expressing glee at his departure.

For many Blacks Young was seen as one of the few links that the Black community had with the Carter administration or, in fact, any administration in U.S. history.

But did Andrew Young actually or accurately represent the interests of Blacks as part of the Carter administration?

Young's role was based on two profound developments. First, the oppressed masses of the world are more willing to liberate themselves "by any means necessary." The only effective means, as more and more are recognizing, is to follow the Cuban road—that is, socialist revolution.

Second, the American working class is less willing to let its government suppress revolutionary upheavals through direct U.S. military interventions.

With the African revolution increasingly on the agenda, what the U.S. capitalist ruling class needed in 1976, and still needs today, was someone who could dupe the oppressed masses to believe that the U.S. government has their best interests at heart.

As a veteran leader of the civil rights movement and former aide to Martin Luther King, Andrew Young had the best credentials of anyone around to carry out this scheme. Certainly, as the ruling class hoped, the oppressed would see in Young's appointment the dawning of a new day in the U.S. government's attitude toward their aspirations.

To be convincing in this scheme, Young had to play the role of the left-wing maverick in the Carter administration—a role that fitted in well with his desire to continue being viewed as a leader in the Black community.

This explains the statements that occasionally got Young in trouble with the racists and right wing. Statements such as his observation that there are thousands of political prisoners in U.S. jails reflected the sentiments of Blacks in the U.S. and the oppressed abroad.

With his credentials, Young provided, with some success, a moral cover for Washington's Africa policy—*a policy that is fundamentally no different under Carter than under Nixon or Ford.*

Motivated by a desire to prevent what happened in Cuba from occurring in Africa, Washington's basic strategy has been continued support to South Africa, the stronghold of U.S. corporate interests, against the African masses. Despite verbal condemnations of the racist regime by both Young and Carter, U.S. military hardware continues to find its way to South Africa and U.S. corporations continue to coin staggering profits from the sweat and blood of Black South African workers.

Andrew Young dutifully defended the U.S. corporate role in South Africa and cast the U.S. veto against imposing economic sanctions on the apartheid regime.

The image was cleaned up, but the heart of Washington's reactionary strategy was unchanged. It is a strategy Black Americans have no stake in. In the final analysis it can be effective only through direct U.S. military action, in which Black and Latino workers will be the first to die defending U.S. capitalist profits.

The interests of Blacks have not been represented by Andrew Young. And from what he says about continued support to Carter and the Democratic Party, nor will they be served in the future.

Young's loyalties were noted by an administration official in an August 26 *New York Times* interview: "We have lost an important regular on the team, but he'll be available to do things for us from time to time. . . . He's already agreed to that."

Ohio UAW strikers indicted after cop assault

By Lynda Joyce

CLEVELAND—Forty-two people, nearly all of them strikers, face contempt of court charges in the wake of a police attack on picketers at the Bailey Controls plant in nearby Wickliffe, Ohio, August 13.

United Auto Workers Local 1741 struck Bailey Controls June 1. The company has refused to enter into serious negotiations.

Twenty-five people were arrested during the police attack. The other seventeen names were selected form news film shot by local TV stations and surrendered to Bailey.

Most of the forty-two who were singled out are strike leaders.

A Lake County judge also threatened to make the union pay extra police salaries if extra cops were called out again during the strike.

Meanwhile, Bailey, in a letter to the union, declared it was eliminating 200 jobs.

On August 25, three of the strikers arrested during the cop attack were turned over to the grand jury and charged with aggravated riot. Five other strikers were charged with a series of misdemeanors, including riot, criminal trespass, and disorderly conduct.

Municipal Judge Elaine Crane barred all eight from the vicinity of the plant.

Cops attacked peaceful UAW strikers in Wickliffe, Ohio Militant/Chris Remple

For almost a week after the cop attack, more than 100 police escorted scabs and salaried personnel into and out of the plant while harassing the union. Lake County Commission President John Platz proclaimed he would call out the National Guard to put down the strike.

Bailey Controls, a subsidiary of Babcock & Wilcox, manufactures controls for conventional and nuclear power plants. The parent company makes nuclear power plants and built the ill-fated unit at Three Mile Island.

On August 25, the 5,300 members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers in six B&W plants ratified a pattern contract, ending a month-long strike. The contracts include many provisions sought by Local 1741, including a full cost-of-living allowance on a quarterly basis, improved pension plans, maternity benefits, health and safety protection, and a wage increase above Carter's 7 percent guidelines.

Local 1741 hopes to use this settlement as a precedent for pressing its own demands.

Earsell Wilson, president of Local 1741, commented on Bailey's latest union-busting attempts: "I find that it's a sad state of affairs," Wilson told the *Militant*. "We working people make this society what it is. Justice is not for working people, only if you're able to buy it."

...miners

Continued from back page

in his office at City Hall. Also present was a representative of Mayor David Vann.

After the meeting Davis spoke to the news media.She said she had told the city officials about the danger facing her clients, tracing it to Jim Walter and its drive against the union. Davis urged an immediate investigation and police protection for the three.

That night Channel 6 TV ran a report on the meeting and a recap of developments at the mine. The *Birmingham News* also reported on the meeting the next day.

Davis also met with the FBI to urge protection and an investigation of civil rights law violations by Jim Walter.

On August 28 Davis filed unfair labor practice charges with the National Labor Relations Board on behalf of her three clients. The charges accuse Jim Walter of a campaign of "harassment, intimidation, and coercion," in retaliation for the successful sex discrimination grievance against the company and in response to the *Militant* article signed by Johnston and Bobroff.

"According to its rules, the NLRB will now open an investigation of these incidents," Davis told the *Militant*. "You can't attack people for exercising their rights under the labor law."

Davis also plans to file charges with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. This move, too, will charge Walter with sex discrimination.

Meanwhile, at the mine, the company's main line of attack recently has been through an organized clique of right-wingers working there.

After a union meeting on August 25, the right-wingers gathered at a beer joint about a mile down the road. There were about seventy-five in all, including both onlookers and the ringleaders.

They halted a car in which three Black women were leaving. Saying they were searching for Bobroff and Johnston, they demanded that the driver open the trunk.

As it turned out, Johnston and Bobroff had left the meeting by another route that didn't take them by this spot.

The fight at Jim Walter has become well known in the Birmingham area. As a result of the television and newspaper coverage, Johnston, Bobroff, and Lattimore find they are frequently recognized in public places. Sometimes well-wishers come up and lend encouragement.

"Sympathy is clearly with us—not with the terrorists," Bobroff told the *Militant*. "Inside the mine the intensive campaign of harassment and violence has had an impact. Many miners are downright afraid—and understandably so."

"Nonetheless, there are those who let us know they're siding with us against the company," Johnston added. "Many Black miners—women and men who make up about 15 percent of the workforce—have been the first to say they are behind us in our defense against Jim Walter and the right-wingers who do the company's dirty work. They oppose these attacks, which they recognize as having the same character as the Klan violence against Blacks in Alabama.

"But it's not only Blacks. It's clear the majority of whites don't go along with this stuff.

"At this stage, however," Johnston said, "the company and right-wing campaign has succeeded in silencing most who back the rights of women and socialists. But not all. There are still those at the mine who find ways to let us know they're with us in this fight."

In Brief

Teachers strike in Louisiana, Oklahoma

More than two-thirds of the teachers in Jefferson Parish (county) outside New Orleans honored picket lines as school opened August 24.

Most school bus drivers also honored the strike, and only 32 of 466 buses rolled August 27.

The dispute with the school board centers on pay during the second year of the proposed contract. The board has offered what amounts to only a 2.4 percent wage hike, while the Jefferson Parish Teachers Association is asking for 8 percent.

Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, denounced the "pitifully low" school board offer as an "insult," noting that the current rate of inflation approaches 15 percent. Nelson also reiterated his "total support to the right of public employees to strike," pointing out he is the only gubernatorial candidate to support that right.

In Oklahoma City, members of the American Federation of Teachers began a strike August 22, the first teachers strike in the state's history. The union said that about two-thirds of the district's teachers stayed off the job.

The teachers are seeking a 12 percent pay boost, and the board has offered only 9 percent. Starting salaries are currently below $10,000.

While refusing to meet the teachers pay demands, the school board offers scabs fifty dollars a day to cross the picket lines. Normally, substitutes earn twenty-nine dollars a day.

Teachers strikes were also reported in suburbs of Pittsburgh, and in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois. Indianapolis teachers pledged to strike September 4 unless they had a contract.

Striking teachers in Jefferson Parish, Louisiana

Transit workers walk out in Los Angeles, Cleveland

Five thousand bus drivers struck the Los Angeles Rapid Transit District August 27 over wages and a management drive against "sick pay abuse." Strikers also opposed the policy of hiring part-time drivers instead of offering overtime to full-timers.

The drivers, members of the United Transportation Union, were followed off the job by members of the Amalgamated Transit Union and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

A wildcat strike by the 2,000 members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268 shut down buses and trains in Cleveland August 24-26.

On August 25, 500 strikers heard local president Ronald Jackson urge them to return to work. They had already rejected three proposed contracts and had been without a contract since July 31.

Union members agreed to return to work for five days, but vowed to go out again if the Cleveland Regional Transit Authority refuses to negotiate.

In San Francisco, members of two transit unions authorized a strike against the Bay Area Rapid Transit District. Negotiations broke off between the unions and the district August 26. The union is seeking higher wages and retention in the new contract of a cost-of-living clause. Workers have been without a contract since July 10.

J.P. STEVENS ORDERED TO RECOGNIZE UNION

A mere four years after the election, the National Labor Relations Board ruled August 22 that J.P. Stevens & Company had conducted an "illicit campaign" against the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) at its Wallace, North Carolina, plants. The NLRB ordered the company to recognize the union and reimburse its organizing expenses.

Although the union had gathered 561 union authorization cards, it supposedly lost the election 540-404.

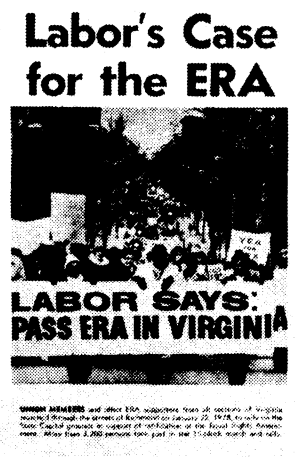
Stevens has been cited twenty times since 1966 for unfair labor practices. But the penalties levied against the giant corporation are so meager that it continues to stonewall on negotiating union contracts.

For example, the ACTWU won the right to represent Stevens workers at Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, five years ago—but the company still hasn't signed.

ERA pamphlet

A new pamphlet, "Labor's Case for the ERA," has been put out by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), the Virginia labor coalition that sponsored the August 12 Equal Rights Amendment conference in Richmond.

Copies can be obtained by writing or calling LERN, 116 South Third Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219. Phone: (804) 648-5801.



THE REAL DR. STRANGELOVE

Dr. Edward Teller is widely referred to as the "father of the H-bomb," a title he modestly shuns in the name of teamwork. Whether he wants to take responsibility for his terrible offspring or not, he has spent much of his life defending the worst uses of the atom.

For instance, in the July 22 *Washington Post*, Teller and fellow physicist Eugene Wigner urge mass construction of fallout shelters and the adoption of evacuation plans for U.S. cities in the event of atomic war.

Such plans try to justify the Pentagon's nuclear weapons build-up by convincing American workers that they could survive an atomic war. Such a notion is absurd and dangerous.

In a two-page ad in the July 31 *Wall Street Journal*, paid for by Dresser Industries, Teller, ignoring the dozens of cancers that will result, asserted that "I was the only victim of Three-Mile Island."

Teller explained that he had a heart attack on May 7, the day after 125,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C. to demand an end to nuclear power.

Nuclear power, the ad went on to explain, was not only safe but absolutely necessary if we are to avoid "communist enslavement."

Teller didn't mention that Dresser Industries made the valve that failed at Three Mile Island, starting the near-meltdown.

PROTESTERS ARRESTED OUTSIDE PRISON

Sixty-seven people were arrested August 11 as they attempted to cross a bridge leading to Georgia's Reidsville prison. Among the arrested were comedian and activist Dick Gregory.

The arrests came at the end of a five-day march held to draw attention to the cases of six Black prisoners on trial for their alleged parts in a protest at Reidsville last year.

The prisoners, all Black, are charged with the death of a white guard and two white inmates.

Reidsville is known as "Georgia's Attica" and is a notorious hellhole. Built in 1936 to house 1,800 prisoners, it has held as many as 2,900. Two-thirds of the prisoners are Black.

In 1978, Georgia Gov. George Busbee slashed $400,000 from the Reidsville medical budget—and added $1.2 million for beefed-up security.

GOV'T STRANGLING MASS TRANSIT

Despite its pious pronouncements urging working people to cut back on energy consumption, the government continues to allot only minimal funds for mass transit systems such as subways and railroads.

In 1978, the combined total spent by the federal government for mass transit *and* railroads was less than $3 billion. Contrast this to the more than $130 billion allotted to the military.

Government transportation policies continue to favor automobiles. Eight billion dollars went for highways in 1978.

Without an alternative, working people are forced to spend thousands of dollars yearly on automobile purchases and maintenance while a good mass transit system would enable millions of people to travel more easily, cheaply, and safely—as well as save energy.

BILLIONS STARVING

More than 1 billion people do not get enough food to eat, and another 450 million are seriously undernourished, according to studies made by the World Food Council.

In addition, 250,000 children a year go blind because of vitamin A deficiencies.

This mass starvation comes despite record crop harvests and food reserves worldwide.

"The international community is not yet taking advantage of . . . the bountiful harvests of the last three years to make the world's food system work for everyone," lamented council executive director Maurice Williams.

While the food system doesn't work for the starving, it works very nicely, thank you, for the giant food monopolies of the capitalist world, whose only interest is higher profits.

Food processing companies in the United States increased their profits by 15 percent during the second quarter of 1979 over 1978. One of the biggest, General Foods, netted a whopping $169 million in 1978.

S.F. SOCIALIST ON TV

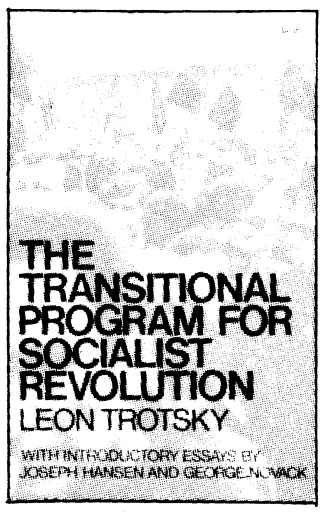
Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco, will be interviewed on KQED-TV, Channel 9, on September 7 at 7 p.m.

Weinstein filed 6,800 signatures on August 23 in order to have her name placed on the ballot for the November 6 election.

Weinstein is widely known here for her activities in defense of women's rights. She served as vice-president of San Francisco National Organization for Women and has helped organize numerous demonstrations for expansion of child-care and educational programs.

The SWP is also running Deborah Liatos for Board of Supervisors, District 7. Liatos gained respect when she fought for and won the right to be on the Opportunity II High School baseball team.

A campaign open house to watch the fifteen-minute Weinstein interview will begin September 7 at 6:30 p.m. at 489 Twenty-Seventh Street in San Francisco.



The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

Includes useful material by Trotsky on the application of the transitional approach, and introductory essays by George Novack and Joseph Hansen.

250 pages, $14.00, paper $3.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include $.50 for postage.

Compiled by Arnold Weissberg

St. Louis labor parade

"Labor thanks Missouri for its support"—in defeating last year's "right to work" ballot referendum—will be the theme of this year's labor parade in St. Louis September 8.

A big-business effort to win the right-to-work-for-less legislation at the polls was overwhelmingly defeated last November by a campaign spearheaded by Missouri unions. Opposition to the union-busting drive won backing from farmers, the Black movement, and the women's movement.

Representatives of the Teamsters, United Auto Workers, St. Louis Labor Council, and the Building and Construction Trades Council are coordinating the September 8 event.

The parade will begin at 11 a.m. at Thirteenth and Washington.

NOW abortion campaign

September 14 will signal the beginning of the National Organization for Women's new offensive in the fight for abortion rights.

This date marks the 100th anniversary of Margaret Sanger's birth. Sanger was a pioneer in the fight for birth control.

NOW chapters and state organizations around the country are getting ready for this "intensified campaign," the August *National NOW Times* reports.

These actions come at a time when abortion rights, especially Medicaid-funded abortions, continue to come under attack on a state and federal level.

Yet, as the *NOW Times* reports, polls show that public sentiment in support of abortion remains essentially unchanged since 1977 despite stepped-up activity by anti-abortion groups.

A recent Gallup poll found 22 percent think aboriton should be legal under any circumstances and 54 percent believe that abortion should be legal under certain instances. Only 19 percent opposed all abortions.

Walkathons, marches highlight August 26

At the foot of Central Park in New York City stands a magnificent monument to the Civil War depicting Victory sweeping reaction aside.

No better symbol for the fight of women for equality could have been chosen by the New York National Organization for Women (NOW), which along with other chapters around the country held rallies and walkathons for the Equal Rights Amendment on August 26, Women's Equality Day.

Walkathons and rallies were held in a number of cities including Los Angeles, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Atlantic City.

In Atlantic City, 150 people joined a ten-mile walkathon along the Boardwalk and then held a rally.

Many of the thousands of vacationers cheered as the walkers chanted "Equal rights, equal pay, ratify the ERA!"

In Pittsburgh 100 persons rallied and 80 walked an eleven-mile stretch to raise more than $10,000 in pledges for the ERA.

New York NOW rally in Central Park

The Great Society

Harry Ring

Cynic—"I think there will always be a certain amount of scepticism over an agency investigating itself."—A congressional staff member on an FBI finding that its agents and informers have, in the main, been behaving legally.

Our cultural envoy—"You're not going to find anything like this in Kansas."—Gov. John Carlin as he led a Kansas delegation atop the Great Wall of China.

Hot rod—Shortly before losing his job, the shah of Iran ordered a $245,000 Cadillac featuring machine gun mounts, tear gas vents and a gadget that spills twenty-five gallons of unrefined oil to give pursuers the slip. The car is now up for sale. It is, the dealer explains, "for the man who has everything—and wants to keep it."

It was that PR guy at the dungeon—Robert Armao, a New York press hustler, is handling the ex-shah. "It's an interesting thing about the man," he says. "There are stories about his high life style, his lavishness. He is referred to as a dictator by the press. . . . I can't put my finger on why he got the image he did. . . . There is obviously a public relations failure."

Oh—The federal government says people should report gas stations that are overcharging "illegally."

Safety first—That stockpile of deadly nerve gas weapons is totally safe and there's no cause for alarm, right? That's why, when they decided to detoxify a batch, the Army built a special disposal plant in Utah. The detoxification will be done by remote control, after thirty days of testing.

High rollers—Find the lucky Dr. Pepper's bottle cap and Coca Cola will pay you anywhere from ten cents to $100. Mostly ten cents. There are 360,000 ten cent prizes and a fast seventy-two for $100.

That's odd—In 1970, reports the *Los Angeles Times,* a poll showed that 78 percent of consumers felt that business struck a fair balance between profit and the public interest. In 1978, it had dipped to 17 percent.

Union Talk

No to reduced crews

This week's column is by Doug Hord, a member of United Transportation Union Local 620 on the Burlington Northern.

CHICAGO—Delegates to the June convention of the United Transportation Union (UTU) voted an important change in the procedures for signing system-wide agreements.

According to the new procedure, general chairpersons must "poll" all local chairpersons and be "governed by the majority vote" before signing system-wide agreements. The delegates took special action to make sure this change would go into effect immediately.

This change reflects deep-going rank-and-file sentiment for the right to vote on contracts—even though it falls far short of genuine membership ratification. It also reflects deep-going sentiment against reduced crew agreements being negotiated on a number of the larger railroads.

Such job-slashing agreements, called "crew consist agreements," have already gone into effect on the Milwaukee Road, Canadian National, and Conrail *without any consultation of the membership whatsoever.*

Despite abundant facts to the contrary, the UTU officialdom continues to present the Milwaukee crew consist agreement as a "pattern agreement." UTUers on Conrail, however, don't think it is. A number of them have reportedly taken top union officials to court for—among other things—allegedly forging the signature of a general chairman on the Conrail crew consist agreement.

When Burlington Northern management served a Section 6 notice on our general committee to open negotiations on reduced crews, my local had a lengthy discussion on these agreements and what to do about them.

One worker, after listening to our local chairman report on the signing of the Conrail agreement, asked the obvious question; "Why is the UTU so determined to push these agreements through?"

The reason is clear. The UTU officialdom takes as its starting point the carriers' profitability, then proceeds through negotiations under the illusion that what is good for the company is good for us.

Milwaukee Road workers first found out about "their" crew consist agreement by reading news of it in the daily papers. Subsequently a traveling medicine show consisting of union officials and sometimes a company officer toured the locals selling snake oil labelled: "Job Security through Increased Employer Profitability."

Milwaukee Road employees soon found that this medicine left a bitter taste. Today, they are staring in the face of a layoff of 4-5,000 workers.

Observing the situation, my local voted to begin a petition drive against crew consist reductions. We also voted to send the petition and a cover letter to every UTU local on the Burlington Northern system.

The cover letter cites Interstate Commerce Commission figures that show that similar agreements have cost railroad workers 22,500 jobs since 1973. It goes on to state that the "Milwaukee crew consist agreement did not secure the job rights of our Brothers and Sisters working there. In fact, the agreement only encouraged Milwaukee management to push harder with its job-cutting plans. If you give them an inch they'll take a mile."

Clearly if railroad workers could vote on these job-slashing agreements, we would reject them immediately. That points up the need to continue discussions in the UTU on the need to win the right to ratify contracts.

In the meantime, we have to use every avenue open to us to block this company drive to increase profits at our expense. The first step is mounting an effective campaign to get out the truth about the carriers' job cutting plans. Through petitions, local discussions and resolutions, and union-sponsored public meetings against the reduced crew scheme, we can alert the entire membership to this threat to our livelihood and safety and begin to mobilize against it. And that just might persuade enough local chairpersons to use their new-found voting rights on system agreements in the right way—to voice our opposition to crew consist reductions and decisively vote them down.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Augusto Cesar Sandino

General Augusto Cesar Sandino (center)

In 1926 in Nicaragua the Conservative Party, one of two long-feuding factions of the local ruling class, staged a coup aimed at purging members of the rival Liberal Party from the government. The Liberals resisted, launching a civil war to restore the constitution and elected government.

As had been the case before in these conflicts between the two factions, the United States sought to settle the war with its own direct military intervention—this time on the side of the Conservatives. After several months of fighting, the Liberal Party leaders agreed to a U.S.-imposed settlement.

All of the Liberal generals agreed to the sell out—except Gen. Augusto César Sandino, who launched a five-and-a-half-year guerrilla campaign to drive the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua.

Relatively little is known about Sandino's early life. He was born in 1895 near Managua. His father was a small farmer and his mother a mestiza peasant. After high school he took up farming. In what may have been his first political activity, he organized a cooperative to make farmers independent of merchants and loan sharks.

His organizing efforts forced Sandino to leave Nicaragua in 1921 to work, first in Honduras. From there he went to Guatemala to work for the United Fruit Company as a mechanic and then later to Tampico, Mexico, as an oil worker.

It was in Mexico that Sandino began to learn about the role of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, especially as a result of concessions that the U.S. wrung from Mexican President Obregon.

Also in Mexico, Sandino got his first lessons in trade-union struggle, against the Huasteca Petroleum Company. The red and black banner of the Regional Confederation of Labor was later to become the insignia of his own forces.

Returning to Nicaragua, Sandino became active in the growing opposition to the Conservatives, who had usurped power in 1926. He decided to get a job as a miner at the U.S.-owned San Albino gold mine near León in order to do agitational work among the miners. The miners, whose wages were extremely low, were paid in scrip to the company store and housed in sheds, where they had to sleep on the ground.

It was from the miners' ranks that Sandino gathered his first revolutionary forces to fight against the Conservatives and later, from 1927 to 1933, the U.S. Marines. From the gold miners he went on to recruit among other workers and then from the landless peasantry.

Washington at first dismissed Sandino as a bandit with a few disgruntled followers. Very soon, however, the U.S. forces learned this was not the case. Close to 5,000 U.S. Marines, the fledgling Nicaraguan National Guard, and aerial bombing—used for the first time by U.S. forces in this hemisphere—could not defeat Sandino's guerrillas.

Efforts to intimidate him also proved unsuccessful. A marine lieutenant gave Sandino's wife a job and then had her tell her husband that he gave her the job "to give her some means of livelihood when she became a widow."

Sandino "replied with a final expression of appreciation and an expression of regret that he would be unable to do anything for the lieutenant's widow." (Richard Millett, *Guardians of the Dynasty*, p. 87.)

With growing opposition by American people to the U.S. involvement—forcing Congress at one point to refuse to appropriate further funding for the intervention—and no success in defeating Sandino's forces, the U.S. was forced to withdraw the marines from Nicaragua in 1933. In their place it installed Anastasio Somoza García, the father of the recently deposed tyrant, to head up the newly created National Guard—a surrogate U.S. occupation army.

Sandino, who had by then become a national hero, regarded the withdrawal of the American forces as a victory for his movement and the Nicaraguan people.

Somoza, who soon became the country's strongman, and the U.S. were not content with this arrangement, especially with Sandino "on the loose." In February 1934 Sandino was assassinated by Somoza's forces while attending a meeting to negotiate their differences. There is much evidence suggesting U.S. complicity.

The Sandinista tradition remained alive in Nicaragua after the guerrilla leader's death. It is the tradition from which the Sandinistas in Nicaragua today took their name and their inspiration in the recent victory over the U.S.-backed Somoza regime.

With the murder of Sandino, as the Cuban paper *Granma* aptly put it, "the assassins thought it was all over but were very wrong; the struggle had only just begun."

The guerrilla leader's fame went beyond Nicaragua. Writing in 1971, journalist Carleton Beals said, "Until the recent capture and assassination of Che Guevara, this century's most popular hero throughout the Latin American world has been Augusto César Sandino."

—August Nimtz

Letters

Thanks for the Militant

I thought I would take this moment to inform you of my very soon-to-be departure from prison, and to extend my deepest thanks to you for having sent to me the paper, which is of the utmost enlightening to all inside as well as on the outside.

I should be leaving here within fourteen days or so, but you can be sure that I will subscribe as soon as I'm settled.

Again, thank you very much.

A prisoner
Illinois

Socialized medicine

Congratulations on the *Militant*'s consistent stand over the years on socialized medicine. I agree that capitalism must be abolished if a humane medical system is to be established. The current medical system is racist and sexist from beginning to end.

Among doctors, racist and sexist attitudes are promoted starting as medical students. Medical schools have systematically kept out minorities and women. To the limited degree where they are now allowed in, this is due only to the militancy of these oppressed sectors.

Wayne State University has the nation's largest medical school, graduating 250 students per year. Until the 1970s, Blacks were kept out of this school located in the heart of Detroit's ghetto.

Arab students were kept out openly because "they were Arabs." Consistent hatred of women patients was pushed: "They should all be sterilized," etc.

I have never seen such vicious racism and sexism as expressed daily at that "liberal" Northern medical school.

Marc Stretten
Berkeley, California

IAM suit against OPEC

At our union meeting in May, the business agent for Local C in International Association of Machinists district 751 said the union had initiated a suit against the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) for illegal price fixing.

He mentioned during his talk that the brothers and sisters should remember that fifty percent of these companies were owned by U.S. oil corporations, and that this is the best way of fighting the gas crisis. He also said that if the union won the case that prices of gas would have to be rolled back, but he did not say how.

While this was going on, there was a campaign begun to boycott Shell Oil Company products beginning on July 1 because: 1) we were not strong enough to tackle all the oil companies at once, and 2) Shell Oil was not an "American" corporation. A letter stating this was passed around in many shops and was also published in the union paper as one way of fighting back.

It seems to me that there are some basic problems with both of these approaches: 1) the OPEC countries do not really control the price of oil (this is controlled by the oil oligarchies), 2) there is no attempt to solve the problem at its source, like the hoarding of oil inside this country until the decontrol of oil, 3) this attitude plays right into the hands of the ruling class by placing the blame on OPEC and not on the oil oligarchies, and 4) they are an ineffective way of dealing with this problem.

A more effective way of fighting back would be to demand the government open the oil companies books like our brothers and sisters did in San Diego, combined with demonstrations such as the one that took place in New Jersey where the unions organized a demonstration to condemn this gigantic rip-off.

Instead of trying to mobilize the broadest possible support for our just fight against this contrived shortage, the union leadership plays right into the hands of the rulers by blaming the OPEC countries for a shortage that the oil oligarchies have made. It is time that we begin to put the blame for this shortage where it belongs, on the rulers and their stooges. Helping to spread the racist rhetoric of the ruling class can do nothing to strengthen this fight, but can only weaken us.

C.B.
Tacoma, Washington

'Paper speaks the truth'

People here in Bolingbrook, Lockport, Joliet, and Rowesville are buying the *Militant* like it was going out of style. More and more people are getting fed up with the oil companies and like what the *Militant* reports. They say this paper speaks the truth unlike what the capitalist press (*Sun-Times*) says.

J.D.
Bolingbrook, Illinois

Joining the SWP

The *Militant* keeps getting better and better. Your articles on the phony gas crisis and nuclear power are second to none. Your articles on the labor movement, Black, Chicano, women's movements, as well as your coverage of the international events bring us news and analysis that we would never find in the capitalist media. The *Militant* is the best campaigner for socialism I know of.

However, one column you used to have I would like to see reappear. This column was "Joining the SWP." Here readers of the *Militant* were introduced to people newly won to socialism and it gave us a chance to hear from these

people themselves.

Keep up the good work. We need the *Militant* to cut through the lies of the capitalist class and the government that serves them.

Calvan Vail
Seattle, Washington

Need a Labor Party

The Los Angeles county board of supervisors, with the complicity of union officials representing most of the county's 70,000 workers, agreed to new two-year contracts containing significant setbacks in wages and benefits.

In the face of inflation at an annual rate of 13.2 percent, the new contracts will increase wages 6 percent now, an additional 2 percent in January 1980, and 7 percent in July 1980. Sick leave provisions were also substantially weakened.

Although the previous contract expired on July 1, the announcement by Los Angeles County Federation of Labor Secretary Bill Robertson of an August 1 strike deadline was received with great enthusiasm by most workers who wanted more than ever before to hit back at the county in protest against inflation's reduction in our standard of living.

In previous years, union officials had pointed to a "division" among the five members of the board of supervisors into two "friends," two "enemies," and one "swing" vote. This year, the "swing" voter retired unexpectedly. In his place, Gov. Jerry Brown appointed the county's first female and first Black supervisor, former Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke. Burke has had a long record, through her entire career, as a solid "friend" of labor.

Thus, the new contracts with their reduced employee wages and benefits, is the direct outcome of decisions made by our alleged "friends" in the Democratic Party!

With friends like these do we really need enemies? I don't think so. The experiences of 1979 have made more urgent than ever the need for the organized labor movement to break with its policy of supporting the Democratic Party and form a political party of our own, a labor party based on the unions.

Walter Lippmann
Service Employees International Union, Local 535
Los Angeles, California

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.

Learning About Socialism

Recession: do the bosses suffer?

Across the country auto workers and their families are heading into hard times as auto production once again slumps. They face unknown weeks or months without employment.

In the previous auto downturn of 1974-75 things got so bad in East Detroit, in the communities that depend almost entirely on the Chrysler plants, that unemployment rose as high as 62 percent.

It's easy to see that working people have to pay for these swings in automobile production. The question naturally arises, what about the companies? They lose money when auto sales slump. Don't the companies also suffer from the cycles in the capitalist economy?

It is true that company profits will drop in the years of recession. What we have to realize, however, is that the companies have already figured these downswings into their overall production plans.

Recessions are as inevitably a part of the capitalist system as night following day. There has never been a ten-year period in capitalist history without a recession, sometimes more than one. The auto industry itself is in its tenth downturn since World War I.

So it has become imperative to capitalist corporations to figure recessions into their manner of business. To an important extent, in fact, *monopoly* arose as the "solution" of capitalist industry to business cycles. By controlling a sufficient amount of the production in a given industry monopolies can set prices that will buffer them against cyclical downswings.

In the U.S. auto industry General Motors sets the pattern. *Business Week* spelled this out: "Neither Ford, Chrysler, nor AMC can over-price their giant rival and hope to remain competitive. In the same way, they cannot afford to undercut GM either, since their per-unit costs generally run higher than those of GM."

GM's pricing policies evolved in the early 1920s. They were explained by Albert Bradley in a pamphlet entitled *Financial Control Policies of General Motors* published in March, 1926. Bradley was assistant treasurer. He rose to become president and chairman of the board serving as a GM director for decades.

Bradley emphasized that the job of setting prices was crucially important and should be carried out by the highest officials of the corporation. Many years later, another GM top official, Harlow Curtice, testified before Congress that only four men actually set GM prices—out of a work force at that time of more than 500,000.

"The governing considerations," said Bradley, "are rate of return on investment and the relationship of capacity to average and peak demands."

Prices and production must encompass "operation of those forces which are generated within the general business situation itself, and which make for alternating periods of depression, revival, prosperity, and crisis, usually referred to as the business cycle."

This high executive probably didn't know *why* business cycles exist. Leave it to the economic apologists to come up with reasons.

The important thing for the monopolists is to govern production and prices with the inevitability of periodic crises firmly in mind: "It must be understood that the fundamental consideration is the average return over a protracted period of time, not the specific rate of return over any particular year or short period of time," said Bradley.

And it is this type of strategy that all monopolies attempt to follow. Albert Sloan, the longtime highest official in GM, wrote in 1963: "The need for financial controls grew out of crises. . . . Their effectiveness was demonstrated particularly in the depression year 1932. The corporation's U.S. and Canadian unit volume in that year was 50 per cent less than that of 1931. . . . But the corporation was not demoralized as it had been in 1920 and it stayed in the black."

General Motors has suffered a profit loss only once in its entire history—in 1920!

The same can hardly be said for the tens of thousands of GM workers who have been thrown into the unemployment lines time after time.

Not only does GM buffer itself against these downturns, but it gains from periods of auto unemployment insofar as they do demoralize workers; they do help the monopolies in pitting unemployed workers against those who do have jobs, and in thereby keeping the wage levels of all working people down.

The monopolists take recessions in stride.

Working people cannot afford to have the same attitude. We should struggle for ways to free ourselves from the effects of economic downswings.

A key way would be to shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay. Instead of allowing the auto corporations to have this frenzied speed-up of production and forced overtime that comes right before the layoffs, the work should be spread out.

Nobody should have to work overtime.

Car production should be nationalized and socially planned—not on the basis of monopoly prices and profits, but on the basis of how many cars are needed and what workers can afford to pay. This would keep cars flowing all the time, it would provide tens of thousands of new jobs and it would end the cyclical downturns. **—Dick Roberts**

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1609 5th Ave. N. Zip: 35205. Tel: (205) 328-9403.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. **Tucson:** YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. **Los Angeles, Eastside:** SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. **Los Angeles, Westside:** SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Zip: 90018. **Los Angeles,** City-wide: SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. **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, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

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

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Joe Carmack, Univ. of Harford, 11 Sherman St. Zip: 06105. Tel: (203) 233-6465.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

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, c/o Andy English, 1111 S. Third St. #304. Zip: 61820. **Chicago:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737. **Chicago, South Side:** SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. **Chicago, West Side:** SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. **Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. **Gary:** SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. 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 M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. **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. **Minneapolis:** SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. **St. Paul:** SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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, 108 Morningside Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

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 West Side:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1299. Zip: 10025. Tel (212) 663-3000. **New York:** City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 553-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 733, Greensboro. Zip: 27401.

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. **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: 16412. **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, 132 KellerSt. Zip: 16801.

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) 524-8761. **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, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. ZIP: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Deann Rathbun, Rt. 1, Box 504, Sheton, Wa. 98584. **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: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. **Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Protest company attacks on Ala. women miners

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM— A barrage of protest has hit Jim Walter Resources in response to its campaign of terrorism and harassment against members of the United Mine Workers.

"Have just learned of fire bombings, intimidation and violence directed by Jim Walter Resources against the UMW activists Sara Jean Johnston and others at your Brookwood Mine No. 4," said a telegram from Gerald Cornette, president of UMWA Local 8771 in Harlan County, Kentucky.

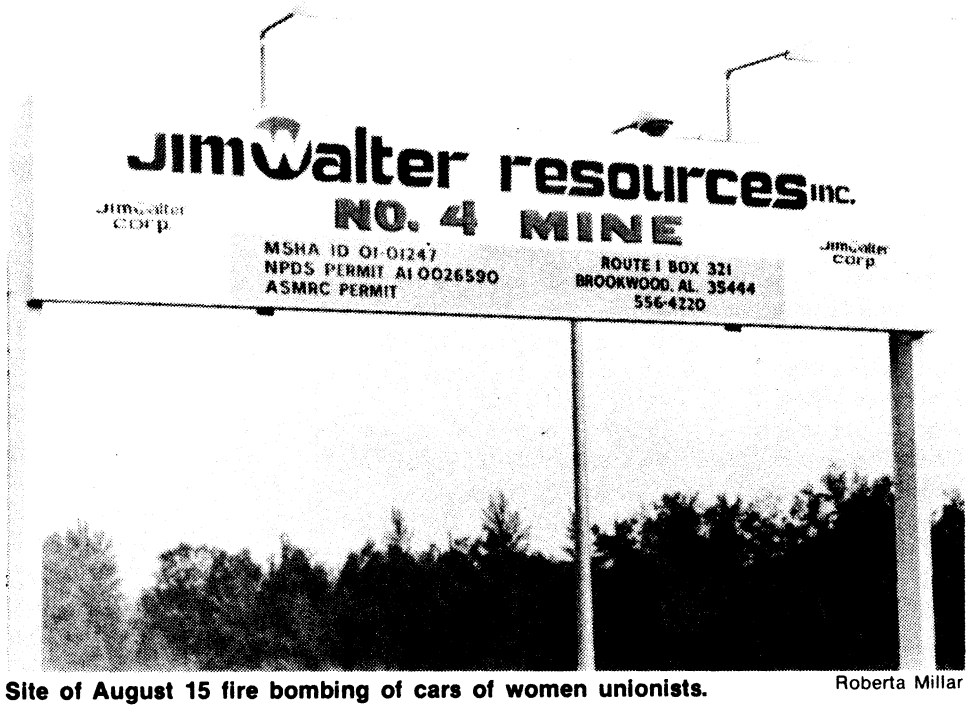
"We condemn your union-busting tactics of violence and red-baiting. These cowardly attacks are a threat to the legitimate rights of the UMWA and the labor movement as a whole. Hold you personally responsible for any violence on or off Jim Walter property."

William Patterson, a national leader of the J.P. Stevens boycott, sent a telegram saying, "Union-busting tactics and attempts to keep the UMWA from fighting safety violations must be stopped."

Monsignor Charles Owen Rice from Pittsburgh telegramed Walter saying, "I personally condemn these un-American and anti-union actions."

Charles Leonard, president of United Steelworkers Local 7097 at U.S. Steel Chemical in Pittsburgh, said that these attacks are "directed against the UMWA and rights of labor as a whole. They must be stopped."

Ellis Jefferson, vice-president of Steelworkers Local 1531 in Pittsburgh, informed the big coal operator that "[I] condemn your violence and red-baiting scare tactics."



Site of August 15 fire bombing of cars of women unionists. Roberta Millar

Hold company responsible

Connie Weiss, cochairperson of the Association of Kentucky and Virginia Women Coal Miners, steering committee member of the National Women Coal Miners Conference, and member of UMWA Local 1405, blasted the terror campaign against the union activists "fighting for mine safety and fair treatment for women miners . . . I demand an immediate halt to this campaign of harassment against Sara Jean Johnston, Geraldine Lattimore and other union activists. Hold you responsible for any violence by your thugs on or off Jim Walter's property."

From Seattle came a telegram signed by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19 officials, the business agent, and executive board members. "We longshoremen," it said, "are outraged at your tactics of violence and red-baiting. We demand a halt."

Three women coal miners from UMWA Local 1190 in Ellsworth, Pennsylvania, sent a message saying, "As women we fought too hard for the right to work underground to be driven out by this kind of intimidation. Further we believe that your antiwomen campaign is just a smokescreen for an all-out attack on the UMWA."

Protest telegrams also came from Margie Van Kirk, president of the Beaver County, Pennsylvania, National Organization for Women chapter; coordinators of the Pittsburgh campus NOW chapter; two miners in UMWA Local 1941 in Fairmont, West Virginia; and the president and treasurer of the Allegheny County Pennsylvania local of the social service union.

Some thirty iron ore miners, members of Steelworkers Local 1938 on the Minnesota Iron Range, sent a petition to Jim Walter protesting the company's actions. Telegrams to Jim Walter supporting the union women also came from the executive board of the Iron Range NOW chapter and from the executive board of Local 6115 of the USWA at Inland Steel on the iron range.

Union busting

The messages were sparked by an escalation of Jim Walter's union-busting drive, which reached a new and dangerous level. with the fire bombings of automobiles belonging to miners Sara Jean Johnston and Geraldine Lattimore on August 15. The cars were parked on company property, near management offices, while almost all the miners were underground.

This was the most recent in a series of anti-union actions that began after the mine union filed charges against Jim Walter for gross safety violations during July. The highly publicized action so irked the company that it went on the warpath against the union and union activists.

The company's drive intensified when the union filed and won a sex discrimination grievance. The grievance won back pay for all women miners who had been denied the opportunity granted males to work during a two-week vacation break.

The company then tried to break the women by putting them on a punitive work detail. When management fired five of the women on flimsy grounds, the union filed a grievance, winning their jobs back.

The fire bombings of Johnston's and Lattimore's cars came one day after management reprimanded Johnston and miner Ellen Bobroff for writing an article in the *Militant* detailing Jim Walter's safety violations.

In the days following the arson attack and the publicity surrounding it, thieves on two consecutive work days made off with items belonging to Bobroff and Johnston. The hand of the company was in evidence.

The latest move in this vicious campaign came on the night of August 22 when Bobroff's truck, which she drives to work, was stolen from the parking lot of the building where she was staying.

Neither Bobroff nor Johnston had been living in their homes following a report from a tenant in Johnston's apartment building that a cop had warned him that the building "was not safe" and that it was under both Klan and police surveillance.

Demand police protection

On August 22, Shelley Davis, attorney for Johnston, Bobroff, and Lattimore, met with Police Chief Bill Myer

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Socialist hits U.S. bid to block Cuba trips

By Gus Horowitz

The U.S. State Department announced August 28 that it was canceling the operating license of Havanatur, the Panama-based company that has been organizing family reunification visits to Cuba by Cubans resident in the United States.

About 50,000 people have visited Cuba under the program, which began six months ago.

The State Department action was immediately denounced by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Zimmermann, who recently returned from a visit to Cuba, branded the decision as "an attempt to impose a new ban on travel to Cuba. It is a shameful measure designed to inhibit contact between the Cuban and American peoples and to block the spread of information about what Cuba is really like."

Zimmermann and her presidential running-mate on the socialist ticket, Andrew Pulley, are campaigning for an end to the U.S. economic blockade against Cuba, for establishment of diplomatic relations, and for guaranteed freedom of travel to Cuba.

The State Department announcement was timed to coincide with the opening of the conference of nonaligned nations in Havana. Cuba's position as host country and as a leading force in the conference is highly irritating to Washington.

The official reason for canceling Havanatur's license was a technicality—failure to obtain a Treasury Department clearance. But the *New York Times* reported that State Department officials "made plain that the reason for canceling the operating authority was to steer business away from a company thought to be an agent of the Cuban government."

No evidence for this accusation was cited, however.

Carlos Alfonso, president of Havanatur, said, "This is a totally arbitrary decision and we consider ourselves to be discriminated against."

Rafael Betancourt of Marazul, the Cuba travel agency in New York, told the *Militant* that among Cubans in the U.S. "there has been an overwhelmingly positive response to the opportunity to be able to travel to Cuba, especially for purposes of family reunification."

"In fact," he said, "the demand so far has outstripped the possibilities to make the arrangements. This shows that the Cuban community in the U.S. has embraced the travel program. So, any type of suspension would be very detrimental to the Cuban community as a whole."

Betancourt said that the State Department measure was being challenged, and that in the meantime, all flights scheduled for September will still take place.

The Cuban government encourages visits by Cubans in the United States to their families on the island as part of a developing dialogue between the Cuban revolutionary government and the Cuban community abroad. This dialogue has weakened right-wing Cuban exile groups and built up sentiment for U.S. trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba.

As a gesture to Cubans living abroad, the Castro government has released more than 2,000 political prisoners who had participated in counterrevolutionary acts in the past. The release of 400 more was announced August 27.

Among them was Rolando Cubelas. While an official in the Castro government, Cubelas participated in a CIA plot to assassinate Fidel.

Socialist candidate Zimmermann noted that the contrast between the actions of the U.S. government and those of Cuba's revolutionary leadership was bound to embarrass Washington.

"While Cuba is confident enough to release its prisoners, even those who tried to murder its top leaders," she said, "the U.S. government is afraid to allow Cubans living in this country to visit their families in the land of their birth."