

# THE MILITANT

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

## Blacks & the PLO

### Socialist candidate welcomes dialogue as gain for Palestinian freedom fight



BEIRUT—PLO chairperson Yasir Arafat with civil rights leaders. At left are U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy and SCLC head Joseph Lowery. Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, opening national campaign tour, called their talks a blow to U.S. and Israeli war plans. Page 3.

## Auto contract

What's in it

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What UAW members  
are saying

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## WOMEN HAIL LABOR CAMPAIGN FOR EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

—PAGE 12

## Stop U.S. threats to Cuba, Nicaragua

Washington's squeeze on Nicaragua tightened this week, as three visiting members of the Government of National Reconstruction were pilloried at a luncheon given by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

The three, Daniel Ortega, Alfonso Robelo, and Sergio Ramírez, came to Washington to request urgently needed relief and reconstruction aid. But the senators made it clear that humanitarian aid would be held up until, as one put it, "the Nicaraguans show their true political colors."

Democratic Sen. Richard Stone of Florida led the attack, accusing Nicaragua of fomenting armed insurrection throughout Central America.

The charge is ludicrous. The people of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras need no outside orders to struggle against the brutal

dictatorships ruling their countries. Yet Stone insulted the Nicaraguan government delegation by producing as "evidence" the videotaped "confession" of an alleged Sandinista defector.

The senators' demonstrative opposition to aid for Nicaragua is designed to give President Carter a pretext for continuing to deny the Nicaraguan people aid on the scale that they need.

As a result of the devastation caused by the ousted U.S.-backed Somoza regime, the Nicaraguan people urgently need hundreds of millions of dollars in food, medicines, and other relief. But Washington has delivered less than \$8 million so far, much of it used up in U.S. transport and administrative costs. Recently another miserly \$8.8 million was approved.

The Carter administration is holding back aid to pressure the new government of Nicaragua against taking the radical social measures it has embarked on to improve conditions of the workers and peasants of that poor country.

Along with these pressure tactics, Washington continues to press its propaganda scare over the presence of Soviet forces in Cuba. These are depicted in alarmist terms as "combat troops."

Washington—which has 500,000 troops in over 100 foreign countries, including 2,800 stationed at Guantánamo naval base in Cuba against the will of the Cuban people—arrogantly presumes to dictate terms to Cuba through closed-door talks with Moscow.

U.S. officials admit that a small contingent of Soviet troops has been in Cuba since the early 1960s, and that the U.S. government knew all about it.

So why the sudden cries of alarm? What's new?

What is new is the revolution in Nicaragua.

What is new is the likelihood that the example of the Cuban socialist revolution will spread.

What is new is Cuba's proven capacity to give effective aid to anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, and Washington's fear that similar aid could be extended in Latin America.

Against the rise of revolution in Central America, Carter plans a buildup of U.S. air and naval forces in the Caribbean. These aggressive plans are presented in the guise of "policy options" in response to the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba.

Carter's war moves enjoy full bipartisan support. Liberal Democrats such as Edward Kennedy joined with conservative Republicans and Democrats September 18 to vote a special \$2.7 billion increase in war spending this year alone.

The propaganda outcry against Cuba aims to condition American working people to accept this military buildup and the possibility of U.S. military intervention against Cuba and Nicaragua.

The pressure tactics on Moscow are intended to make sure the Kremlin will not stand by Cuba under such circumstances.

American working people have no interest in these dangerous war moves. Our interests lie with the workers and peasants of Cuba and Nicaragua.

Hands off Cuba! End the blockade!

Grant the Nicaraguan people all the aid they need!

## Mari Bras, Puerto Rican leader, jailed

Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was arrested in San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 24 on contempt of court charges issued by a U.S. district court. Pedro Baigés Chapel, another PSP leader, was arrested for the same reasons the next day.

The arrests of the two Puerto Rican independence fighters stem from protests against the U.S. Navy's use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for bombardment exercises, during which Puerto Rican fishing crews are barred from the area.

Baigés Chapel was one of those arrested earlier for entering the forbidden area. Mari Brás has been acting as his attorney in the case. They have opposed the jurisdiction of the U.S. court as a "foreign court imposed by force on the Puerto Rican people."

What particularly irked the court when the two failed to show up at their hearing was the fact that they had gone instead to

the Havana Summit of Nonaligned countries. There Mari Brás presented the case for Puerto Rican independence, denounced the U.S. Navy presence in Vieques, and hailed the worldwide solidarity movement for its part in helping gain the release of four Puerto Rican Nationalists who had been held in U.S. prisons for over twenty-five years. The Nonaligned conference subsequently adopted a position along the same lines.

That defiant stand was the real "contempt of court" in the eyes of the imperialists.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers 1980 candidate for president, denounced the arrests as "another sign of Washington's racist and imperialist contempt for the rights of the Puerto Rican people."

He called upon U.S. working people and defenders of civil liberties to rally to the defense of the two Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

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Washington keeps mass murderer Pol Pot in UN, denies food relief to starving millions. **Page 21.**

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Zimmermann rips Carter strikebreaking as unionists defy back-to-work order. **Pages 6, 23.**



### Steelworkers protest

Attack on apprentice rights threatens to drive women, Blacks out of skilled jobs. **Page 15.**



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# Pulley hails Black-PLO talks

## Opens national campaign tour in Newport News

By Miguel Zárate

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Opening a nationwide tour here, Andrew Pulley called the growing support by Americans for the Palestinian struggle “a breakthrough of historic proportions in the fight for justice and against war in the Middle East.”

The SWP candidate for president spoke at the grand opening of the Militant Bookstore and the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the Tidewater area, scene of the fight for union recognition by United Steelworkers Local 8888 at the Newport News shipyard.

The grand opening and welcoming rally for Pulley—himself a steelworker in Gary, Indiana—was the culmination of a four-day campaign stop in the Virginia Peninsula. The tour was major news on radio, television, and in the local papers. Shipyard workers, teachers, students, meat packers, old and young, came to hear the Socialist Workers candidate, and greeted his remarks on the Mideast with applause. They contributed \$1,000 to help get the SWP campaign going.

Pulley said that the growing identification of Blacks with the struggle of Palestinians for the right to determine their own future “makes it more difficult for the U.S. government to justify any military action in support of the Israeli state, or any moves to seize oilfields with U.S. troops.”

“The Zionist state of Israel,” Pulley



Militant/Arnold Weissberg  
Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

explained, “is by its very nature expansionist and belligerent. Washington arms and supports Israel to provide a bastion for imperialist interests in that area.”

“Members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference delegation to the Mideast have brought back definitive proof that U.S. arms are being used by Israel in its illegal raids against Palestinians in Lebanon. This aggression, and U.S. complicity in it, must be stopped.”

“I say, halt all U.S. military aid to

Israel now!” Pulley said to applause.

“Some racists,” continued Pulley, “have challenged the competency of Black people to have opinions on foreign policy. It’s too ‘complex.’ They say we should concentrate on ‘Black issues’ at home. This is just another example of racist contempt for Black people.”

“Let me tell you, if the U.S. gets involved in a Mideast war it will be a Black issue because Black youth will be sent to die on the front lines like every other war. If Carter and the capitalist politicians don’t want us involved in foreign policy, why don’t they just leave us out of their wars?”

“I have been involved in foreign policy ever since I was forced out of high school and into the army. I got involved because the U.S. war in Vietnam wasn’t in the interests of Black people or working people generally, and neither is the U.S. policy in the Mideast today.”

“The racists warn against mixing up the fight for our rights at home with the fight for the rights of other people overseas. Well, the two are linked because the enemy we confront, the U.S. government, is also the main force oppressing and keeping down the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. So our struggle and theirs are natural allies.”

Pulley denounced the “racist snub” given to Black visitors by Israeli gov-

ernment officials, who refused even to meet with them. “These same people didn’t hesitate to roll out the red carpet when South African Prime Minister Vorster toured Israel a few years ago. Despite the condemnation of people all over the world, Israel continues to maintain close relations with the apartheid regime today. A welcome mat for Vorster and the forced exile of millions of Palestinians from their homeland. That is what we mean when we say that Zionism is racism.”

### Isolation of Zionists

“Despite the attempts by Israel and the United States to slander and suppress the Palestinian freedom struggle and to smear all its supporters as terrorists or ‘anti-Semites,’ that struggle has greater support than ever before all around the world,” Pulley said.

“Now that support is beginning to be expressed in this country, with Black people taking the lead. They see clearly that this is a struggle for basic civil and human rights.”

“Today it is the Zionists who are increasingly isolated. The Havana Conference of Nonaligned Nations totally condemned the Zionist state and expressed support for the Palestine Liberation Organization.”

The socialist candidate explained that this growing opposition to Zionism is the very opposite of anti-

*Continued on next page*

# Black leaders invite Arafat to visit U.S.

By August Nimtz and Peter Seidman

WASHINGTON—In a significant breakthrough for the Palestinian liberation struggle, Black leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have invited Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat to come to the United States.

The SCLC leaders asked Arafat to speak to the first of ten community educational forums on the Mideast that the civil rights organization is planning to hold throughout the country.

The invitation came at the end of a five-day tour of the Mideast by ten leading officials of SCLC. Arafat, Chairperson of the Palestine Liberation Organization, had invited the group to meet with him and tour the region.

SCLC’s public invitation to the PLO leader has helped in an unprecedented way to legitimize among U.S. workers—especially Blacks—the struggle for Palestinian rights. It has also increased the isolation of the Zionists.

The Black leaders denounced the U.S. government for supplying arms to Israel. Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC president, told the National Association of Black Journalists what his group saw when they visited Palesti-

nian refugee camps in southern Lebanon that had been bombed by Israeli planes.

“We discovered much to our outrage that American weapons had been used on non-military targets. We saw one reserve fuel tank from an F-15 that had fallen off the plane during a bombing mission. The reserve fuel tank had marked on the inside ‘U.S.A. Property.’”

As a result of the bombing, Lowery said, “the Palestinians are suffering in an indescribable way. Chairman Arafat told us, for example, that every day his office has difficulty finding somewhere to bury a Palestinian who had died.”

Lowery told his virtually all-Black audience that “violence which continues this condition was clearly visible on our visit to Damour [in southern Lebanon], where the savage and destructive bombing has turned villages into refugee camps and continued bombing, refugee camps into ghost towns.”

Lowery and his group were clearly taken aback by what they saw. “We had no idea of the extent of the bombing in south Lebanon in places like Tyre and others where it has been extremely heavy. Palestinians live in fear and poverty in refugee camps such



Palestinian victims of Israeli terror in Lebanon.

as Nabatieh, and we witnessed the urban despair in Beirut itself.”

The SCLC asked both the PLO and the Israeli government for a “three-month moratorium on violence.” The

racist attitude of the Israeli government was shown by its refusal—unlike the PLO—to even meet with the SCLC leaders to discuss their proposal.

*Continued on next page*

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# At shipyard: 'Workers need our own party'

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—It's a little after noon at the main gate at Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. Half a dozen socialist workers—Teamsters and auto workers—are selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* to the steelworkers eating and talking along Washington Avenue.

They are also handing out leaflets announcing the upcoming socialist campaign rally featuring Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and telling the Steelworkers that Pulley will be campaigning there in a moment.

When Pulley arrives he shakes hands, saying "I'm Andrew Pulley. I'm running for president of the United States and I think working people need our own party, a labor party that can change this country from top to bottom."

A small crowd of workers gathers around. They are interested, curious, but skeptical at first. As Pulley talks, the curiosity turns to agreement.

"If there had been a labor mayor here you wouldn't have been beaten on Bloody Monday," Pulley says, referring to the antilabor rampage by strikebreaking cops on April 16. Heads nod in agreement.

"We got to change this country soon," a young worker says.

An older white worker, who met Pulley the previous day at the Fiftieth Street gate, pauses for a second. "I shook his hand yesterday and read him in the paper. He tells it like it is," the Local 8888 member says.

Pulley hears the same idea from Steelworkers several times. "Tenneco owns everything, including the Democrats and Republicans."

He responds by saying, "We have to use the power of unions and labor for ourselves, that's the only way."

The warning whistle blows, signaling the end of lunch. Pulley and his supporters have talked to hundreds of people, selling eighteen papers in the process.

As he prepares to go back in the yard, an older Black worker, a veteran of years in the yard and a union man, shakes Pulley's hand. "Good luck, man. We're with you all the way," he says.

Members of Local 8888 have been conditioned by more than three years of struggle, from an organizing drive to a strike, and the unfinished fight for recognition and a contract. What Pulley says makes good sense on the basis of their

experience.

The response to the socialist candidate is the same at two other area workplaces where he campaigns. Warm, friendly, open.

At Norshipco, a large shipyard in Norfolk, and ITT-Waltney, a big meat-packing plant in rural Smithfield, socialist workers leaflet and sell while Pulley talks to workers.

At Norshipco, Pulley is at the gates at sunrise shaking hands. Several workers, white and Black, wish him good luck.

He explains his opposition to forced overtime and the need to spread such work around to create more jobs. "Yeah, you said it," a worker responds. Despite unionization at the yard, recent shifts have been as long as thirty-two hours at a clip.

Inside the yard, during work and at breaktime, there is much talk of Pulley. Shipbuilder supporters of the socialist candidate sell the *Militant* and copies of Pulley's pamphlet *How I Became a Socialist*.

At the meat-packing plant, workers come early and stroll in with friends. Pulley has long discussions, covering Cuba, Nicaragua, the need for a labor party, the energy crisis, and Black liberation.

The response is uniformly warm, a fact that chills the two right-wing reporters for the *Smithfield Times*.

"This country needs a total change, total, now," a young Black worker tells Pulley.

Many workers listen, thinking about Pulley's proposals, the ideas of the socialist campaign. When they shake his hand, it is as if they are saying, "This man is serious." Several tell him they hope he'll win the election.

And inside the plant, discussions are lively throughout the day, particularly over Cuba, as socialist workers sell a few more copies of the *Militant* and the pamphlet.

Even when he is not at plant gates, Pulley's campaign has an impact on workers. While being interviewed on a local television program, he states, "It's about time workers had working people in Congress, speaking for us, representing us, and fighting for us."

The young white cameraman filming the interview raises his fist in the air in solidarity with that remark.

That's the kind of sentiment Pulley evokes among working people in Virginia.

—M.Z.

## ...Pulley

Continued from preceding page

Semitism. "We are not anti-Semitic. The course we are proposing is in the interests of Jewish workers—in Israel and around the world—as well as in the interests of Arabs.

"The Zionist state claims to protect the interests of the Jewish workers. But it does this by denying the rights of the Palestinians and conquering more and more Arab territory. The Jewish workers in Israel are paying for these illegal and immoral policies with their lives. Their wages are eaten up by an incredibly high inflation rate.

"This has led to a growing questioning of Zionism in Israel itself," Pulley explained. "More and more Jews are beginning to realize that there can never be peace or an end to Israel's economic crisis until the Zionist state is replaced with a state where Jews and Arabs can live together in peace and with equal rights.

"That is the only way to have genuine peace and democracy in the Middle East."

For many who attended, this was the first socialist event they had been at.

One Black sailor, who had received orders to travel to Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba, said that after reading Pulley's pamphlet, *How I Became a Socialist*, he saw that his life had many parallels with Pulley's.

For two hours after the rally, guests and speakers discussed informally many of the positions put forward by the SWP. Discussions centered on Cuba, the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment, and the need for the labor movement to break with the two parties of big business and form a labor party.

The 1980 Socialist Workers Party campaign was also brought into the homes of thousands of area residents through widespread media coverage that Pulley received. At every step of the campaign tour—from the opening news conference to the campaign appearances at plant gates and shopping centers—Pulley was met by reporters.

News articles and interviews appeared in major dailies throughout the area. The Associated Press and United Press International sent out statewide wire stories. Television and radio news covered Pulley's activities here, and the candidate was interviewed on radio and television talk shows.

And, he explained, "the basis of peace . . . in the Middle East" has to be "justice for those who have been dispossessed and denied their sovereign rights."

Responding to the slander that supporters of Palestinian rights are anti-Semitic, Jackson insisted that taking "this position . . . is not to be anti-anybody. I am concerned about our Palestinian brothers and sisters," Jackson said. "I am concerned about our Jewish brothers and sisters. We know of their agonies and fears. We know of Hitler."

Black people, Jackson said, have a direct interest in the Middle East because tensions there have "the potential for dragging a big part of the world into a war of massive destruction.

"If there's a hot war in the Middle East," Jackson explained, Blacks "will die first. If there's a cold war, we will starve first."

Both Jackson and the SCLC have come under racist criticism, especially from Zionists, for supporting Palestinian rights.

Earlier in the day, Lowery told the PHRC audience, "I know they say



U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy inspects fragments of U.S.-made shells used in Israeli raids

we're being used. But they've always said that. When we fought segregation in Alabama and Mississippi, then we were being used by the communists. Then later when we marched at Selma, we were being used by the Jews. Now, we're being used by the PLO.

"Well, I reject that racist arrogance. I deny the allegation and I defy the allegator. It's an insidious insinuation that Black folks can't think for themselves."

These slanders from Zionists reflect their frustration over the increasing support around the world for the Palestinian cause and the corresponding isolation of Israel.

The stance of Black leaders such as Jackson and Lowery reflects the changing sentiments within the Black community.

After the meeting of 230 Black leaders in New York that endorsed the right of the SCLC to support Palestinian rights, NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks said: "There was no other way it could have gone, considering the depth of Black folks' feelings."

More than a year ago the Progressive National Baptist Convention, one of the country's largest Black organi-

zations, adopted a resolution in support of self-determination for the Palestinians.

A recent Gallup poll showed that only 26 percent of Blacks sided with Israel. Close to two to one saw the PLO as more like an "American civil-rights organization" than a "terrorist group" (*Newsweek*, September 3).

As Jackson explained to the PHRC conference, "The PLO was once disregarded. But things have changed. Now 115 nations of the world recognize the PLO. Fifty-one nations recognize Israel. One hundred nonaligned nations castigated America and Israel and Egypt in Cuba a few days ago. The PLO is no longer behind the curtain. The PLO is no longer on the end of the stage. Now the PLO is center stage."

In Israel, where he was snubbed like the SCLC group by Prime Minister Begin, Jackson let the Zionists know that Blacks—like the PLO—would no longer be disregarded in the outcome of the Mideast conflict.

"It would be fair to say that Black Americans represent a political reality that Israel should not ignore nor should she take for granted."

## ...Blacks

Continued from preceding page

The racist refusal to meet and the destruction caused by Israeli bombing helped the SCLC leaders understand why the PLO says the Israelis are the real perpetrators of violence.

Another Black leader, Rev. Jesse Jackson, has begun a tour of the Mideast, also at the invitation of Arafat.

Before leaving, Jackson addressed a meeting here of some 400 members and supporters of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Sharing the platform with two Palestinian mayors from cities on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Jackson said he was "delighted" to see the PHRC gathering strength.

"We are here tonight to help give a push to this campaign," Jackson said.

The civil rights leader explained that because "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," he believes "that the inherent right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a just existence is as inalienable as all the rights we cherish in the American Declaration of Independence."



# Socialist lauds union's fight

By BILL SIZEMORE  
Times-Herald Staff Writer

Hailing the United Steelworkers union's organizing efforts at Newport News Shipbuilding as the vanguard of a nationwide working-class struggle, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party came to town today to launch his campaign for president of the United States.

Andrew Pulley told a press conference this morning he chose Newport News to kick off his candidacy "because it is the site of one of the most historic labor battles in the last three decades."

Pulley, a member of a Steelworkers local in Chicago, said the union's battle for the right to represent 15,500 production and maintenance workers at the shipyard is "important not only for the people here, but it opens up the prospect of doing this on a grand scale throughout the South."

The union won a representation election in January 1978, but the shipyard's challenge of the conduct of the election is still in the courts.

Pulley said he's running for president because he sees an "absence of power for working people" on the national scene today. The Democratic and Republican parties are the "parties of the millionaires," he said, and are interested only in protecting the profits of big business.

He said he'd be surprised if he won the presidency next year, but added, "We're willing to be surprised."



Staff photo by Randy Morr

## Pulley kicks off presidential campaign in Newport News.

He likened his campaign to the efforts of anti-slavery forces in the 1820s — 40 years before the Civil War — which foreshadowed the political cataclysm that was to come.

He said he believes socialism will

eventually come to be accepted by the masses as the only way to ensure a decent standard of living for working people.

As their lot continues to worsen, he

predicted, "working people are going to look for an alternative — a political alternative."

Leaders of the two major parties "pretend to love democracy," he said, but "they love profits — that's what they love."

The Socialist Workers Party is "for economic democracy, which means socialism," he said.

"The fight in Newport News shows what workers in this country are up against," Pulley said. "Multi-billion-dollar corporations, the courts, the politicians. And, when push comes to shove, the police, whose assault on Steelworker picket lines and storming of Local 8888's headquarters April 13 made clear that the democratic rights of American workers come in far behind union-busting when oil giants like Tenneco (the shipyard's parent company) call the shots."

Among the planks in the Socialist Workers' platform are support for the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, nationalization of the energy industry and opposition to nuclear power.

Pulley criticized the Carter administration's recent statements about Soviet troops in Cuba, which he called a "smokescreen for another American military adventure" like the Vietnam War.

Pulley, who said he hopes to be on the ballot in 26 states, will address a rally at 4 p.m. Sunday at the party's local headquarters, 111 28th Street.

# Calif. unions discuss labor party proposal

By George Johnson

SAN JOSE—The idea that labor should have its own party is starting to appear in the union press here.

Labor publications in California are reprinting parts of the Labor Day editorial in the August 31 *California AFL-CIO News*. In it, John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, called for labor to consider forming a party of its own.

Henning's editorial followed a motion passed by the executive council of the California Labor Federation to call a conference "to reassess our political activity and to give serious consideration to the feasibility of establishing a Labor Party."

*Northern California Labor*, published by the San Francisco Labor Council and the Santa Clara County (San Jose) Central Labor Council, featured a story on the state council's action on page two.

And the September 7 issue of the *California AFL-CIO News* carried the

story prominently on page one.

The state council represents the state's 1.7 million AFL-CIO members.

A news release from Henning's office called the decision by the executive board "an action that obviously expresses dissatisfaction with the two-party system as it is working in California and around the nation today."

Richard Groulx, executive officer of the Alameda County Labor Council, made the motion at the state executive council. Groulx is also a federation vice-president. He told the *Militant*: "Neither party is sensitive to the needs and interests of working people, particularly as the issues relate to the unions. With the Democrats' drift to the right, it's hard to differentiate between them and the Republicans. Both parties have failed us, particularly in the labor arena."

The intent of his motion, Groulx said, "was to seriously consider alternatives to our current strategy and to give labor more leverage."

Vince Courtney, executive secretary of Service Employees International

Union Local 400, one of San Francisco's largest unions, told the *Militant* that there is "a lot of sentiment among the members on this question."

He said, "If we move together politically as organized labor as opposed to supporting the Democrats, I'm sure all our unions will have greater participation from the members for the political and economic programs we develop. I believe it is essential that a labor party be formed, and it is encouraging that this kind of action is coming from the California Labor Federation."

Socialist workers report increased receptivity to the idea of a labor party among their co-workers. Henning's call has helped to prompt widespread discussion.

Milton Chee, a member of Transit Workers Union Local 250-A (San Francisco Muni), reports that at his union meeting a ten-minute exchange took place on the need for a labor party. He raised the idea that his local's education committee could immediately begin an organized discussion of a labor party.

As a sign of the political impasse labor faces, Chee pointed to the decision of the San Francisco Labor Council not to endorse anyone for mayor. This affects the drivers' union especially, Chee said, since the head of the Public Utilities Commission is a mayoral appointee.

The current San Francisco teachers' strike was cited by Chee as an example of why labor should run its own candidates. "The Democratic city administration claims there's no money for teachers," he said, "and is encouraging students, parents, and teachers to cross picket lines. A labor party mayor would support the teachers and would call for taxing the rich and for funds for schools instead of war."

During the discussion, Sam Walker, secretary-treasurer of the local, said he agreed with Henning's proposal.

Chee also reports that fifteen workers at the meeting bought copies of the *Militant*, based on coverage of Henning's editorial. He usually sells two.

# '\$80,000 for '80' drive to launch SWP campaign

By Lisa Potash

The Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee is on an ambitious drive to raise \$80,000 by December 15. The drive, which will pay for the initial expenses of the campaign, got off to a tremendous start with 1,500 socialists pledging \$67,000 at an August campaign rally. So far \$18,000 has been received by the national campaign office.

Already the funds have been used to send Fred Halstead, campaign spokesperson, to Nicaragua; to send Andrew Pulley to Detroit for discussions with laid-off autoworkers; and to launch the national campaign speaking tours. The \$80,000 fund is also financing the national campaign and sales team traveling through West Virginia and North Carolina.

In addition the national campaign office has gotten out the first battery of campaign buttons, posters, and Andrew Pulley's pamphlet, *How I Became a Socialist*.

This is just the beginning. The national campaign committee wants to publish more materials and send out more tours so that we can reach new

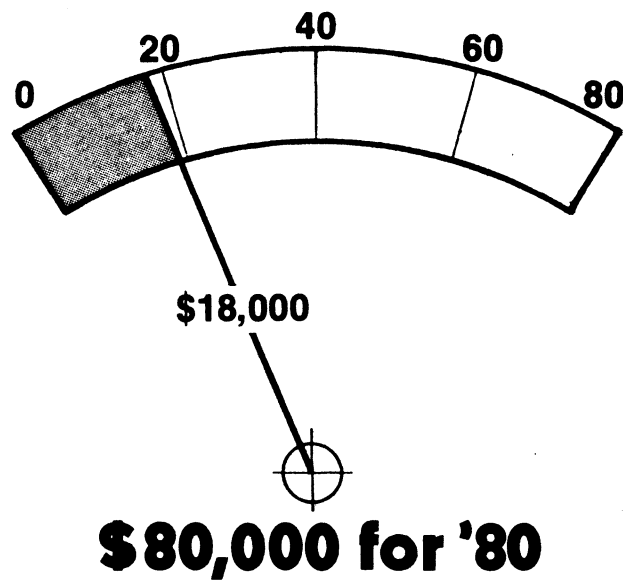
people with the socialist alternative. The \$80,000 is needed to do just that.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, the Socialist Workers campaign is not funded by bankers and corporate profiteers. It is funded by working people and others who are fed up with this government and social system that place profit above human needs.

The \$80,000 will be raised through contributions sent to the campaign office and through fund appeals at rallies and meetings across the country featuring Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

The *Militant* is going to keep everyone up to date on the drive with regular articles and a graph showing our progress. The graph will report only money that has been received by the national campaign office, not pledges.

The response thus far to the fund appeal gives every indication that we will meet our goal. You can help by sending your contribution to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



## Solidarity with rail unions

# Zimmermann rips Carter strikebreaking

By Rich Stuart

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Matilde Zimmermann launched her national speaking tour on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range, blasting President Carter's strikebreaking assault on Rock Island Railroad workers and urging solidarity with striking grain handlers in the nearby port cities of Duluth and Superior.

Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, attracted widespread publicity throughout the area.

In a campaign speech at Miners Memorial Hall here September 22 Zimmermann said, "Carter's back-to-work order against the Rock Island strikers is an attack on the rail unions and an attempt to help the carriers pad their pockets with even more profits."

Carter ordered the 4,100 striking members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) and the United Transportation Union (UTU) back to work on September 20. So far the unionists have not returned to work.

On August 28 the 1,600 members of BRAC struck Rock Island over its refusal to grant full retroactive pay,

promised in their contract. The 2,500 UTU workers walked off the job the following day over the same issue.

The Rock Island Railroad, claiming bankruptcy, has refused to grant the back pay and has asked the federal government for a \$30 million handout to resume service. Despite its bankruptcy plea, the carrier admits a \$3 million profit during the month of the strike.

Zimmermann explained, "Carter and the Democratic and Republican parties are on the side of the rail carriers, just like they were on the side of the coal operators against the miners, and on the side of U.S. Steel and General Motors against steelworkers and auto workers."

## Speaks out on Cuba

VIRGINIA, Minn.—About twenty people gathered at the home of a Socialist Workers Party campaign supporter to talk with Matilde Zimmermann about her recent trip to Cuba. Most of those present were taconite miners and members of the Steelworkers union. There were also several students and a small delegation of Canadians who had driven down from Winnipeg for Zimmermann's tour.

Zimmermann discussed the lessons of the Cuban revolution for working people in this country and the stake American workers have in defending Cuba against the escalating attacks from Washington.

Women miners were especially interested in the position of women in Cuba today, and much of the discussion focused on the advances of the revolution in the area of women's rights, the treatment of children, and other social questions.

After the discussion, several women miners said they have decided to go to Cuba to see the revolution for themselves.

—R.S.

"But the railroad workers took a cue from the miners. They are standing firm against Carter, the Rock Island Railroad, and the National Railway Labor Act.

"I don't know if the railroad workers will win, but their defiance shows the problems facing the U.S. rulers. Whether it's rail workers, miners, teachers—they can't get working people to turn the other cheek to layoffs, cuts in our standard of living, and other attacks."

While in Minnesota, Zimmermann talked to striking grain millers on the picket lines in Duluth and Superior. The American Federation of Grain Millers Local 118 has been on strike for two and a half months. Their central demand in the new contract was a cost-of-living clause to keep up with inflation.

The companies invoked Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines to justify denying cost-of-living clauses in the contracts. The government, Democratic and Republican politicians, and the companies tried to undercut support for the strike by blaming strikers for the financial crunch farmers are facing.

Zimmermann urged support for the strike. "The entire labor movement should rally behind the strike to ensure its victory. The grain handlers, like the rail workers, are fighting for a living wage and to defend their union."

## Farmers support union

"The giant grain companies try to blame the grain handlers for the hard times facing working farmers. This is a frame-up. It is these same companies that charge farmers exorbitant storage rates.

"I think the American Agricultural Movement explains it best in their newspaper. Minnesota AAM members report that it is the same companies who pay labor less than a fair wage, just as they have paid farmers less than parity." They say that the farmers they survey think they need an alliance with the millers. I agree 100 percent."

The grain millers settled with the companies on September 23, gaining some wage increases in their new contracts. However, they did not receive a cost-of-living clause.

Zimmermann's tour was covered extensively in the media, including a front-page banner headline in Sunday's *Mesabi Daily News*. All three area TV stations highlighted Zimmermann's support to the grain strike, the biggest labor battle here since the 1977 iron miners' strike on the Mesabi Range.

## Plant-gate campaigning

Following news conferences in Duluth and Virginia, Zimmermann and her supporters traveled to the U.S. Steel Minntac plant and taconite mine in Mountain Iron to campaign and sell the *Militant*.

Thousands of steelworkers at Minntac, going to and from work, saw a big sign reading "Meet Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president." Many stopped to talk to Zimmermann briefly as they drove in and out of the gate.

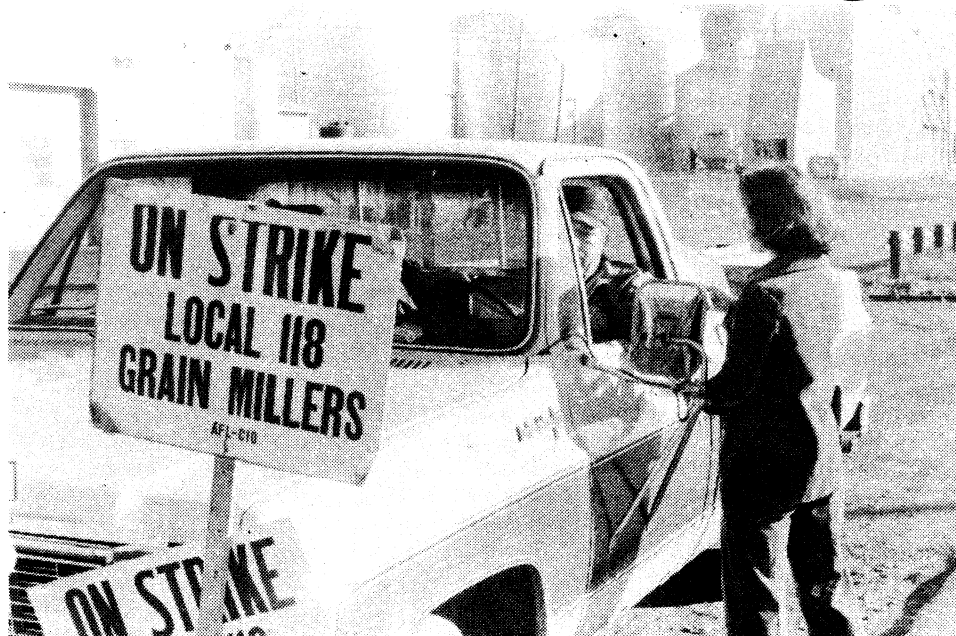
Comments from the miners included, "I voted for your party in the last elections."

"I just heard you on the radio."

"Good luck."

The plant-gate campaigning was a topic of conversation inside the plant among workers on the afternoon shift who had talked with Zimmermann or who had gotten a copy of the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

Zimmermann also campaigned at Inland Steel's Minorca mine the next



Zimmermann talks to striking grain mill worker.

Militant/Rich Stuart

day. One Inland miner asked, "Are you the one who just got back from Cuba?"

Another, "My girlfriend gets that paper, the *Militant*, at home."

And another said, "I get the *Militant* at work, there's always a copy in our lunchroom."

Forty-five people attended the campaign rally in Virginia. Many of them were attending their first socialist meeting. It was clear that they liked what they heard—close to \$500 was raised in a collection for the campaign.

Other speakers at the meeting included Larry Lukehart, member of Steelworkers Local 4108 and a member of the newly formed Young Socialist Alliance chapter here; and Stu Singer, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Steelworkers Local 6115. Singer, who recently returned from a tour of Sweden sponsored by the KAF (Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet—Swedish section of the Fourth International), spoke about the Swedish elections.

## Attacks against Cuba

At the rally, Zimmermann blasted the bipartisan crusade in Washington against Cuba. "Washington is a lot more worried about Nicaragua and the revolution there than a few Soviet troops in Cuba. The Cubans supported the struggle of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua that threw out Somoza, and the Cubans were the first to send aid.

"Castro has challenged Washington to see who could send more aid to Nicaragua—tiny Cuba or the mighty United States. But the only thing Washington wants to send to Nicaragua is an invading force to smash the workers and farmers there, who are

taking their destiny into their own hands."

She appealed for solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and opposition to any U.S. intervention in that country.

"The American ruling class is determined to be able to send U.S. troops to Central America. But it fears the deep antiwar sentiments of the American people."

## Labor party

Zimmermann continued, "On all big political questions, like the draft, or the Rock Island strike, there are only two sides. One represents the bosses and the other represents the workers and their allies."

But as Zimmermann pointed out, "there is no way for this class lineup to be reflected in the current two-party system. Only one side of the division in U.S. politics is heard through the Democrats and Republicans. A labor party based on the power and organization of the unions could break the monopoly of the bosses on politics."

Zimmermann hailed the call by California AFL-CIO head John Henning for a discussion in the labor movement of "the advantages of a separate political party."

The idea that working people belong in politics with their own party was featured on three television stations covering the Zimmermann tour. One TV anchorman put it clearly when he said, "Matilde Zimmermann believes that working people could do a much better job running the country than the people running it now."

## That Matilde—she's got guts

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Evelyn and Reuben Plagemann came to hear Matilde Zimmermann speak because they look forward to the growth of the socialist movement.

Reuben, a life-long socialist and union activist, was first introduced to socialism by his father, a member of the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs. Reuben was active in a Teamster organizing drive in the 1930s in southern Minnesota.

He thinks working people should support the socialist candidates today. "We need a socialist government where living would come ahead of profits. We have enough in this country to support everybody."

Evelyn said, "Things have got to change. You can't live anymore. You can't even go to the doctor. Social

Security can't buy groceries, let alone fuel, medicine, and the lights."

Reuben has never voted for a capitalist candidate and likes the Socialist Workers Party proposal for a labor party based on the unions.

Reuben protested that the big media constantly lie and censor the news. "The *Militant* is a great, great paper. I wish I had the money to give everyone in the country a copy."

What did the Plagemanns think about the rally? Reuben beamed, "If my father had seen this meeting tonight he'd have started chewing tobacco right away."

Evelyn said, "Yeah, that Matilde, she really tells it, too. Just like we believe it should be told. She's got guts."

—R.S.



# Socialist challenges ARCO lies

By Dick Roberts

HOUSTON—An oil worker at the Atlantic Richfield refinery here is taking up a challenge made to her by the giant energy firm. Debby Leonard, who has worked for ARCO for six years, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston.

ARCO told Leonard they will open their books to her to prove they are not responsible for oil shortages and spiraling gasoline prices.

"We have plenty of questions for ARCO," Leonard told me. "There are other oil workers at the refinery and people all over the country who would be interested in seeing just what kind of excuses ARCO comes up with in attempting to justify its role in creating the gasoline shortage."

Leonard's campaign attracted widespread publicity in July when she declared that there were no shortages at the Houston refinery, ARCO's biggest, which produces over 300,000 barrels of oil a day.

On July 19 the company circulated a newsletter attempting to answer Leonard's charges (see box). The next day they hauled Leonard into a meeting with top company officials, where management threatened to discipline Leonard for speaking out on the gasoline-price swindle.

Also at the July 20 meeting, at Leonard's request, was union committeeperson Lloyd Carter.

Carter and Leonard fired questions at the company officials. "They weren't answering us," Leonard said. "It was then that they declared they would open their books to any ARCO workers we wanted to bring in to prove their case."

Leonard said that she thought the company probably had in mind that only a few workers would come "and they could bamboozle us with statistics. They ruled out any press attend-

ance and handed me a long computer print-out of daily refinery runs.

"But this is not all that we have in mind," Leonard continued. She explained that ARCO is a major national and international oil producer, affecting working people all over the country and abroad as well.

"We want the facts on all of its operations here and internationally, both on the economic and on the political level, so that we can see what its real role in energy production is," Leonard said.

"Take the 'Dial Info' newsletter. Like all of the other energy trusts ARCO tries to blame the shortfall on the Iranian revolution. But how much Iranian oil goes to California? That's where the biggest gas crisis took place.

"California oil comes from places like Indonesia, southern California itself, and from Alaska. According to business publications there was a glut of Alaskan crude in California at the time of the crisis.

"But ARCO itself is one of the biggest producers of crude in both California and Alaska. It is one of the main owners of the trans-Alaska pipeline. We want to know what ARCO's role in the California gasoline shortage was and if it took any steps at all to alleviate that crisis."

Leonard noted that the newsletter also brought up the question of the intense competition for oil on world markets. "When the Iranian oil workers refused to sell oil to Israel or South Africa," she said, "it did drive up the spot prices for oil. Those two racist regimes went out to purchase oil at whatever price they had to pay.

"Here again ARCO has a hidden role. It buys and sells crude on open markets. Did ARCO divert oil from the United States to either Israel or South Africa and reap the exorbitant profits involved?

"The newsletter also admits that the Houston refinery was running under capacity. We want to know *why* it was running under capacity."

Other ARCO workers I talked to were equally indignant and had similar questions. One explained to me that after the memorandum had been circulated ARCO had invited some workers, including officers of the union, to a slide show, where the company once again tried to explain away the gasoline shortage.

"They had a graph showing the decline of domestic gasoline production before the shortages. But when we asked them why domestic production had declined, they couldn't answer.

"You know," he continued, "ARCO has a management incentive program where they reward officers for raising company profits. I'd like to see what would happen if the incentive was tied to raising production."

Leonard noted that besides oil and natural gas, ARCO produces coal and has vast shale-oil reserves. Furthermore it owns Anaconda, the notorious copper and uranium producing trust. "Anaconda has exploited copper miners for decades in the U.S. Northwest, Arizona, Mexico, and Chile. What about its role in these places?

"What does ARCO do to protect uranium miners? What about the dangers of nuclear energy? What are ARCO's profits on uranium sold to the Pentagon to make nuclear weapons?

"Anaconda has a suit against OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] concerning the exposure of workers to inorganic arsenic. Its wastes pollute the waters of Montana and the great scenic parks out there.

ARCO rips off the Eskimos on Alaska's North Slope and Native Americans in Louisiana and New Mexico. When you stop to think about it, it's hard to find someone whom ARCO isn't ripping off and who wouldn't be very interested in looking at those secret records as well."

Leonard pinpointed the sentence of the newsletter that declares, "The answer to the nation's energy problem is to reduce demand/or increase supply."

"What they mean by reducing demand is that we have to buy less gas at higher prices. By increasing supply, they mean that they won't bring more oil and gas on tap until government controls are ended, safety controls and OSHA are abolished, and controls on the destruction of the environment are liquidated.

"We think that by this campaign to get the facts about ARCO out, we can publicize the real need to nationalize these profit-hungry energy trusts. The facts we are asking for are the kinds of facts that are needed so that there can be a deepgoing discussion in this country about how to make energy easily and cheaply available."

## 'Gas shortages were real'?

The following is an excerpt from "Dial Info," a newsletter circulated to all of its employees last month by the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company.

Normally "Dial Info" takes up questions workers might ask about everyday plant operations and regulations. In this case, however, ARCO invented a question in order to respond to Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Houston.

"QUESTION: Last week on TV a refinery employee announced she would run for mayor. She claims ARCO is creating a gasoline shortage, that tanks are overflowing, docks are overcrowded, renting tanks at other companies, etc. I also see oil coming in and products going out. Please tell us the truth.

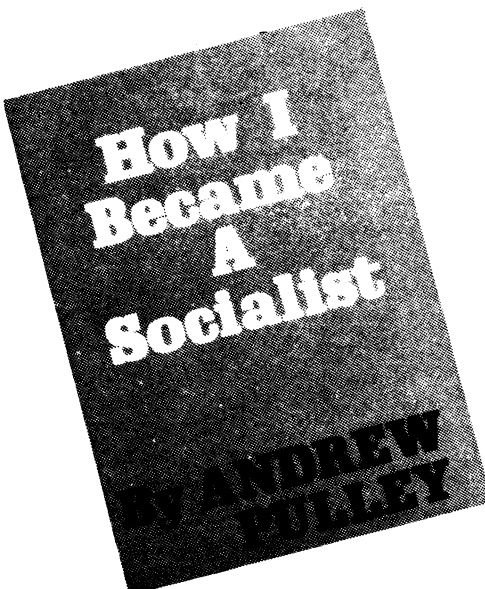
"RESPONSE: The gasoline shortages we are now experiencing are

real. They result from two basic causes, increased consumer demand and crude shortages primarily resulting from the Iranian situation. In terms of world supply of crude oil, there is a one million barrel per day shortfall. As a result, competition among oil purchasers has become intense for the oil available in the market.

"Here at the Houston Refinery we had been running approximately 30,000 barrels per day under capacity. However, we have recently been able to obtain additional crude oil and are now at capacity. Our tanks are not overflowing, docks are not overcrowded. . . .

"The answer to the nation's energy problem is to reduce demand/or increase supply. Political rhetoric and unfounded accusations will not solve this serious problem."

## Join the Socialist Workers Campaign!



- Yes, I want to help.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_.
  - ☐ Please send me a free packet of campaign material.
  - ☐ Please send me the following:
    - copies of *How I Became a Socialist* by Andrew Pulley. 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
    - copies of *Bill of Rights for Working People* (English or Spanish). 3¢ each.
    - "Pulley for President" buttons, and \_\_\_\_\_ "Zimmermann for Vice President" buttons (with photos). 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
    - "Human Needs Before Profits" but-

tons, and \_\_\_\_\_ "Vote Socialist Workers" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more.

— "Pulley for President" posters, and \_\_\_\_\_ "Zimmermann for Vice President" posters. 10¢ each, 8¢ each for ten or more.

Clip and mail to Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
 Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



## OHIO

### Statewide Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

John Powers, SWP candidate for Senate

Norma Ruiz, United Auto Workers Local 1747 at Telex

Dolores McCall, United Auto Workers Local 122 at Chrysler

Saturday, September 29, 7 p.m. reception 5 p.m., disco 9 p.m.

The Happy Apple

733 W. St. Clair, Cleveland  
 Donation: \$3

For more information call  
 (216) 991-5030, (513) 751-2636  
 or (419) 536-0383

### Andrew Pulley candidate for president

Sept. 28-

Oct. 1 Cleveland  
 Oct. 2 Cincinnati  
 Oct. 7-9 St. Louis  
 Oct. 11-13 Boston

### Matilde Zimmermann candidate for vice-president

Sept. 30-

Oct. 1 Kansas City  
 Oct. 3-4 Salt Lake City  
 Oct. 9-10 Los Angeles  
 Oct. 14-15 San Diego

### Other socialists on tour

#### Cathy Sedwick

Sept. 28-30 Milwaukee  
 Oct. 11-13 Portland  
 Oct. 15-20 Puget Sound

#### Fred Halstead

Sept. 28-30 Philadelphia  
 Oct. 1 State College, Pa.  
 Oct. 2-3 Harrisburg  
 Oct. 5-6 Pittsburgh  
 Oct. 8-13 Morgantown

#### Héctor Marroquín

Sept. 30-  
 Oct. 4 San Antonio  
 Oct. 6-10 Houston  
 Oct. 12-14 Detroit  
 Oct. 18-20 Indianapolis

(Marroquín's tour sponsored by Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee).

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 31 for phone numbers and addresses.

## A worker for president

**'A MERE MORTAL'?** "It isn't every day that one sees a presidential candidate working among the people as if he too were a mere mortal. But Northwest Indiana residents will likely be seeing one in the coming months." So wrote Ben Johnson, city editor of the daily *Post-Tribune* in Gary, in a September 2 report on the opening of Andrew Pulley's presidential campaign. Pulley is a production worker at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. Like much of the extensive press coverage greeting the announcement of the socialist campaign, the *Post-Tribune* highlighted the uniqueness in this country of a worker running for president.

"As a working man who is affected by many of the country's economic and energy policies," Johnson reported, "Pulley wants the working class people—the majority of Americans—to have a say in how the country is run. That's why he's running for president on the Socialist Workers ticket, he said."

The paper singled out the following planks of the Socialist Workers platform:

- Nationalize the energy industry;
- Provide immediate, emergency aid to Nicaragua;
- End the deadly use of nuclear power and burn coal instead;
- Provide free, socialized medicine;
- Halt military aid to Israel.

"It's the super-rich against the working people," Pulley told the *Post-Tribune*. Commented editor Johnson: "It's all radical stuff. And Pulley and others think this country is ready for it. It sounds to me like the stuff that revolutions are made of."

**ON THE AIR:** Pam Burchette, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, recently appeared on radio station KSXX, the NBC affiliate there. The program was scheduled to be a half-hour listener call-in show. But the response was so great the



From September 11 'Birmingham News' feature on Matilde Zimmermann.

station kept her there an extra half-hour.

Burchette blasted the Utah "right to work" law and explained why trade unionists should form their own political party to defeat this reactionary legislation and defend workers' interests. All the calls with the exception of one were positive. The response was so voluminous to Burchette's stand on the "right to work" law that calls continued to flood the station long after she had left.

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president, will appear on the same station while on tour in Salt Lake City. She is scheduled for a one-hour slot beginning at 4:00 p.m. on October 3.

The "nonpartisan" primary in Salt Lake City will be held October 9. Burchette and Ed Berger, SWP candidate for city council, will be on the ballot.

For more information contact: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 677 South Seventh Street, Salt Lake City. Telephone (801) 355-1124.

**'NO MORE VIETNAMS':** "We don't want any more Vietnams—in Latin America, the Middle East, South Africa, or anyplace else,"

Matilde Zimmermann told the *Birmingham News*.

The SWP vice-presidential candidate was in Birmingham earlier this month to open her nationwide campaign and give a boost to the socialist candidates in that city. Mohammed Oliver is running for mayor and Eric Flint for city council in the October municipal elections there.

Zimmermann's tour received extensive coverage, including a half-page spread in the September 11 *News*.

The socialist candidate emphasized the danger of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, denounced Carter's threats against Cuba, and insisted that the U.S. government honor its promise to send emergency relief to Nicaragua.

"The Socialist Workers Party, and I think Americans in general," she told the *News*, "were pleased to see the people of Nicaragua get rid of Somoza. Everybody admits he was a butcher and dictator, and was maintained in power only through the backing of the United States government."

"What Somoza did, however, was to leave the country in ruins—taking all the money in the national treasury, bombing entire cities and killing some 40,000 peo-

ple, bombing and destroying all of the cash crops. . . .

"We call on Carter to send the 300 tons of food a day which three weeks ago he promised to send to Nicaragua and which has not been forthcoming, and to provide any aid the Nicaraguans need to further the reconstruction of their country."

**PULLEY PAMPHLET:** Growing up in rural Mississippi in the 1950s . . . chopping and picking cotton . . . facing racism in the Jim Crow South . . . moving North to Cleveland . . . segregation, Northern-style . . . a high school rebel . . . the assassination of Martin Luther King . . . life in the army . . . opposition to the war in Vietnam among GIs . . . the impact of Malcolm X . . . growing class-consciousness . . .

All this and more is chronicled in the new pamphlet by Andrew Pulley, *How I Became a Socialist*. It serves as a popular and personalized introduction to many of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. An excellent piece of campaign literature.

Order your copy now. Better yet, order a bundle for distribution to your co-workers or fellow students. Fifty cents each, thirty-five cents for orders of ten or more.

**NEWS CLIPPINGS:** The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee can't afford a professional newspaper clipping service. But we can make up for it if our supporters will take a minute to clip and mail to us newspaper articles from their cities that mention the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

**CAMPAIGN COLUMN:** The "Campaigning for Socialism" column will appear regularly in the *Militant*. Send us brief reports on the activities of the socialist candidates in your areas, copies of news releases and other campaign literature, comments, suggestions, and criticisms. We will be glad to hear from you.

Send material to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014. Telephone (212) 675-3820.

—L. Paltrineri



CATHY SEDWICK



FRED HALSTEAD

Fred Halstead, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, and Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, opened nationwide speaking tours this week. Halstead and Sedwick, who have just returned from Nicaragua, will be urging solidarity with the revolution there, and gathering support for the Socialist Workers Party 1980 election campaign.

Halstead was the SWP presidential candidate in 1968. He is the author of 'Out Now: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War.'

Halstead and Sedwick will speak on radio and television, at plant gates, on campuses, and at SWP campaign rallies and forums.

## UAW delegates protest Kucinich endorsement

By Jeff Powers

CLEVELAND—Mayor Dennis Kucinich suffered a setback on September 13, when one-third of the delegates at a United Auto Workers Community Action Program (CAP) council meeting walked out to protest the union's endorsement of his reelection campaign.

The delegates were angered by Kucinich's failure to support a federal court-ordered busing program to desegregate Cleveland's schools this fall.

The existence of a strong minority was significant because Kucinich has long looked to the UAW as one of his most important bases of support.

Anger over Kucinich's antibusing stand had been simmering for a long time among many rank-and-file UAW members. But they could no longer stomach it once they became convinced that he would do nothing to encourage peaceful compliance with the busing plan and forestall out-

breaks of racist violence.

An additional factor fueling the anger was the feeling that Kucinich was engineering a racist campaign to unseat two of his opponents on city council.

The two incumbents from Cleveland's nearly all-white West Side have been the targets of attacks centering around the claim that they had voted funds for busing. Top Kucinich aides Betty Grdina and Bob Weisman were accused on WERE radio, a major station here, of producing such literature. They have never denied the charge.

Outside the CAP council meeting, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng, who is also a member of UAW Local 217, and several of his supporters passed out campaign literature to the delegates.

Ntweng, the only probusing candidate in the Oct. 1 mayoral contest, received a friendly response.

Ntweng pointed out that the UAW is on public record supporting busing to ensure peaceful desegregation. "The members want the union to play an active role in the busing struggle," he said. "But supporting capitalist politicians like Kucinich stands in the way of this."

"For example, UAW officials could have ridden the buses on the first day of classes to show where we stood. But this would have embarrassed Kucinich. It would have made him look bad."

"Being tied to Democratic Party politicians like Kucinich tied our hands."

"That's why we need our own party, a labor party," Ntweng went on. "We need to run candidates we can control, who will advance our interests, not oppose them."

"With a labor party orientation," the socialist candidate added, "we would

also have been able to respond effectively to the request for solidarity aid made by the striking UAW workers at the Bailey Controls Division of Babcock & Wilcox."

UAW Local 1741 has been on a bitter 115-day strike against the giant corporation. The strikers, who face a union-busting injunction and great economic difficulties, had sent a delegation to the CAP council meeting to ask for additional support. But because the meeting was entirely taken up with endorsement of Democratic Party candidates, none of the strikers' representatives was able to get the floor.

"The Bailey Meter strike should have been the first point on the agenda," Ntweng said.

"In my campaign I'll be stressing support for that strike, support for busing, and the need for working people to form our own political party."



# Suni Paz sings at Marroquin benefit

By Mark Dressler

PHILADELPHIA—"The life of Héctor Marroquín depends on our efforts," Suni Paz said. Paz, an internationally acclaimed singer and songwriter, was on hand to help raise money for Marroquín's defense. More than 150 attended the benefit concert, held at the Tabernacle Church on September 22 and organized by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

Héctor Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance seeking political asylum in the United States. He is fighting deportation to Mexico where he would be jailed, tortured, and probably killed. The benefit opened Marroquín's fall tour, which will take him to fifteen cities between now and December.

Paz opened the concert with a song dedicated to Puerto Rican nationalist Lolita Lebrón, who was recently freed from jail. "It was all the different groups working together over the years," Paz explained, "that brought us to this moment when the Four Nationalists are now free. It is just this type of effort that will make Héctor Marroquín free from his burden, make him a free man."

Paz alternated between playing the guitar and the charango, a small ten-string Bolivian instrument made from an armadillo shell. Her themes ranged



HECTOR MARROQUIN

Militant/Harry Ring

over the entire Latin American experience from Puerto Rico to Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Brazil.

Following the entertainment, Héctor Marroquín spoke.

"I was shocked and surprised," Marroquín said, "to see Anastasio Somoza come to Miami and declare himself a 'political exile.' But this is the kind of political exile the U.S. government wants. If I had killed 45,000 people as

Somoza and his National Guard did, I would be welcome. I'd be perfect for them. They'd be at the border saying, 'Welcome Marroquín!'"

Marroquín told how last April the U.S. government put him on trial for his life at a deportation hearing in Houston. There, evidence was presented showing that Marroquín had been persecuted by the Mexican government because of his socialist views.

The evidence was disregarded by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The INS prosecutor said that Marroquín could not get asylum because he is a Marxist.

"At my trial," Marroquín related, "the prosecutor asked me if I supported Cuba. He said he didn't believe racism had been eliminated in Cuba, or that the position of women in Cuba was the best in this hemisphere. The real reason he didn't want to believe these things is that he doesn't want people like me telling the truth about Cuba."

After the hearing Marroquín was ordered deported to Mexico. Marroquín's attorneys have appealed the ruling to the Board of Immigration Appeals. A response is expected sometime this fall.

Marroquín is beginning a nationwide speaking tour to publicize his fight against deportation and to en-

courage support for the Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential election campaign.

Marroquín ended his talk with an appeal for international solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua.

"The Nicaraguan people truly need medical supplies and food," explained Marroquín. "The U.S. government would like to strangle the revolution in Nicaragua. I ask for solidarity from you: for my case, for the people of Nicaragua, for the people of Cuba," he concluded.

Bolivar Diaz of the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua appealed to the audience:

"I want to ask every one of you and your organizations that the solidarity you have shown so far in our struggle be continued.

"What we need is your help in educating others about the struggle in Nicaragua and for material aid."

Juan and Jenny Avila, a duo from Philadelphia, also provided entertainment with voice and guitar.

Over \$250 was raised to defend Héctor Marroquín.

For more information about the tour and the defense effort contact the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## 'Class struggle, Depression-style' recalled

By Nancy Cole

This month marks the fiftieth anniversary of the 1929 stock market crash, and depression commemoratives are on the agenda for much of the big-business media.

The *Wall Street Journal* devoted one in its series, the "Depression Remembered," to the labor upsurge, zeroing in on what it aptly called the "watershed year" of 1934.

"After the Fall: How Depression Gave A Boost to Big Labor, Changed Its Strategy," was the article's front-page headline September 20.

It began: "Shaun McGillin Maloney—Jack to his friends—remembers vividly the day long ago when he ran at full tilt around a Minneapolis street corner and into the American class struggle, Depression-style. It greeted him with flying buckshot and bullets."

Maloney was part of the 1934 Teamsters organizing strikes in Minneapolis led by, in the *Journal's* words, "a group of radical unionists who rejected the old organizing methods."

The article continued: "The concept was to organize everybody equally," says Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Minneapolis strike and later an official of the Socialist Workers Party. "It came to the fore in Minneapolis, and it was instrumental in our success." The concept also eventually dominated the Teamsters union nationally."

Noting the two other major labor battles that year—the Toledo Auto-Lite and San Francisco dockworkers' strikes—the *Journal* went on to des-

cribe the "social upheavals" that accompanied them.

"Those upheavals may be the closest to class warfare the U.S. ever came. In Minneapolis, for example, 'it wasn't just truck drivers,' Farrell Dobbs says. 'It very swiftly became a raw class showdown, with the middle class split right down the middle. The higher echelons of the middle class were with the employers, the lower strata aligned with the workers.'"

The *Journal* then explained, "Undoubtedly, many workers did turn into genuine radicals in what they perceived as their hour of need. Mr. Dobbs and his major Minneapolis collaborators, the Dunne brothers, were avowed Trotskyites. The Toledo organizers were followers of a Marxist theorist, A.J. Muste, and Harry Bridges was a Marxist of undefined orientation."

"Still, Mr. Dobbs speaks for most labor observers when he says, 'Our battles didn't mark the political radicalization of the workers. The workers were looking for a trade-union consciousness and leaders who would fight. They found what they were looking for in us.'"

The *Journal* dutifully gives credence to the theory that the organizing battles of the 1930s were due in large part to passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and later, the Wagner Act. All made possible, of course, by Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal.

Though not given the opportunity in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, Dobbs devastates that view of history in his four-book series on the Teamsters. He explains how the laws enacted supposedly to benefit workers were in fact aimed at diverting industrial conflicts into "the swamps of government mediation, always at labor's expense."

Dobbs shows how victories like those in Minneapolis of 1934 were possible—because workers got a taste of their power and used it, refusing to be suckered into relying on the Roosevelt administration and its labor laws.

The *Journal's* pilgrimage to the 1930s labor battlefields concludes with comments on the state of the unions today. "Some see the labor movement in decline," it notes.

"Mr. Dobbs, who years after the trucking strike still considers himself a radical, thinks that unions' fortunes will continue to decline until labor leaders strive to unite workers politically as they once were, but no longer are, united to win economic goals. The current aim, he suggests, should be to free workers from the Democratic Party and, in fact, the confines of the two-party system; he wants a political party based on worker solidarity."

But, the *Journal* cautions, others, such as labor historian Irving Bernstein, believe these efforts "futile." Bernstein says that the class consciousness

of the Minneapolis showdowns is "rare" and "aren't likely to recur in the U.S. without another economic catastrophe."

In drawing conclusions from past labor struggles, it helps to have a revolutionary perspective and be part of a class you hold confidence in. In his afterword to the four Teamsters books, Dobbs says that he wrote them "to provide something more than a description of the events that transpired. I have attempted to place the reader in the position of the revolutionists who guided the union ranks. . . .

"My purpose was to help find clues to ways and means of transforming labor's potential class power into a dynamically active force in the continuing struggle against the capitalist exploiters."

For those with the same optimism, a good way to commemorate the Great Crash of fifty years ago would be to study Dobbs' history in the same spirit he intended it—with an eye toward the future.



FARREL DOBBS

Militant

## For the facts

**Teamster Power**  
Farrell Dobbs

June 1962  
Let me say now, unless the International Union orders you not to go through picket lines, that clause must be set aside during the war.

If you can't comply with our International orders, which are founded on necessity, AND ON ORDERS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT, then the best thing to do is to notify the International Union. Then we will protect ourselves. We know how!

Donald Thelen  
International President

By Farrell Dobbs

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## Summary of key provisions

# What's really in the new GM contract?

By Shelley Kramer

What's really in the General Motors contract? That's what some 460,000 members of the United Auto Workers—who are voting on their new three-year pact this week—would like to know.

UAW Douglas Fraser told 3,700 local union representatives in Dallas that he "moved mountains" to win this hefty package.

Yet GM executives don't appear too awed by his performance. "Both parties achieved some of their goals," said Vice-president George Morris, "in a way that makes us both happy."

Carter administration officials complain that the contract is "straining" their wage guidelines, but they stop far short of condemning the agreement.

Union leaders, GM executives, government officials—they've all seen the UAW contract. But the union's ranks—whose lives are most affected by its provisions—have not. This week the *Militant* summarizes the contract's key features so that UAW members can draw their own conclusions.

### Wages and COLA

The new three-year wage package is composed of the following elements:

- The standard 3 percent Annual Improvement Factor wage increase effective September 17, 1979; September 15, 1980; and September 14, 1981.

- A twenty-four-cent-an-hour wage increase effective September 17, 1979. This one-time boost represents "COLA travel"—that is, cost-of-living payments from June to September 1979, due under the 1976 contract.

- On September 17, 1979, \$1.32 of the \$1.37 gained in COLA under the old contract will be added into the base hourly rate, thereby increasing wage-related benefits and providing a higher base for future wage increases. This calculation, however, does not increase what workers are presently paid.

- Future COLA, beginning December 3, 1979, will be paid on a quarterly basis. For the first two years, the COLA formula remains the same—one cent pay increase for every 0.3 change in the Combined U.S.-Canada Consumer Price Index. During the last three adjustments (December 1981 through June 1982) the formula will be increased to one cent for every 0.26 change.

However, this is not what GM will actually be paying its workers. There's this catch:

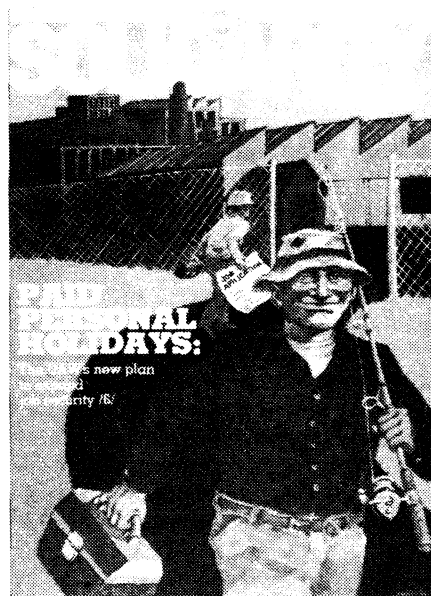
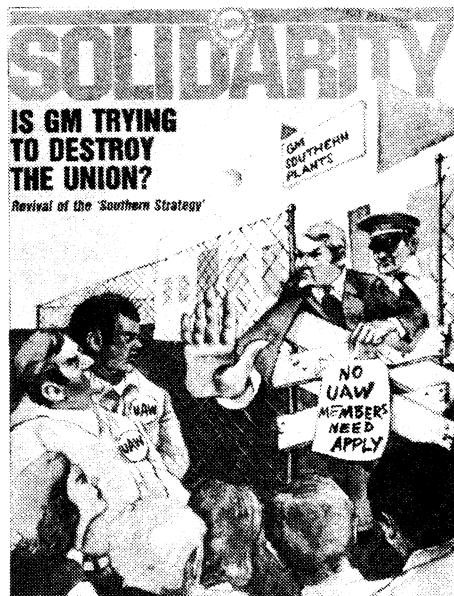
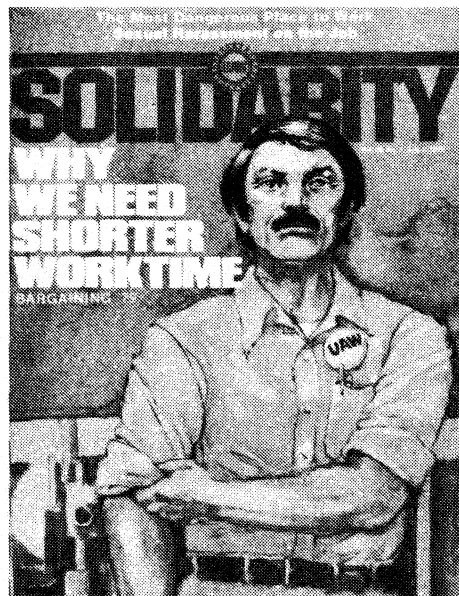
"For each adjustment during the eight three-month periods beginning December 3, 1979, and ending December 6, 1981, in which an increase in the cost-of-living allowance shall be required . . . the amount of increase so required each three-month period shall be reduced by one cent (1¢). For each adjustment during the three-month period beginning December 7, 1981, March 1, 1982, and June 7, 1982, in which an increase in the cost of living allowance shall be required . . . the amount of increase required each three-month period shall be reduced by two cents (2¢), or by the amount of the increase, whichever is less."

### Kickback

This new provision means that by the third year of the contract GM will have taken back fourteen cents an hour in COLA money. If there are 460,000 GM workers, working 2,000 hours a year, this amounts to more than a \$165 million kickback to GM.

Where does the contract leave an average GM assembler in dollars and cents?

His or her base rate will be \$9.08 in September 1979; \$9.35 in September 1980; \$9.63 in September 1981. COLA payments—estimated at an 8 percent



Covers of UAW 'Solidarity' magazine focus on key contract issues: shortening worktime by ending forced overtime, organizing GM's southern plants, shortening the workweek by increasing Paid Personal Holidays. GM refused to curb overtime, limited plants in which the UAW will be recognized, granted only twenty-two new PPH days over the life of the contract.

inflation rate and deducting diversions—would come to \$1.69 by June 1982. The hourly wage rate would then be \$11.32.

Does that sound like a lot? Consider that an annual income at that wage (calculated on the basis of a forty-hour week) will come to \$23,545. After taxes, that's maybe \$16,500. This is what a GM worker—without overtime—would make by the summer of 1982.

According to the government's own Bureau of Labor Statistics, it took \$19,145 in the fall of 1978 to support a family of four at a "modest but adequate level of living." At an 8 percent inflation rate, this minimum budget would require at least \$26,000 by the fall of 1982—several thousand dollars higher than auto workers' wages. And besides, the current inflation rate is more than 13 percent, not 8 percent.

### Wage differential

According to paragraph 98, "New employees shall be hired at a rate sixty (60) cents below the maximum base rate of the job classification and shall receive an automatic increase of twenty-five (25) cents at the expiration of thirty (30) days. Every employee who is retained by the Corporation in the job classification shall receive an increase to the maximum base rate for the job classification at the expiration of ninety (90) days or as soon as he or she can meet the standard requirements for an average employee on the job, whichever occurs first."

Just increasing the starting-wage differential, says auto analyst William Serrin, will save GM \$13.6 million a year.

Moreover, paragraph 98b—which gave partial back pay to new workers after six months on the job—has disappeared altogether.

Benefits for new workers have also been cut.

Those hired on or after October 1979 must work a full year before receiving vision care. They will receive only 75 percent of scheduled sick and accident benefits after ninety days; full benefits begin after one year.

### Pensions

What GM saved through COLA diversion, increasing the starting wage differential, and cutting back benefits for new hires—a total of more than \$178.6 million—is estimated to just about cover the contract's pension raises.

Total benefits payable to workers under 62 years old retiring between October 1979, and October 1980, will be increased from \$700 to \$800 a month. After eight additional increases during

the course of the contract, the same retirees will receive \$915 a month by the summer of 1982. Workers retiring in 1980-81 will receive \$845 before their increases; in 1981-82 the starting pension will go up to \$895.

Those retiring with less than thirty years seniority during the life of the contract will receive immediate increases of \$1.25 to \$3 per month per year of credited service with two subsequent raises.

GM workers who retired before October 1, 1979, do not keep pace with these gains.

"Thirty-and-out" retirees under age 62 receive one lump raise on October 1, 1979 (either \$50 or \$75, depending on date of retirement) and then eight additional increases (the first \$10, the rest \$15).

At age 62 their pensions are reduced to what they were at time of retirement, plus 50 percent of the increases they received before reaching 62.

At the bottom of the ladder are all those who retired before October 1, 1979, with less than thirty years seniority. Their benefits will gradually increase by a total of \$3.95 a month for each year of seniority.

According to government estimates, it took \$9,765 to support a retired couple in a "modest" fashion in the fall of 1978. At the current inflation rate, it would take \$16,205 just to maintain the same standard of living by the fall of 1982. But the best-paid GM pensioner (retiring in 1982 after thirty years) will receive only \$10,940 a year by that time.

### Paid Personal Holidays

The agreement calls for twenty-six PPH days off: eight in 1980, nine in 1981, nine in 1982. But for the first time, PPH will be scheduled by calendar year, not contract year.

That means this additional time off does not begin until January 1980. And four of the nine PPH days in 1982 will fall due after the contract expires. So the actual number of days off over three years is twenty-two.

As in the past contract, workers short of one year's seniority are ineligible for PPH; you must work the day before and day after to receive PPH pay; and no PPH time is scheduled during prime summer periods.

### Overtime and absenteeism

Despite Fraser's initial vows to put an end to forced overtime in this contract, there have been no improvements whatsoever in this area.

On the other hand, union and company negotiators agreed to work together to limit absenteeism—which is

a direct consequence of compulsory 60-70 hour workweeks.

Their Memorandum of Understanding on Attendance establishes a national UAW-GM committee "responsible for developing programs directed at reducing unwarranted absences and considering their effectiveness." This committee will assist local management in implementing such absentee control programs.

### 'Automatic recognition'

Despite initial reports, the contract does not guarantee automatic recognition for the UAW at all plants operated by GM. An exchange of letters between GM Vice-president George Morris and UAW Vice-president Irving Bluestone establishes what the union did win.

The union will be recognized and GM transfers will be extended seniority rights at "new plants opened by the Corporation in the United States to produce products similar to those now being produced at plants in which the Union is currently the bargaining representative."

"It is understood that the foregoing will not apply to those plants currently covered by the Preferential Consideration Procedure," Morris's letter continues, "nor will it apply to the current Chevrolet-Moraine, Ohio plants sites. . . ."

Plants covered by the Preferential Consideration Procedure (under which UAW members are supposed to be given preference in hiring)—and therefore excluded from the new agreement—include: AC Spark Plug, Wichita Falls, Texas; Delco Electronics, Shreveport, Louisiana; Delco Remy, Albany and Fitzgerald, Georgia; Laurel and Meridan, Mississippi; Hydra-Matic, Three Rivers and Constantine, Michigan; Rochester Products, Tuscaloosa, Alabama; and Saginaw Steering Gear, Athens, Alabama.

All this and much more is buried within the 250-page GM contract. GM workers will find they have gained no improvements in health and safety. They are not receiving full pension credits for past pregnancy leaves. There is no "25 and out" retirement for forge workers. They can point to no contractual guarantees for affirmative action in the skilled trades.

But few GM workers will ever have a chance to read the contract through for themselves.

If they did—and if it were written to be understood, not to confuse; to be discussed democratically, not quickly rammed through uninformed locals—then perhaps union officials would hesitate before offering UAW members such an inadequate package.



# Dallas UAW meet: contract hard to sell

By Bob Cantrick

DALLAS—At a meeting of 3,700 representatives of United Auto Workers locals held here September 21-22, top union officials laid out the terms of their tentative agreement with General Motors.

UAW representatives from virtually every GM plant in the country met in the ballroom of Dallas's newest luxury hotel complex, the Hyatt Regency. On

Bob Cantrick is a member of United Auto Workers Local 276 at General Motors Assembly Division in Arlington, Texas.

Friday morning the Southern and West Coast regions met; on Saturday morning the East Coast and Midwest convened.

The composition of the gathering did not reflect who you see on the shop floor every day. Women, Blacks, Latinos, and youth were few and far between.

At Friday's opening session, under the glare of television spotlights, UAW President Douglas Fraser began his remarks by stressing "the enormity of what we have achieved."

"We demolished GM's Southern Strategy once and for all," he said, referring to the obstacles the union has faced in organizing the company's Sun Belt plants. According to Fraser, the new contract will mean "every plant will be United Auto Workers. We're going to stay after them and organize, organize, organize until every single plant is under the banner of the UAW."

Despite the union's failure to win cost-of-living protection on pensions, Fraser claimed, "We have kept the faith with our retirees. I can now look any retiree square in the eye and say, 'We have protected you, brother or sister. You can retire with security and dignity.'"

As for shortening the workweek, Fraser pointed to the extra Paid Personal Holidays as showing "the way the union should go in the years ahead. We will have the four-day workweek," said Fraser. "It's just a question of how fast we get there."



UAW President Douglas Fraser, right, and GM Vice-president George Morris congratulate each other after reaching contract settlement. But many UAW members do not share their enthusiasm.

When it came to celebrating the UAW's 3 percent raises, Fraser seemed a bit more defensive.

"We have smashed the hell out of Carter's wage guidelines," he initially claimed. But he soon admitted that even with an improved cost-of-living allowance in the third year, auto workers will not catch up with inflation. What the COLA will do, said Fraser, is "increase purchasing power and standard of living for all our workers."

Then Fraser asked—sensing the dissatisfaction in the audience—"Should [the union negotiators] have gotten more than 3 percent? Hell, that would have been no problem . . . if you're willing to take away something else." But, he went on, you have to "take account of the size of the economic pie and know how to divide it."

In other words, higher wages for active workers would mean lower pensions for retirees or fewer benefits. What is divided by this bargaining strategy is not a pie, but the union membership.

Young are set against old, active workers against retirees—as though we are competing for a limited amount of wages and benefits. GM has plenty to spread around—a record \$3.97 billion in profits last year for starters. How much we win doesn't depend on an imaginary piece of pastry, but on how much the power of our union can force GM to fork over.

This kind of fighting sentiment began to surface on the second day of the Dallas conference. As union leaders again ticked off the major contract provisions, boos and heckling mixed with the cheers and applause.

The Independent Skilled Trades Council from Detroit distributed leaflets attacking the "3 percent wage increases in a 15 percent inflationary period" as a "guaranteed wage cut."

Another leaflet, issued by a local caucus at the Linden, New Jersey, plant, urged the assembled unionists to "send 'em back for more. Vote no."

Fraser was clearly worried about the leaflets' impact. At the end of his Saturday remarks, he held them up and assured the audience that dissent and opposition are permissible in a democratic union. But, he added, one "shouldn't put out garbage like this and tell lies."

Fraser did not specify what lies he was referring to nor did he explain why the oppositionists' viewpoints were "garbage."

That same day, sharp questions and objections were voiced from the six floor microphones. An older worker pointed out that nothing substantial had been won for workers who retired before 1962. Vice-president Bluestone and his administrative assistant William Colbath intervened to deflect this line of questioning. As a result, many began to file out of the room.

Referring to the inadequate wage package one committeeman commented bitterly, "At the [April bargaining] convention we told Jimmy Carter where to stick his 7 percent guidelines. I guess we told the wrong person."

When Bluestone characterized himself as a "tiger" at the bargaining table, ironic laughter broke out in the audience. Some of the unionists derisively cried out, "Go get 'em tiger."

As word of the contract terms travels back to local areas, many more indignant and angry questions are sure to be heard. I know thousands of GM workers feel just like I do. We could have done better—if our union had been called into action.



## Auto reports

### K.C.: 'New hires getting the shaft'

Marty Pettit, a member of UAW Local 93 at GM's Leeds Assembly Plant, reports reactions to the contract at the day-shift union meeting.

"One person spoke from the audience: 'Every three years there's a new excuse for why we don't go on strike. This year, it's high stockpiles from the energy shortage.' He pointed out that contrary to reports of cars glutting the market, you have to wait quite a while to order a new Monte Carlo, and added: 'The Big Three auto companies are just in collusion with the oil companies.'"

"An older worker spoke against pay and insurance cutbacks for new workers: 'New hires are getting the shaft. It's a step backward.'"

"After hearing of the new pension provisions, and figuring inflation, one person concluded that a retiree is 'not going to have any more spending power at the end of the contract than he has today.'"

"Another worker said he had just read a union pamphlet about the history of Local 93. He said he learned that 'General Motors never gave us anything. We had to fight for every advance. GM, Ford, and the rest swore they would never recognize the union—and we beat them. Today, times are hard and a strike wouldn't be easy. But the whole union was built during the Depression when conditions were a lot worse.'"

"I think we should think carefully before saying this contract is the best we can get.' His statement was greeted by applause.

"All comments at the meeting were against the contract—from young, old, Black, and white—except for the executive board, who seemed to throw up their hands and say, 'Don't blame us, it's not our fault,' at the same time they feebly tried to justify the contract."

### GM Linden: 'Wait and see'

A *Militant* correspondent at the General Motors Assembly Plant in Linden, New Jersey, reports: "Among my co-workers, most aren't sure yet what is in the new contract. They have a wait-and-see attitude. But several already want to vote it down because of the wage increase."

"The reaction to the Paid Personal Holidays (PPH) is very interesting. The *New York Times* reported that the number of holidays will increase 'to at least 25 over the life of the contract.'"

"Several people I talked to couldn't believe we're getting only 25 PPH days over three years. They insist it must be 25 in the last year alone. A co-worker couldn't believe the union would settle for only a couple of PPHs more per year."

"GM is giving more PPHs a year, but they're cracking down on absenteeism in the plants—refusing medical excuses and intimidating people who are sick into working."

"Meanwhile, forced overtime and speedups continue. The net effect is simply to pay workers for a few days off, crack down on all other time off, and intensify the pace of production."

This contract is a real shock to many auto workers."

### Local 664 hears contract report

Betsy Farley of UAW Local 664 at the GM Assembly Plant in Tarrytown, New York, reports: "There's a lot of sentiment in the local against the contract. About 150 members attended an informational meeting on the tentative contract September 23."

"President Ray Calore summarized the report on the new contract published by the UAW. Only questions and answers on the provisions of the contract were allowed. Union members had questions on the wage package, new hires, and forced overtime."

"Calore remarked that the provisions on new hires 'doesn't concern us' and tried to skip the point. Several of us objected."

"One worker explained that 'reduced pay for new hires and no retroactive pay is designed by GM to pit seniority workers against new hires. Just as taking pension funds out of the COLA payments pits active workers against retirees.'"

### Bailey strike firm

UAW Local 451 members Glenn Arnodo and Jeff Powers in Cleveland write: "More than 400 members of UAW Local 1741 attended a spirited meeting on September 23 to hear a progress report on their 115-day-old strike against Bailey Controls, a division of Babcock & Wilcox. The strikers remained firm and resolute in their efforts to win a just settlement."

"By refusing even to negotiate, the company has made clear its intention of breaking UAW Local 1741. The union's major demands include a cost-of-living increase, no forced overtime, and adequate health and safety protection."

"Support continues to come in from other UAW locals in the Cleveland area. Earlier in the strike, UAW Local 451 at the Baker Lift Truck Plant had a gate collection for the Bailey strikers. Recently, more than \$1600 was raised by two UAW locals at the gates of Caterpillar Tow-Motor and Alcoa Aluminum. More collections are planned in the coming weeks."

"The strength and determination of the strikers at the meeting was typified by the rousing ovation given Local 1741 President Earsell Wilson. Acknowledging his members' willingness to stay out as long as necessary in order to win a just settlement, Wilson said, 'We may be standing around fire barrels outside the plant singing Christmas carols.'"

Compiled by Osborne Hart

# Nat'l Organization for Women to meet Labor ERA campaign offers

By Suzanne Haig

"I think it will be a new day when the Black and civil rights movements, labor, and the women's movement join hands. The fight for ERA has made the women's movement understand politics and be willing to fight."

"We want to join hands with our allies because we're fighting the same opponents: J.P. Stevens, Winn-Dixie, Right to Work, and those against civil rights."

This quote from National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal best sums up the opportunity before NOW to take the women's movement forward on the eve of its 1979 national conference, October 6-8 in Los Angeles.

Smeal made the above remarks in an address at the August 12 Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia.

This conference, attended by more than 500 trade unionists, members of NOW, civil rights activists, and others, unanimously passed a proposal for a campaign of education and action for the Equal Rights Amendment.

The proposal calls for a January 13, 1980, ERA march and rally in Richmond.

Leading up to the march is a five-month campaign of education in the unions and the general public, and a December 2-9 week of activities to build for the Richmond action. In addition, a day of lobbying in Richmond one week after the January 13 action is projected.

The conference also called for solidarity efforts around the country. As explained in the education/action resolution passed at the conference: "The key to winning the ERA in Virginia is to mobilize Virginia workers and our allies. At the same time, in the best tradition of the labor movement, we welcome all the support we can get from trade unionists and other ERA backers elsewhere. . . ."

"The ERA is a national issue and we welcome your participation in our campaign. By mobilizing your ranks and bringing them to Richmond in massive numbers on January 13, you will be demonstrating the kind of solidarity that is urgently needed in the fight for ratification."

## Support growing

Already support is growing around the country for January 13 and the LERN campaign.

- At an August 18 conference of women from District 6 of the United Electrical Workers, a resolution endorsing January 13 was passed.

- Local 65 of the United Steelworkers of America heard a report on the conference from union members who attended it as representatives of the local. The Local 65 women's committee recently set up an ERA subcommittee.

- On September 23 a forum in New

Jersey sponsored by the state NOW and Coalition of Labor Union Women chapters showed the potential of support activities that NOW can be involved in. It featured NOW National Board member Jane Wells-Schooley, chair of the NOW ERA committee; representatives of the United Auto Workers, Communications Workers of America, and other unions; as well as Suzanne Kelley, co-coordinator of LERN.

- At the recent national convention of CLUW in New York City, attended by more than 1,100 trade unionists, participants responded enthusiastically to the LERN proposal and other LERN material that was passed out. One of the ERA workshops endorsed the January 13 march in Richmond.

- In Virginia plans are already under way to build for the support week of December 2-9 and for January 13.

This important ERA campaign initiated by the unions is just what NOW members have been waiting for.

NOW has already recognized the significance of this potential power and has helped lead the way to joining the forces of the labor and civil rights movements with the ERA struggle.

The July 9, 1978, march on Washington organized by NOW for the ERA had significant contingents of trade unionists, many of them Black.

At the last NOW convention, delegates followed up on this success by passing a labor resolution showing the desire of the membership to forge a real alliance with the union movement.

The resolution pledged to cooperate "with the organized labor movement on our common goals and against our common enemy." It urged NOW to back union organizing efforts; to work to defeat right-to-work laws; to support women workers fighting sex discrimination on the job; and to join the fight against the *Weber* suit challenging affirmative action.

## New stage in ERA fight

Since last year's NOW conference the labor movement has taken the lead—as represented by the LERN conference—to initiate a needed new stage in the battle for the ERA, to begin to bring the big battalions of the trade unions directly into the fight.

The Virginia conference signified the growing interest in women's rights that exists in the labor movement. This reflects the fact that women are now 42 percent of the work force and entering at the rate of nearly 2 million a year.

In the past year there has been a growth of women's committees in the unions, and trade-union-sponsored women's conferences have sprung up around the country. These have involved women postal workers, coal miners, steelworkers, government workers, electrical workers, and auto workers.



Militant/Suzanne Haig

'I think it will be a new day when the Black and civil rights movement, labor, and women's movement join hands.' NOW president Eleanor Smeal at August 12 LERN conference in Richmond.

The recent CLUW conference is a dramatic example of this. Twice as large as CLUW's last conference, with a large number of Black delegates, it took up the big questions of the day for women unionists—such as the ERA, affirmative action, organizing the unorganized, child care, equal pay, abortion, and political action. It demonstrated CLUW's potential as the only national trade-union women's organization.

Events such as the CLUW and LERN conferences have also shown that women are winning the support of male co-workers who recognize their stake in women's rights.

At the LERN conference not only were male trade unionists present, but they played an active part in organizing support from the labor movement. They responded with the same enthusiasm and militancy to the call for building a fighting movement for women's rights.

Black trade unionists—male and female—were present. Civil rights organizations sent representatives to give greetings. The conference held a workshop on ERA and the Black community attended by 100 people.

The growing interest of the labor movement in the ERA and women's rights is directly connected with the growing militancy of working people. They are demonstrating their willingness to fight back against employer and government attacks ranging from layoffs to high prices, and from speed-up to environmental destruction and war.

An important part of this employer/government offensive is aimed directly at women—and the ERA is a central target.

These attacks are educating the entire labor movement in the heat of the battle on the need for unity.

The LERN conference, its spirit and the decisions it arrived at, most graphically indicate the opportunities for NOW to reach out to the labor movement. The education/action resolution—passed unanimously—attests to this fact. It can serve as a guide for all fighters for the ERA—inside and outside Virginia.

## 'New spirit of unity'

"There is a new spirit of unity developing in the ranks of the Virginia labor movement," the resolution be-

gins. "It springs from the recognition that labor cannot achieve its goals or defend the interests of Virginia's workers without joining in united action."

As the resolution states: "The labor movement has a vital stake in the outcome of the fight for women's equality. . . . The economic disparity between the wages of women and men workers is the source for billions of dollars in extra profits for employers. Discrimination is big business for Big Business."

Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and executive vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, brought this point home in his address to the LERN conference:

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

"The fight for ERA can and must be won. But it's going to take an all-out 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."

Supporters of ERA in Virginia are also learning, as NOW members around the country have learned, that the Democratic and Republican politicians cannot be trusted, whether on ERA, union recognition, or higher wages. In the past year they have crushed the ERA in every state where it came up for a vote.

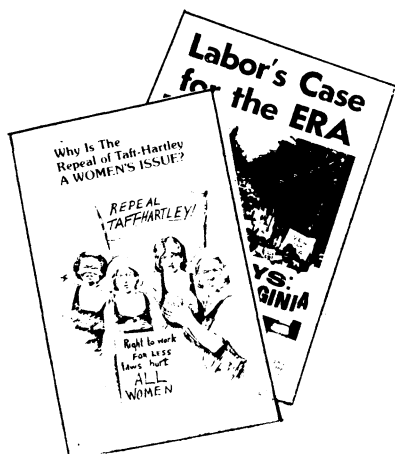
This was a theme of the discussion at the LERN conference—occurring, like the NOW conference, on the eve of the 1980 elections.

As the LERN resolution states:

"The experience of the pro-ERA movement is that it has encountered defeat time after time when it placed too much reliance on the promises of politicians to get the Amendment passed."

"The most recent example was in Florida where a pro-ERA leader attributed a loss in that state to two senators she termed 'turncoats' who, she said, had promised voters they would support ERA and then voted against it. The lessons here and in the several other states where this has occurred—including Virginia—is that only the creation of a powerful movement, built at the grass roots and involving sub-

## Spread them around



Two new pamphlets are available for women's rights supporters:

- *Labor's Case for the ERA*, put out by LERN, a coalition of the Virginia labor movement. Write or call LERN, 116 S. Third St., Richmond, Va. 23219 (804) 648-5801.

- *Why Is The Repeal of Taft-Hartley A Women's Issue?* put out by NOW. Write NOW Action Center, 425 Thirteenth St., NW #1001, Washington, D.C. 20004.



# big opportunity for NOW

stantial numbers of people, will pressure the politicians into casting their votes for the ERA. LERN's strategy is to create such a movement."

## Right-to-work

It is not by chance that this political offensive by labor for the ERA is beginning in the South—and in Virginia.

Virginia is a key unratified state. Virginia, moreover, is a right-to-work state. NOW has made opposition to union-busting right-to-work laws a part of its fight for the ERA.

Marsha Zakowski from the Civil Rights Department of the United Steelworkers of America also made the connection between these two struggles at the LERN conference:

"Fifteen states have not ratified the ERA. Twelve of these states are right-to-work-for-less states. Of those twelve, nine are concentrated in the South. So you can see our work is cut out for us."

Virginia workers have witnessed the savage police beatings and arrests of scores of shipyard workers at Newport News as part of the joint conspiracy of the courts, the government, and the employers to prevent the United Steelworkers from gaining union recognition at the Tenneco shipyard.

It was no coincidence that members of the USWA in Newport News who have been waging this battle came to the conference nor that their president received a standing ovation in tribute to the heroic efforts of that union. In his remarks he made clear the need for unity between women and the labor movement:

"Our union has 14,000 members, 30 percent are women," he said. "In January 1978 the United Steelworkers of America won the right to represent the workers in the Newport News shipyard. Without the women in there, we would not have made it."

"Now with the women and the work force of this state behind you, I know we can pass ERA in Virginia."

## Potential

The consciousness and willingness to fight displayed by Virginia workers reflects the growing numbers of women and men in the labor movement around the country who are beginning to think the same way. They

show that we have the opportunity to build a movement more powerful than any that has appeared in the struggle for women's rights before.

This array of forces, which includes the powerful industrial unions, NOW, CLUW, and other women's groups and the civil rights movement, did not exist in the same form during the earlier periods of labor and women's struggles. But it exists today.

The ERA is an issue which can unite these forces into a powerful alliance. In the process of the fight for ratification, the fight for abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, and other rights will be strengthened.

As the largest and most powerful organization in the women's movement, NOW has a special responsibility—and an opportunity—to join forces with the LERN activists and aid in building this ERA campaign.

During the past year there has already been a growing involvement of unions with NOW. For example, in Toledo and Milwaukee, UAW locals were active in the August 26 ERA walk-a-thons sponsored by NOW.

This NOW convention can be the launching pad for deepening this collaboration with labor through the LERN campaign.

NOW should wholeheartedly endorse the LERN proposals, including the December 2-9 activities, the January 13 march and other plans.

Addie Wyatt, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and a vice-president of CLUW, will be giving a keynote address at the NOW conference. Her union has played a leading role in the LERN campaign.

In addition to the ERA workshop, a number of other workshops on the labor movement and women workers are planned which can discuss ideas for such a campaign. NOW's national and chapter ERA and labor task forces will play an important role in implementing these plans.

The conference can also discuss how to build this movement in different states and ways to join in common activities with LERN and civil rights groups.

At the LERN conference a solidarity workshop of unionists from states

other than Virginia proposed a number of activities such as inviting NOW, CLUW, and other women's groups to speak at union meetings and inviting unionists to speak before women's organizations around the country.

One of the important tasks is education. Many people still do not know what ERA is and how it will benefit them—male or female.

NOW can aid in this process, through speaking engagements, panels, in circulating materials on ERA including LERN's resolution and the pamphlet "Labor's Case for the ERA."

## Building NOW

In the process of building the LERN campaign, NOW will win new members from the unions and build its reputation as a strong defender of the labor movement.

The LERN conference, as well as the recent CLUW convention, shows that women in the trade unions want to organize to fight for their rights. An increased number of women trade unionists were at NOW's last convention and many more will join through the LERN activities. Black women—who are in the forefront of the developing union support for women's rights—will be attracted to NOW through this kind of campaign.

Winning these forces to NOW will help transform the organization into a powerful defender of women's rights.

The opportunities before NOW and the whole women's movement are truly historic ones. For the first time in this "second wave of feminism" powerful forces are turning toward women to join in common struggle.

What lies ahead is something that the fighters for women's rights in the 1960s and early 1970s—among whom NOW played a leading role—have looked forward to.

It could come at no better time. The common enemy of women and labor is stepping up its attacks on ERA and all the gains we have already made—from child care to reproductive rights. This drive against the ERA can be stopped by the kind of alliance the LERN campaign points toward. That campaign needs NOW, just as NOW needs the solidarity of labor LERN represents.

Joining forces with labor to build a powerful national movement for the ERA should be the watchword coming out of the NOW convention.

As the LERN slogan says:  
"If we unite, and mobilize our members, we can win."



Militant/Anne Teesdale

July 9 march for ERA in Washington, D.C. NOW has played a leading role in getting trade-union support for ERA.

## NOW bodies urge democracy in women's movement

By Suzanne Haig

There is a growing recognition within the National Organization for Women of the kind of movement needed to win the ERA and beat back the attacks on women's rights.

It is a movement that unites women's organizations with the unions, Black and Latino organizations, with everyone who has all to gain from women's victories and all to lose from their defeats.

The decision of the Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN) conference to build a coalition of labor, women's organizations, and civil rights groups for the ERA and to hold a march and rally in Richmond, Virginia, January 13, 1980, is a powerful impetus in this direction.

A discussion of how to build such a movement will be one of the most important ones facing participants at the NOW conference.

One aspect of this discussion is the concern of NOW members that their movement be democratic and open to all.

NOW must be the kind of organization that women trade unionists and others will want to join as the best defender of women's rights.

It must be open to all who support women's rights—regardless of race, sexual preference, religion, age, or political affiliation. Only a democratic organization open to all points of view, where everyone feels free to express their opinion, can chart the best course of action.

That's why NOW chapters are speaking out against an undemocratic action by the NOW National Board in May. The membership learned about this action in a red-baiting memo sent out to chapter and state presidents entitled "Possible activity by the Socialist Workers Party in the delegate selection process for the National NOW conference."

The memo was prepared by Jean Marie Brough, identified as the "chair of the NOW National Board Committee on the SWP as directed by the National Board at its May meeting."

The memo falsely charged that women in NOW who also belong to the SWP would attempt to manipulate the election of delegates and the discussion at the conference itself.

Since that memo was sent out, protest has grown.

Most recently, two state boards

passed resolutions in response to this statement—which is an attack on the right of all NOW members to democratically select their representatives and put forward their ideas.

The Texas State Board went on record opposed to the Committee on the SWP, and the September Pennsylvania Board meeting overwhelmingly adopted a motion that the National Board disband the committee at its December board meeting.

Earlier, the New Jersey NOW State Board passed a resolution that called for the National Board to dissolve the committee.

A protest letter by the Summit and Essex county chapters of NOW was sent to chapter and state coordinators.

The Missouri NOW State Board passed a resolution at its July 21 meeting repudiating the red-baiting memo and demanding an end to the committee.

The members of NOW are becoming increasingly aware of a lesson trade unionists have learned regarding witch-hunts of people because of their political views.

Trade unionists know that following World War II their unions were torn

apart by the government and the FBI, which launched a witch-hunt against trade-union militants, socialists, communists, and liberals to break the back of the unions so as to better attack the living standards of their members.

As the powerful movement of women's, labor, and civil rights groups grows, the government and employers will try to use the same methods to divide and destroy it. Victimized women for their ideas and political affiliation, as the NOW National Board memo does, only hurts NOW and helps its enemies.

Only a democratic, open organization can effectively stand up to the government and employers and defeat their attacks on women's rights.

The repudiation of the SWP memo by NOW would be a big step forward in creating the type of organization women need.

Moreover, as union members come forward to join NOW and work in coalition on common goals, they will be encouraged to know that NOW members have taken a stand for democracy and for the broadest possible movement and free discussion on how to go forward in the fight for women's rights.

# Newport News: red-baiting hurts union cause

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Nearly 1,000 members of United Steelworkers Local 8888 cheered newly elected President Eddie Coppedge September 16 as he called for renewed unity of the embattled shipyard workers in their continuing fight against Tenneco.

"My first objective is to unite in this industrial union, regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality, all the workers and working men and women," Coppedge said.

He noted that throughout the history of the Steelworkers' organizing drive, "we worked together as Black and white, women and men, to achieve industrial democracy for all. That is a true example of where there is unity, there is strength."

Coppedge's speech was part of an agenda featuring reports on the local's fight for union recognition, a safety investigation of the shipyard, and organization of the shop steward network.

An additional point on the agenda, under the heading of "Report from [USWA International] President McBride," however, did not lend itself to the unity and solidarity Coppedge had called for. Given by Jim Smith, McBride's personal assistant, its main theme was a 1950s-style witch-hunting attack on the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant*.

Smith's speech was not met with the applause that greeted the other reports.

Its content was reprinted in "News Update for Tenneco Shipyard Workers," a weekly flyer prepared by the USWA Sub-district 35 office under Smith's editorial supervision. Smith's remarks and the newsletter article have confused and angered many Local 8888 members.

## 'Against unions'?

The article accuses the SWP of "trying to capitalize on the troubles of shipyard workers." It red-baits communists and socialists, claiming "all are against unions." Socialists are "like the Company" and "work to weaken and divide unions."

The growing numbers of workers who are learning about the history of the labor movement will recognize the absurdity of these slanders. From the Haymarket martyrs to Eugene Debs, from Joe Hill to the militant workers who organized the industrial unions in the 1930s, the progress of American labor has been bound up with radicalism and the socialist movement.

The founders of the Socialist Workers Party, for example, were central leaders in the historic Minneapolis Teamsters organizing drive and strikes in 1934, one of the battles that paved the way for the CIO.



Hundreds of shipyard workers came to respect the *Militant's* coverage during their strike for union recognition.

It is also well known that red-baiting is an age-old tactic of the bosses against the unions. Big business has always branded union organizers and militant workers as "communists," "anarchists," and "un-American" in an attempt to divide and defeat the workers.

As all readers of the *Militant* know, socialist workers today seek to strengthen the unions, which are coming under sharper and sharper attack from the employers. Socialists have ideas on how to make labor more powerful politically.

## Political discussion

For example, the SWP advocates that the unions break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent labor party to defend working people and all the oppressed. Many other workers are beginning to consider this proposal, and the head of the California AFL-CIO recently called for an educational discussion of the labor party idea (see story on page 5).

Most officials of the USWA disagree with this.

What is clearly needed is a free exchange of ideas on this and other political issues facing working people. Red-baiting attacks serve only to cloud and divert discussion, blocking honest disagreement and a serious exchange of ideas.

The atmosphere of intimidation created by "red scare" campaigns undermines the power of the union, which derives its strength from a membership of thinking men and women who can make up their own minds about what ideas to accept or reject.

It is an insult to the intelligence of union members to charge, as the

"News Update" article does, that SWP members "do not believe in a government run democratically. . . . They believe in the Russian system, with themselves running it."

The SWP's political ideas are expressed in the *Militant* and through its election campaigns. Many members of Local 8888 heard Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate, explain these ideas when he campaigned recently in the Tidewater area. They can decide for themselves whether Pulley's call for working people to run the country—instead of the capitalist minority that runs it now—has anything to do with the false and unsubstantiated charges in the "News Update."

## Role of Militant

Particularly unbelievable to workers here is the claim that the *Militant* has "spread misinformation and propaganda which is aimed at creating distrust and doubts between union members and their elected union leaders."

Thousands of workers here read the *Militant* during the course of the union's three-month strike for union recognition last spring. They came to trust the *Militant's* honest reporting. They saw its ability to get the truth out across the country.

Apparently the author of the "News Update" article thinks that these union members don't know the difference between pro-union coverage and "misinformation."

Far from "creating distrust and doubt," the *Militant*—unlike other papers—published the statements of USWA officials and strike leaders, including USWA President McBride,

District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher, and many others.

The *Militant* devoted page after page to helping build USWA-called solidarity actions. It exposed Virginia's anti-labor "right to work" laws to readers across the country.

When Newport News cops rioted against strikers April 16, the *Militant* got the word out from coast to coast. Our exclusive photos of the police rampage appeared in Local 8888's strike bulletin, after being given to the union as an act of solidarity.

## Campaign rally

To bolster an obviously weak case, the "News Update" article goes on to accuse the SWP of misusing the names of two union members who agreed to give greetings to the rally for Andrew Pulley.

One speaker, Bill Ackiss of designers Local 8417, is quoted in the "News Update" as saying he never agreed to speak at the rally.

This is false. While Ackiss obviously changed his mind, he confirmed and discussed his speaking with me prior to Local 8417's September 11 membership meeting at the Plumbers and Pipefitters Hall.

The other speaker, Debby Whittaker, states that permission to use her name was never granted. She too accepted an invitation to speak. Since such permission is traditionally assumed when someone agrees to speak at a public gathering, there may have been a misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, the change of mind of these two speakers was never conveyed to the SWP campaign committee, so that any misunderstandings could be cleared up. Instead it was announced by Smith at Local 8888's meeting as a pretext for his political assault, and to discourage union members from attending the rally.

Red-baiting attacks on union supporters do not contribute to the unity called for by Local 8888 President Coppedge. Anyone who supports the Steelworkers should be welcomed as an ally, not abused as a foe. Otherwise a breach in solidarity is opened that Tenneco will use to the hilt.

The *Militant* puts unity in the struggle of the union against Tenneco, and unconditional support to it, above any differences of opinion we have with the political ideas of any leaders of the union. This has been the watchword of the *Militant's* coverage of the historic battle in Newport News.

The speech by Jim Smith and the "News Update" article will not change this. We will continue to tell the truth about what workers are fighting for in Newport News and win support for the union cause.

# Judge thwarts OSHA inspection of shipyard

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—As the *Militant* goes to press, federal district Judge Walter Hoffman has yet to rule on attempts by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to gain a contempt of court ruling against Tenneco for obstructing an investigation of its Newport News shipyard.

But it isn't hard to see which way the wind is blowing.

While lightly rapping Tenneco's knuckles for obstructing the OSHA investigation, Hoffman's pretense of neutrality comes down squarely with the shipyard's brass.

On September 24 he dismissed contempt charges against shipyard vice-president D.T. Savas.

OSHA's legal efforts to defend its safety inspectors, Hoffman said, was "a bare attempt to join with the Steelworkers to harass the shipyard. And to that extent, my sympathies are with the shipyard."

OSHA inspectors entered the yard

on September 5, after court wrangling and behind-closed-doors negotiations with Tenneco.

OSHA's investigation was prompted by health and safety complaints from members of Steelworkers Local 8888, who have aided the federal investigators in the inspection. This show of Steelworker strength, and the fear of discovery of massive health and safety violations, has outraged Tenneco.

The bosses blocked off areas for inspection, harassed unionists attempting to aid OSHA investigators, transferred workers from job sites, disrupted interviews, and physically barred OSHA investigators from the yard. This brought OSHA's contempt charges.

Hoffman did order Tenneco to stop requiring supervisory permission for a worker to accompany an OSHA inspector—a violation of U.S. Department of Labor statutes. But he made clear he was an opponent of the Steelworkers, who have been fighting for union recognition for nearly two years.

"No OSHA inspector shall select any person wearing union identification any time during the inspection walk-around."

"The right to wear buttons, armbands, or sandwich-board signs—as far as employee representatives in this election—is going to stop tonight, First

Amendment or no First Amendment," the learned judge decreed. Otherwise, he threatened, the inspection was over.

"Armbands or no armbands," a union activist told the *Militant*, "we're in this thing. OSHA knows who we are, the workers know who we are, and the company knows who we are."



Local 8888 members fought for OSHA to investigate dangerous working conditions.



# Tenneco forces designers back to work

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—After nearly two and a half years on strike against the Newport News shipyard, members of Steelworkers Local 8417, the yard's marine designers, are going back to work.

The union members are returning without a contract in the face of a potential decertification election sought by scab designers and with the threat of permanent job loss hanging over their heads.

Behind this mounting pressure is Tenneco, the oil-rich conglomerate that owns the shipyard. Its union-busting hatred of the designers forced Local 8417 on strike on April 1, 1977, less than two months after the Steelworkers overwhelmingly won the design department representation election.

The decision to return to work was announced by union officers at a special meeting of Local 8417 on September 22. The meeting was attended by 250 members.

Some were angry with the announcement. Others said they were unwilling to return to work. Many said they were prepared to go back on the job to continue the fight for a contract.

"We don't have any choice," Local 8417 Vice-president Ray Taylor told the *Militant*. "It was what we had to do."

Negotiations between the designers and Tenneco had resumed on September 10 for the first time in seven months.

The shipyard had chosen to accept an August decision by the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which temporarily protected the jobs of striking designers, finding Tenneco guilty of "unfair labor practices." The order



Striking designers march in solidarity with Local 8888 strikers last February.

Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

included a sixty-day period in which Tenneco could relieve itself of such charges if it engaged in "good faith bargaining." That period ends on October 2.

On October 1 the National Labor Relations Board will hear claims by scab designers who profess to have enough signatures to call for a decertification election.

Had the designers not returned to work and had the strike been declared an economic one, the job-protection clause would have been voided, allowing Tenneco to fire the striking designers.

Under those circumstances the outcome of a decertification election would have been a foregone conclusion—a

loss for the Steelworkers.

The return to work allows the designers to do two things: continue the battle for a contract, and—should Tenneco not agree to that by the time of the NLRB hearings—fight on a better footing, as shipyard workers, against the scab effort to get rid of the union.

The fate of Local 8417 is bound up with that of Local 8888, which has never been recognized by Tenneco. Local 8417's affiliation with the USWA inspired shipyard production and maintenance workers to sign up in the big Steelworker organizing drive that won victory nineteen months ago. Designers helped sign up hundreds of members in the drive.

The severe setback imposed on the

designers by Tenneco, the courts, the NLRB, and their battery of pro-employer "labor laws" should become an immediate concern of all American labor. A fundamental defeat—decertification—would embolden southern employers to pursue Tenneco's hard-line stance against union organization efforts.

Local 8417 is fighting for its life.

Its members have struck courageously for thirty months seeking a decent contract. Their determined struggle for survival deserves the broadest possible solidarity and support as they return to jobs without union protection, under a company which is not about to make life easy as they start work.

—J.H.

## Steelworkers protest attack on seniority rights

By Adrienne Kaplan

EAST CHICAGO, Indiana—Two hundred steelworkers chanting "No giveaways on seniority rights" and "1,2,3—shove Section C" marched and rallied September 21 at Inland Steel's main administration offices.

The demonstration was called to protest an apprenticeship agreement recently signed by Inland, nine other major steel companies, and the United Steelworkers of America. This new agreement, once fully implemented, will severely restrict the seniority rights of apprentices and craftsmen.

Most of the central officers of Local 1010 were at the protest, as was Jim Balanoff, District 31 director. With 18,000 members, Local 1010 is the largest local union in the USWA.

Local President Bill Andrews told the rally that "the next time we'll have a picket line like they've never seen before."

Joe Gyurko, chairperson of the grievance committee, explained: "This is the first time since 1942 that we have had a picket line around the main office of Inland Steel. This is just the beginning."

Although apprentices and craftsmen are a minority in the mills, the companies' attempt to weaken our seniority rights is seen as an attack on the rights of all workers.

It is especially a blow against Blacks, Chicanos, Mexicans, and women workers, who have begun to get into the better-paid skilled jobs only in the past few years. For example, most maintenance gangs at Inland have only one or two women—most of us new in the mills with little seniority.

The most significant changes in the agreement are contained in Part II,

Section C. It specifies:

1) *Apprentices, after six months in their program, will not be allowed to transfer into another apprenticeship program.*

Right now apprentices have the right to transfer based on their seniority whenever an opening occurs in another department.

2) *If an apprentice withdraws from an apprenticeship program for any reason, he or she cannot enter any apprenticeship program ever again.*

This will allow the company to drive down the percentage of Blacks, other minorities, and women in the skilled trades. "Let us in, then flunk us out" is already the policy. Under the new agreement we would be denied the right to try again.

### Rights taken away

The door to skilled jobs was pried open somewhat to women and Blacks under the 1974 consent decree, an affirmative-action program in basic steel. But the decree legally expired last April. Now it looks like the companies are taking the first steps to roll back its effects.

(Inland refused to sign the consent decree, claiming it never discriminated against Blacks, but it did sign a separate agreement with some of the same provisions.)

3) *No craft employee will be allowed to enter an apprenticeship program.*

According to the *Inland Steelmaker*, the company newspaper, the only exceptions will be for "the abandonment of the employee's present craft due to plant shutdown or elimination of a product line; a substantial reduction in the number of required craftsmen in the employee's present craft as a result of technological changes in steelmaking processes, practices or equipment. Also, craft employees may, on a one-time basis, transfer to a craft that has a higher rate."

Mike Mezo, head of the union's craft committee, gave an example of what

this new rule would mean: "If a rigger, for example, becomes unable to climb due to some medical or health problem he will be unable to bid on an apprenticeship opening in a craft that would enable him to stay on the ground. He is restricted solely because he has previously obtained a skill. He has less rights to transfer than a production worker because of his qualifications."

These changes raise many questions: Does this agreement mean this issue is non-negotiable in the upcoming 1980 contract talks? Will it be discussed then? How many Blacks and women are in the skilled trades? Will the consent decree and Inland's affirmative-action agreement be undermined? How fast will the changes go into effect? What can the union do about it?

On July 19 representatives of basic steel locals in District 31 affected by the new agreement met to hear an international staff representative explain the changes. He said the new rules wouldn't go into effect until the union's Audit and Review Committee approved them and joint company-union boards were set up in each plant to supervise their implementation.

According to Mike Mezo, no one at this meeting supported the changes.

On July 20 Local 1010's grievance committee sent USWA President Lloyd McBride a letter protesting the new agreement and urging him to reconsider Section C.

### Letter to McBride

The letter said that "having looked with pride on our union's central role in defending [affirmative action] against the attacks on the process of opening up opportunities for all steelworkers in the Weber case, we are naturally shocked that you would agree to such a serious backward step."

This letter was reprinted in the August issue of the union paper, along with a two-page article analyzing the

new agreement.

The grievance committee then organized three shift meetings on September 7 to report the changes to apprentices and discuss what could be done to force the company to back down.

It was at these three meetings, totaling 300 workers, that the local decided to launch a petition drive and build a rally against the agreement. The sentiment was for militant action.

Discussions also occurred on the 1980 contract, the right to vote on contracts (which basic steelworkers do not have), and other concerns of the membership.

Dick McBride, a roll builder, described the afternoon meeting: "Questions hit the floor right away about how did this happen? Why weren't we involved in the decision? Who makes these decisions?"

"When it was explained that our International President Lloyd McBride signed this agreement, some members wanted to know, 'Who's McBride?' Another piped in, 'He's got too much power. Impeach him.' This reflected the level of knowledge of our international union and how we negotiate contracts. The sentiment was for more say in our union, more union democracy."

### 'I see something coming'

One craftsman at the meeting said, "Look, I might be a dumb hill-billy, but when someone's reaching for my pocketbook, I see something coming. I want to be prepared to do something about it. It's my pocketbook."

At the end of the meeting almost everyone signed up to help organize actions to oppose Inland's new rules.

Although some of the rank-and-file militancy was directed against the union leadership for signing the agreement, it was understood that the real enemy is the company.

As Phil King, a griever, explained it at the picket line: "We have put the company on notice."



The following is the text of the speech delivered by Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to the plenary session of the Nonaligned Conference in Havana. Ortega is a member of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction and of the FSLN Joint National Leadership.

We have taken the text from the September 13 and 14 issues of 'Barricada,' the FSLN daily newspaper. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

In January 1928 the Panamerican Conference was held in Havana. At that time the Nicaraguan people were engaged in an unequal struggle against Yankee intervention. Calvin Coolidge, who was then president of the United States, participated in the Havana meeting, and the tyrant Machado was president of Cuba.

Sandinino, hoping to gain the support of some delegations, sent the following message on January 2, 1928:

"Our voices must be heard in Havana. Men must not lack the moral courage to speak the truth about our misfortune. They must tell how the people of Nicaragua, who are valiantly fighting and suffering, are determined to make any sacrifice, even including their own extermination, in order to defend their liberty. The results in Havana will be null and void if the ideal of the Spanish-speaking peoples is not crystallized; if you let us be assassinated to the last man, we will have the consolation of knowing that we carried out our duty. Our Country and Freedom. A.C. Sandino."

Not a single voice was raised at that Havana meeting.

#### Common interests

Today Havana is serving as the site for this Sixth Summit, and the peoples and governments that are represented in this assembly are motivated by common interests.

A free and hospitable people, filled with solidarity, is receiving these delegations. And the leader of the revolution carried out by this people is presiding over the Nonaligned for this period. The tyrant Machado no longer governs Cuba. It is the people of Cuba who determine their own destiny.

The Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and the Sandinista National Liberation Front salute the people of Cuba, their government, and the president of the Council of State, Comandante and Comrade Fidel Castro.

We also salute the peoples of Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia for the solidarity they demonstrated in support of our cause.

#### Kampuchea

On Saturday, September 1, in a Mexican newspaper, we read a dispatch datelined Havana that made reference to Nicaragua's position regarding the "problem" of Kampuchea. And we say "problem" because it is a problem for imperialism that *a people are free*.

The dispatch in question noted that Nicaragua's delegation had aligned itself with the Soviet bloc by recognizing the Government of People's Kampuchea. We all know what interests motivate the international press agencies of the so-called free world, so the deed does not surprise us.

We know that many of these press agencies, and with them the most reactionary sectors of the United States government and of Latin America, are waiting to pounce on our declarations at this meeting.

These are the same forces that gave rise to the Somozaist dictatorship. They are the same forces that defamed and assassinated Lumumba, that defamed and assassinated Che. These are the same forces that slandered and assassinated [Vietnamese freedom fighter] Van Troi, the same forces that slandered and assassinated Sandino.

# 'We are bre servility toward FSLN leader speaks

Imperialism cannot conceive of a free people, a sovereign people, an independent people. Because, simply and plainly, for them the people are nothing more than a grammatical expression. We just saw reconfirmation of this when our final offensive was launched.

They examined the war in mathematical terms. Somoza had a regular army. Somoza had more soldiers than the Sandinistas. Somoza had tanks, planes, artillery, while the Sandinistas didn't. Somoza had more soldiers, more rifles, more communications than the Sandinistas. Therefore, Somoza had to win the war against the Sandinistas. But what was left out was that Somoza did not have the people, and that we Sandinistas were the people.

And when Somoza was losing the war, they were talking about Costa Rican intervention, Panamanian intervention, Cuban intervention, Soviet intervention—simply because they have never been able to understand, and are never going to understand, that people are capable of achieving their liberation, that people are able to solidarize themselves with people, and that therefore the free and sovereign people of Nicaragua today recognize the right of Kampuchea to occupy this seat.

I repeat, imperialism cannot understand it because for them people are nothing more than a simple grammatical expression.

#### Nicaraguan people won

The Nicaraguan people have won, with their blood, the right to be here today, in this way breaking with a historic past of servility toward imperialist policy.

For the first time in its entire history the Nicaraguan people can officially express their sovereign will, joining this movement of the Nonaligned barely forty-one days after their triumph.

We are entering the Nonaligned movement because in this movement we see the broadest organization of the Third World states that are playing an important role and exercise a growing influence in the international sphere, in the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism and every form of oppression. Because they are for active peaceful coexistence, against the existence of military blocs and alliances, for restructuring international relations on an honorable basis, and are for the establishment of a new international economic order.

In the Sandinista revolution there is no alignment; there is an absolute and consistent commitment to the aspirations of the peoples who have achieved their independence and to those who are struggling to win it. That is why we are among the Nonaligned.

This transcendental step is part of the process of liberation that peoples are going through, peoples such as those in Grenada, Iran, Kampuchea, and Uganda who won beautiful victories this year.

In 1855 a certain William Walker arrived from the southern slave states

of the United States with a gang of mercenaries, to make himself master of our country and of all of Central America.

The individual in question named himself president of Nicaragua and his first decree was the reestablishment of slavery; the United States press and more than a few U.S. legislators made William Walker into a hero.

In September 1856, after continual and bloody resistance, the people of

Nicaragua and the peoples of Central America defeated the invader, who was obliged to flee to his country of origin, where he was received as a hero.

Some months later he again tried to invade our country. During his third attempt he was captured in Honduras, a country neighboring on Nicaragua, and was shot. In 1909 a liberal president named José Santos Zelaya, who tried to open new markets in Europe,



MANAGUA, Sept. 14—Sandinistas hear speakers at rally of 30,000 hailing Vietnamese



# Working with d imperialism' at Havana summit

was forced to resign by a note sent by the U.S. secretary of state of that time. But what Señor Zelaya lacked, the Nicaraguan people had plenty of, and they then rose up against Yankee intervention.

## Return Guantánamo

Because we reject Yankee intervention we are in the Nonaligned. For that reason, and because we are Sandinistas, we demand the reintegration, the

unconditional return of the Guantánamo base to Cuba, and we recognize the heroic and unequal struggle waged by the Cuban people against the criminal blockade.

That is why we support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for self-determination and independence, and why we are in solidarity with Lolita Lebrón and her companions in prison, who are authentic representatives of the struggle of the people of Puerto

Rico.

That is why we stand behind the people of Panama in their struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

That is why we are with the people of Belize in their struggle for independence, for self-determination, and for territorial integrity.

Regular troops of the Yankee marines landed in our country in 1910 in an attempt to suppress our people's desire for independence. Bloody strug-

gles were unleashed and this armed intervention was maintained until 1926, the year they withdrew, believing the situation to be under control.

Because we are Sandinistas and because just causes are our causes, we have, from the beginning, identified with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, and we condemn all the aggressions that have taken place and are taking place against the people and government of Vietnam, which fought, and is fighting, against aggression and foreign occupation.

We also support the just struggle of the people of Western Sahara, and from this moment Nicaragua must be included among the countries that fully recognize the Democratic Arab Saharoui Republic and the Polisario Front as the only and the legitimate representative of the heroic people of Western Sahara.

That is why we recognize the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO. We support the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the sole representative of this people, and we condemn the imperialist maneuvers in Rhodesia, the puppet regime of Muzorewa, and the so-called internal settlement.

We solidarize ourselves with the frontline countries and condemn the aggression by South Africa and Rhodesia against them. And we solidarize with the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

We support the reunification of Korea and we demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

## Sandino

Only a few months were to pass when in 1927 Yankee marines again landed on our soil.

Then the figure of Augusto César Sandino vigorously rose up and, at the head of an army of workers and peasants, sought to militarily defeat the interventionist forces in an unequal campaign.

Sandino embodied the desire for liberty of a people who were systematically subjected to the attack of Yankee intervention and subjected to imperialist exploitation and domination. The same marines who had murdered the Filipino people thousands of miles from our country, arrived to soak Nicaraguan territory in blood in those days.

This explains the existence of Sandinism, which on May 4, 1927, gave rise to what Sandino called the "war of liberators to end the war of the oppressors."

The Yankees, who were unable to defeat Sandino's army militarily, who found themselves forced to withdraw in January 1932, again resorted to treachery, using as their instrument an army and an army chief named Anastasio Somoza Garcia, founder of the dynasty. This army and this army chief were created by the White House strategists to assassinate Sandino.

They thought that killing Sandino would solve the problem. They did not take into account that Sandino had initiated a process of liberation which, carried on by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, was to win one of its most important victories on July 19, 1979. On that day we both defeated the criminal Somozaist National Guard and expelled the last Yankee marine, Anastasio Somoza, from Nicaragua.

Our country is a small country, a poor country.

A little more than 2.5 million Nicaraguans live in 128,000 square kilometers. It is a country that is basically dependent on agriculture, and its production was paralyzed by the war. A country that had few factories, which were destroyed by the Somoza air force.

## 50,000 deaths

A country with a small population that has had to sacrifice thousands of its best children to repel three armed Yankee interventions that have left

*Continued on next page*



people. One slogan read: 'Imperialism: you couldn't defeat Vietnam, you won't defeat Nicaragua.' Perspectiva Mundial/Anibal Vargas



Continued from preceding page

more than 200,000 victims. A country that in its final offensive against the Somozaist dictatorship suffered more than 50,000 deaths, a high percentage of whom, 90 percent of the total, were youth from eight years of age to twenty.

A country with its schools and hospitals destroyed, with its cities levelled by 500-lb. bombs given to Somoza by the United States and Israeli Zionism. But we were not alone in the struggle. We know that we have the backing of the peoples. We know that this was what made it impossible for the Yankees to carry out a new armed intervention in our country before the tyrant was destroyed.

### Israeli loans

Among the files abandoned by Somozaism we have found proof of the loans for arms that the government of Israel had given to the dictatorship. Israel was an accomplice to the crimes of Somoza. Israel was the instrument that imperialism used up to the last moment to arm Somoza's genocidal dictatorship. Rockets, rifles, howitzers, planes, gunboats, and even helmets and uniforms were sent to the dictator. But the strength of the people was greater than that of the aggression.

As we said at that time, we will not repay these loans, this debt that adds up to millions of dollars. Nor will we pay any debt contracted with other countries for armaments for the Somozaist regime. On the contrary, it is Israel that owes a debt to our people.

We are Sandinistas; our people have been struggling against oppression and interventions for more than 150 years. That is why we have historically identified with the struggle of the Palestinian people and we recognize the PLO as their legitimate representative. And that is why we condemn Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and demand their unconditional return.

We support genuine efforts in the search for a just and true peace in the Middle East. But such a peace must take into account the interests of all the parties, and in the first place the rights of the Palestinian people.

On May 4, 1927, at the moment Sandino was rising up, a Nicaraguan traitor signed away the sovereignty of the people of Nicaragua to the Yankee government, in exchange for a dollar for each rifle turned in. We condemn the Camp David accords which, like the shameful treason of 1927 in Nicaragua, merit our energetic repudiation.

### U.S. proposed invasion

In June 1979, there were forces in the U.S. government that wanted to propose an invasion of our soil to the seventeenth meeting of representatives of the Organization of American States. But there were also seventeen Latin American countries that said "No" to the imperialist proposal.

Here we must make special mention and take recognition of the Andean Pact countries.

We should mention the names of President Rodrigo Carazo of Costa Rica; ex-President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela; President José López Portillo of Mexico; General Omar Torrijos of Panama; and Fidel Castro of Cuba—all of whom were and continue to be in solidarity with our struggle, despite the risks that such solidarity implies.

We should make special mention of the militant solidarity that Latin American fighters gave our struggle. The blood of these fighters was shed along the road to victory. We can state that Latin America helped to make this victory possible.

We are a small country that has waged war in order to win peace. And we support the establishment of a just and lasting peace that extends to all countries and regions.

We recognize the right of peoples to win their freedom through the path that is best for them, whether armed or not.



DANIEL ORTEGA

Militant/Fred Murphy

We are a poor country that wants to take the efforts and resources now being invested in defense of the revolution and invest it in tractors and plows. And we support general and complete disarmament, under strict international control. We are for an end to the arms race and we salute the SALT II accords as an important step in this direction. We demand respect for the territorial integrity of states and renunciation of the use of force in international relations. We condemn the existence of military bases.

### National reconstruction

Sandinism is the incarnation of the nation. The Sandinista National Liberation Front, as the genuine vanguard of the great people's insurrection that defeated the dictatorship, is now pushing forward a process of national reconstruction whose first measures have been the massive expropriation of the property of Somoza and his civilian and military accomplices. So far more than 500,000 hectares, close to 50 percent of the entire arable area of the country, has been recovered by the people.

More than 180 industrial and commercial enterprises have passed into the hands of the people.

More than 400 mansions and homes have been expropriated in the interests of the people.

The bank has been nationalized. We have begun to put an Integral Agrarian Reform Plan into effect.

Agricultural exports have been nationalized.

The exploitation of natural resources has been nationalized.

By eliminating the 500 and 1,000 Córdoba bills [US\$50 and \$100] and retiring them from circulation, we are hindering the maneuvers of the defeated Somozaists to destabilize our country financially.

A real social thrust is being given to education, health, and housing.

A foreign policy of relations with all countries of the world has been established.

We have become part of the movement of the Nonaligned.

Sandinista Defense Committees have been organized as bodies of people's participation.

### Defense of revolution

The Sandinista People's Army has been set up to fulfill the pressing need to guarantee the defense and advance of the revolution.

And this revolution has been expansive and generous toward its enemies. Thousands of captured soldiers have had their lives protected. Groups such as the International Red Cross were authorized to set up centers of refuge to give shelter to the Somozaist criminals who were fleeing.

The revolution is marching forward. The difficulties are great. The counter-revolution is a potential threat.

There are some who assert that we are assassinating the prisoners.

There are some who are trying to put conditions on international aid. The conspiracy is powerful and the most reactionary sectors of the U.S. government have already succeeded in stopping a small grant of \$8 million that the U.S. government was going to give our country.

The most reactionary sectors of the Central American region are observing our process with trepidation. We have detected concentrations of Somozaist soldiers in neighboring countries. But just as we have been generous in victory, we will be inflexible in defense of the revolution.

To what has already been described, we must add the economic legacy of imperialist domination and the Somozaist war of aggression.

We find ourselves with a foreign debt of more than \$1.53 billion. Of this amount, \$596 million falls due this year, having been incurred as short-term loans at very high interest rates. The foreign debt is equivalent to three times the total annual exports of the country.

The loans obtained by Somozaism were misspent, squandered, and sent out of the country to personal accounts in the United States and Europe.

### \$580 million in damage

A study published August 14 by the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) maintained that Somozaist bombing resulted in \$580 million in material damage to the physical and social infrastructure in the agricultural, industrial, and commercial sectors. At present \$741 million is needed to reactivate production.

To the losses cited above, we have to add the losses to the system of production that stem from the paralysis of economic activities. In addition we must add the resources required for restoring the country's economic apparatus at a time when it is also being transformed.

To give us a more graphic representation of the problem, CEPAL estimates that the situation we have described means that the Gross Domestic Product has declined 25 percent this year, 1979. In per capita terms, this puts the GDP back to the level that Nicaragua was at in 1962, meaning we have slid back seventeen years.

And to top it all off, our revolution found only \$3,500,000 in the state coffers. That is all that Somozaism was unable to loot.

### Financial aid needed

Nicaragua's situation has provoked interest in the countries of Latin America and the rest of the world. Regional bodies have expressed their decision to aid us. Bilaterally we have close relations with many countries.

But we want to be frank: The oppressive financial problem that confronts our process, which is directly related to restructuring the foreign debt and receiving financing in order to allow our economy to start up again, does not seem to seriously interest the developed countries.

The government of Mexico, which has aided us to the extent it is able, has raised the idea of an international sale of solidarity bonds that would come due at a deferred period and with low interest. Through this bond issue the debt that falls due this year, which as we said totals \$596 million, would be restructured on adequate terms. We support the proposal of President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, regarding the creation of a Financial Fund of the Nonaligned Countries.

We believe it is our duty to present before the movement of the Nonaligned both the advances and the problems of the revolution in Nicaragua.

We believe that by consolidating the Nicaraguan revolution we will be strengthening the struggle of the underdeveloped countries.

### Non-aligned support

We know that imperialism is interested in seeing our process fail and that it is going to use all the resources at its disposal to achieve that.

The liberation struggle in our country is continuing. And today more than ever we need the disinterested support of the Nonaligned. Nicaragua, which forty-one days after its triumph is showing you both the open wounds and the consolidation of our revolution, is a challenge for this movement.

The people of Sandino are not going to step back from the ground already gained. Our integration with the peoples of Africa and Asia raises our morale in this great battle. The future belongs to the peoples.

*The march toward victory will not be stopped!*

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

By Joseph Hansen

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 inspired a generation of young rebels throughout Latin America. Many sought to follow the example of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara by taking up guerrilla warfare—rural or urban—aimed at toppling dictatorial regimes. Joseph Hansen, writing as a Marxist and longtime professional revolutionist, examines guerrilla war, its potential value as a tactic when linked to Marxist leadership of mass struggles, but its failure as a general strategy.

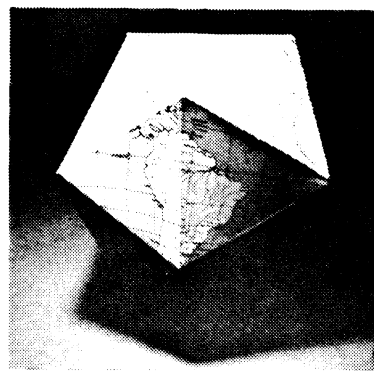
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### The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

The Debate on Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America

Joseph Hansen





## Literacy program outlined

# Nicaragua needs aid for education drive

The following interview with Miguel de Castilla Urbina, Nicaragua's vice-minister of planning and education policy, was obtained in Managua September 6 by Gary Bridges.

**Question.** What big problems face the educational system in Nicaragua today?

**Answer.** We can divide the answer into two parts—the problems we retain from the past and those that have come up since the insurrection.

Before, we had an educational system that discriminated against the vast majority. A third of the children between the ages of six and twelve did not attend school. Almost 80 percent of those between twelve and eighteen did not attend classes. And almost 94 percent of those over the age of eighteen did not attend the university.

In other words, the school system was set up for a very small segment of the population.

Even among those who managed to get into the school system, only about half ever graduated to the next level. And those who did get through the system received an education that was completely Somozaist.

Our people rose up fighting against this not only because it was a product of the military dictatorship but also because it was so corrupt and inefficient. The Somocistas took for themselves the money that was collected in taxes and from foreign loans intended for the development of our country, denying the people of Nicaragua a satisfactory education.

**Q.** What are the goals of the new education system?

**A.** Right now we are focusing on goals on which there is broad agreement, such as the literacy campaign and making education free through the high-school level. More long-range decisions—such as the philosophy of our educational system—will be determined by a national conference to be held in October.

**Q.** How do you propose to resolve the



Education Minister de Castilla stands beside portrait of national hero Augusto Sandino.

lack of education in the countryside?

**A.** We have planned two major campaigns for 1980. One is a literacy program that will attempt to reach 700,000 illiterates in the countryside. We also intend to double the budget of the Ministry of Education, which this year is barely \$35 million. In this way we hope to open up 2,500 jobs for teachers and begin massive construction of schools in the countryside.

**Q.** What role will the Cubans play in

the literacy campaign?

**A.** The Cuban compañeros will participate with technical aid based on all the experience they gained in implementing their own literacy program, which was one of the most effective in the world.

Our ministry will have the technical assistance of the Cuban Vice-Ministry of Adult Education. Also, a contingent of Cuban instructors will act as a training corps for our teachers, primarily in the rural areas and in the Atlan-

tic coastal region, where we have the highest number of illiterates.

So the Cubans will be giving us two kinds of help—first in preparing the campaign and second in actually carrying it out, beginning in April or May of 1980.

Our Cuban brothers and sisters are primarily able to help us with human—not financial—resources. They are a socialist society in construction and need financial resources for the development of their own country.

**Q.** What other type of aid is needed?

**A.** Fundamentally, I have to say dollars. We have to build new schools and enlarge the existing ones. We don't want schools like the ones that Somoza built—little empty rooms. We want schools that have their own cafeterias, auditoriums, gymnasiums, and playing fields. This type of school is expensive.

The international organizations are not giving us all the necessary money. One area that we especially need funds for is the literacy campaign, which we expect will cost \$10 million. We need, for example, 1,500 tape recorders; 50,000 cassettes; and 650,000 exercise books, which we could print if we had the paper.

We need paper! A shipload of paper arriving from the United States for the Ministry of Education would be an extraordinary gift from the people of the United States. We would transform this paper into new Sandinista schoolbooks to replace the old texts written by the Somoza government.

**Q.** Where should contributions be sent?

**A.** They should be sent to Dr. Carlos Tunnermann Bernheim, Ministro de Educación Pública, Managua, Nicaragua.

Each contribution will be deposited in an account either for school construction or for the acquisition of school materials. All organizations making contributions will receive a letter explaining how the money was spent.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Reconstruction a gov't priority

By Gary Bridges

MANAGUA—Nicaragua's schools, like the clinics, hospitals, and anything else that served the needs of the population, took a terrible beating during the war.

In many areas, schools were used as shelters against the bombing and strafing by the National Guard's air force. Schools were also transformed into clinics and centers to organize and direct the resistance by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

For the National Guard, any school they themselves did not occupy was considered a military target. As a consequence, the vast majority of schools suffered damage during the insurrection.

According to Alberto Suhr, the architect who directs the Ministry of Education's school reconstruction program, the National Guard completely destroyed twelve of the seventy-nine grammar schools in Nicaragua. Another twenty-eight were more than half destroyed. Of the remaining thirty-nine, two-thirds suffered some damage.

Rebuilding these schools is a major concern of the new Ministry of Education. But their long-range plans must also respond to the insti-

tutionalized deficiencies and gross neglect that characterized the old system.

The outline for the changes envisioned is contained in the general program of the Government of National Reconstruction. It includes the following:

- Free, compulsory education through high school.
- Eradication of illiteracy.
- Establishment of vocational schools in the cities.
- Establishment of rural education centers.
- Price controls on all books and school materials.
- Respect for the autonomy of the national university.
- Regulation of private educational institutions.

It is in the area of the literacy campaign that the government has planned its most extensive effort. In this it will have the aid of a Cuban team of experts for the entire two years the program is expected to last.

According to an agreement signed recently, Cuba will send 1,000 or more specialized teachers and pay their expenses for the duration of the program.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## School dedicated to martyr



Militant/Gary Bridges

By Gary Bridges

MANAGUA—In Nicaragua today, you do not see the name of the hated dictator Somoza except on old maps or in newspaper articles.

But there is one place in Managua where his name still appears—in two-foot-high letters—written in blood.

A public school in the poor neighborhood of Loma Linda was used by the National Guard, during the last month of the insurrection, as a headquarters to police the area. One of the classrooms was used as a torture chamber.

A fifteen-year-old girl was picked

up by the Guard for cursing them. She had committed a capital offense.

Dragged to the school, as her screams terrorized the neighbors the girl's arm was hacked off. At gunpoint she was then forced to write the name of Somoza on the blackboard in her own blood. Then, as the teacher recounting the horror told me, "they put a bullet through her head."

Today in that classroom, shown above, her blood remains as testimony of the willingness of so many people to die for their freedom.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# Capitalists challenge FSLN

## Class conflict mounts in Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Immediately after the Somoza regime was overthrown, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) enjoyed such overwhelming support among the masses that no other political force in the country dared to challenge it openly.

Even the FSLN's opponents tried to present themselves as "Sandinistas," while they looked for openings to press their own policies.

Now, with the revolution more than two months old, and allegiance to the FSLN among the workers and peasants as strong as ever, groups opposed to the Sandinistas have begun to organize and express themselves.

The opposition is taking two forms: pro-capitalist forces seeking to hold back the radical social transformations that are under way; and petty-bourgeois ultraleft groups that are growing impatient with the pace the FSLN is setting. While the proposals promoted by these two currents are quite different, they share the immediate aim of undermining mass support for the Sandinista Front. Each in its own way seeks to blame the FSLN—not the destructive legacy of Somoza, not the refusal of the imperialist countries to provide aid—for the objective problems the country faces.

The openly Somocista wing of the Nicaraguan capitalist class was expropriated outright as soon as the Sandinista-led Government of National Reconstruction came to power.

The timid capitalist opposition was discredited and dramatically weakened by the revolution. They have no armed forces and little influence over the state apparatus. No capitalist party has mass support. Many of the factories still in private hands are in ruins or bankrupt. The banks, which have large shares of the ownership of these concerns, have all been nationalized.

The capitalists are divided. Some are exhausting their stocks, selling private belongings, and abandoning the country. Others are biding their time to see how the revolution unfolds.

### Capitalist parties

In recent weeks, four bourgeois parties—Social Christians, Democratic Conservatives, Independent Liberals, and Social Democrats—have made public statements claiming to support the revolution and the new government, while emphasizing the need for "pluralism" and "authentic democracy."

The most openly anti-Sandinista of these groups is the Social Democratic Party (PSD)\*. It held its first public gathering in Managua on September 23. Despite a prominent announcement in the capitalist daily *La Prensa* and publicity on at least one radio station, only about 200 persons showed up. The crowd appeared to consist almost entirely of upper middle class hard-core PSD partisans.

The theme of the event was "Democracy yes, totalitarianism no." PSD leader Gladis Miranda deplored the FSLN's alleged "militarism" and likened the daily Sandinista newspaper, *Barricada*, to the slavishly pro-Somoza *Novedades* that was printed under the dictatorship.

Such charges ring hollow in Nicaragua today. The downfall of the dictatorship immediately brought more political freedom than Nicaraguans have ever enjoyed before.

The new government has adopted a "Bill of Rights" that guarantees freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. Three different daily newspap-

\*The PSD originally tried to call itself the "Sandinista Social Democratic Party," but gave this pretense up after a government decree reserved for the FSLN and its organizations the right to the name Sandinista.



Demonstration in Managua, September 1. Capitalists are alarmed at FSLN's course of mobilizing workers and supporting them in disputes with employers.

ers as well as other periodicals are appearing. Two of the dailies are totally independent of the Sandinistas and the government.

Political meetings and discussions take place constantly. Workers hold assemblies to democratically decide which of the several union federations to join. The FSLN has pledged to uphold all these rights and is doing so in practice.

### Pro-worker revolution

What really bothers the Social Democrats is the pro-worker and pro-peasant thrust of the revolution.

This was clear from the speech presented at the September 29 rally by PSD political secretary Luis Rivas Leyva. While professing a desire for "socialism" sometime in the future, he declared that the first "stage" of the Nicaraguan revolution must be limited to "social and economic consolidation and reinforcement of capitalism under bourgeois democracy." He complained pointedly of "attacks on the private property of individuals who never were Somocistas."

The latter was a direct reference to the sorest point in the deteriorating relations between the FSLN and the capitalists.

The Sandinistas' declared policy is to allow the capitalists to operate—so long as they resume production, continue rebuilding the country, and heed demands for trade-union rights and payment of wages lost during the final two-month civil war against Somoza. But the capitalists are not inclined to live up to even these moderate demands. Instead, they are trying to cut their losses, salvage as much profit as possible, and grant only the most minimal concessions to the workers.

The result has been a growing number of strikes, sometimes accompanied by factory takeovers.

When such conflicts arise, the Sandinistas' first concern is to assure that the workers' needs are met. In one recent example, the Ministry of Labor declared a "temporary intervention" at a private college where the employees were owed a large sum in back wages. The school has been placed under the control of the workers and teaching staff for as long as it takes to get the back wages paid.

The FSLN authorities have also initiated confiscation proceedings against landlords who, while not directly part of the Somoza financial empire, nonetheless relied on the National Guard to repress peasant struggles and who collaborated with the dictatorship in repression.

All the Sandinistas' actions and statements point to their determination to carry the revolution through—as they put it—"to its ultimate consequences." The central obstacles they currently face in moving ahead are the shortages and destruction left by the civil war and the inadequacy of international aid.

### Ultraleft disruption

In this situation there are severe limits on the immediate improvements that can be made in the living standards of the masses. Playing on this objective problem, ultraleftist sectarians are trying to build their own political formations in opposition to the FSLN.

These groups thus fall into the bourgeoisie's game of trying to divide the masses from the FSLN. They divert attention from the real immediate tasks of defending and extending the revolution's gains. And they let imperialism off the hook for its responsibility for the country's problems.

None of these ultraleft currents are particularly large. The main one is the Movimiento de Acción Popular

(MAP—People's Action Movement), a group with Maoist origins. It functions in the trade unions as the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers' Front).

The MAP/FO has encouraged strikes in nationalized workplaces and seizures of privately held land that does not fall under the initial provisions of the agrarian reform. On nationalized lands it seeks to organize the peasants to oppose the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).

Some workers and peasants have been taken in by the MAP/FO. It gets a sympathetic hearing among freshly radicalized layers, more so because it usually softpedals its opposition to the FSLN while using the Sandinistas' own slogans and red-and-black banners.

The FSLN's attitude toward the rank and file of those influenced by the MAP/FO has been to seek to educate them on the current problems and tasks of the revolution. Toward the ultraleft leaders themselves, however, the FSLN is taking a harder approach.

In a speech to thousands of workers and peasants in León on September 21, Comandante Henry Ruiz of the FSLN Joint National Directorate blasted those who "are now pretending to be the most revolutionary" and who demand land, national liberation, and social justice "as if those weren't the very tasks of the revolution."

"We are being told," Ruiz said, "to put an end to economic problems just when we are figuring out how to feed one million Nicaraguans and how to get 300 tons of food a day."

Ruiz's speech marked the opening of a campaign to counter the influence of the sectarians. This has continued in the pages of *Barricada*, on radio and television, through the Sandinista defense committees in the neighborhoods, and through the Sandinista Workers Federation.



## Aim to block food aid

# Washington's drive keeps Pol Pot in UN

By Fred Feldman

UNITED NATIONS—The General Assembly voted September 21 to reaffirm the toppled Pol Pot forces as representatives of Kampuchea. The vote, coming at the end of a seven-hour debate, was 71 in favor of Pol Pot, 35 opposed, and 34 abstentions. Twelve UN members cast no vote.

The outcome facilitates Washington's efforts to deny desperately needed food to famine-stricken Kampuchea.

The imperialists are using mass starvation to obtain leverage in trying to force a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the establishment of a government there more to their liking. One of the main excuses for failing to aid the new government is that it is not the legitimate government, as "proven" by its lack of UN recognition.

Prior to the General Assembly vote, the credentials committee had refused by a 6-to-3 vote to even consider credentials submitted by representatives of the Heng Samrin government, which with the Vietnamese had overthrown the Pol Pot tyranny in January. The new government actually rules the overwhelming majority of Kampuchea's people and territory.

The outcome contrasted with the recent decision of the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned Nations in Havana. There, Pol Pot was unseated and Kampuchea's place was left vacant for the time being.



Kampuchean children suffering from malnutrition. U.S. denial of food aid condemns thousands to starvation.

### Imperialist control

The imperialist powers in the UN, headed by the U.S. government, generally supported Pol Pot's claim (representatives of the Spanish, Swedish, Austrian, and Dutch governments abstained). None voted to unseat him. The outcome reflected the continuing ability of the imperialists to shape most decisions of the UN, which they founded (in collaboration with the Kremlin) at the end of World War II to advance their interests.

The main pretext given for backing Pol Pot was that his regime was toppled by an invasion. But there was no opposition in the UN to recognizing the government that replaced Idi Amin's tyranny in Uganda—even though it was the product of a massive invasion by Tanzanian troops and Ugandan exiles. The difference is that Tanzania's action got Washington's go-ahead, while the Carter administration opposed the toppling of Pol Pot.

The debate here in the General Assembly showed that U.S. imperialism remains committed to preserving Pol Pot's killer bands—now aligned with the Khmer Serei and other overtly rightist forces—as a viable opponent of the Heng Samrin government and the spread of the Vietnamese revolution elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Representatives of U.S.-dominated regimes in Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia hailed the "war of resistance" by "patriotic forces fighting Vietnamese domination" in Kampuchea—after attempting to cover themselves by denunciations of Pol Pot as a mass murderer. (Only Peking's delegate made a minimal effort to defend the ousted Khmer Rouge government.)

### 'Devoid of reality'

Speaking for Cuba, Raul Roa Khouri denounced the proposal to recognize Pol Pot as "totally devoid of reality," noting that the ousted Khmer Rouge regime seemed to have its capital in Peking and New York. He compared the move to the way U.S. imperialism had used a "mechanical majority in the General Assembly year after year to accept the puppet regime in Taiwan as representing China."

Roa linked the stands taken by the

Thai, Malaysian, and Indonesian governments to their support for U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam War.

In addition to Vietnam, Cuba, Albania, and the Soviet bloc, many semicolonial governments that have frequently clashed with imperialism—from India and Afghanistan in Asia, to Syria in the Middle East, Libya in North Africa to Mozambique and Guinea in Africa, to Jamaica and Grenada in the Caribbean, to Panama in Central America also voted to unseat Pol Pot. Still others—such as Venezuela, Mexico, Tanzania, Iran, and Jordan—abstained. The semicolonial regimes backing Pol Pot were those most overtly subordinate to U.S., French, or British imperialism.

The Yugoslav and Romanian delegates voted with the imperialists. The Stalinist bureaucracies in these two East European workers states seek to maximize maneuvering room relative to Moscow by offering support to Washington on some key questions.

At the back of the General Assembly hall, Ieng Sary—the number-two figure in Pol Pot's deposed regime—grinned broadly. He was evidently untroubled by the denunciations that even most of his supporters felt obliged to make.

### Responsible for famine

The statement by acting U.S. Ambassador Richard Petree, one of the last speakers, signalled Washington's goals in engineering the vote. Petree claimed that the Heng Samrin government is putting up political obstacles to efforts to relieve the current famine.

The fraud of Petree's charges was exposed by John Pilger, a reporter for the London *Daily Mirror*, who recently visited Kampuchea. Challenging British officials who also cited "political obstacles" to aid, Pilger reported in the September 13 *Daily Mirror* that, "Any relief plane can come, without conditions." He noted that Oxfam, a British relief organization, has received complete cooperation in sending aid to Phnompenh.

Pilger charged that UNICEF has sent only one relief plane to Phnompenh. He quoted an official of the International Red Cross in Kampuchea: "I am desperate. In Geneva the

Red Cross is still studying the framework of a plan of relief for Cambodia and the situation cannot wait!"

### 'Why are children dying?'

Pilger, who also complained of the skimpy aid being sent by Moscow, concluded:

The truth is that no substantial relief is reaching the most ravaged country on earth, a country stricken by the most intense famine in memory. The majority of the population of Cambodia are children, many of them infants. Their parents have been killed and they cannot plant the rice because they are too small and too weak from hunger and disease.

Why are these children being allowed to die? . . .

The Western governments and their dependents have mounted a campaign to blockade and punish the Vietnamese. One of the reasons given for this campaign is Vietnam's "aggression" in Cambodia—that is, its overthrow of the murderous Khmer Rouge regime.

*Every Cambodian I have met regards this "aggression" as having saved their nation from slavery and extinction.*

Pilger also denounced the Thatcher government and the European Common Market for cutting off food aid to Vietnam, which he called "the only country attempting to hold back the famine in Cambodia with supplies of food and drugs that it badly needs to combat its own critical shortages."

UN recognition provides a shred of legal cover to the U.S., Thai, and other regimes that are providing military aid or other backing to the Pol Pot gang. U.S. Ambassador Petree denounced the new offensive being launched by Vietnamese and Kampuchean government forces as further proof of Heng Samrin's "cruelty." The U.S. rulers fear that the remains of the Khmer Rouge army may face destruction.

In an effort to block the offensive, U.S. officials are also threatening Vietnam. "If Vietnam mounts the major assault that seems to be in the works," one official was quoted as saying in the September 24 *Newsweek*, "it is our analysis that the Chinese will not sit idly by."

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CHINESE TROTSKYISTS RELEASED AFTER 27 YEARS



# Int'l protests continue for release of Iran 14

By Janice Lynn

The emergency campaign to save the lives of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezbe-e Kargaran-e Sosialist—HKS) continues to win support from labor leaders and union organizations throughout the world.

Twelve of these longtime antishah fighters were sentenced to death August 26 by a secret tribunal in Ahwaz. Two others, both women, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Six of the HKS members are in Karoun Prison. They are: Hadi Adib, Firooz Farzinpour, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz Lajevardi, and Kia Mahdevi.

Six are in the jails of the Special Court building. They are: Hormoz Fallahi, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.

The two women, Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, are in Dezful Prison. The only charges made against them at the time of their trials were for speaking or writing about their political ideas.

At the huge antinuclear rally in New York City September 23, 1,103 people signed petitions calling for the release of the fourteen imprisoned socialists. Five petition boards and a table sponsored by the Committee to Save the Iranian 14 were all it took, as people lined up to add their signatures. High school and college students, unionists, and veterans of the anti-Vietnam War movement were all anxious to sign when they heard of the death threat hanging over these antishah fighters.

Forty delegates attending the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women the weekend of September 14-16 also signed petitions.

And thirty participants at a New Jersey conference for the Equal Rights Amendment added their names on petitions for release of the HKS fourteen.

New support has also been received from twenty shipyard workers in Norfolk, Virginia, who are members of Boilermakers Union Local 684; and from ten members of the Communications Workers of America Local 2395 in Arlington, Virginia, including the local union vice-president.

Among those recently sending protest telegrams to the Iranian government are writer Grace Paley; Frank E. Love, regional director of the Aluminum International Union in Louisville; and Robert Bucksin of the Oregon American Indian Movement.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, thirty-seven people attended a meeting in defense of democratic rights in Iran. Speakers included Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations secretary of the Association of Kurdistan Students Abroad; John Shibley of Amnesty International; and Clare Fraenzl, member of United Mine Workers of America Local

1190 and the Socialist Workers Party. In attendance were Kurdish and Iranian students from West Virginia University and several miners.

Significant support has recently come from Mexico, Turkey, Hong Kong, and Ireland.

Supporters of the case in Mexico include a number of unions of university workers; Rodolfo Echeverria of the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party; the national committee of the Mexican Workers Party (PMT); and the Revolutionary and Independent Peasant Coordination. The National Union of Education Workers (SNTE) has also sent a telegram.

From Hong Kong, recent support for the HKS prisoners has come from the Revolutionary Marxist League and the Socialist Workers League of China.

From Turkey, Muhittin Karkin, vice-president of the Wood Industry Workers Union, has written a telegram protesting the death sentences.

In Ireland, the arrests of the HKS members have been condemned by Michael Mullen, general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union; Matt Herrigan, general secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union; the secretary and chairperson of the Arab Society of Ireland; Michael Farrell, an Irish historian and leader of the civil-rights movement; and others.

New support has also come from New Zealand and Australia.

In New Zealand, a telegram has been signed by Bill Rowling, the leader of the opposition and former Labour Party Prime Minister; G.H. Andersen and P. Purdue, president and vice-president of the Auckland Trades Council; S. Davies, executive of the Federation of Labour; and others.

In Australia, recent support has come from Chris Huford, a member of Parliament and shadow minister for industry and commerce; the National Council of the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists; New South Wales South Coast Trades and Labor Council; Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union; and numerous other unions and unionists.

Also: Australian Union of Students; United Palestinian Workers; Friends of Palestine; Communist Party of Australia; and Socialist Workers Party.

In recent news from Iran, the forty-six-year-old son of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is reported to have publicly opposed executions of people found guilty of moral crimes. He is quoted as saying, "I believe this must stop."

In a radio broadcast Khomeini told millions of Iranian students returning to classes to point out any of their classmates who "may create discord among you." The opening of Tehran University, the country's largest school and a center of political activity, was put off for two weeks.

## Oil workers print appeal

The following article appeared in the September 1979 issue of 'Union News,' publication of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. The page-two article appeared under the headline, 'Iran Asked to Free Prisoners.'

The present Iranian government is asked to "release all the imprisoned workers in Khuzistan Province and to create a climate in which free speech and the right to organize belong to all," in a resolution passed at the 1979 OCAW convention.

The resolution protests what it

terms "a wave of political repression in Iran by the Khomeini government" which has led to the arrest and imprisonment of oil refinery and other workers in Khuzistan Province in Southern Iran.

The Iranian Oil Workers Union was "key in the fight against the dictator shah," the resolution notes, adding that several of its leaders were arrested earlier this year, along with militant workers in the oil and steel industries.

Three of those leaders were released after a worldwide protest against that repression in which OCAW played a part, the resolution states.

## Iran committee offers brochure

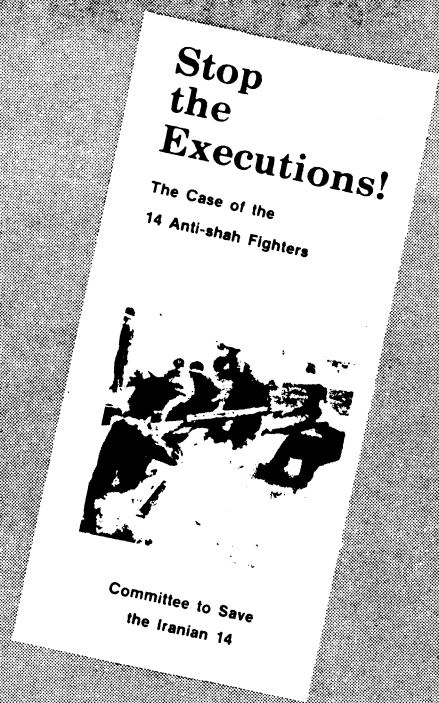
The Committee to Save the Iranian 14 has issued a brochure on the emergency campaign to save the lives of the fourteen jailed socialists. The brochure explains the facts of the case and will be useful in winning new support for the prisoners and in raising funds.

Copies of the brochure are available from the committee for \$5 per 100.

Among the new sponsors of the committee are: author Howard Zinn; Tom Neil, plant chairperson, United Auto Workers Local 174, Detroit; Louis Clayton Jones, attorney and frequent contributor to the *Amsterdam News*; and James Haughton of Harlem Fight Back.

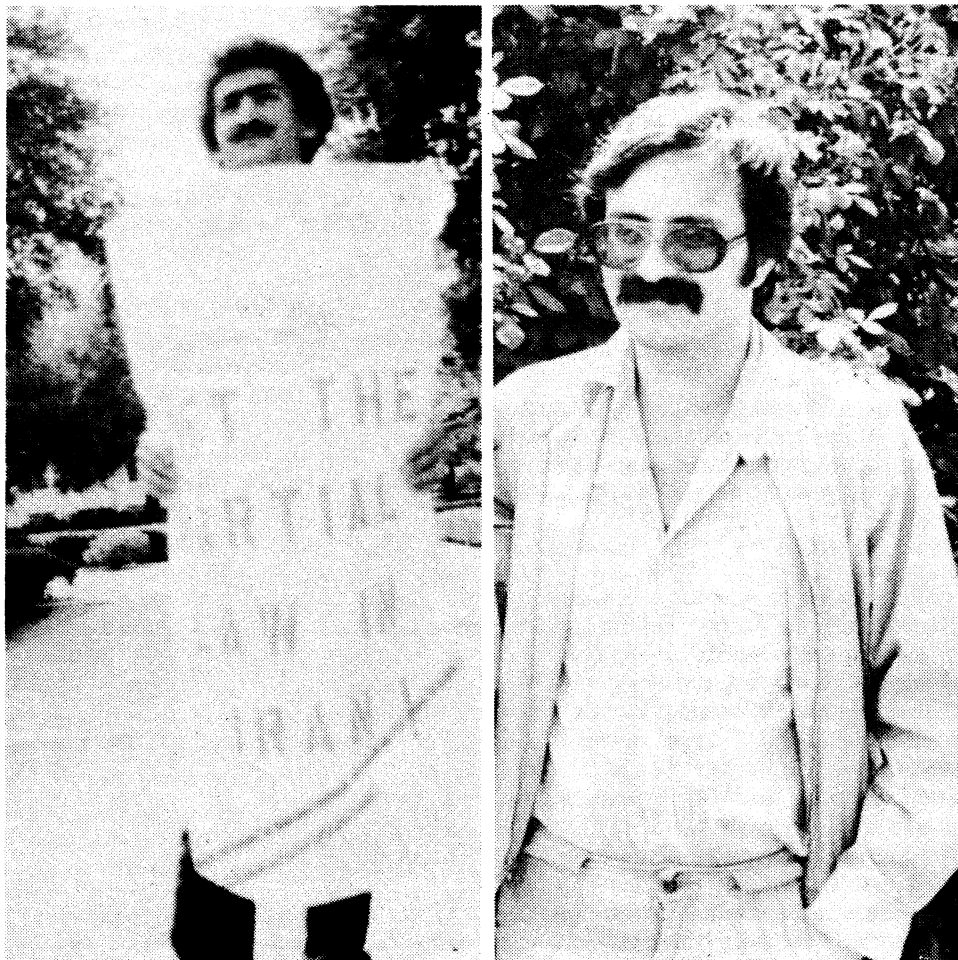
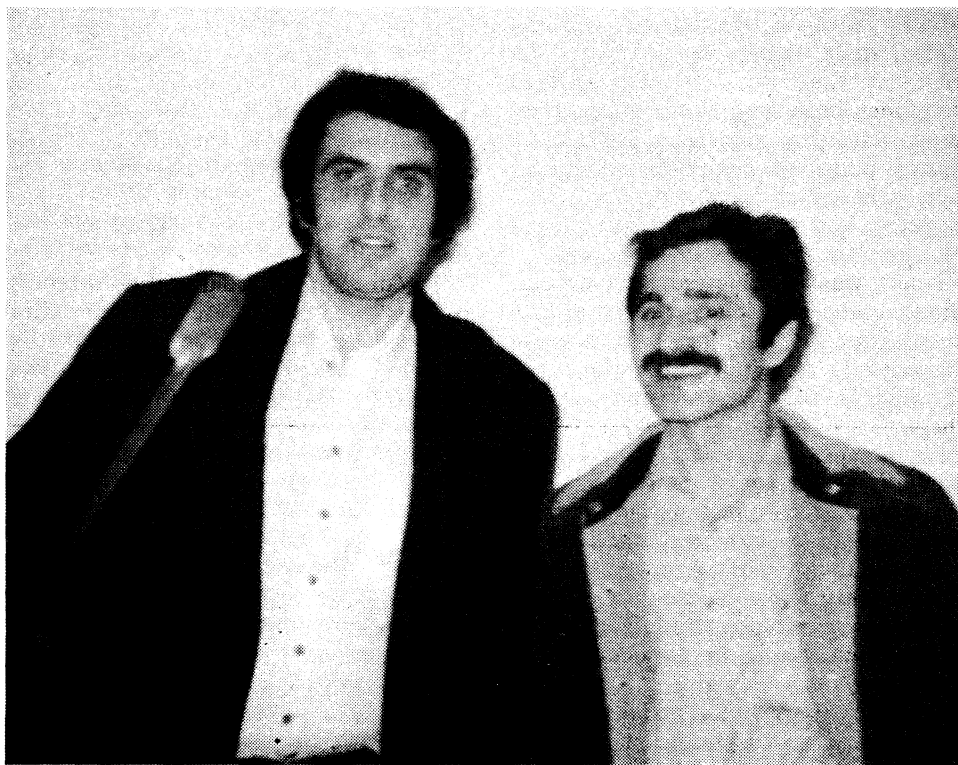
The committee is requesting that telegrams and petitions protesting the death sentences given the twelve HKS prisoners and demanding the immediate release of all fourteen be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran; Ayatollah Ghodosi, Prosecutor General, Tehran, Iran; and to the Majlise Hezbegon (Council of Experts), Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24



Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran; to *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran. These newspapers have been publishing the texts of the telegrams they receive.

Copies should also be sent to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-0574. Financial contributions are urgently needed to continue the committee's efforts.



Four of the Iranian socialists who face death sentences. They are (clockwise, from top left) Hamid Shahrabi, Hadi Adib, Kambiz Lajevardi, and Mustafa Seifabadi.



## Mexico: free HKS prisoners



MEXICO CITY—Farhad Nouri was interviewed for the widely read weekly magazine *Proceso* and the Mexican daily *Uno más Uno* during his tour here. Demonstrations to save the Iranian socialists have taken place here in front of the Iranian embassy organized by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International; and the Marxist Workers League (LOM), affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Attracting three to four hundred participants, the protests have received wide media coverage in the Mexico City press. Shown above is a demonstration on September 13.

Members of the LOM have also been circulating petitions among their co-workers for the release of the HKS prisoners.

## Iran tour wins Calif. support

By Mark Friedman

SAN DIEGO—The defense of imprisoned socialists in Iran won new support in San Diego as a result of a tour September 19 by Farhad Nouri, a leader of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). The tour is being organized by the Committee to Save the Iranian 14.

Nouri campaigned at the Solar Turbines plant during one shift change, where more than twenty workers added their names to petitions demanding the release of the fourteen HKS members. In all, more than fifty machinists in this plant of 1,000 have signed petitions, including the president and business agent of International Association of Machinists Local 685, Ed Maudlin and Lee Pearson.

Nouri was interviewed by four San Diego radio stations, and the *San Diego Union*, the major daily. He also met with Taleb Berzinji, a leader of the Kurdish Student Association in San Diego.

Nouri spoke to forty people at a public meeting at San Diego State University. Iranian students from SDSU and U.S. International University attended the meeting.

Unfortunately, there was an attempted disruption by members of the Muslim Students Association of San Diego.

Prior to the meeting these students distributed an inflammatory leaflet denouncing those who support the Kurdish struggle for democratic rights in Iran as "reactionaries," "imperialists," and "Zionists."

When a group of twenty-five people from the Muslim Students Association approached the meeting, they were denied admittance because they made it clear they thought Nouri's talk

should not take place. They called the meeting participants "CIA, FBI, and SAVAK agents." One of them admitted having participated in a physical attack August 31 on a demonstration of Kurdish students.

The meeting organizers offered to allow two representatives in to explain their views. The disrupters demanded all be let in and contacted the campus police in an attempt to gain admittance.

After Nouri spoke, the meeting was ended to avoid a confrontation. As they left the room, Nouri and the others faced verbal threats.

One of the Muslim Students Association members shouted in Persian to Nouri, "You are a SAVAK agent. You need a bullet."

The disrupters failed in their attempt to break up the meeting, however, and the San Diego Committee to Save the Iranian 14 won new support from the Iranian students attending. The committee is planning an ambitious campaign of press and radio publicity and fund-raising activities for the defense.

LOS ANGELES—Seventy people here heard Farhad Nouri urge support for the HKS prisoners at a September 21 meeting. Sharing the platform with Nouri was Rev. Philip Zwerling of the First Unitarian Church. Five hundred dollars was donated for the defense efforts. In attendance were many Iranian students who are helping in the defense work.

Nouri also spoke before the executive board of Local 6700 of the United Steelworkers of America. Seventy steelworkers at the Martin Marietta aluminum plant here had already signed petitions for the release of the HKS members.

## U.S. prisoners: 'release HKS'

The following letter was sent to Ayatollah Khomeini and Prime Minister Bazargan in Iran from a prisoner in Attica, New York.

Yes, your government is a government for the people, formed following the revolution in which the masses raised it to power when they overthrew the monarchy and the despotism of their oppressor the shah, when their heroic strike stopped the flow of oil, cutting the jugular vein of the monarchy.

For that very reason you are obliged to respect the precious political rights won through such tremendous sacrifices, for which the people shed their blood. And it is for that reason

that I urge you to immediately and unconditionally release the twelve members of the HKS in Ahwaz, cancel the death sentences against them, and put an end to the current repression, which is an attack on the masses who fought to uproot the dictatorship imposed by the shah.

Rights are not something you beg for; you demand them.

Sincerely, a Colombian who cherishes free expression throughout the world.

Eleven prisoners in North Carolina sent a petition to Iran protesting "the unwarranted arrests and convictions of the twelve members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party . . ." and asked for their "unconditional and immediate release."

# Rock Island strikers defy Carter back-to-work order

By Doug Hord

CHICAGO—On September 20 President Carter used his emergency powers under the Railway Labor Act to order striking workers on the Rock Island Railroad back to work for a sixty-day "cooling off" period.

Fred Kroll, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, refused to call off the strike.

BRAC and United Transportation Union pickets remain up.

According to Kroll the emergency order is "confused" and in no way instructs BRAC to do anything specific.

"It looks like it was formed in Studio 54!" Kroll remarked.

The Carter administration also urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue a "directed service

off after five days.

To all indications, the Rock Island is going the way of the Milwaukee Road. In the Milwaukee bankruptcy, between 4,000 and 5,000 workers are threatened with the loss of their jobs in the next several months as the trustee, management, courts, ICC, and the Carter administration move at breakneck speed to sell or abandon three-quarters of the road's right-of-ways.

On the Milwaukee this has been a topic of much discussion. At a recent protest meeting in Chicago attended by more than three hundred Milwaukee Road workers, John McGinness, Illinois state legislative representative for the UTU, denounced the "merger mania" that has seized the railroad industry.

Referring to the prospect of the Milwaukee Road being swallowed up by the Burlington Northern and Union Pacific, McGinness explained, "It is only natural that the government will eventually step in to provide the necessary nationalization to protect the public interest."

All this applies with equal force to the Rock Island. A handful of multimillionaire creditors are moving to cut up, sell off, and abandon a major national resource. In this context, nationalization is the only solution to protect the jobs of rail labor, the needs of farmers, other small business people along the roads, and the public.

Rock Island BRAC and UTU members are fighting to preserve modest but hard-won wage rates and work rules. They are fighting the strike-breaking of the Democratic administration of President Carter. They are fighting the laws that make a quick and truly effective strike illegal.

Further, they are fighting the industry's efforts to hone down the rail system to its most profitable core, eliminating needed freight and practically all passenger service along the way.

The Rock Island strikers deserve the widest possible help and solidarity from other rail workers and all sections of the labor movement.

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Burlington Northern BRAC Local 1504 has called for solidarity with striking Rock Island railroad workers.

A resolution adopted at its September business meeting reads in part: "Be it . . . resolved that BRAC Local 1504 go on record in support of our union brothers and sisters striking the Rock Island railroad.

"And therefore, be it further resolved that if it is necessary to shut down all other rail lines in order to force the Rock Island to agree to the just demands of the striking Rock Island workers, BRAC Local 1504 supports this action of solidarity."

## R.I. pickets: 'Government is acting like a strikebreaker'

On picket lines throughout Chicago the mood is one of defiance. Pickets remain up at all points. Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and United Transportation Union members are walking the same lines.

The majority opinion is that ending the strike now would mean three weeks' lost wages with nothing in return. In sixty days everything would start all over, only it would be in the middle of a Chicago winter.

One strike said, "Tell Carter we won't go back for peanuts. Tell him what the miners told him."

"The government is acting like a strikebreaker," another said.

References to the idea that the company is out to bust the unions are frequent.

Some strikers welcome the Interstate Commerce Commission's plans to redirect service. Others aren't too sure. One older UTU member put it this way: "I'd almost give up all my back pay if I could go to work under a new management."

Another younger striker, when asked about the possibility of layoffs after five days of redirected service, had this to say: "You never know what they're up to. You might be walking right into their trap and not even know it."

—D.H.

# Militant, PM drive extended two weeks

By Peter Seidman

The latest scoreboard shows that the fall circulation drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* is picking up steam.

Total sales have been climbing by about 800 papers per week for the past four weeks.

Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* have also been climbing steadily, breaking the 1,000 mark this week for the first time in the drive.

However, the total cumulative goal for single-copy and subscription sales appears to be about 15,000 points below our original goal of 150,000.

To make this original goal, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist are taking some special steps.

First, they have decided to extend the circulation drive as a whole by two weeks.

The drive will now last through sales of issue number 45 of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue number 21 of *PM*. These are the issues sold right up to the Thanksgiving holidays.

Originally, the drive had been scheduled to end with issue 43 of the *Militant*.

The extra two weeks of sales should help each branch and chapter to go way over their original goals—thereby bringing the national drive within range of our 150,000 goal.

Second, our supporters are carrying out a national target week of sales with this issue of the *Militant*.

Many areas are trying to double the number of papers they usually sell. This should help branches catch up after the drive as a whole got off to a slow start.

We have now sold about 25 percent of the announced cumulative goals, about 17 percent behind schedule.

Third, socialists are beginning to discuss putting extra emphasis on

sales of subscriptions, especially to their co-workers on the job.

This work will get a big boost now that SWP candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann have launched their 1980 tours.

\* \* \*

New York and New Jersey gave another big boost to the national circulation drive at the giant antinuclear protest last weekend.

Socialists there sold 760 *Militants*. They also sold 164 copies of the *Young Socialist* and nearly 400 antinuclear buttons put out by the YSA. In addition, some 1,000 demonstrators signed petitions demanding freedom for the imprisoned members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party.



Militant/Lou Howort  
Socialists sold 760 *Militants* at New York antinuclear rally.

## Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	% Ind.
Albuquerque	115	216	25	55	140	271	193.5	10.3
Toledo	100	188	3	8	103	196	190.2	20.9
Phoenix	120	112	40	84	160	196	122.5	17.9
San Diego	90	113	20	21	110	134	121.8	11.9
Oakland/Berkeley	190	157	25	100	215	257	119.5	*
Seattle	140	158	5	9	145	167	115.1	21.6
Dallas	90	100	30	34	120	134	111.6	25.4
Kansas City	110	120	7	7	117	127	108.5	18.9
Detroit	200	216	10	6	210	222	105.7	42.3
Piedmont	75	79	0	0	75	79	105.3	29.1
Cincinnati	100	104	0	0	100	104	104.0	15.4
Portland	90	91	0	2	90	93	103.3	2.2
San Jose	85	70	40	59	125	129	103.2	11.6
Los Angeles	270	202	80	157	350	359	102.5	9.5
Denver	105	111	20	16	125	127	101.6	6.3
Indianapolis	100	101	0	0	100	101	101.0	3.0
Morgantown	100	101	0	0	100	101	101.0	9.9
Salt Lake City	110	111	5	5	115	116	100.8	4.3
Iron Range	75	75	0	0	75	75	100.0	34.7
Cleveland	100	70	0	25	100	95	95.0	29.5
Albany	100	89	5	10	105	99	94.2	22.2
Birmingham	150	140	0	0	150	140	93.3	14.3
Gary	90	93	10	0	100	93	93.0	8.6
San Antonio	50	46	15	13	65	59	90.7	22.0
Miami	100	69	30	44	130	113	86.9	9.7
Ann Arbor	15	13			15	13	86.7	*
Washington, D.C.	140	73	35	75	175	148	84.5	*
Tacoma	125	104	0	1	125	105	84.0	11.4
Twin Cities	225	185	0	3	225	188	83.5	16.5
Newark	125	81	25	42	150	123	82.0	13.0
Atlanta	120	101	5	0	125	101	80.8	10.9
Boston	175	141	15	12	190	153	80.5	6.5
New Orleans	100	81	5	0	105	81	77.1	35.8
Louisville	100	76	0	1	100	77	77.0	39.0
Philadelphia	180	126	20	21	200	147	73.5	18.4
Milwaukee	115	62	10	16	125	78	62.4	24.4
Pittsburgh	200	123	0	0	200	123	61.5	24.4
New York City	445	171	105	164	550	335	60.9	*
St. Louis	100	57	0	0	100	57	57.0	15.8
Baltimore	125	55	0	0	125	55	44.0	50.9
Tidewater	200	69	0	0	200	69	34.5	36.2
Chicago	275	75	50	20	325	95	29.2	52.6
Southern Team		311				311		20.9
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>5820</b>	<b>4836</b>	<b>690</b>	<b>1010</b>	<b>6510</b>	<b>5846</b>	<b>89.8</b>	<b>16.2</b>

\*Figures not available

Not reporting: Houston, San Francisco.

Covers sales of issue thirty-six of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue seventeen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

% Ind. indicates percentage of total reported sold at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

## Team brings socialist ideas to Piedmont

By Harvey McArthur

"Hi! Have you read the *Militant* yet? It's a socialist newspaper with the best coverage on unions that you can find.

"And have you heard about Andrew Pulley—the socialist steelworker running for president?"

From the textile mills, tobacco plants, and steel shops, to the University of North Carolina and Winston-Salem College, to the working-class neighborhoods of Lexington, Greensboro, Highpoint, and Winston-Salem, the socialist movement is getting a good introduction in the Piedmont area of North Carolina.

It's all the work of a team fielded to spread the word about the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign and sell the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

These four socialists have been campaigning twelve hours a day, six days a week. I recently talked with one of them, Kate Daher from Greensboro, to find out how things are going. The other team members are Marc Lichtman from New York, Jane Fisher from Greensboro, and Caryn Swann from Olympia, Washington.

"We're getting a tremendous response to Pulley's campaign and to the *Militant*," Kate reports. "Last week we sold 311 copies of the *Militant* and 64 copies of the *Young Socialist*. And 69 of these were sold at plant gates.

"Our most exciting sales were at two shift changes at the big Pittsburgh Plate Glass plant in Lexington. The

workers had voted in the Teamsters union over a year ago, and just recently the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] upheld their election. They were feeling confident because they had won this victory and proud to be a new part of the union movement.

"The *Militant* had never been there before. We had to sell at the side of the road as people drove in and out, and the security guards tried to chase us away. But the interest in unions, and in a socialist paper that is on the side of unions, was so great that fifty

workers bought copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

"Unions are on people's minds," says Daher. "Start talking about the *Militant's* articles on one union or another, and it's a sure-fire way to get a conversation going—no matter whether you're at a plant or in the community."

The other big topic for the team is the Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. The team has distributed thousands of pieces of campaign

literature to help prepare for Pulley's tour in the Piedmont area.

"We find tremendous respect for Pulley's campaign—people here are really impressed that a worker is running for president," says Daher.

"The *Militant's* articles on a labor party make a lot of sense. Many people we have talked with seem to realize right away that a party run by workers would be better for them.

"We've also talked with a lot of Black high school students, and they find Pulley's campaign a big inspiration. They're especially interested in his pamphlet *How I Became A Socialist*—many of them have had experiences similar to his childhood. We've distributed 200 copies of this pamphlet so far."

In their first three weeks of campaigning, the team has sold more than 700 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*. They've visited major colleges and universities in the area. And they've sold the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* and talked socialism with workers at the R.J. Reynolds tobacco plant, the Thomasville Furniture Company, Carolina Steel, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, and several textile mills.

Their next stop will be the Harrisburg area of Pennsylvania, where they will help publicize a speaking tour for Fred Halstead, a spokesperson for the Socialist Workers 1980 campaign and antinuclear activist. Then they'll spend several weeks campaigning in the coalfields of West Virginia and Kentucky.



Selling *Militant* at Cone Industries in Greensboro

Militant/Marc Lichtman



# Margaret Sanger & the fight for birth control

By Dianne Feeley

September 14 marked 100 years since the noted birth control advocate Margaret Sanger was born. This year, it was also the occasion for actions in defense of abortion rights called by the National Organization for Women.

Born Margaret Higgins in Corning, New York, in 1879, Sanger was one of eleven children. Her father, a stonecutter, was an Irish immigrant attracted to radical ideas. Ostracized for her father's views in the heavily Catholic town, she developed a distaste for the bigotry of the Catholic church hierarchy. She completed her schooling, taught a semester, and returned home to nurse her mother, who died of tuberculosis at the age of forty-eight.

Sanger decided to become a doctor, but her family could not afford to sustain her through the long period of training that would have entailed, and so she went to nursing school. While there she married William Sanger, an architect and painter. They had three children, one of whom died in childhood.

The Sangers moved to Harlem in 1911, and separated two years later. In New York City Margaret Sanger met leading socialists, anarchists, and trade-union leaders, including Emma Goldman, John Reed, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Eugene Debs and Big Bill Haywood. Hired as an organizer for the Women's Commission of the Socialist Party, and an elected officer of the Harlem Socialist Suffrage Society, she worked closely with striking Irish laundry workers and with Scandinavians in the housemaids' union.

## Strike support work

Drawn to the militant actions waged by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Sanger became involved in support work for the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile workers' strike and the Patterson, New Jersey, silk workers' strike.

Sanger assumed responsibility for organizing a New York committee to house the children of Lawrence for the strike's duration. Many of the 119 children were actually strikers themselves. Sanger accompanied the contingent to New York City, secured medical examinations for each, and arranged their housing from among trade-union families.

This dramatic exodus from Lawrence caught the nation's imagination. When a second contingent attempted to board the train for foster homes in Philadelphia, the police attacked. At a congressional investigation Sanger described the medical and physical condition of the children who had been placed in her charge. As a result of the massive public outrage over the strikers' conditions, the mill owners were forced to meet the workers' demands.

As a practicing nurse, Sanger lectured on sex hygiene to meetings organized by the women's committee of the Socialist Party. These, in turn, led to writing for the socialist *New York Call*. Her original articles were reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed by locals of the Socialist Party. She wrote a series of articles on women's bodies and reproductive lives for the *New York Call*, entitled "What Every Girl Should Know." But as she began writing about venereal disease, the post office declared the article "obscene" under the Comstock Law. The *Call* responded by printing just the title of the series, and, in a box beneath, the word: "Nothing," adding "by order of the Post Office Department."

From 1912 onward Margaret Sanger's name became increasingly associated with the fight for a woman's right to sex education and birth control—a term she coined in 1914.

Sanger began publishing an independent monthly, *The Woman Rebel*, in March 1914, under the masthead, "No Gods, No Masters." Although its focus was mainly on the problems women faced, it launched an assault against capitalist injustice. Primarily distributed by IWW locals, at political meetings, and at factory gates, it was almost immediately banned from the mails under the Comstock Law. By August 1914 federal marshals



Margaret Sanger. At right, cops raid her Brownsville, New York, birth control clinic in 1916.

had served Sanger with a nine-count indictment.

During this same period, Sanger prepared a sixteen-page pamphlet outlining the detailed contraceptive information she felt women needed. The initial run of 100,000 was distributed shortly after she left the country in order to escape imprisonment.

When she returned to the United States in 1915, Sanger found the charges against her were soon dropped—the result of the international publicity her case generated. She went on a national speaking tour in the spring of 1916. She recounted her experiences as a nurse attending women who pleaded with her for birth control information.

Following her highly successful tour, Sanger launched a birth control clinic in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The clinic was raided after operating only ten days. The staff was arrested and all pamphlets, contraceptives, and confidential case histories seized.

## Sentenced to workhouse

Charged under New York state law with violating the code prohibiting giving contraceptive information for any reason, both Sanger and her sister Ethel Byrne were convicted and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse.

But the 1917 trial exposed the conditions under which the working-class women who flocked to the clinic lived, and generated further public support for birth control.

Sanger began to move away from a socialist perspective, focusing exclusively on birth control, though she was to maintain her contacts with radicals through the end of World War I, and opposed the U.S. role in the imperialist war.

From 1915 onward Sanger put forward birth control as the solution to every social problem. This began the process of her separation from birth control pioneers such as Goldman, Dr. Antoinette Konikow, activists such as Rose Pastor Stokes, Ida Rauh, and Jessie Ashley, who had risked arrest in defiance of an unjust law because they saw birth control as a *tool* in the struggle for women's right to control their own bodies, and for the emancipation of the working class as a whole.

## Reactionary shift

As early as 1918 Sanger began echoing the racist, antiworking-class positions of the eugenicists, who favor population control to produce a race of the "fit." In her *Birth Control Review* she wrote: "More children from the fit, less from the unfit—that is the chief issue of birth control." Whereas in the prewar days she had sided with striking workers, by the war's end she spoke of "overbreeding" among the working class as being the source of "all our problems."

Sanger's views were a reflection of the period:

stepped-up imperialist propaganda pressure on the entire radical movement; anti-immigrant hysteria symbolized by the Palmer Raids; and a witch-hunt directed at the workers organizations in general.

As she succumbed to these pressures, her position on birth control became entirely contradictory to the socialist approach.

## Socialists & birth control

Socialists have always favored birth control and free access to birth control information as part of the emancipation of women and the working class. The right of women to control their own bodies and to decide when and if to have children is crucial to their right to control their own destiny.

But Marxists vigorously oppose population control theories that cite "overpopulation" as the source of the poverty, hunger, and other miseries imposed on the working class. The root of these problems is the capitalist system of inequality, not "overbreeding" among the oppressed layers of society.

Just as Sanger abandoned the fight for birth control as a woman's right to choose, she abandoned direct action methods for lobbying the medical profession and government officials. The Margaret Sanger who, after the Ludlow Massacre in 1914, denounced John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a "black-hearted plutocrat whose soft, flabby hands carry no standard but that of greed" was not the same Sanger of the 1930s who listed the Rockefellers as her special benefactors.

In 1921 Sanger organized the First American Birth Conference. At this conference the eugenicists' reactionary arguments for birth control dominated.

Few of the original birth control activists attended. Goldman had been illegally deported in the aftermath of the Palmer Raids. Yet within the proceedings one voice was raised in dissent. Dr. Konikow, one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, opened her remarks by stating:

"Speaking about the fit and unfit, I was quite surprised to hear that because a man is working in the ditches he is not fit. I think the question of success in our capitalistic world, whether a man or a woman makes a success, does not prove that he or she is particularly fit from the sense of the ideal. For conditions are such that not always the fit succeeds. . . . We don't need any proofs that Birth Control is needed. We women of the working class have heard it again and again. Don't come to us and tell us Birth Control is needed. Tell us how to do it. That is what we want."

Although Sanger lived until 1966, she never returned to the working-class perspective of her early period. But her pioneering work helped lay the groundwork for the struggle today by a revitalized women's movement to win full reproductive rights.

Dianne Feeley is an auto worker and a longtime member of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women.

## 'PORTRAIT OF TERESA'

Portrait of Teresa. A full-length Cuban feature film in color. Director: Pastor Vega. Screenplay: Ambrosio Fornet and Pastor Vega. Camera: Livio Delgado. Music: Carlos Fariñas. Producer: Evelio Delgado. Editor: Mirita Lores. Leading roles: Daysi Granados, Adolfo Llauradó, Alina Sánchez, Raúl Pomares.

The following review by Carlos Galiano appeared in the August 26 English edition of 'Granma,' paper of the Cuban Communist Party.

"It's not the same. . . ." This phrase again and again throughout *Retrato de Teresa* (Portrait of Teresa), always in response to Teresa's questioning about her right to decide her own destiny in life, with the same options as a man. "It's not the same," her mother, her husband Ramón and, in so many words, her cousin Charo as well, all tell her. But why isn't it the same? None of them can give a convincing explanation. That's the way things are because "they've always been that way," because of unwritten laws deeply rooted in our attitudes, which survive as a hangover from a past of oppression of,

### Film

and discrimination against women and which have come up against the new conditions and concepts established by the Revolution.

It's not the first time that Cuban cinema has tackled this subject. The third tale in *Lucía* (1968) showed the conflicts that arose between a young couple of peasant origin when the woman insisted on something as basic as the right to learn to read and write. Times have changed since then and *Portrait of Teresa* goes further than *Lucia*. Overall, women have not only won the opportunity to get an education but also the opportunity to work for society. However, the process of emancipation and individual realization does not stop there. If it is to be real and complete, a more profound change is required.

It is significant that what Teresa defends against her husband's demands and incomprehension is her chance to *create something*, by taking part in the organization of a dance group at her work center. Something else apart from the hundreds of meters

of cloth that emerge every day from her loom; above all, something different from the limiting routine of domestic chores—admirably portrayed in a long sequence that shows her going about her morning tasks in what is the best piece of cinema in the film. Something, in other words, that helps her to find herself, discover her potential and enrich herself spiritually. Her search, and the dramatic confrontation with the difficulties she encounters is expressed with great intensity thanks to excellent acting by Daysi Granados (Teresa) and Adolfo Llauradó (Ramón), who have managed to give the film one of its most remarkable elements of authenticity.

It is not enough that women enjoy the same social rights as men, and that men share the domestic chores that before fell to women alone. These requisites, legally enshrined in the new Family Code now in force in our society, form the indispensable basis for transforming the nature of the relationship between husband and wife but not the sole condition. Full equality is only achieved if both are conceded the same chance of developing their individual personalities and widening their horizons without the one being subject to, or dependent on the other, and yet, at the same time, without their mutual interests being abandoned. This is the road that Teresa has taken, but Ramón does not understand. It is a problem of awareness, evidently, and the film aims to make the audience reflect on these attitudes.

*Portrait of Teresa* also questions the "moral laws" regarding sexual relationships, which survive among us in the area of ethics and ideology as another hangover from a past of social inequality between the sexes. It is here that the double standard, of which Teresa complains, is most clearly expressed.

Men have a traditionally accepted social "license" to have extramarital relationships and are even encouraged to do so, but for a woman, having an extramarital relationship makes her the object of criticism and repudiation. Ramón's affair is used to raise this issue. The film assumes a position that allows it to be more effective in its questioning. It is not a matter of Teresa paying him back in kind; that would reduce the complexity of the conflict to a simple "eye for an eye." It is a question of asking Ramón what his reaction would have been if Teresa had done likewise. His reply, "It's not the same," reveals the essence of a discriminatory, male-chauvinist attitude that stands in open contradiction with the principles of the new moral atmos-



Scene from 'Portrait of Teresa'

Granma

phere the Revolution is creating around marriage and that, as a result, we must struggle to eradicate.

The patterns of behavior and thought imposed by tradition are not only transmitted through the legacy of the older generations, among which it is not unusual to find individuals—like Bernal, the Party secretary at the textile mill—whose political and ideological evolution has allowed them to acquire completely modern ideas. The film subtly warns of the role that such elements as the mass media and certain forms of popular culture can unconsciously play in maintaining obsolete and retrogressive attitudes towards women. If we are to transform these attitudes we must modify and eliminate everything, no matter how harmless it seems, that contributes to their survival.

The contemporary relevance of the questions debated in *Portrait of Teresa* make it a useful and necessary film. It not only offers a lively picture of present-day Cuba but also makes an active contribution to the debate about one of the most generalized national problems. Its open ending shows Ramón looking for the new Teresa he does not know. But Teresa's attitude convinces us that if they do begin again it will not be as it was before, and it is in this certainty that the side the filmmakers take in this issue finds expression. *It must be the same.*

## A Reader's Notes

A book I would like to see written, published, read, and reviewed is one that would compare the attack on our living standards during the last five years of so-called fiscal or urban crisis with the attack on the living standards of the non-capitalist classes that took place in the depression of the 1930s.

Such a comparison would be very educational. It would show, I suspect, that in many ways the assault on our living standards in the 1970s has been more brutal and debilitating than what happened in the 1930s, the decade of this country's worst depression.

I don't know if such a book will be written but I am sure that it won't be easy. A lot of work will have to be done digging out facts and figures that will be needed if meaningful comparisons are to be made.

One element of what we call a standard of living is based on the study of such things as wages, taxes, hours worked, unemployment figures, inflation rates, etc. These statistics are or can be made accessible without too much trouble, and they can provide clues to trends even when they are slanted by the government or its apologists.

The other element is more elusive and harder to measure or compare: this is what might be called the social or

public component of the standard of living. It pertains to services and facilities formally available to most people, such as schools, hospitals, public transit, welfare, etc. These are gains won collectively by the masses, through struggle and pressure over a period of time, and at times can mean as much to the workers or a portion of them as wage rates do at other times. For example, the amount and duration of unemployment compensation for the jobless.

The capitalist offensive has been quite successful at lowering real wages during the last five years, most of all among un-unionized workers. But its worst blows against the workers' living standards, I think, have been struck in the social/public area. Here the ruling class has been able not only to cut to the bone but to scrape away fragments of bone and marrow too.

The problem is complicated because the ratio between private income and social benefits has changed considerably since the 1930s. Before the 1930s and its militant struggles such things as social security, unemployment compensation, public housing programs, federal welfare standards simply did not exist in this country. Whoever writes this book I propose will have to think carefully about how to present the differences and similarities.

For those who are dependent on public hospitals, the shutting down of some and the cutbacks in all of them mean a slash in the quality of medical care and (as it was supposed to do) in the number of patient visits to hospitals; longer waiting periods, less attention by hospital personnel, an increase in pain, a decrease in hope. I don't know what kind of dollar tag to put on this, or how many millions it affects directly and how many millions indirectly, but don't tell patients of public hospitals that their living standards have not been drastically reduced in the last five years.

The municipal bus line that runs near my home in New York used to keep us waiting an average of eight minutes a trip; sixteen minutes a day. Now the service on this line has been slashed and the average wait is more than double what it took five years ago, and even more during non-rush hours. What are the social costs of the millions of extra hours that New York workers must now waste because the ruling class is hell bent on creating and deepening a standard-smashing atmosphere?

But the thing that most arouses my indignation is what has happened to libraries (for which I have a special affection, even capitalist libraries). When I moved to New York a dozen

years ago, the branch of the public library nearest my home was open more than 40 hours a week, on six days. Now it is down to 21 a week, on four days, with a warning that this schedule is subject to change (further cuts without notice).

I clearly remember that during the depression of the 30s, the Newark, New Jersey, public library *increased* the number of hours when it was open for the simple reason that more people needed it at a time of high unemployment. I am sure that New York and most other libraries did the same thing during the 30s.

Isn't there considerable significance in the fact that library hours were lengthened during the worst depression in U.S. history and are being sharply cut today in the cultural capital of the world's strongest imperialist power? I think it points to qualitative changes in the outlook of American capitalism in these last forty years, especially in its perspective for working people in the United States.

I admit I don't know how to prepare a book of the kind I propose, but I am optimistic that interest in the subject will lead to work on it. For one thing, in this country today there are more economists and statisticians influenced by Marxism than ever before.

—George Breitman



# ...nuclear protest

Continued from back page

year-old college student living in Manhattan. I asked how she had gotten involved in the rally.

"I got a leaflet at a street fair a few weeks ago. It was put out by NYPIRG and asked for volunteers to help marshal this rally. I've never been involved in anything like this before at all, but I really wanted to do something about nuclear power. So I volunteered. There are about a thousand volunteer staffers here in all."

Marianne had been concerned that the press might report that "people were coming for the music, not to show opposition to nuclear power. But look. This is no rock crowd."

The button and shirt sellers had been doing a brisk business. Once inside, it seemed that at least half of the people were sporting a "no nukes" slogan in one form or another. One woman had a "Who Killed Karen Silkwood?" bumper sticker on her back. There were hand-lettered signs saying "Don't grow nuclear plants," and "Hell no, we won't glow."

I approached another staffer, Joel Simon from Edward R. Murrow High School in Brooklyn, who had just turned fifteen. I asked him about how students at his school feel about the nuclear power issue.

"There are about 2,500 students," he said, "and I don't think any are for nuclear power. But I guess it would break down that about half are really against nukes and the other half don't care." He estimated that maybe two to four hundred of his classmates would be at the rally, although no group transportation had been organized.

The median age of the participants seemed to be under twenty. A cohesive group of very young people, most wearing identical yellow "no nukes" shirts, came through the crowd chanting and singing.

"We're from the Putney School in Vermont," one explained. "We brought a couple of busloads down. There're eighty of us here."

Why had they come?

"Because nuclear power's no damn good!"

I noticed a larger number of Blacks here than at other antinuclear demonstrations. This was coupled with the participation of Black musicians, including composer/performer Gil Scott-Heron. Scott-Heron is the composer of "We Almost Lost Detroit," a song about a nuclear near-disaster in 1966. During his performance here, he made a point of explaining some of the dangers he saw in nuclear power.

\* \* \*

I asked two young women with no visible slogans if they would have

come just to hear the music. "Sure," one told me, "but I would have come if there hadn't been any music too. I'm going to have kids someday and I don't want them to have cancer." They are presently in the eighth grade at Memorial School in New Jersey.

\* \* \*

This was not a march and there were no organized contingents. The growing involvement of the unions in the anti-nuclear movement, however, was evident on the stage. Among the speakers were Ed Gray, director of United Auto Workers Region 9 for New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and David Livingston, president of District 65 of the United Auto Workers.

In their speeches, both stressed the importance of the antiwar movement, which forced Washington out of Vietnam, and the fact that organized labor is more involved in the antinuclear movement than it had been at a comparable stage in the struggle against the war.

"You are not alone," Livingston told the demonstrators. "There are growing forces in the labor movement ready to join hands in this fight against nuclear power." At a news conference later, Livingston stressed that he had not spoken as an individual but as a representative of his union.

Ed Gray announced that the UAW and the International Association of Machinists were sponsoring a teach-in against nuclear power in Washington, D.C., later this year. One of the main goals of this educational effort, Gray said, is to refute the claim that shutting down nuclear power plants would throw workers out of their jobs.

Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda both spoke. Hayden said antinuclear sentiment "is now rapidly becoming the majority sentiment in America." Environmentalist Barry Commoner also spoke.

Robert Pollard, a nuclear safety engineer who worked for six years for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, pointed out that the rally was "within killing distance of Indian Point," a nuclear facility he had overseen during his tenure with the NRC. "I called the Indian Point plants 'an accident waiting to happen,'" Pollard said.

Some sixty million people could be directly affected—and thousands killed by an Indian Point meltdown.

Dr. John Gofman, who is a retired University of California professor of medical physics, declared that "the entire history of the nuclear industry is one of corrupt collusion between local, state, and federal government, the regulatory agencies, and the companies."

Questioned later by a reporter about what congressmen he would recommend, Gofman asked, "What good would that do? Why replace one of them with another? They're all owned lock, stock and barrel by the corporations. Get rid of one and you get his cloned brother. That's the whole history of this country."

A number of speakers denounced Democratic and Republican politicians and the big corporations. This received a good response from the crowd.

Other speakers included Bella Abzug, former member of Congress, and Jim Haughton of Harlem Fight Back.

Police arrested 167 people at the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant in Vernon September 23 during a protest there while the plant was undergoing its annual refueling. Those arrested were charged with trespassing. The next day, three protesters were arrested at the Yankee Atomic plant in Rowe, Massachusetts.



Militant photos by Lou Howort

Top, youthful protester; middle, Gil Scott-Heron group; bottom from left, Ralph Nader, Bonnie Raitt, UAW's Ed Gray.

## Hayden, Fonda set nat'l tour

Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, two widely recognized opponents of nuclear power, will undertake a fifty-two-city tour this fall speaking against nuclear power.

The two began their travels with a rally of 600 people in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 23, near the scene of last spring's Three Mile Island nuclear disaster.

Hayden and Fonda plan to reach thirty-four college campuses, and will cover New England, as well as Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Des Moines, and other cities before they end their travels October 25.

## Antinuclear actions set

A national series of protests on September 29 will spotlight the unsolved problem of nuclear waste disposal.

Actions are planned at Barnwell, South Carolina; West Valley, New York; and Hanford, Washington. Another demonstration, at Zion, Illinois, is aimed at shutting down two nuclear power plants there.

The Barnwell activities, which last through October 1, are aimed at a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant which is virtually complete. The federal government has suggested that even if the plant doesn't open, the site might be used as a nuclear waste dump.

At West Valley, protesters will draw attention to the 600,000 gallons

of high-level radioactive waste that has been stored there since the Getty Oil Company walked away from its reprocessing plant. The site could cost as much as \$1 billion to clean up—and almost all of it will be taxpayers' money.

The Hanford demonstration is aimed at the giant federal nuclear complex, where thousands of gallons of nuclear wastes have leaked into the soil. Hanford is located on the Columbia River.

At Zion, Citizens Against Nuclear Power is sponsoring a rally and march. Speakers include exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus; activist and writer Sid Lens; and others.

# In Brief

## RACIST ATTACKS IN N.Y. AND N.J.

Black and Jewish people in the New York metropolitan and New Jersey areas have been victims of racist attacks during the past weeks. These include cross burnings, swastika paintings, and physical assaults.

In Plainfield, New Jersey, shotgun blasts were fired into a Black family's home September 21. This followed several instances where Blacks were attacked with baseball bats, and others heckled and chased.

Plainfield cops have made several arrests of whites and are reportedly "searching for motives."

The outbreak of assaults started early in the year. One of the first victims was a Black family who tried to move into an all-white suburb. Their house was fire-bombed and burned to the ground.

The home of the Brookhaven, Long Island, NAACP president was the site of one of the latest cross burnings.

On September 24, Brooklyn cops arrested two whites in a cross-burning incident. The cops admitted that the suspects "evidently have some feeling against Blacks."

Responding to the racist violence, Blacks organized meetings in various communities. New York state NAACP chair-

person Hazel Dukes demanded investigations by federal and state governments.

The Jamaica NAACP branch has called a march against racism for September 29.

## LESBIAN/GAY RIGHTS MARCH WINS SUPPORT

The October 14 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights has won new support from the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and from the *Nation* magazine.

The board of supervisors voted unanimously September 12 to endorse the gay rights action.

In a September 15 editorial endorsing the march, the *Nation* said, "The best way to guarantee the rights of minorities is for members of the majority to stand up for them."

At its July meeting the national board of directors of the National Organization for Women also voted its support for the march. NOW is urging its members "to join with other feminists, civil rights, lesbian, and gay organizations on October 14 in Washington, D.C., to demonstrate our full support for the civil rights and human dignity of all people."

The demands of the march are: 1) repeal all anti-lesbian/gay laws; 2) pass a

comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill in Congress; 3) issue a presidential executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the federal government, the military, and federally contracted private employment; 4) end discrimination in lesbian mother and gay father child custody cases; and 5) protect lesbian and gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools, jobs, and social environments.

For more information, contact march organizers at 29 West Twenty-first Street, Second Floor, New York, New York 10010 (212) 924-2970.

## PRICES GALLOP WAGES CRAWL

The consumer price index rose 1.1 percent in August, headed by housing and energy costs, the Labor Department reported September 25. This represents an official annual inflation rate of 13.2 percent. Analysts say the increase so far this year is one of the largest of the post-World War II period.

Yet, the very same day, President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability "liberalized" its pay guidelines one percentage point to a whopping

## Kennedy OKs racist judge

Senator Edward Kennedy, the undeclared presidential aspirant, revealed his true colors September 25.

In a two-hour debate Kennedy joined forces with the notorious segregationist from South Carolina, Sen. Strom Thurmond, to urge confirmation of Judge Baily Brown for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit.

Brown is a member of the all-white University Club in Memphis, and refuses to resign from it.

Instead, he agreed under pressure to "suspend" his membership until he could satisfy himself that the club did not discriminate.

Kennedy defended the nomination on the grounds that the judge had made a good faith effort to "sever



his connections with the discriminatory policies of the club."

The vote was 83 to 12 for confirmation.

8 percent, more than 5 percentage points below the galloping pace of inflation.

And even this has a catch. This 8 percent is only permissible for workers who had complied with the 7 percent pay standard for wages and benefits, and who received no automatic cost-of-living pay increases.

The Labor Department also reported that spendable earnings in August decreased 0.9 percent.

## NEW YORK STUDENTS PROTEST SPORTS CUTS

Thousands of high school students in the Bronx and Manhattan staged walkouts and marches September 25 to protest cutbacks in their sports programs and to support their coaches who are on strike.

The entire student body walked out of Truman High School in the Bronx. More than 200 Bergtraum High School students in Manhattan marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to the Board of Education headquarters. They joined 4,000 other students chanting, "Save our sports" and "We want action."

The sports program was cut 25 percent in 1975 as a result of the city budget crisis. The in-

flation rate over the past four years makes it even more difficult to maintain the athletic program.

One parent called WBSL radio and explained, "If the Board of Education can find money for limousine service, they can find money for meaningful services for our children."

## NOVACK ON MATERIALISM

George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, is one of the featured panelists at the Second Conference on Marxism and Science.

The conference takes place October 6 at the Main Building of New York University from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and is cosponsored by the Science Task Force of the New York Marxist School and the Center for Marxist Studies at NYU.

The keynote panel at 9 a.m. on "Dialectical Materialism Today" features Novack, biologist Richard Levins, and Vicente Navarro, author of *Medicine Under Capitalism*.

Registration at the door is \$6.00.

For more information call: (212) 989-6820.

## Portland Black community wins demands

By Kris Huget

PORTLAND, Ore.—In response to a threatened boycott of the public schools here by the Black community, the school board has been forced to make major revisions in its ten-year-old desegregation plan.

At an August 30 meeting 600 Black students, teachers, and parents voted to defer their boycott for twelve weeks. Ron Herndon, chairperson of the Black United Front (BUF), which is coordinating the boycott effort, explained that the twelve-week period is to "see if the action lives up to the talk."

The demands of the BUF include:

- An end to the disproportionate burden borne by the Black community for desegregation. Black students make up 14 percent of the students in the Portland schools, but 60 percent of those who are bused.

- An end to the scattering of Black students throughout the Portland schools. For example, students from one primary school in the Black community were bused to *thirty-nine* middle schools (grades five to eight) last year.

- Hiring of Black teachers and staff to percentage levels equal to that of Black students in the Portland schools.

Among other demands

agreed to were mandatory Black history and culture courses for teachers and administrators in Black community schools, funds for raising achievement levels in Black schools, and an end to the disproportionately high number of disciplinary actions against Black students.

The implementation of the demands will be monitored by a group of parents, teachers, and students. It will include representatives from the BUF, NAACP, and Urban League.

Support for the boycott had come from labor organizations, neighborhood associations, churches, and the National Organization for Women.

# What's Going On

## CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

**WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., Oct. 13, Social hour 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway, near Golden State Fwy. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. Donation: \$3.50. For more information call (415) 465-8976.

## COLORADO DENVER

**STOP THE EXECUTION OF IRANIAN SOCIALISTS.** Speakers: Bill Pace, Amnesty International; Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

## INDIANA GARY

**PANEL DISCUSSION ON WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORK FORCE.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation:

\$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

## KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**WHY ANDREW YOUNG WAS FIRED.** Speaker: Russell Pelle, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

**SAVE THE LIVES OF IRANIAN SOCIALISTS.** Speaker: Farhad Nouri, Iranian Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Oct. 3, 8 p.m. Carpenters Hall, Virginia, and 12:30 p.m. at Kirby Lounge, Univ. of Minn., Duluth. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Committee to Save the Iranian 14. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

## NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-

president; Eileen Berlow and Chris Driscoll, SWP candidates for city council. Fri., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. Letter Carriers Hall, 123 Quincy N.E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

## NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

**CUBA TODAY.** Speaker: José G. Pérez, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently visited Cuba as member of Antonio Maceo Brigade. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

## UPPER MANHATTAN

**AUTO WORKERS UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Shelley Kramer, Militant staff writer; Welles Todd, member UAW Local 664, Tarrytown GM; Vivian Sahrner, member UAW Local 980 Women's Committee, Metuchen Ford. Sun., Sept. 30, 7 p.m. Open house 6 p.m. to celebrate opening of Militant Bookstore and Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign headquarters. 564 W. 181st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 928-1676.

## OHIO CINCINNATI

**IRAN: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES.** Speakers: Jane Clark, Committee to Save the Iranian 14; Barbara Medoff, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. 970 E. McMillan St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

## OREGON PORTLAND

**STOP NUCLEAR POWER: NUCLEAR WEAPONS, A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD.** Speaker from the Hanford Conversion Project. AFSC slide show: "Portland, Ground Zero." Sun., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 223-1585.

## TEXAS DALLAS

**THE BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN.** The classic Soviet film on events leading up to the Russian revolution. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

## UTAH

### SALT LAKE CITY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS ELECTION CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president; Pam Burchett, SWP candidate for mayor. Thurs., Oct. 4, social hour 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**LAYOFFS IN THE MINES.** Speakers: Tom Moriarty, United Mine Workers Local 1949; laid off miner from So. West Va.; others. Sun., Sept. 30, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, just returned from Nicaragua, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (304) 296-0055.



## October 17 actions to protest oil profiteers

The Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance are calling on all unions and community groups to join in a national day of protest, Wednesday, October 17, to stop the oil profiteers.

This "Campaign for Lower Energy Prices" is led by William Winpisinger, president of International Association of Machinists (IAM); Douglas Fraser, president of United Auto Workers; and Jerry Wurf, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"Big Oil Protest" activities are planned for at least forty-five cities. At a September 21 meeting in Chicago more than fifty people outlined plans for a noon rally at the Federal Building. Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda along with labor and community leaders are scheduled.

Representatives from the machinists, auto workers, steelworkers, public workers, and other unions were present and pledged to bring busloads of their members to

the rally.

In Washington, D.C., the National Council of Senior Citizens is planning to demonstrate at the American Petroleum Institute.

Demonstrations in Boston are planned to coincide with President Carter's October 20 visit to the city.

Articles and ads announcing the national day of protest have appeared in the IAM newspaper, *The Machinist*; the UAW paper, *Solidarity*; *Labor Unity*, newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; the United Food and Commercial Workers union newspaper, *Action*; and others.

The brochure published by the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices lists suggestions for October 17. Among them are: picket the offices of the oil companies around the country to show that we mean business; distribute leaflets to millions of union members inside shops, offices, stores and factories; hold rallies, teach-ins, and demonstrations; organize other local actions.



Militant/Sandi Sherman

## Gary Tyler denied new trial

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Once again a court has denied Gary Tyler his freedom. Federal District Judge Adrian Duplantier, in refusing a writ of habeas corpus August 17, even denied Tyler an evidentiary hearing.

Five years ago, at age sixteen, Gary Tyler was framed up for a murder he did not commit. He has been in jail ever since.

On October 7, 1974, a racist mob gathered at Destrehan High School, twenty-five miles from New Orleans. Gary Tyler and seventy-five other Black students were herded onto a bus, which was surrounded by white youths and adults throwing bricks and bottles. Someone fired a shot, killing a white youth.

Tyler was picked off the crowded school bus, beaten by police, charged with first-degree murder, convicted by an all-white jury, and railroaded to the State Penitentiary at Angola, Louisiana.

The star prosecution witness, sixteen-year-old Na-

talie Banks, later testified she had lied when she claimed at the trial she had seen Tyler fire a gun.

The judge's instructions to the jury were a gross violation of Tyler's constitutional right to due process.

Tyler's original lawyer failed to object to this and to the process by which a lily-white jury was chosen. He did not even bother to interview Gary Tyler's classmates on the bus.

Nevertheless, Judge Duplantier ruled that Tyler did have effective and competent legal help at his trial.

Because Tyler's original lawyer raised no objections to violations of due process at the trial, the judge concluded that it was impermissible to appeal these violations now.

Jack Peeples, Tyler's new lawyer, told the *Militant* he will argue again before the United States Fifth Circuit court that Gary Tyler did not get a fair trial and must be freed. The fight to reverse this racist miscarriage of justice continues.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**It's that bad?**—WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 (UPI)—President Carter today signed a proclamation designating the week of October 14 as National School Lunch Week in tribute to all those who determine whether "the food served is actually eaten."

**Ruining the neighborhood**—Residents of a luxury New York apartment building filed suit to block Dick Nixon from buying a twelve-room, \$925,000 condominium unless he gets rid of the Secret Service agents who camp with him. Earlier, Nixon withdrew a \$750,000 bid for a penthouse duplex at another building after neighbors there objected to his presence.

**Voluntary compliance**—Responding to President Carter's request that they not hike home-heating fuel any higher, Exxon said it would "maintain as moderate a pricing stance as possible" and Gulf assured it would not raise prices any further this year unless it was necessary.

**Not bad**—President Carter's decision to remove controls on the price of crude oil will add \$300 billion to the value of current reserves, boosting it from nearly \$200 billion to about \$500 billion.

**Hook 'em young**—With recent reports that tranquilizers can be addictive, we wonder if they're still peddling Valiums with a raspberry flavor to make them more palatable to children. In 1975, company researchers reported that a raspberry Valium, three times a day, and "children become calm and relaxed . . . and better able to tolerate the tension of school and family life."

**Arts and crafts**—Sotheby Parke Bernet, the bigtime art auctioneers, will advise Citibank of New York on investing its clients' money in art and antiques. The bank advised it would make such investments only for accounts \$100 million or more. Apparently concerned that people might think they're being corrupted by cultural elements, a bank spokesperson assured, "We're doing it to make money."

**A cheapo**—Recently we reported that one of the plush shops on Beverly Hills' Rodeo Drive was offering a mink bedspread for \$42,000. If that's too rich for your blood, they have one in fox: \$11,000. Incidentally, parking is scarce in the area, but there is a lot: \$3 for twenty minutes.

## Union Talk

### Phasing out of the lead man

This week's column is by Holly Harkness, a member of United Auto Workers Local 148.

LONG BEACH, Calif.—In the McDonnell Douglas plant here, the lead man in the work crews has been gradually phased out over the past twelve years or so.

This was a conscious policy instituted by Sanford McDonnell himself after the merger of the floundering Douglas Aircraft Company and the McDonnell Corporation. Old man McDonnell has a reputation for being a real skinflint, and getting rid of the lead man was just another money-saving scheme.

One day a while back I was talking about this with some older women who have recently been rehired. They were reminiscing about how it was at Douglas in the 1950s and '60s when the lead man was around.

The lead man (it was usually a man; if it was a woman, they called her a lead lady) has the most seniority. They are members of the union and usually don't get a whole lot more money than the rest of the crew. In our plant they would oversee the work of the crew as a whole, help to teach new workers their jobs, help out others if they made a mistake or were short on parts. They would also "stamp" all the work.

Every worker at the plant has a date stamp with their employee number on it. After you finish a job, you stamp that part and/or the paperwork that goes with the sale of the plane. That way any mistake or problem can be traced. With the lead man stamping or "buying off" everyone's work, no one worker could be victimized.

On one crew, the lead man recently retired and was not replaced. When the foreman announced that everyone had to stamp their own work, the workers refused. The foreman finally agreed that he would stamp the work unless a worker had started and finished a job him or herself.

In a more general sense, the duties of the lead man have been taken over by the assistant foreman. The advantage to the company is obvious—they've now got their man directly supervising the work of the crews. Someone who looks out for the company's interests. Someone who can enforce speedups. Also, someone who can be made to work long hours without overtime pay.

The women I was talking with felt that the loss of the lead was a big step backward for the workers here. They said the working conditions in the plant had deteriorated considerably since they'd been laid off in the early 1970s. They said the shops were dirtier and the tools and equipment stored sloppily. Safety standards were lower as a result.

The very next day a young worker in our building fell thirty feet from a scaffolding next to a plane. Up there workers are supposed to wear a safety harness with a rope attached that hooks to the railing. That day there wouldn't have been enough harnesses available for the crew at the tool crib. As it was, the man who fell was the only one with a harness on, but his rope wasn't long enough for him to reach his work so he had unhooked it. He got a concussion and a broken arm and leg.

The plane he was working on was the second DC-9 Super 80, a new Douglas model. The first 80 was supposed to fly June 17, but it's still sitting in our building. There's a big speedup to get these planes out. Lots of supervisors and foremen are buzzing around the two planes looking over the workers' shoulders, figuring out how they can cut time, work faster, and so on. Of course, they didn't have time to notice that no one was using the harnesses.

After the accident, one of the women I'd talked to the previous day came up to me and said, "See what I mean?"

## Puerto Rico: U.S. colony

Four Puerto Rican Nationalists just released after more than twenty-five years imprisonment in the United States were greeted by a cheering crowd of 7,000 people upon their arrival in San Juan on September 12.

The four—Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—were the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. A fifth Nationalist, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, was released in 1978 just before he died of cancer.

They had been in jail since the early 1950s, when they took up arms to protest U.S. domination of Puerto Rico. Collazo had participated in a 1950 armed attack on Blair House, the temporary residence of President Truman. The others had fired shots in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954.

Their actions were designed to dramatize the continued existence of pro-independence feeling among the Puerto Rican people. A massive rebellion against Puerto Rico's colonial status had been crushed by U.S. tanks and troops in 1950.

In prison, the five Nationalists became symbols of Puerto Rican resistance to domination by Washington. The movement for their release gained wide support in recent years among working people in the U.S. as well as Puerto Rico.

In the early 1950s, however, when the five were arrested, the reactionary witch-hunt atmosphere prevailed, and only a few voices defended the Puerto Rico independence cause. Outstanding among these was the *Militant*. An article by Joseph Keller (pen name for Art Preis) in the March 22, 1954, issue, headlined, "Puerto Rico—Wall Street's Colonial Hell-Hole," said the following:

"The shots that rang out in the House of Representatives on March 1, wounding five Congressmen, reminded the world once more that Wall Street imperialism rules one of the most impoverished and exploited colonies in the world.

"Puerto Rico—an island two-thirds the size of Connecticut and right in America's own Caribbean backyard—after 54 years of U.S. subjugation has slum areas in its capital city, San Juan, rivaling in hunger, disease and filth Asian cities like Singapore and Calcutta.

"American capitalism's mouthpieces and press agents have hastened again to throw a propaganda veil over conditions in conquered Puerto Rico. They depict the Puerto Ricans as eager to continue in their present status of 'dependents'—that is, colonial subjects—of the great foreign power to their north. But the stench of poverty and oppression rising from this 'sun-soaked island'—as the travel folders describe it—cannot be hidden by sweet-smelling words. . . .

"We frequently hear the Puerto Ricans spoken of as 'citizens of the United States like us.' This is false. Puerto Ricans, as individuals and as a nation, have no rights except as granted arbitrarily by a foreign government. They do not have even the 'second-class citizenship' of the Negroes in America, who are recognized as 'equal' under federal law, although denied equality by a system of illegal terrorism, discrimination and unconstitutional segregation laws in local communities and states.

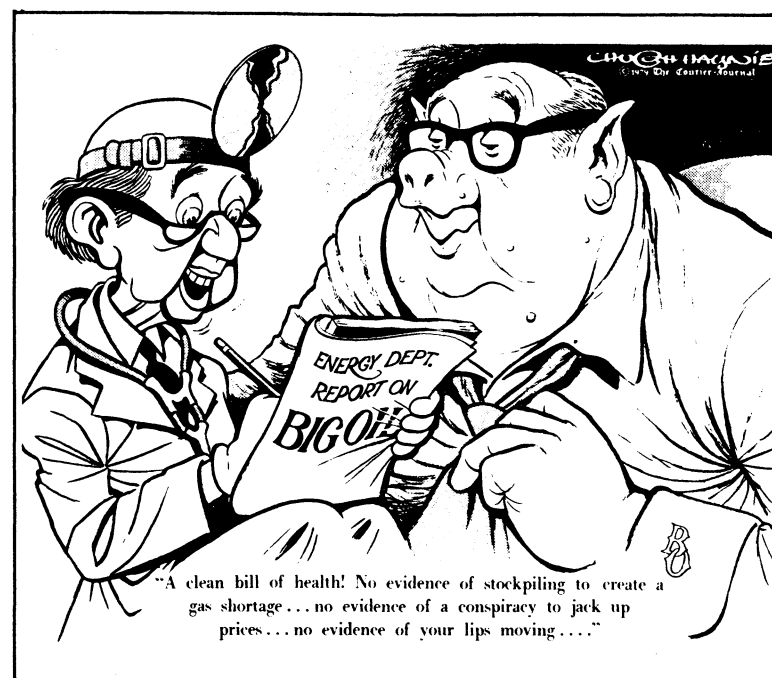
"Puerto Ricans are permitted a limited measure of local self-government, where this does not involve U.S. financial, diplomatic and military interests, and subject to veto and nullification by the U.S. Congress and courts. But the foreign government in Washington controls completely all matters of foreign affairs. It maintains troops and military bases in Puerto Rico and conscripts Puerto Ricans into the U.S. armed forces.

"Some 36,000 Puerto Rican youth were drafted into the U.S. Army during the Korean War. They suffered 3,500 casualties, a far higher rate than for troops from the United States itself. Those who represent the Puerto Ricans are eager to 'fight and die for Uncle Sam' need to explain why there have been 100,000 violators in Puerto Rico of the draft law passed by Congress in 1948. . . .

"The response of American imperialism to the shootings in Congress (an act of individual terrorism which Marxists do not approve, although we recognize the extreme provocation by U.S. imperialism) has been a campaign of mass terrorism against Puerto Ricans both in the island and in this country. Hundreds have been picked up by the FBI and police agents, brutally third-degreed and thrown into jail. An effort has been made to link the Nationalist Party to the Communist Party and to incite a lynch spirit against all 'reds,' who are falsely associated with the terrorists.

"Moves are afoot in Congress to ship unemployed Puerto Ricans in this country back to Puerto Rico, while Puerto Rico's Secretary of Labor Fernando Sierra Berdecia issued a warning to would-be migrants that they cannot get jobs any longer in this country, especially in New York and Chicago, where large numbers of first-and-second generation Puerto Ricans reside. Thus, an avenue of escape from what Peter Kihss calls an 'economic enemy'—Puerto Rico's widespread hunger, that had opened during the war years when U.S. needed cheap labor, is now being closed.

"For Puerto Rico, freedom from imperialism lies only along the road of mass struggle."



### Capitalist greed

An article in the September 11 *Detroit Free Press* gives a good inside look at the auto industry. The carmakers will be using a lot more advanced electronic instruments in future models, and this means more orders for the semiconductor industry.

But the electronics manufacturers complain that they will be forced to produce inferior equipment. One executive said, "The telecommunications people are willing to spend a few extra bucks for quality. Detroit, on the other hand, wants to get every last penny out."

As usual, Detroit's greed will force autoworkers to build inferior cars, which will then be foisted on the public through massive advertising campaigns. An article in the same paper reports that last year the Big Three automakers spent \$735 million dollars on advertising.

If the auto companies were owned by the people and run by the workers we could produce better cheaper cars and end the waste of capitalism.

Seth Wigderson  
Detroit, Michigan

### Nicaragua

Today is Labor Day, a day to celebrate the advance of the working class and a day to celebrate and to lend a hand to the great Nicaraguan Revolution. Enclosed is a check for \$25. Use this money to help insure your continuing excellent press coverage of the Revolution and/or for supplies to the people (through the FSLN) of Nicaragua.

In solidarity with the workers and country peasants of Nicaragua!

In solidarity with the socialist revolution in Nicaragua!

Imperialist hands off Nicaragua!

Neither bullets, bombs, nor censorship will ever wipe out the spirit of Augusto C. Sandino and his people of the Americas!

D.W.  
Corvallis, Oregon

September 21 issue.

When a contributor to the workers' movement dies it is quite proper to make note of this in these pages, to mourn his/her passing, but far more significant is to examine and celebrate that comrade's life, as the *Militant* commonly does. Such an evaluation is not only an extremely valuable form of "Learning about Socialism," as it indicates what the comrade did right and where he/she made mistakes, but it can be very inspiring.

Like most readers, I had never heard of Arthur Burch, yet I read the article clear through, because it was a real-life indication of the kind of contribution that people of rather ordinary political abilities, such as most of us, can make to the liberation of humanity.

C.K. Starr  
Athens, Georgia

### 'Progressive' case

Your article on the *Progressive* case (*Militant*, September 28) greeted the outcome as "a victory for freedom of the press against government moves to restrict democratic rights." While it is true that Carter's Justice Department didn't succeed in permanently preventing the magazine from publishing the "secrets," they took several steps toward that goal. Thus the victory for freedom of the press is a highly qualified one.

Consider: the government succeeded in getting a judge to block publication of an article on the most spurious grounds for six months. This "prior restraint" is unconstitutional and also unprecedented.

But now that the Carter administration has dropped the case, the outrageous court decision won't be overturned on appeal since the case is moot. It stands as precedent in law and in the public mind.

True, sentiment in the country runs strong against attacks on our basic rights. But that doesn't prevent the government from systematically chipping away at them. It just determines how they do it.

There was much less of an outcry two weeks ago when the government got a judge to prevent the *Daily Californian* from publishing a letter with H-bomb "secrets" than there was about the original

### Arthur Burch

Many thanks for Frank Lovell's fine article on the life of Arthur Burch in the

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## JOIN THE SWP



## Guides to Marxist Education

injunction against the *Progressive*.

The government also succeeded in further legitimizing the idea of secret court proceedings, and that, too, will remain as precedent. Secret briefs were filed, considered in secret, and ruled on in a secret opinion. Because the Carter Administration dropped the case, the validity of those proceedings will never be reviewed.

Public support for the *Progressive* case and hostility to government secrecy might well have forced the Appeals Court or the Supreme Court to pull back from sanctioning such proceedings. The courageous example of the unionists who publish the *Madison Press Connection* is an example of the mood of the American people.

A decision overturning the lower court order would have served as powerful precedent in the fight against government secrecy. But that decision was and now never will be written in this case.

In fact, it may well have been an option in the Justice Department's game plan from the beginning to get as much as they could in the lower court—and they got plenty!—and then seek some dodge to evade review by a court of appeals.

Now the *Progressive* case, in part, stands for judicially sanctioned prior restraint when information about nuclear weapons is at issue. As public questioning of the government's pro-nuclear policies intensifies, the question of public access to these "secrets" will intensify.

When the government utilizes the precedent it obtained in the *Progressive* case to prevent publication of information on nuclear energy or other questions, supporters of the *Progressive* cause may well have reason to wonder, "Who won, anyway?"

Shelley Davis  
New York, New York

When James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were imprisoned in Sandstone Penitentiary in 1944 for their opposition to World War II, they decided to put their time in jail to the best possible use.

They prepared and carried out a plan of self-education in Marxist theory and related fields. And they passed on recommendations to the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on ways and means of stepping up socialist education for the party membership as a whole.

Some of their ideas and thinking can be found in James P. Cannon's *Letters from Prison*, published by Pathfinder Press.

One proposal by Cannon was that the party establish a national education department to "prepare study courses, outlines, and all necessary materials for the conduct of . . . schools and classes. . . ."

The SWP leadership thought that was a good idea, and the National Education Department was set up.

Over the years it has prepared many class outlines. These have been collected periodically in Education for Socialists publications entitled *Guide to Marxist Education*.

*Guide to Marxist Education IV*, the most recent collection, was published in August. It contains ten class outlines, bringing the total number of outlines available in this series to forty-five.

While these study outlines can be quite useful for individual study, they were developed primarily to help socialists plan, prepare, and teach classes on aspects of the Marxist program.

Experience has shown them to be an indispensable tool for Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters in organizing their educational activities. They provide members and supporters with help in learning more about the history, theory, principles, and practice of the socialist movement.

To make these collections more readily available and easier to use, the four volumes have been made available in a single, bound volume entitled *Guides to Marxist Education*.

Pathfinder Press, which publishes the Education for Socialists series, set a price of \$6.50 for the bound volume, well under the cost of buying all four individually.

*Guide to Marxist Education IV* offers "An Introduction to Marxist Economics." This is an outline based on Marx's classic pamphlets *Wage-Labor and Capital* and *Value, Price and Profit*. It was prepared by the late Robert Chester, an outstanding leader and educator in the SWP.

Another valuable series in the newest of the guides is "Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution," based on the book by Joseph Hansen. It examines such vital questions as how and why the Cuban revolution happened, the revolutionary character of the Castro leadership and its differences with Stalinism, and the characteristics of a workers state and how one comes into being.

An in-depth study of Marxist strategy in the labor movement requires reading—and rereading—Farrell Dobbs's books on the Teamsters union: *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureau-*

*cracy*. Outlines that will be helpful to students of these books are included in the *Guide to Marxist Education IV*.

These outlines contain introductory notes to the text, which focus on some of the central political issues being studied; key points for the class teacher or discussion leader to have in mind in preparing classes; topics for group discussions or individual reports; and suggested readings.

The outline for each class on Dobbs's books is introduced by a few paragraphs suggesting a central objective for each session. The outline for the first class on *Teamster Rebellion* states:

"The objective of this first class is to place the Minneapolis events in their proper context, showing the kind of situation in which the building of a union on revolutionary class-struggle principles became possible. This way we can bring out the important parallels between that period and ours, as well as clarify the distinct characteristics of our own period. We can begin to draw the essential lessons from this experience in revolutionary leadership in the trade unions so as to be able to apply them creatively in the situation we currently face."

The range of subjects covered in *Guides to Marxist Education* is broad.

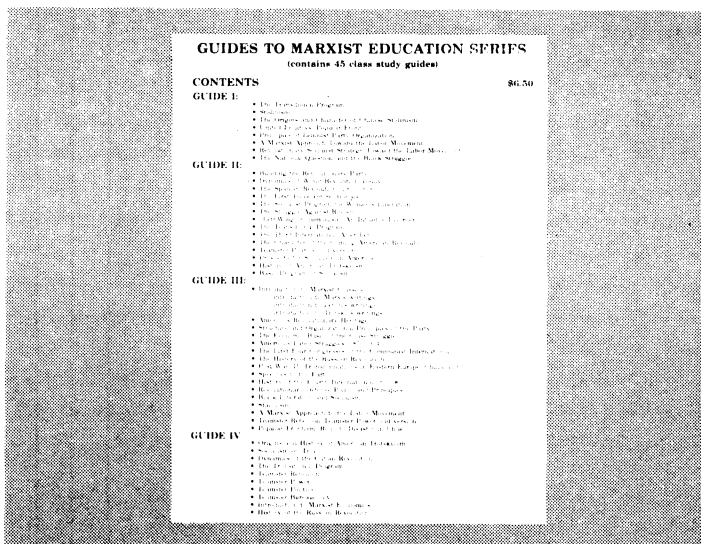
*Guide to Marxist Education IV* contains an outline on the history of American Trotskyism, which surveys some of the main trends and developments in the twentieth century socialist movement.

An outline on *Socialism on Trial*, the transcript of James P. Cannon's testimony at his frame-up trial on charges of violating the Smith Act in 1941, provides useful background to the study of that moving and lively explanation of socialism.

The bound volume of *Guides to Marxist Education* can be ordered by sending \$6.50 plus \$.50 for mailing costs to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

It constitutes an invaluable resource and reference that every socialist should have—and that every branch of the Socialist Workers Party and chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance needs.

—Paul Montauk



### Wants to help

I am a prisoner at a correctional center for women. Thanks to your wonderful prisoners' fund I have been receiving the *Militant* for several months now. I cannot express just how much your paper means to myself and others here at the institution. We would like to know if there is anything we, as prisoners, can do to help in the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance.

It only seems logical that we should be able to help in some way. Please let us know.

Thank you once again. Keep up the good work.

A prisoner  
Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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# THE MILITANT

## Largest nuclear protest ever in U.S.



New York City, September 23.

Militant/Lou Howort

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK CITY—It was the largest antinuclear rally ever held in the United States. People started gathering at 9:00 a.m. and at 3:00 p.m. they were still streaming in by the hundreds. Estimates by the rally organizers, the media, and the police all agreed that more than 200,000 people—maybe a quarter of a million—had taken part in the September 23 action.

Like the May 6 antinuclear march on Washington, this action had been called on short notice. Like May 6, the protesters were overwhelmingly young. But this time the crowd was roughly twice as large, a sign that public outrage over the disastrous nuclear

policies of the government and industry continues to deepen in every section of the population.

A giant banner on the platform here read "Phase out and shut down nuclear power plants" and another said simply "No Nukes." When Ralph Nader declared, "There is not one nuclear power plant in the country today that should not be shut down immediately," the crowd roared its approval.

\* \* \*

I knew it was going to be a sizable event when I got on the subway at 8:30 a.m. and found it overflowing with people—mostly in their teens—heading in the same direction. They weren't

carrying signs, but the occasional "no nukes" T-shirt or button made it obvious where they were going. T-shirts and button sellers were on the streets by the hundreds.

The action sprang from a group of rock musicians called MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy), which has been organizing benefit antinuclear concerts for a couple of years. MUSE decided to put on a mammoth benefit at New York's Madison Square Garden. The September 23 rally/concert grew out of the benefit.

Much of the organizational staff for the rally was provided by the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), part of the nationwide or-

ganization begun by Ralph Nader.

The Madison Square Garden concerts—four nights' worth—were sellouts each night, raising some \$500,000 for the antinuclear movement.

Some of the musicians who donated their time for the rally were Bonnie Raitt, Jackson Browne, Holly Near, Tom Paxton, Graham Nash, and Sweet Honey in the Rock, a group of Black women.

\* \* \*

The first person I talked to at the rally site was one of the many red-shirted rally-staff members. Her name tag said "Marianne" and she is a 21-

Continued on page 27

## Puerto Rican Nationalists: free Iran prisoners

By Alexis Irizarry and Andrés Pérez

LARES, Puerto Rico—At the mass pro-independence rally of more than 30,000 persons here September 23, in celebration of El Grito de Lares, 616 people signed petitions demanding no executions and the immediate release of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS).

Twelve of these antishah fighters were sentenced to death solely for expressing their support to the struggles of workers, peasants, and national minorities in Iran (see page 22).

The signatures were gathered by members of the Committee to Save the Iranian 14 and the Internationalist Workers League, Puerto Rican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the Iranian HKS.

Among the best known of the signers were Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda, the four Puerto Rican nationalists recently freed from prison. Held in U.S. prisons for more than a quarter of a century for defending the freedom of their homeland, the four were released

because of a massive worldwide campaign.

Other well-known signers included Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Juan Antonio Corretjer, famous poet and Puerto Rican independence activist; Nelson Canals, president of the National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners; Luis Lausell, president of the Electrical and Water Workers Union (UTIER); as well as hundreds of members of trade unions, professional organizations, and other pro-independence fighters.

The telegram sent to Ayatollah Khomeini read in part: "We celebrated the overthrow of the shah. But now the Iranian people are facing a new wave of repression. . . . We demand the immediate and unconditional release of the 14 HKS members and all revolutionary fighters. . . ."

One of the *compañeros* who signed the petition commented to us, "By signing to help save the life of these *compañeros* in Iran, I am aiding the struggle of my own people."

This *compañero* later raised a clenched fist and shouted, "Puerto Rico and Iran united will win!"



Militant/Dan Dickeson

From left: Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Oscar Collazo at press conference in Puerto Rico after their release.