

THE MILITANT

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



Militant/Lou Howort

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 5—Hundreds speak out against Carter's anti-Cuba moves. Leaders of Caribbean countries declare U.S. actions a threat to their sovereignty. See pages 4-8.

Protest blasts war drive against Cuba

FSLN strengthens unions & militia

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Women's movement boosts labor campaign for ERA



Militant/Suzanne Haig

October 5-7 conference of National Organization for Women. NOW and Coalition of Labor Union Women have both endorsed union-initiated January 13 march for Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia. See Page 3.

Carter steps up war on workers

The new moves by the Federal Reserve Board to tighten credit and push up interest rates leave no doubt about the aims of the Carter administration. It hopes that forcing the economy into a deep recession will prop up the dollar and put U.S. monopoly on a more profitable basis.

The choke-off of credit will force plants to close. Millions of workers will be laid off—with Blacks, Latinos, and women faring the worst. Some businesses will go bankrupt, but the biggest monopolies will gain by gobbling up their weaker competitors.

The ruling class hopes that in such an environment they can more effectively beat back the struggle of workers for adequate wages and a decent living standard.

Coupled with the sharply intensified speed-up drive in the plants, these moves aim to increase the profit margins of U.S. business.

President Carter rushed to declare full support for the Federal Reserve actions. Carter said he would do "whatever it takes" to combat inflation.

"Combating inflation" is the code name for the ruling-class attack on workers. It does not mean halting spiraling prices. Carter's energy program proves that—its centerpiece is *removing* controls from oil prices and allowing the oil companies to jack up prices and profits by billions of dollars.

What Carter means by "fighting inflation" is widening the gap between wages and prices in order to increase monopoly profits.

Wall Street's panicky reaction to the White House moves served to underline the dangers ahead. Investors fear that credit-tightening could lead to bank failures and a credit collapse. The United States recession could generalize into a world depression as bad or worse than in 1974-75.

At his October 9 news conference Carter ticked off antilabor successes his administration has already chalked up. They included cutting budgetary expenditures on social welfare programs, reducing the number of government employees, lifting regulations on industry, and the wage-control program now

entering its second year.

Carter boasted that wage increases in the first nine months of this year have been less than in 1978.

In order to continue his good fortune in the pay-cutting arena, Carter has come up with the grand "National Accord" with labor. Its fifteen-member enforcer, the "tripartite" Pay Advisory Board, will include five union officials.

The pay board's purpose is readily admitted in the text of the National Accord: to usher in "a period of austerity for Americans" during which "continued constraint is required on the overall levels of price and compensation increases."

When Carter applies "constraint" to big business, of course, it has nothing to do with restraining prices, let alone lowering them. Prices are soaring, with the official inflation rate up above 13.5 percent. Yet Carter declared at his news conference that the "price standards have also been very effective."

The real meaning of "austerity" is a bigger bite out of working people's standard of living. Labor officials—like AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland or United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser—have no business cooperating in such an antilabor endeavor.

Upholding Carter's wage-cutting plans is certainly not the sentiment among the ranks of the unions. Given the slightest opportunity, working people have stood up to the administration's guidelines since their inception.

Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann propose a program totally opposed to that of Carter, Kennedy, and both capitalist parties.

Pulley and Zimmermann call for a shorter workweek with no reduction in the pay working people now receive (including overtime pay). This would spread the available work and open up millions of jobs.

The socialist candidates call for unlimited cost-of-living adjustments for all working people. COLA clauses should be extended to all pension, Social Security, and welfare programs.

And to meet everyone's right to a job and to provide desperately needed social services,

Pulley and Zimmermann call for dismantling the \$138 billion war budget and using those funds to launch a massive public works program.

Stop Carter's drive to starve Kampuchea

The capitalist media blame the new government of Kampuchea and its allies in Vietnam for the famine that is afflicting Kampuchea today.

But facts are stubborn things. And the facts show that it is the Carter administration and its allies that are withholding food needed by millions of Kampucheans—food that could be airlifted into the country overnight.

Why? Carter is trying to starve the Kampucheans because he opposes the government of Heng Samrin, who came to power last January. The White House is supporting the terrorist bands that back the ousted Pol Pot regime, a regime which brought death to millions of Kampucheans.

As cover for stepping up supplies to Pol Pot, the U.S. government and U.S.-backed "relief" agencies organized an "aid" program along parts of the Thailand-Kampuchea border controlled by Pol Pot forces. A tiny minority of Kampucheans live in this zone, and most aid is going to Pol Pot troops.

At the same time, the "relief" agencies are leaving millions who live under the new Kampuchean regime to face death, on the phony grounds that some food aid might be used by soldiers supporting Heng Samrin.

While Carter bars food for the Kampuchean people, massive U.S. arms shipments are going to the military dictatorship in neighboring Thailand. "New American 'advisers' have also begun to show up here to train Thai troops," reported the September 26 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

These arms and advisers will be used to escalate the fighting in Kampuchea. Carter's answer to the famine is to shed more of the blood of this long-suffering people.

Stop the U.S. war drive against Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam! For massive aid to Kampuchea now!

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Nationalize railroads!

Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann meets with Rock Island workers and calls for taking the rail corporations out of profiteers' hands. **Page 11.**

Pope visits U.S.

Catholics and others protest as pontiff preaches against women's rights. **Page 14.**



Nicaraguan women organize

An interview with leaders of AMPRONAC, revolutionary women's organization in Nicaragua. **Page 21.**

The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Janice Lynn, August Nimtz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$20.00 a year, outside U.S. \$25.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$50.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London and then posted to Britain and Ireland: £3.00 for ten issues, £6.00 for six months (twenty-four issues), £11.00 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4.50 for ten issues, £10.00 for six months, £15.00 for one year. Send checks or international money order (payable to Intercontinental Press account) to Intercontinental Press (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

NOW and CLUW endorse labor ERA march in Virginia

By Suzanne Haig

LOS ANGELES—The National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) have taken a big step forward toward building a coalition of labor, women's, and civil rights organizations to win the Equal Rights Amendment.

The October 5-7 NOW National Conference—held here with almost 3,000 participants—voted to endorse the January 13 union-initiated march and rally for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia.

The action was originally called at an August 12 conference in Virginia sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now. Six hundred trade unionists, NOW members, and others attended the LERN conference, which launched an educational and action campaign leading up to the January 13 rally, followed by lobbying.

The resolution passed here referred implementation of NOW's participation in this campaign to the National ERA Strike Force.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal announced that she and Carol Pudliner, Virginia NOW state coordinator, will be in Richmond on January 13.

On the eve of the NOW conference Joyce Miller, national president of CLUW, sent LERN a telegram stating that CLUW "strongly supports" the

January 13 action and will "do everything we can to mobilize maximum numbers of persons to make this march a success."

NOW member Suzanne Kelly, who is co-coordinator of LERN and president of the Virginia Education Association, attended the entire NOW conference and discussed the Virginia labor campaign with participants.

The importance of the campaign was stressed in the keynote address given Sunday by Addie Wyatt, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and national vice-president of CLUW.

"Locals of my union in concert with other labor groups and in coalition with religious groups and community groups in the state of Virginia have given leadership in sponsoring rallies and conferences for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment," she said.

"They are now planning to hold another mass rally in the state of Virginia on January 13, 1980."

Wyatt asked NOW to "give all the support that you can to be reasonably sure that the rally held in Virginia on January of 1980 will be as successful and even more so than the rally that they held last year."

She told the conference that ERA supporters in Illinois plan to hold a labor-sponsored ERA conference and rally similar to Virginia's in 1980.

The proposal to endorse the LERN campaign was a big topic of discussion at the conference. It was passed overwhelmingly in two labor workshops, the two minority women's workshops, and in the ERA National Campaign Overview Workshop.

At the ERA workshop Roberta Sheer of Los Angeles, a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union, expressed the enthusiasm of many NOW members for support to the Virginia labor campaign.

"Labor is central to the fight for



Militant/Suzanne Haig & Cindy Jaquith

At National Organization for Women conference. Left to right: Eleanor Smeal, NOW president; Addie Wyatt, Coalition of Labor Union Women vice-president; Suzanne Kelly, Labor for Equal Rights Now co-coordinator.

ERA," she said. "When you talk about steelworkers, Teamsters, the AFL-CIO, you're talking about power and money."

"With this resolution I can get railroad women in my union to go to my NOW chapter meetings and join—because they'll see NOW involved in an alliance. These women will strengthen NOW."

In each of these workshops, an educational discussion occurred on how to win the ERA—whether to rely on united action with women's allies in the labor and civil rights movements, or to focus NOW's energies on electing capi-

talist politicians who promise to support the ERA.

The conference also voted to launch national campaigns on the ERA, reproductive rights, lesbian and gay rights, and the fight against sexual harassment in the workplace.

The decision of NOW and CLUW to endorse and build the January 13 march shows its tremendous potential and the opportunity for trade unions around the country to work with civil rights and women's organizations to turn the Virginia effort into a massive national drive for the ERA.

Socialist ideas popular

LOS ANGELES—Seventy-five women attending the National Organization for Women conference came to a reception here for Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president and a member of NOW.

In addition, 250 *Militants* and twenty-five subscriptions were sold at the conference.

Pulley hits high court rejection of SWP appeal

By Janice Lynn

"The Supreme Court has 'Equal Justice Under Law' engraved over its door. But it's decided that the FBI is a lot more equal than us, under the laws of this system," said Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president.

Pulley was referring to the Supreme Court's October 9 decision to refuse to hear the SWP's appeal of a court of appeals decision throwing out a contempt citation against former Attorney General Griffin Bell. Bell had been held in contempt for refusing to obey a court order to turn over secret FBI files

in the SWP's lawsuit against the federal government.

Since the suit was filed in 1973, it has been a major force in exposing the FBI's crimes against the labor movement, the women's movement, Blacks, Latinos, and socialists. In May 1977, Judge Thomas Griesa concluded that the files of eighteen FBI informers were critical evidence in the case, and he ordered Bell to produce them to the SWP's lawyers.

The Attorney General refused to obey the order, and he was held in contempt.

But the court of appeals reversed the contempt order, holding that although

it had no authority even to consider such an appeal, it would make a special exception for this case, as it was "unseemly" for the Attorney General to be in contempt of court. The ruling meant, in effect, that the Attorney General is above the law.

The Supreme Court has now refused to hear the SWP's appeal from this unprecedented ruling. Three of the justices (White, Brennan, and Marshall) voted to hear the appeal, but four votes are needed. In a brief dissenting opinion, Justice White noted that the action of the court of appeals was apparently "in conflict" with established law.

SWP attorney Margaret Winter stated that despite the Supreme Court decision, "we've already pried loose massive documentation of the FBI's crimes against the SWP, and now we're gearing up to get a final judgment for money damages and injunctive relief."

In his statement Andrew Pulley declared, "The courts, like Congress and the White House, are trying to keep the lid on further disclosures of secret police operations against working people who press for their rights. My party's campaign to defend and strengthen democratic rights will not be stopped."

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Caribbean governments hit U.S. war threats

By Gus Horowitz

Washington has taken its first steps to implement the military buildup in the Caribbean that President Carter announced on October 1.

A U.S. SR-71 high-altitude reconnaissance plane was sent on a demonstrative flight over Cuba on October 5. Such spy flights violate Cuban sovereignty and are illegal.

On October 9, U.S. Navy warships headed south from Norfolk, Virginia, to pick up 1,800 Marines for maneuvers on Cuban soil. The marines will practice an amphibious assault landing at Guantánamo Bay, backed up by artillery, tanks, and aircraft, as well as a naval task force.

Defense Secretary Harold Brown went to Key West, Florida, October 8 to inspect facilities for the new military command post being set up to oversee operations in the Caribbean area. Armed units at their disposal will include a 100,000-strong "rapid deployment force," whose formation Carter announced on October 1.

The U.S. military moves were

strongly condemned by the Cuban daily *Granma*. Prensa Latina news service reported an October 3 *Granma* editorial declaring that "Cuba's dignity and sovereignty, its right to defend itself by any means it regards as appropriate, as well as its internationalist policy, will remain unshakable."

Most commentators in the major capitalist media have portrayed the new U.S. military buildup in low-key fashion, even as a retreat. The peoples most affected by the threats saw it quite differently, however.

Granma called Carter's moves "a clear interventionist threat against the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, of which the one most prepared to defend itself is Cuba."

Ridiculing Carter's pretext that Cuba is a threat to the region, *Granma* stressed that "the only nation which has intervened, invaded, and occupied Central American and Caribbean territory is not Cuba but the United States."

Barricada, the newspaper of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, described

Carter's moves as a matter "of grave importance."

"The apparent 'response to Cuba' is at bottom a concrete threat to the progressive forces of the Caribbean and Central America," the Sandinistas said.

The real motives for Washington's threat, according to the Sandinista paper, are "without a doubt, the victory of the Nicaraguan war of liberation and the beginning of a revolutionary process that is giving independence to our country—as well as the victory of the Panamanian people in their struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone. . . ."

Jamaican government officials, according to an October 5 UPI dispatch, "view President Carter's announcement of intensified intelligence, military, and political activity around the issue of Soviet troops as a threat to the region. . . ."

The Jamaican government joined with the Caribbean governments of St. Lucia, Guyana, and Grenada in an October 6 statement that "reaffirmed

that no decision can be taken affecting the peoples of the Caribbean region without proper consultations with and full involvement of the sovereign Governments which represent the people of the region."

The four governments also "rejected any perception of the Caribbean region as a sphere of influence for any great power. . . ."

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, called on American working people "not to be deceived by the media's talk of low-key action by Carter. The ruling class knows that American working people are in no mood to put up with new Vietnam-style interventions. So they have to couch their military moves in soothing language. But the threat is real, as the people of the Caribbean and Central America know."

"Instead of ships and troops, we should be sending food and aid to Nicaragua," the socialist candidate added.

He called for a mass campaign to bring the war moves against Cuba to an immediate halt.

N.Y. protest: 'End blockade against Cuba'

By Alexis Irizarry

UNITED NATIONS—Chanting "Cuba sí, bloqueo no!" nearly five hundred people gathered here October 5 to demand an immediate end to the United States blockade against Cuba, normalization of U.S.-Cuba relations, and withdrawal of U.S. forces from Guantánamo.

High winds, rain, and the threat of attack by counterrevolutionary Cuban groups were unable to weaken the militant and combative spirit of the demonstrators.

The action was called on one week's notice—in expectation of Fidel Castro's visit to the U.N. It was sponsored by the Ad-Hoc Committee to End the Blockade of Cuba, a coalition in which the Antonio Maceo Brigade and Casa de las Americas played a prominent role.

The Antonio Maceo Brigade is composed of young Cubans in the U.S. and Puerto Rico who are opposed to the U.S. government's hostile policies toward Cuba. Casa de las Americas is a social and political club of Cubans who have been long-time supporters of the Cuban revolution.

Other participating organizations include the Venceremos Brigade, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Comité, Center for Cuban Studies, Coalition for a Free Nicaragua, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, Youth Against War and Fascism, Dominican Communist Party, and others.

This was the first street demonstration in New York against the imperialist blockade in years. It took place in a spirit of cooperation and unity among all the groups involved, who came together to defend Cuba against the U.S. government's ominous war threats.

Effects of blockade

The crowd, which extended an entire city block, carried placards that read: "No a la agresión, queremos relación!" (No to aggression, we want relations!); "U.S. military out of Guantánamo!"; and "We want trade, end the blockade!"

Among the predominantly youthful crowd, a group of enthusiastic older women carrying a Cuban flag stood out. One of them, who had been living in the United States most of her life, declared, "I am thoroughly against the blockade."

She said that although she was unfamiliar with the organizations sponsoring the action, she attended the demonstration because "ending the blockade is the most important thing



Demonstrators answer Carter at October 5 United Nations protest

in the world for me today."

With these words she expressed the pain and poverty that the U.S. blockade has caused the Cuban people. Not only has the blockade stopped the sale of parts that were supplied by the U.S. to Cuban industries before 1959, but it has severely restricted the shipment of medicines and has totally stopped Cuba from buying food produced in the United States.

The demonstration received messages of solidarity from trade union, political, and religious leaders. A message from United Auto Workers (UAW) international representative Roberto López noted that the UAW, representing 1.6 million auto workers, was the first major union to call for an end to the economic embargo and for the

establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Pointing out that he had participated in the Dialogue between Cubans living in the United States and the Cuban government last December, López said, "Today's activity is a concrete step based on today's reality. The UAW joins with the Cuban community and others in calling for an end to the economic blockade and establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba."

Another union that expressed its desire for an end to the blockade was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In addition, messages of solidarity were read from New York City council members Ruth

Messinger and Gilberto Gerena-Valentín.

A few blocks away a demonstration of about 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries was taking place. These were mostly older people who carried signs reading, "Castro is Russia's Puppet," and "Death to the Tyrant."

This action was sponsored by organizations such as Alpha 66, Assault Brigade 2506 (Veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion), the Cuban Nationalist Movement, and Abdala. These organizations have been responsible for carrying out terrorist attacks against Cuba and against defenders of the Cuban revolution.

Such groups have been publicly linked with the assassination of Carlos Muñiz, a young Cuban who was a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade and director of a San Juan, Puerto Rico, travel agency that organized trips to Cuba.

Counterrevolutionaries

Organizers of the anti-Castro demonstration had predicted a turnout of at least 20,000. They had been making preparations for many months. Plans for their anti-Castro demonstration were featured on the front page of New York's main Spanish-language newspaper all week. It was announced on many radio and TV stations. Free trips to New York City were offered to Cuban families in New Jersey and in cities as far away as Miami.

The smaller-than-expected turnout at the anti-Castro action is one more indication that the Dialogue initiated last year between the Cuban government and representatives of the Cuban community abroad has already produced profound changes.

The release of almost all Cuba's political prisoners has taken away one of the right wing's issues. The family reunification visits have had a big impact. As members of the Cuban community abroad travel to Cuba to visit their relatives, they also see firsthand the progress of the Cuban revolution. As a result, the right-wing counterrevolutionary Cubans are becoming increasingly isolated politically.

The right-wingers tried to provoke a confrontation with the pro-Cuba demonstration at the UN, but a well-organized marshalling effort ensured that the picket line proceeded without incident.

The demonstration to end the blockade should be seen as an important beginning in the movement to oppose any aggressive moves by the U.S. government against the Cuban people.

Answer rightist terrorism

Sandinistas strengthen unions and militias

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The government and mass organizations have redoubled their efforts to put a stop to counterrevolutionary terrorism following the October 4 murder of FSLN militant Marcel Pallais Checa. Pallais's bullet-riddled body was found near the Central American University campus here early October 5.

Pallais had been in charge of an effort to stop sabotage at the Villa Fontana Telecommunications Complex. It is thought that supporters of the Somoza dictatorship whom Pallais had dismissed from their posts may have had a hand in his death.

Immediately after Pallais's murder, units of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) were deployed on all the main streets of Managua. Checkpoints were set up and all vehicles were searched for weapons. Substantial quantities of weapons were recovered. During subsequent nights, there was a diminishing of terrorist gunfire in Managua.

The FSLN has continued to urge citizens to be on the alert for counterrevolutionary activity. In the neighborhoods the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS)—“the eyes and ears of the revolution”—remain on alert.

The Pallais assassination is the most recent incident in a resurgence of counterrevolutionary terrorist activity since late September. In response, the FSLN has launched a “Control Somocismo, Defend the Revolution” campaign through the CDS and taken social and economic measures to deepen the revolutionary process initiated by the overthrow of Somoza in July.

Killings and jailbreaks

On September 24, an armed rightist group shouting pro-Somoza slogans ambushed a militia patrol in Managua and killed nineteen-year-old Oscar Rivas Gallard. Over the previous few days, gunmen had fired on the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and Nicaraguan Film Institute in Managua.

On September 27 and 28, there were attempted jailbreaks by Somocista prisoners in Managua and in Chinandega, 135 miles north of here. Both attempts were coordinated with pro-Somoza forces on the outside.

In addition, there had been a marked increase in nightly sniper attacks.

Prior to the recent upswing in terrorism, the government had released dozens of Somoza's National Guardsmen and other Somocista suspects against whom no specific proof could be found. Interior Minister Tomás Borge has now suspended all such releases until trials can be held. FSLN leaders still say that there will be no executions, however.

Through the “Control Somocismo” campaign, the CDS are being organized on a block-by-block basis to gather data on suspicious incidents and on the whereabouts and activities of known Somocistas who may be involved in counterrevolutionary crimes.

The FSLN is also taking important steps to reorganize and strengthen the militias. Many fighters have now been integrated into the EPS, essential for defense against the ominous possibility of invasion by National Guard units in Honduras and El Salvador, backed up overtly or covertly by Washington and its client dictators in Central America. Other fighters have now joined the Sandinista National Police.

As the revolution moves to get production back under way and begin the other crucial reconstruction projects in the war-ravaged country, full-time militia duty is being replaced by regular part-time training and drilling.

In the face of internal and external threats to the revolution, the FSLN has announced its intention to expand



Militant/Lorraine Thiebaud

FSLN has mobilized working masses to defend against counterrevolutionaries

the militia to increase the masses' preparedness for self-defense.

As Tomás Borge explained at the Rivas funeral, “Those who killed a militiaman do not know that the revolution gives concrete answers to each problem. . . . Instead of destroying the militias, we'll multiply them. So in three months there will be 300,000 militia in Nicaragua. The workers, the students, the high schools, and the neighborhoods should be prepared.”

In a population of about 2.3 million, with 700,000 economically active, the projection of a 300,000-person militia shows the seriousness with which the FSLN is responding to the rightist terror. It also shows how rightist attacks can backfire, as they did in Cuba, leading to a deepening radicalization of the regime and mobilization of the working people.

Involving the masses

Marches and rallies have been held in Managua and other parts of the country to explain the need for the “Control Somocismo” campaign and to encourage mass participation in it. On October 3, FSLN Comandante Jaime Wheelock spoke at one of the largest of these, a rally of several thousand at the Casa del Gobierno (Government House) in central Managua.

The efforts of the army and the Ministry of Interior are “not enough” to defeat the counterrevolution, Wheelock explained. Victory will come only if the workers and peasants “prepare themselves to control the productive wealth of our country.”

In the workplaces confiscated from the Somocistas, Wheelock said, “we need to have unions with full participation in power. . . . There must be neither exploiters nor exploited. There must be just and equitable relations. The workers must know their jobs in order to govern their production. The task of the state is solely that of administration. The workers are the true owners of the national wealth.”

Along with this extension of workers control over production through the unions, the FSLN leaders plan to respond to the Somocista terror—and to

Washington's military threats in the Caribbean—by deepening the social transformations in other ways, as well.

Among the steps recently taken or announced are the following:

Social & economic measures

- “Intervention” by the government of more than 200 housing developments in which the owners were evading real estate laws by denying tenants vital water, electricity, and sewage facilities. Residents will now make their payments directly to the government and will be provided with such facilities.

- (In the early months of the Cuban revolution, “interventions” often preceded direct nationalization. The government would appoint managers who ran the enterprises in conjunction with committees of workers.)

- A big increase in social security pensions. Under the dictatorship payments to the aged, invalids, widows, and orphans had remained at the same level since 1963 and even at that time were grossly inadequate. Retroactive payments will be made to those who were denied pensions because of technicalities in the laws.

- The Nicaraguan Institute for Agrarian Reform has announced that it is considering further land expropriations in the provinces of Masaya, Nueva Segovia, Madriz, and Estelí, where huge expanses of private landholdings exist side by side with hundreds of tiny peasant plots. At a news conference October 4, Wheelock, who is the Agrarian Reform Minister, reiterated that under Nicaragua's new Bill of Rights, land ownership is subject to restrictions on the basis of “public utility and social interest.” Therefore, no holdings are necessarily exempt from intervention if they should be needed to improve the conditions of the poor peasants.

If these lands are taken over, it will represent further inroads into the property rights of the “anti-Somoza” landlords.

- On October 5, state prosecutor Ernesto Castillo announced that in addition to ongoing investigations into

the extent of Somocista property holdings—all of which are subject to immediate expropriation—his office is also launching probes into the dealings of some ostensibly anti-Somoza capitalists.

Castillo said that the Banco de América and Banco Nicaragüense financial groups—the two main power centers of the capitalist opposition to Somoza—are being investigated.

“The Government of National Reconstruction will deal harshly with all those whose operations turn out to have been in collaboration with Somocismo,” Castillo said.

- The Ministry of Economy has established controls on meat prices that are to be enforced in collaboration with the CDS—through neighborhood price committees, in other words. Similar controls on other basic necessities are expected soon.

Bourgeois maneuvers

While no open opposition to these moves has been expressed by the small capitalist political parties here—the Social Democrats, Social Christians, and Democratic Conservatives—there are growing signs that the bourgeois forces are looking for ways to put a brake on the revolution. The Chamber of Commerce has organized several meetings to press for convoking the “Council of State,” a legislative body called for in the program of the Government of National Reconstruction published just prior to Somoza's fall.

This council was to be made up of thirty-three representatives from the bourgeois parties, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, FSLN, trade unions, the Catholic Church, and other groups. Its proposed composition was disproportionately weighted toward the most conservative sectors of the anti-Somoza front. The bourgeois forces hoped it would serve as a check on the social and economic measures taken after Somoza's fall.

Since that time, however, the Sandinista-led government has charted a course that shows it to be far more representative of the interests of the workers and peasants than the forces that were to have made up the “Council of State.”

No date has been set for the convocation of the “Council of State.” Junta member Moisés Hassan pointed out October 5 that, in any event, its composition would have to be reconsidered, since a number of groups that were to have seats no longer exist.

The FSLN's refusal to bend to the capitalists' demands for immediate convocation of a nonrepresentative, bourgeois-dominated body is consistent with its overall radical course. When agreements reached with bourgeois forces prior to Somoza's fall stand in the way of this course, the Sandinistas increasingly rely on the principles laid out in the August 21 “New Bill of Rights,” interpreted in the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

READ

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

A Trotskyist View

By Joseph Hansen

393 pages. \$5.45.

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Fourth Int'l appeals for aid to Nicaragua

The following appeal for international aid and solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution was issued October 3 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by a mass popular insurrection led by the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] and the development of the Nicaraguan revolution in its opening weeks have inspired the oppressed and exploited world over. Once more the American imperialist colossus has been dealt a heavy blow by a heroic people determined to overcome all obstacles and take their own destiny in hand.

But imperialism and its Nicaraguan agents exacted a brutal price before being driven from their bunker.

- more than 35,000 dead in the last year alone.
- some 100,000 wounded, of whom 60,000 are in need of intensive care
- \$80 million worth of damage to the hospitals, schools, and social services of the country
- one million people—40 percent of the population—without adequate food today
- a 37 percent decline in agricultural production for 1979-80, due to the disruption of the civil war
- seed crops and poultry eaten in desperation, and cattle herds decimated
- more than 25 percent of all industrial plants severely damaged by Somoza's bombs

- more than half the active population unemployed

- the national treasury emptied by Somoza and his criminal cohorts as they fled the country.

Even to avert widespread famine in the coming months, the Nicaraguan government estimates that more than 400 tons of food a day are needed until new crops can be planted and their fruit harvested.

Meanwhile imperialism is preparing not massive humanitarian aid but inhuman economic coercion and new military assaults.

While thousands of Somoza's national guardsmen stand waiting across the border in Honduras, the imperialist governments and agencies are doling out aid with an eyedropper, hoping to increase the economic and political difficulties of the new Nicaraguan government. The imperialists are attempting to channel their pitiful amounts of aid away from official government channels and away from the popular distribution network established by the Sandinista Defense Committees. They want their money and food and medicine to be funnelled into private hands and used to strengthen the capitalist forces.

The Nicaraguan revolution needs the active political and material solidarity of the world working class in order to survive. It can be decisive in the outcome of the revolutionary process that is now unfolding.

The Fourth International intends to throw its forces and all those it can influence into the balance.



Destruction in Managua. Aid is urgently needed to rebuild.

Militant/Gary Bridges

We call on the entire workers movement and all anti-imperialist forces the world over to come to the aid of the Nicaraguan people.

We demand that the imperialist governments, especially those most directly responsible for the devastation of the Nicaraguan economy, provide whatever economic, agricultural, and medical aid is asked for by the Government of National Reconstruction—without conditions, without strings attached.

We call on the mass organizations of the workers movement and the small

farmers to make resources available to aid their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

We call on the governments of the workers states to take up Cuba's challenge for socialist competition to see who can provide the most aid to the Nicaraguan revolution.

The sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International will spare no effort to organize the broadest united front campaign of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Nicaragua will not stand alone!

Stalinists join coverup of Carter war moves

By Gus Horowitz

President Carter's October 1 speech on "Soviet troops" in Cuba provoked sharply contrasting responses by the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party.

"Stop war moves against Cuba!" proclaimed the front-page headline of the *Militant* last week. Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate, denounced Carter's moves to beef up U.S. forces in the Caribbean as "a clear threat to use U.S. military might against Cuba and against other countries of the Caribbean and Latin America."

"Carter's threats are especially aimed at the people of Nicaragua," the socialist candidate said, adding that the U.S. war drive "greatly increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust."

The Communist Party's *Daily World*, on the other hand, in an October 3 editorial hailed Carter's message as an "appeal to wisdom."

The "wisdom" that the CP saw in Carter's speech was his reaffirmation of support for the SALT II treaty.

The Communist Party Stalinists, as faithful followers of the Kremlin bureaucracy, have been campaigning for passage of the treaty. They present it

as a key step towards peace, even though its provisions—far from limiting nuclear arms—legitimize a huge buildup of U.S. nuclear weapons.

So when Carter said "We must not play politics with SALT II"—a slap at congressional critics who want to drive an even harder bargain with Moscow—the CP hurried to back him up.

And Carter's military threats in the Caribbean? The Stalinist editorialists wave a gently reproving finger. Carter's moves were "unwise and harmful decisions." Why? Not because they pose a real threat of intervention against Cuba or Nicaragua, but because they "only feed the warhawks' appetite for more concessions" on SALT.

An October 5 "news analysis" by James Jackson, writing on behalf of the CP Political Bureau, dutifully notes that the threats against Cuba pose some dangers. But Jackson stresses that Carter's speech "is weighted on the side of retreat from earlier bellicose posturing and threats."

According to this astute CP "news analyst," the entire crisis came about because Carter is fearful of his reelection chances. His goal was to "create an international diversion and

thereby put himself in a posture to demand 'national unity.'"

But he "backed himself into a corner," and "in the end Carter was forced to retreat."

The Stalinist version coincides neatly with the capitalist news media coverup, which also portrays Carter as a conciliator and peacemaker. Such attempts to disguise the real war danger fly in the face of the facts:

- Washington has been escalating its threats against Cuba ever since Cuban troops stood up to the imperialists in Angola and Ethiopia.

- Washington is especially concerned about Cuba's capacity to aid liberation struggles in Central America.

- The recent "Soviet troops" crisis came about right after the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua.

- The only new decision that Carter announced October 1 was a buildup of U.S. military strength in the Caribbean.

- The reason Carter offered was "tension in the Caribbean and the Central American region." Economic and military steps were needed, he said, to "insure the ability of troubled peoples to resist social turmoil and possible Communist domination."

Carter did not bungle and back himself into a corner. He did not then retreat and appeal to wisdom. He is driving forward a basic foreign policy objective of the U.S. ruling class: *determination to block the spread of the Cuban Revolution by any means necessary.*

Carter is demanding that Moscow pressure Cuba into curbing its solidarity with Nicaragua. And he is warning the Soviets that détente is imperiled if they come to Nicaragua's aid. Carter knows he has leverage here because the Moscow Stalinists have shown time and again that they—*unlike the Cubans*—are willing to betray revolutionary struggles to trade and diplomatic deals with imperialism.

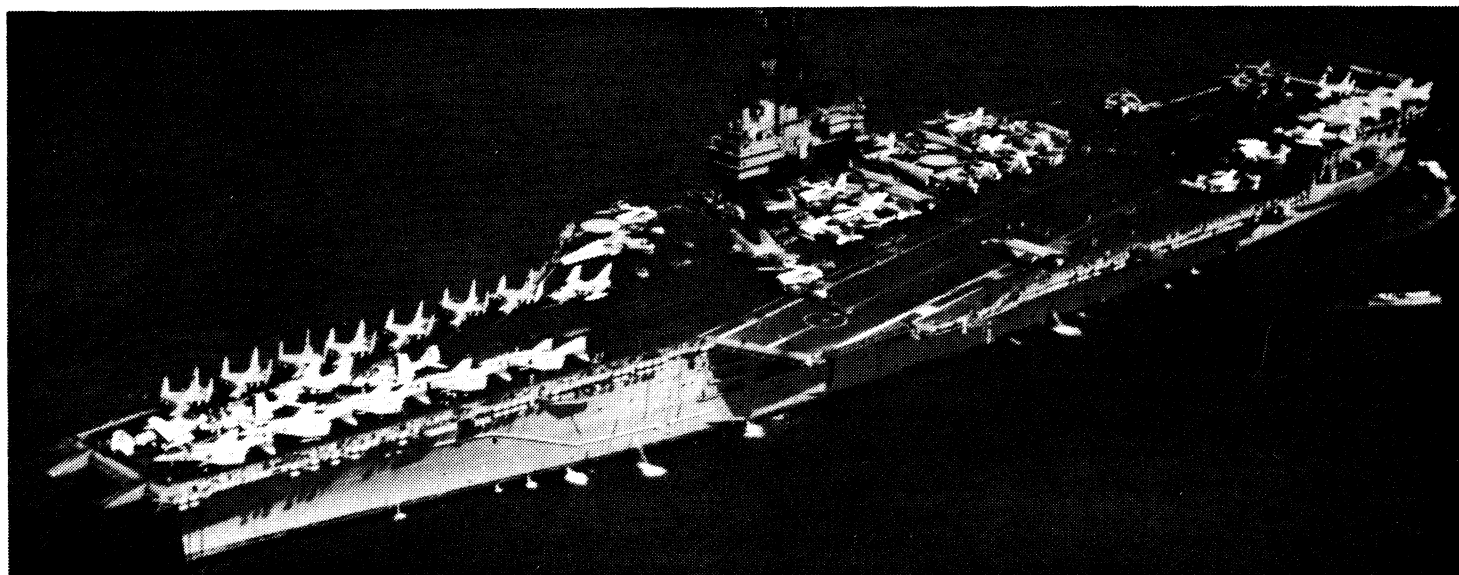
Once it is understood that the furor about Cuba has nothing to do with Soviet "combat troops" and everything to do with the developing revolution in Central America, the scope of the CP's coverup becomes even clearer.

The *Daily World* has hardly reported at all on the revolutionary events in Nicaragua. Despite its greater resources, it has not even sent a reporter there as the *Militant* has done.

The *Daily World* is not campaigning for aid to Nicaragua. It has *never* reported Fidel Castro's challenge to the United States and the Soviet bloc countries to compete with Cuba to see who can send the most aid. It has scarcely reported the Sandinista leaders' speeches exposing the imperialist squeeze on their country and appealing for international relief.

And now the *Daily World* joins Carter in trying to hide his aggressive military actions in the Caribbean from the American people. Instead of urging a campaign of protest against Carter's war drive, the CP's Jackson asserts that "it is more necessary now than ever to launch a new crusade for SALT II. . . ."

But the whole sorry spectacle offers a textbook example of what SALT is all about: a joint effort by U.S. imperialism and world Stalinism to conceal Washington's war drive behind empty talk of peace.



U.S. aircraft carrier 'Forrestal' will head up maneuvers off Cuba. Communist Party USA sees no real threat.

'We must be ready to mobilize if even one U.S. soldier sets foot in Latin America'

By Janice Lynn

NEW YORK—"Carter is trying to put on a phony peace show to cover up his war moves against Cuba. He doesn't mention that it is the United States that has invaded countries in Latin America at least fifty or sixty times," José G. Pérez told a meeting of 150 people here October 6.

Pérez, editor of the Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, is speaking in several U.S. cities to counter Washington's lies about Cuba and to build support for a campaign in defense of the Cuban revolution and against the war threats of the Carter administration.

Pérez visited Cuba last summer as part of the second contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans in the U.S. and Puerto Rico which opposes the U.S. government's hostile policies towards Cuba.

Pérez blasted the "three-count frame up" against the Cuban revolution contained in Carter's October 1 speech. Carter sought to justify stepped up war preparations in the Caribbean, increased spying over Cuba, and provocative military exercises on Cuban soil.

Soviet brigade no threat

Carter portrayed his military initiatives as a response to an alleged "Soviet combat brigade" in Cuba.

Pérez explained that the Soviet military personnel in Cuba perform a training function. The unit has been in Cuba for many years, and the U.S. government has known about it all along.

The few thousand Soviet troops pose no military threat to the U.S. "Carter admitted this himself," Pérez said.

Pérez explained that the real target of Carter's war moves is the spread of revolution in Central America.

"The July 19 victory of the Nicaraguan people under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front smashed the U.S. puppet regime. This has been an inspiration to people in other Latin American countries struggling for their freedom," Pérez stated.

Cuba's internationalism

Carter's second lie, according to Pérez, was to claim that Cuba's foreign policy has been imposed on the Cuban people against their will. Carter claimed that "The Soviet brigade is a manifestation of Moscow's domination of Cuba."

"The best answer to that," said Pérez, "was given by Fidel himself during his interview on CBS TV's '60 Minutes': 'Why, if we are a satellite country, is so much attention paid to Cuba? And it is obvious that the U.S. government, in the political field, is practically paying more attention to Cuba than to the Soviet Union. So, then unquestionably, we are facing a strange case of a satellite.'"

"The reason for all the anti-Cuban fury," said Pérez, "is the great impact revolutionary Cuba is having in the world, as evidenced by its role as host for the recent Conference of Non-aligned Nations."

"Why does Cuba play such a big role in world affairs?" Pérez asked.

"Cuba's foreign policy is based on the power of its workers and peasants," he explained. "Internationalism is one of the most deeply held ideas of the Cuban people. Fidel is doing the most popular thing he could do in Cuba by supporting the liberation struggles in other countries."

"That's why," Pérez said, "There is no lack of volunteers to go to places like Angola or Ethiopia. In fact, I met people who complained because they weren't allowed to go and fight in these struggles."

"The same spirit exists in relation to Nicaragua. Every single doctor I asked was willing to go to Nicaragua to fulfill the pledge made by Fidel to send as many doctors as Nicaragua needs."

Cuban successes

Carter's third charge was that Cuba is an economic failure.

Pérez blasted this as a lie, contrasting the Cuba of today with the Cuba he and other members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade knew before the revolution.

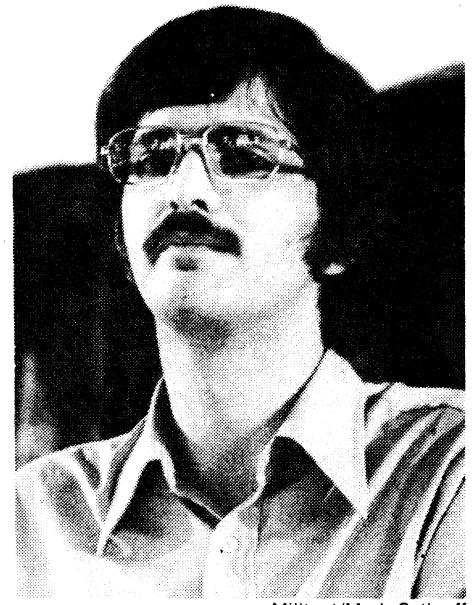
"In Cuba today the right to a job is guaranteed by law. In the last eighteen years there has been no inflation. The maximum rent allowed by law is 10 percent of your income, and it's usually 6 percent."

"I saw no people sleeping in doorways like you see all over New York City," Pérez continued. "I saw nothing like the conditions in the migrant farmworkers' camps in Florida, Texas, and California; or the shanty towns in Puerto Rico that are built of cardboard or wood; or any barefoot children like you see in the rural areas of the United States and throughout Latin America."

"In Cuba," Pérez added, "health care is absolutely free, and even in the most remote areas of the countryside there are now clinics and hospitals. In fact, Cuba has as many doctors, per capita, as does the United States. There is free public education. Illiteracy has been wiped out. And child care centers are being expanded, not cut back."

"The only thing I can think of that Carter could possibly have been referring to when he said Cuba was an economic failure, was from the point of view of profits," Pérez stated.

"Yes, there are no capitalist profits in Cuba today. But for the working people, peasants, retired people, and children—for the overwhelming majority of people—the Cuban revolution has been a tremendous success."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

José G. Pérez visited Cuba as part of Antonio Maceo Brigade.

Carter, of course, never mentions that the U.S. government has done everything in its power to strangle Cuba through a twenty-year economic blockade, or that the country's poverty is the legacy of sixty years of exploitation by U.S. imperialism.

What we need to do

Pérez concluded by stressing the need to sound the alarm against Carter's war moves. "We must protest like we did against the war in Vietnam, and like we did yesterday at the United Nations. We must get out the word and work to broaden this movement in defense of Cuba."

Pérez noted that defenders of the Cuban revolution were finding it easier to get a hearing in this country. As a result of the Dialogue between the Cuban government and Cubans in this country, many more people are finding out the truth about Cuba, and they are liking what they hear.

"We must also redouble our efforts in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution," Pérez said, "and continue to press the United States to provide the massive amounts of food needed by the Nicaraguan people."

Pérez ended with this answer to Carter's war threat: "We must be ready to mobilize if even one U.S. soldier sets foot in Nicaragua, El Salvador, or in any other country in Latin America fighting for its liberation."

"Our slogans are: U.S. Hands Off Cuba—U.S. Out of Latin America."



Militant/Lou Howort

Carter's war threats against Cuba spurred October 5 protest at United Nations

Right-wing Cuban arrested in Miami attack

By Miguel Pendás

MIAMI—Maria de LaRosa, a well-known member of the anti-Castro group Abdala, has been arrested and charged with "strong-armed robbery" in the September 29 attack by twenty right-wing Cubans on a film showing sponsored by the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

The attackers fired pistols, beat several people, overturned tables, smashed projection equipment, and threw chairs. They also stole a purse and about \$450 in receipts from the door.

It took Dade County cops five days to make an arrest, even though witnesses have identified five of the assailants by name.

Abdala's main spokesperson, Ricardo Aparicio, who has been identified by several persons as having led the assault, is still at large, and has even appeared on radio and television since the attack.

The arrest of De LaRosa came only as a result of mounting pressure for action against right-wing Cuban terror and violence. It represents a signifi-

cant victory for civil liberties.

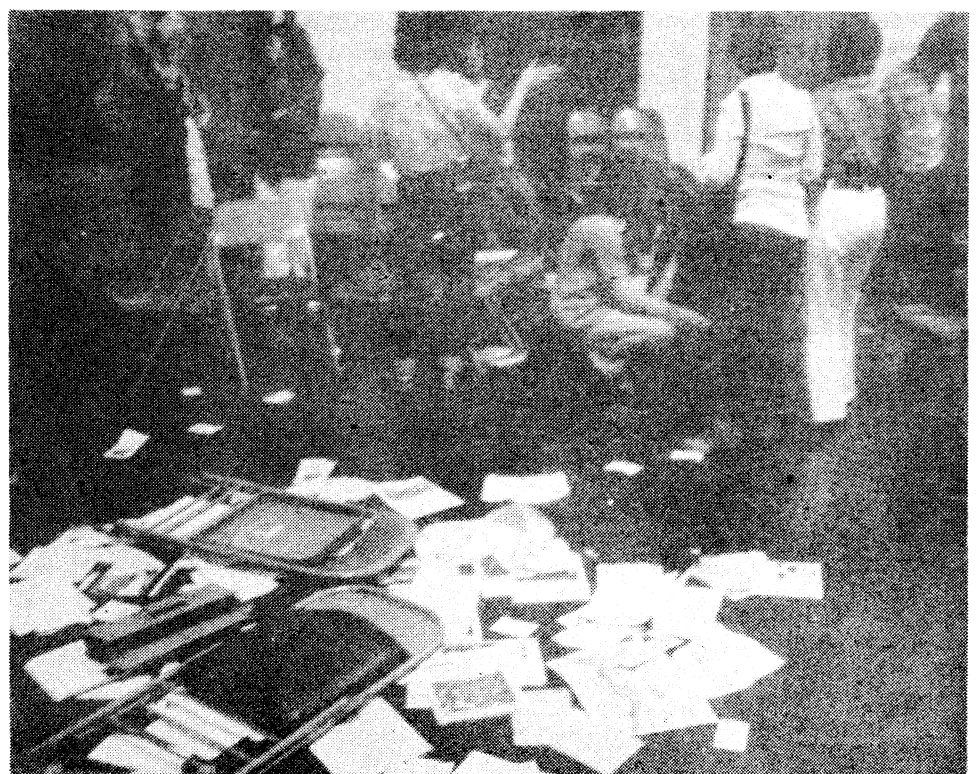
Three days after the attack, leaders of the Antonio Maceo Brigade were joined by leaders of the American Civil Liberties Union, Concerned Democrats, and Cuban community organizations such as the Committee of Seventy-Five to demand the immediate arrest and prosecution of the assailants.

An editorial appeared in the October 3 *Miami Herald* condemning the Abdala attack, marking the first time the Miami media have condemned an anti-Castro group for acts of violence.

A delegation accompanied by reporters and television cameras visited Dade County States Attorney Janet Reno to demand the prosecution of the Abdala thugs.

Brigade leader Andrew Gomez reports continuing threats and provocations by right-wingers, but the sheriff's department refuses to provide police protection for brigade members or their public activities.

A proposed rescreening of the film has been postponed to allow time to prepare an adequate defense.



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Aftermath of right-wing attack on Miami film showing, September 29.

Sales drive answers Carter war threats

By Peter Seidman

Washington's offensive against the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions is posing big challenges—and opportunities—for supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance report that Carter's October 1 speech announcing aggressive moves against Cuba evoked more skepticism than enthusiasm among their co-workers.

"A lot of people don't like what Carter said," Barb Hennegan reports from Seattle. "They were upset over possible military intervention in Cuba."

Mitch Rosenberg, a Gary, Indiana steelworker, says his coworkers thought Carter was "making a mountain out of a molehill."

But there is "a tremendous amount of confusion about the role of Soviet troops," adds Lee Artz, a steelworker who organizes the circulation of the socialist press in Chicago.

"People just aren't getting the news about Nicaragua and how U.S. moves in the Caribbean tie in with this," Artz notes. "It's mostly a lack of information."

"That's why we decided to redouble our efforts here to get out the papers to workers on the job."

Reports indicate that Fidel Castro made a big impact on many of the 34 million people who watched him on the September 30 *Sixty Minutes* TV news show. "Some liked what he said," Hennegan reports.

One Black worker bought a paper from Philadelphia SWP organizer Jay Johnson. He told Johnson how he "had a different feeling after watching Castro than he'd had after hearing anyone else who's supposed to be a leader—a feeling that he was telling the truth."

A member of the Machinists union at Freightliner watched the Castro interview at the Portland Militant Forum. He was impressed. A regular reader of the *Militant*, he asked to join the SWP later that week.

Socialist workers are becoming well-known as defenders of the Cuban revolution in plants all over the coun-

try. Of course, they get some hostile responses. But at times, like in the plant where UAW member Jeff Powers works, "the Fidelistas found themselves in a majority during a debate that went on for the whole week."

The Cuba discussions show the important political gains members of the SWP and YSA can make by successfully completing the drive to sell 150,000 copies of the *Militant* and *PM* by Thanksgiving.

As the scoreboard shows, this drive got a big boost from our recently completed national target week.

There was a lot of interest in the *Militant's* banner headline, "Blacks & the PLO."

As one Black person told a salesperson in Washington, D.C., "The Palestinians' struggle is similar to ours. We need to support them. Because as our struggle deepens, we'll need their support."

The *Militant* "went like hotcakes" outside the meeting of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH in Chicago. Socialists sold all fifty-five papers they'd brought.

In Detroit, thirty people at a meeting to hear Palestinian mayors bought the paper.

There were lots of other impressive sales too.

Milwaukee socialists sold twelve papers in fifteen minutes outside the giant American Motors plant in Kenosha.

A team of steelworkers from the Homestead works in Pittsburgh sold twenty-three papers outside a Bethlehem coal mine.

Boston socialists sold 108 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* at the Seabrook antinuclear demonstration.

Sales like these made the target week a big success nationally. Nonetheless, at the half-way mark the drive as a whole remains at only 41 percent of the goal—some 9 percent behind where we should be.

Two branches of the SWP tied for highest (16) per capita sales during the target week: Phoenix and Washington, D.C. Each will receive a bound volume of the *Militant* for July-December, 1979.

Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	% Ind.
Newark	125	454	25	70	150	524	349.3	6.1
New York City	445	996	105	264	550	1260	229.0	9.7
Seattle	140	312	5	8	145	320	220.6	8.8
Indianapolis	100	220	0	0	100	220	220.0	17.3
Birmingham	150	321	0	0	150	321	214.0	13.7
Louisville	100	205	0	0	100	205	205.0	17.1
Gary	90	186	10	15	100	201	201.0	18.9
Atlanta	125	249	0	1	125	250	200.0	5.2
Washington, DC	140	240	35	86	175	326	186.2	9.5
Tidewater	130	237	0	0	130	237	182.3	17.7
Detroit	200	350	10	11	210	361	171.9	33.8
Milwaukee	115	183	10	26	125	209	167.2	10.5
Phoenix	120	178	40	86	160	264	165.0	10.6
Tacoma	125	202	0	3	125	205	164.0	11.2
Pittsburgh	200	310	0	1	200	311	155.5	30.2
Salt Lake City	110	169	5	9	115	178	154.7	2.2
Philadelphia	170	245	30	55	200	300	150.0	8.7
Albany	100	154	5	2	105	156	148.5	16.0
Piedmont	75	109	0	0	75	109	145.3	18.3
Morgantown	100	136	0	0	100	136	136.0	8.1
Portland	90	121	0	1	90	122	135.5	6.6
Ann Arbor	15	15	0	5	15	20	133.3	0.0
Baltimore	125	155	0	2	125	157	125.6	14.6
San Diego	105	120	20	31	125	151	120.8	34.4
Twin Cities	225	271	0	0	225	271	120.4	18.5
Dallas	90	97	30	44	120	141	117.5	24.8
Toledo	60	73	3	0	63	73	115.8	21.9
Kansas City	110	128	7	7	117	135	115.3	7.4
Cleveland	100	103	0	12	100	115	115.0	17.4
Iron Range	75	76	0	0	75	76	101.3	13.2
San Francisco	200	170	50	80	250	250	100.0	5.6
Oakland/Berkeley	190	163	25	50	215	213	99.0	17.8
Boston	175	170	15	12	190	182	95.7	0.0
New Orleans	100	95	5	5	105	100	95.2	0.0
Cincinnati	100	93	0	2	100	95	95.0	23.2
St. Louis	100	94	0	0	100	94	94.0	11.7
San Antonio	50	41	15	14	65	55	84.6	34.5
Chicago	275	210	50	57	325	267	82.1	43.4
San Jose	85	78	40	24	125	102	81.6	8.8
Miami	100	72	30	33	130	105	80.7	1.9
Denver	120	83	20	17	140	100	71.4	6.0
Los Angeles	240	140	60	38	300	178	59.3	23.6
Houston	170	61	30	5	200	66	33.0	12.1
Campaign Team		208				208		
TOTALS	5875	8293	705	1076	6580	9369	142.3	14.0

* Figures not available.

Not reporting: Albuquerque.

Covers sales of issue thirty-eight of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue eighteen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

% Ind. indicates percentage of total reported sold at plantgates and to co-workers on the job.

Cops tear-gas, beat nuclear protesters

By Arnold Weissberg

SEABROOK, N.H.—Police and National Guardsmen used tear gas, Mace, clubs, water hoses, and dogs October 6 and 7 against protesters at the construction site of a nuclear power plant here.

Several people required hospitalization for concussions and abrasions after beatings by police, and dozens required treatment for Mace. Nineteen people were arrested.

One demonstrator told the *Militant* he had been Maced twice. Hours later, the red irritation on his skin was still obvious.

Some 2,500 protesters had sought to halt construction by occupying the site.

Meanwhile, some 600 people picketed outside the plant's main entrance, calling for an end to nuclear power. On Monday, October 8, 500 people picketed.

The attempted occupation was organized by the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, a group that had its origins in the New Hampshire-based Clamshell Alliance.

Some 300 police from around New England were joined by 200 New Hampshire National Guardsmen in placing the construction site under armed guard. The demonstration marked the first time in this country cops have violently attacked antinuclear protesters.

The demonstrators had to contend not only with police tear gas, but also with the forces of nature. Grouped at three sites around the plant perimeter, on tidal marshlands, the demonstrators were mostly soaked after several hours when the tide came in. In addition, heavy rain on Friday had mud-died the entire area.

By Sunday, no longer content with

simply guarding the fence, the cops charged the crowd, even when the protesters were not on company property, swinging clubs indiscriminately.

It had been obvious that this was exactly what the cops had wanted to do all along. But the widespread sympathy for antinuclear protests in this country made such a course politically difficult.

Coalition leaders had declared that the action's success would depend on the extent to which construction was halted or slowed. They predicted a large turnout in order to convince people to come.

"Maybe I was just idealistic, but I thought our sheer numbers would overwhelm them," a demonstrator from Boston said.

In light of the action's failure to achieve its stated goals, many demonstrators began to question whether such confrontation tactics by small groups are the best way to stop nuclear power.

This Seabrook action certainly did not tap the mass opposition to nuclear power that was so dramatically evidenced by the May 6 no-nukes march on Washington of 125,000, or the recent antinuclear rally and concert in New York City, which drew more than 200,000 people.

For that matter, it was much smaller than the Seabrook protest last year—when 20,000 people attended a legal rally—even though opposition to nuclear power is far greater today.

Mass actions that can involve and educate millions of Americans show the way to stop nuclear power. Most important, they have the potential to involve the heavy battalions of the labor movement, the social force that can compel an end to the nuclear threat once and for all.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
With reactor vessel in background, National Guardsmen confront demonstrators.

Boston Black students protest racist shooting

By Mike Pearlman

BOSTON—In a series of protest rallies at Boston City Hall, Black students and parents demanded safety for Black schoolchildren and prosecution of the racists responsible for shooting Darryl Williams.

Williams, a seventeen-year-old student and player on the predominantly Black Jamaica Plain High School football team, was shot in the neck during a game in all-white Charlestown September 28.

In critical but stable condition, Williams is paralyzed from the neck down.

Charlestown residents who were revolted by the racist attack aided the police search for culprits. Within forty-eight hours three white youths, who admitted shooting from the roof of a nearby apartment, were arrested.

But both the cops and Mayor Kevin White accepted the snipers' story that they were shooting pigeons and accidentally shot Williams. All three were released on personal recognizance with cash bonds of \$1,500 or less. Their trials were continued until October 15.

The Boston Black community finds it impossible to believe such a hoax. The shooting came only two weeks after the stoning of a school bus carrying Black students to South Boston High School. Although that attack was carried out by fifteen youths wearing masks, the cops claimed it was not organized, but an isolated incident.

The stoning occurred a few days after a large meeting called by the South Boston Marshals, a violent an-



Parents and students at October 3 city hall rally demand protection against racists

tibusing organization.

In response to the shooting, the Citywide Parents' Advisory Council (CPAC), called an October 3 rally in which more than 1,000 participated.

Under pressure from the city and school administrations, CPAC canceled a school boycott for the same day. Nevertheless, more than 500 students left classes to attend the rally.

The crowd jeered Black vice-mayor

Clarence Jones as he explained Mayor White's inaction and his refusal to meet the protesters.

As Claudette Bovell, a seventeen-year-old junior at Boston English High School, said, "We came to see the mayor, to do some business. If it was a Black person shooting a white they'd never be out in the streets."

A popular sign at the rally read, "They weren't shooting pigeons, they

were shooting at blackbirds."

Protests continued for several days.

Hundreds of students at various high schools decided on their own to leave school and rally at city hall until Mayor White agreed to meet with them. By the end of the week students had elicited a promise that White would come to their schools to hear their demands.

Among whites in Charlestown, the shooting was also met with anger and disgust. Petitions denouncing the incident were signed by more than 1,000 residents. Father Ernest Serino of St. Catherine's Church reported that "people lined up to sign" during weekend services.

Meanwhile, the city has done nothing to assure the safety of Black students.

Luis Castro, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the recent primary election, issued a statement denouncing Mayor White's lack of concern and calling for full protection of Black students by the city, state, and federal governments.

"These are not isolated incidents. The die-hard anti-Black racists are still organized to violently deny Black school children the right to desegregated schools. And the city government is responsible for allowing these attacks to continue.

"Those responsible for the shooting of Darryl Williams should be immediately jailed. The buses must be kept rolling and the children must be protected," Castro demanded.

Calif. unionists welcome labor party discussion

By George Johnson

SAN JOSE—The California state executive board of the 10,000-member Social Services Union Local 535 has passed the two following motions:

"That we instruct Executive Director David Crippen to write a letter to California Labor Federation (AFL-CIO) Executive Secretary John Henning supporting his call for discussion of a labor party, mentioning our local's early support of this concept, and strongly advising that the California Labor Federation call for local meetings as soon as possible so that trade unionists and other interested persons can discuss the formation of a labor party," and

"That we encourage our membership to become involved in local labor councils regarding the labor party issue and form caucuses with other progressive locals in given areas for that purpose."

The call by John Henning for discussion of a labor party appeared in an editorial in the August 31 *California AFL-CIO News*.

Earlier, the executive council of the

California Labor Federation, which represents 1.7 million AFL-CIO members in the state, passed a motion calling for a conference to consider the feasibility of establishing a labor party.

A number of union officials have expressed themselves in favor of Henning's proposal, including Richard Groulx, executive officer of the Alameda County Labor Council, who made the motion at the state executive council.

Contacted by the *Militant*, Walter Johnson, president of the 6,000-member Retail Clerks Union Local 1100, said;

"Jack Henning's suggestion that the union movement should move toward forming a labor party should be thoroughly examined and considered by the labor movement.

"Today's politicians operate behind a well-insulated wall with the knowledge that much of their financial support will come from the corporate community. A labor party would supply a necessary alternative.

"No one should be so naïve as to

think a labor party would come into being just by declaration. The establishment of any meaningful labor party will come about only if all within the labor movement would unselfishly devote the necessary efforts to conduct an intensive grass-roots educational campaign."

Henning's editorial pointed out that "The two parties appear simply one



WALTER JOHNSON

institution, with Democratic and Republican departments alike financed by the corporate community. . . . Democrats in high places preach contempt of social programs directed to the relief of slum families. Others deny public employees survival wages in a time of scandalous corporate profit."

The two most important labor issues in the Bay Area are the lockout of Bay Area Rapid Transit workers and the San Francisco teachers' strike. Not one Democratic or Republican official supports these workers.

In the context of this obvious political impasse faced by the labor movement, discussion of the labor party idea is spreading. Articles on Henning's proposals have appeared in the official publications of the San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Alameda Labor Councils and the San Francisco and Alameda Building and Construction Trades Councils.

The state executive council of the California Federation of Teachers heard a report on the labor party resolution by CFT President Raoul Teilhet.

Ala. steel union hears socialist candidate

By Michael Gillespie

BIRMINGHAM—"Like you, I'm a steelworker, and steelworkers are facing some very serious problems today: layoffs, speedups, and unsafe working conditions," Mohammed Oliver told the meeting of the largest Steelworkers union local at U.S. Steel's giant Fairfield Works here.

"More than 800 steelworkers have already been laid off at Fairfield and the company is threatening to close the entire plant.

"U.S. Steel doesn't care one bit about what the layoffs will do to you and your families. They care about only one thing: their profits. For the sake of their profits they control our jobs, our communities, our very lives," Oliver said.

Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham and a member of Steelworkers Local 1466 at Pullman-Standard, spoke to 175

members of USWA Local 1013 who turned out September 24 to discuss the continuing layoffs at Fairfield.

"I think the layoffs can be stopped. The government should launch a massive public works program for housing, schools, and hospitals, which would drastically increase the demand for steel.

"I also think there should be a reduction in the workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in pay, to spread the available work around," Oliver explained.

To fight effectively to see that these human needs are put before private profits, workers need to be in politics, the socialist said.

"Working people need our own party, a labor party, to make sure the jobs and steel we need come before U.S. Steel's profits.

"No one here would vote for their foreman for union shop steward, but

every year we put the bosses' candidates, the Democrats and Republicans, into office," Oliver noted.

"A labor party, with working people as candidates, could represent our interests not only at election time but all year round, on the job and off.

"Local 1013 could start it off. You could run a labor candidate for Congress or Senate next year."

The unionists listened intently to Oliver's ten-minute address. Campaign supporters, who distributed literature to local members during Oliver's remarks, reported a friendly response from several Black and young white workers.

On September 26 Oliver held a widely attended news conference to protest a decision by Pullman-Standard to deny him any time off to campaign beyond the three days he had already taken in the month since he announced.

The next day, as a result of media inquiries to Pullman's home office in Chicago, Oliver's foreman told him he could take off as much time as he needed.

Oliver has continued to receive offers of support from co-workers and other interested people following major profiles in the two dailies and three appearances on local television in the past week.

At the Fairfield Works, where management has overturned a long-standing tradition to deny Oliver's right to "electioneer" at the clock-houses, one young steelworker called the campaign headquarters to find out where to send a contribution and to say he "really appreciate[s] what you are doing."

Oliver and Eric Flint, a union machinist and SWP candidate for city council, have also campaigned at the city's high schools and universities.

Railroad workers demand gov't takeover

By Bill Peterson

MINNEAPOLIS—Rail union leaders here have launched a campaign to demand nationalization of the bankrupt Milwaukee Road.

The effort is in response to the green light given by federal Judge Thomas McMillen to the shutdown of two thirds of the Milwaukee rail system.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has tentatively decided to order seven railroads to take over 60 percent of the Milwaukee's freight service by November 1, unless McMillen orders it sooner.

Rock Island strike ends

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks removed its picket lines outside the Rock Island Railroad Terminal Co., which is taking over the bankrupt Rock Island, reportedly agreed to take back all strikers and pay them the prevailing wage rate in the industry.

BRAC struck the Rock Island August 28 because the carrier refused to pay wage rates and nearly two years retroactive pay agreed to in the national rail contract. The United Transportation Union joined the picket lines two days later.

On September 20 President Carter ordered the strikers back to work for a sixty-day "cooling off" period. UTU then removed its pickets but continued to honor the BRAC picket lines.

Then on September 26, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued a directed-service order for Rock Island. For at least sixty days the Kansas City Terminal Co., a switching company owned by twelve other rail carriers, will run the Rock Island operations.

During that time, the ICC will supposedly determine the fate of the Rock Island's 7,200 miles of track and its 8,000 workers.

This "directed service" order would last from 60 to 240 days, during which the government would guarantee the seven carriers their operating costs plus a 6 percent profit. During that period the carriers would buy whatever part of the Milwaukee system they wanted. The rest would be scrapped.

The Twin Cities-based Save The Milwaukee Committee has sent petitions demanding nationalization to all Milwaukee Road locals of the United Transportation Union and of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Rock Island Railroad union officers also received copies of the petition.

Five pages of signatures were collected by railworkers in Three Forks, Montana, more than seven pages came from clerks on the Burlington Northern in St. Paul, and posted copies have been filling up in yard offices up and down the Milwaukee system.

The campaign was argued out on the walls of a railyard men's room in Portage, Wisconsin.

"Nationalize the railroads," began the graffiti.

"Sounds like socialism to me," someone added underneath.

Another replied, "Maybe. But there's another name for letting corporations rip us off like they've been. It's called stupidity."

Finally, two others ended the discussion with, "Amen, brother," and "Right on."

Many workers have said when signing the petition, "All railroads should be nationalized," and "We have no other alternative."

One Burlington Northern brakeperson quipped upon signing, "You know what BN stands for, don't you? Broke Next."

The petition calls on the U.S. government "to immediately halt the proposed shutdown . . . and to require the railroad to continue full service to farmers and shippers and full employment to Milwaukee Road employees."

It goes on to demand of Congress an "investigation to make available to the public all books, records, and financial transactions of the Milwaukee Road and its holding company."



Militant/Dick Roberts

Petition initiated by Minnesota rail union leaders calls on government to 'nationalize the Milwaukee Road as a public utility, publicly governed by an elected board.'

And it concludes, "Since it is clearly in the interests of the public to keep the Milwaukee Road running, and since the present owners and managers insist they are incapable of maintaining a fully functioning Milwaukee Road, we call on the government to take the operation out of the hands of private ownership and management and nationalize the Milwaukee Road as a public utility, publicly governed by an elected board."

A letter accompanying the petitions is signed by some of the central activists in the Save The Milwaukee Committee, including Fred Croes, local chairperson, UTU 911; Charlie Wilson, local chairperson UTU 263; and Al Harrington, local chairperson BRAC 1478.

"If the Milwaukee Road management can eliminate two-thirds of the Milwaukee through a so-called bankruptcy," the letter says, "who's to guarantee the remaining one-third will survive the auctioneer's gavel? Certainly not the same people responsible for running the Milwaukee Road into the ground today."

A number of rail labor figures have already backed the petition demanding the nationalization of the Milwaukee Road. On the Milwaukee Road they include: J.R. McPherson, general chairperson, BRAC; John Mogan, assistant

general chairperson, UTU; and T.E. Bigley, general chairperson, Train Dispatchers.

Among the signers on the Rock Island are James Malone, local chairperson of UTU 1277, and Don Kennison, local chairperson of UTU 1000.

Also signing are George Stahley, local chairperson of UTU 650 on the Chicago Northwestern, and George Joyce, local chairperson of BRAC 1704 on the Burlington Northern.

Milwaukee Road's BRAC Lodge 1478 and the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Local 262 on the Burlington Northern, both in the Twin Cities, have passed resolutions calling for nationalization of the Milwaukee Road.

It is hoped that other locals will follow their example. Many of us here feel that the international unions representing railroad workers of all crafts need to take up this campaign and demand, "Stop the shutdown, nationalize the Milwaukee Road."

The Save The Milwaukee Committee can be contacted at 1104 East Sixth Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55106.

Bill Peterson is a brakeperson and conductor on the Milwaukee Road and a member of United Transportation Union Local 911.

Illinois coal miners strike over safety, firings

By Janice Black

ST. LOUIS—"The bosses are really cracking down, they are not thinking safety, they're thinking production," says Barbara Albon, a coal miner in southern Illinois.

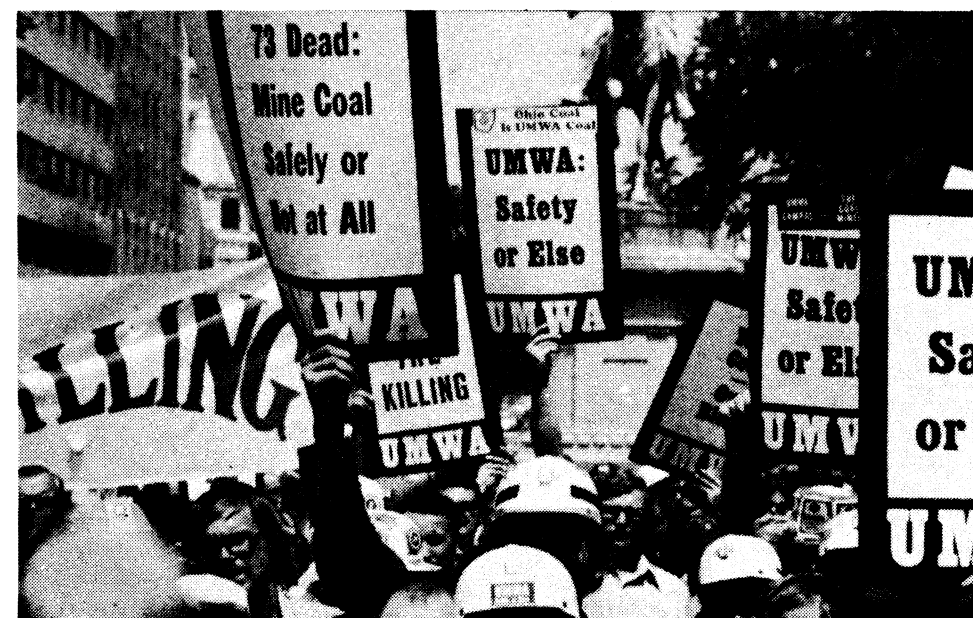
Miners at Albon's mine were recently part of coal strikes that spread throughout southern and central Illinois.

"It'll happen again, you watch," she told the *Militant*. "In another month, it'll happen at another mine. They're trying to break the miners' spirit. The bosses are out to get that coal. They'll kill for that coal."

Illinois coal reserves are massive, and the state is solidly organized by the United Mine Workers of America. But now coal companies are buying up Illinois land and withholding production in hopes of weakening environmental regulations and the union before the next boom in coal production.

About 5,800 of the state's 16,000 coal miners joined the recent wave of strikes—the most extensive anywhere since the 110-day national strike ended in March 1978. According to a UMW official, this shutdown was the largest Illinois miners' strike in five years.

The strike began at Old Ben Coal Company Mine Number 27 near West Frankfort. On September 12, a repairperson was suspended after he refused to substitute for a roof bolter because he wasn't trained for the job. Roof



Militant/Steve Watson

bolting is one of the most dangerous coal-mining jobs.

"The top is real bad in this mine," explains Albon. "Only an experienced roof bolter could do it safely." Two other miners were suspended that day for also refusing to run the roof bolter.

As news of the suspensions spread, miners began to throw up picket lines.

Then Old Ben fired five miners for picketing. This sparked more walkouts that eventually shut down fifteen mines in the area.

A federal arbitrator then ruled that the company was justified in firing four of the five pickets.

Miners began returning to work September 24, having forced the company to reinstate the three suspended miners.

Then on September 26, miners shut down Mine Number 27 for a second time in solidarity with their four fired co-workers.

These walkouts follow a strike by 1,600 miners in July of this year pro-

Rock fall kills woman miner

Pennsylvania coal miner Marilyn McCusker was killed by falling rocks October 2. She is believed to be the first woman killed in an underground mine in this country.

The accident occurred in a mine owned by the Rushton Mining Co. near Osceola Mills, Pennsylvania. McCusker, thirty-five years old, was running a roof bolter when the roof caved in.

In 1977, McCusker and three other women sued Rushton for sex discrimination because the company refused to hire them. She won a cash settlement and the job.

The United Mine Workers reports that so far this year 118 coal miners have been killed on the job in the United States and Canada.

testing Peabody Coal Company's unfair absentee policy. And currently 1,100 Peabody miners have shut down mines over local issues.

These battles will continue until the coal operators are stopped in their drive for profits at the expense of miners' lives.

Nationalizing railroads popular idea at Zimmermann meetings

By Dick Roberts

Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann carried her campaign into Kansas City, Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Salt Lake City last week. Zimmermann spoke to workers at rail yards and at auto and electric company plant gates.

She addressed classes at the University of Utah and was the featured speaker at socialist campaign rallies in both Albuquerque and Salt Lake City.

Zimmermann's visits received major newspaper, TV, and radio coverage.

In Kansas City, Zimmermann talked to striking pickets at the Rock Island Railroad's Armourdale Yard on September 29. (The thirty-eight-day strike of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks ended October 5.)

"They tried to say our strike is directed against the farmers," said one BRAC picket. "That's not true. It's against the company."

The entire yard was shut down as other railroad unions refused to cross the BRAC picket lines. President Carter had ordered the BRAC workers to return to their jobs September 20. They stayed out two more weeks.

Another Rock Island picket described the dangerous working conditions on the rails. The building they were standing in front of was 114 years old and falling apart. "Wheels are falling off rail cars," he said.

"The company has cut the work force from forty workers to eleven. We want to do a good job, we take pride in our work, but the company makes this impossible."

Zimmermann said that the situation of the Rock Island workers all the more confirmed to her the necessity of nationalizing the railroads.

Elected board

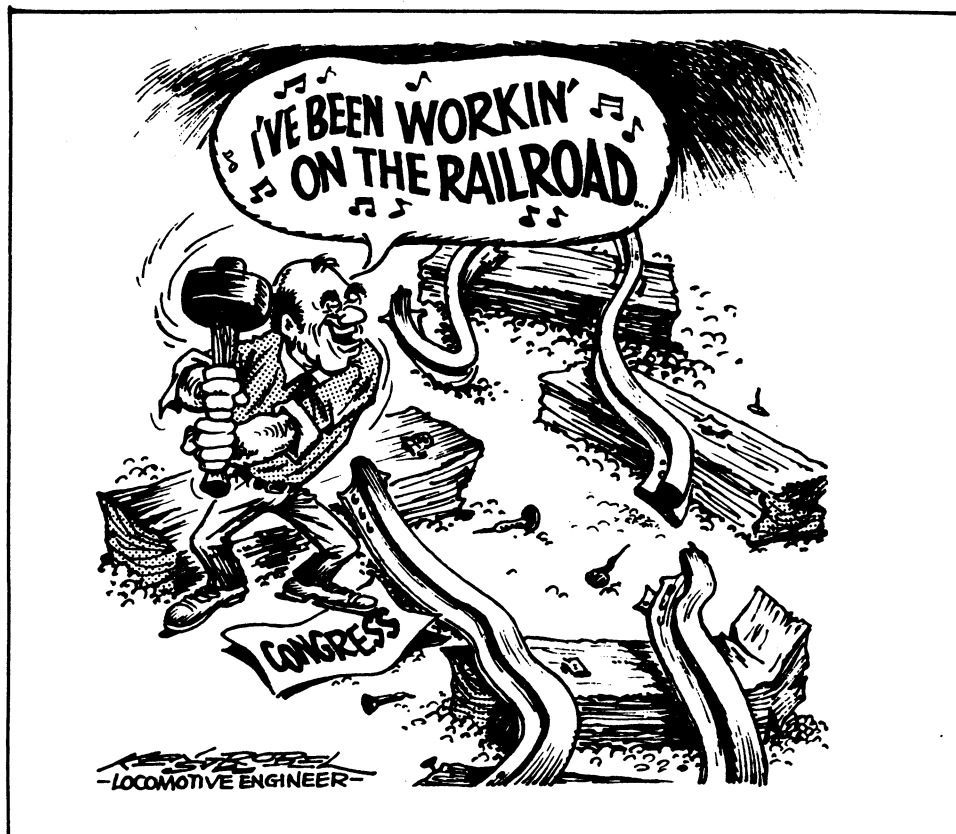
"I don't mean we should put the operation under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Department of Transportation, or any other secretive government agency."

"These government bureaucrats have long since proved their allegiance to the owners of the railroads," said Zimmermann.

"What we need is for the railroads to be managed by an elected public board. All the books and financial records of the railroads should be open for public inspection. The board's meetings and all its files should be open to the public."

"After all," she continued, "transportation affects all of us—farmers and small-business people along the rights of way and passengers. We should have a free and open debate, with all the facts in front of us, about the future of rail transportation."

Zimmermann said that at the same time the best guarantee that the railroads will be run safely and in the public interest is to entrust control over the day-to-day operations to the rail-



road workers themselves.

"Railroad workers know best of all the conditions of the roads. They should make all decisions regarding safety, hiring, firing, and job discipline."

Labor party

The idea of forming a labor party was popular with railroad and other workers Zimmermann talked to.

In Albuquerque, socialist campaign supporters set up a table with the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and socialist pamphlets and books in a parking lot of the General Electric plant.

A young Latino worker spoke with Zimmermann. "I always vote for the third party. But are you really different from the Democrats and Republicans?"

Zimmermann said that cliques of wealthy capitalists control the Democratic and Republican parties. A labor party would be based on trade unions and be controlled by workers. "I can go for that, you've got my vote," was the answer.

Most of the GE workers seemed skeptical of all politicians, but as Zimmermann hit away at the labor party idea, she got favorable responses.

Zimmermann's emphasis on the need to build a labor party was picked up by the *Kansas City Times*. "The main plank" of the Socialist Workers domestic program, the *Kansas City Times* reported, "is that the country's labor movement must form its own party to end unemployment and protect itself against the ravages of inflation."

The same newspaper reported that Zimmermann "plans to visit the front gates of the General Motors plant in Leeds to campaign during the shift change there."

Several workers in the plant read this and went out to meet Zimmermann when she arrived.

Salt Lake rally

Similar notice of Zimmermann's tour in the Salt Lake City newspapers helped to attract a big audience to the campaign rally October 6. Many were hearing a socialist candidate for the first time.

Some made financial contributions, and seventeen people signed up to find out more about the campaign.

Kermit Johnson, a working farmer in his sixties who attended the rally, enthusiastically promised to take the socialist campaign back to the farmlands of North Dakota where he lives.

Johnson said there was a lot of socialist sentiment in his area, sparked by the energy ripoff and the crisis of the railroads, which are supposed to serve the farmers.

His own farm is served by the bankrupt Milwaukee Road. "The Milwaukee Road doesn't want to serve farmers anyway," said Johnson. "Their rates are too high. We also have to travel 400 miles to get to a rail line that takes passengers."

Johnson's solution: "Nationalize the railroads and force them to serve the people!"

Two women from Logan, Utah, who attended the Salt Lake rally said they wanted to start a socialist campaign committee in Logan.

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.



Hear the
Socialist
Workers
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BOSTON

Working People and the
1980 Elections

Speaker:

Andrew Pulley,

SWP candidate for president

Saturday, October 13, 8 p.m.

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Fourth Floor, Kenmore Square

For more information call

(617) 262-4621

MINNEAPOLIS

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speakers:

Matilde Zimmermann,

SWP candidate for vice-president

Gayle Swann, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis

Saturday, October 20

Refreshments 6 p.m.

Banquet 7 p.m.

Rally 8 p.m. Party to follow

3055 Central Avenue, N.E.

For more information call

(612) 222-8929

Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Oct. 15-16

Atlanta

Oct. 19-20

Birmingham

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Oct. 14-15

San Diego

Oct. 19-20

Minneapolis

Oct. 23-24

New Orleans

other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Oct. 15 18-20

Puget Sound

Oct. 21, 25-27

Washington
D.C./Baltimore

Fred Halstead

Oct. 15

New York

Oct. 19-21

Chicago/
Gary

Oct. 28-31

Bay Area

Héctor Marroquín

Oct. 12-14

Detroit

Oct. 18-20

Indianapolis

Oct. 23

Bloomsburg, Pa.

Oct. 27-28, 31

Albany

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

Pulley &
Zimmermann
in 1980!

Tours highlight 1980 socialist campaign

By Jane Roland

- In San Antonio, workers outside the Turbine Support Plant wave and raise their fists to greet Héctor Marroquín and Anthony González. González, who works at the plant, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. Several workers take extra campaign leaflets into the plant to distribute.

- In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, near Three Mile Island, forty people turn out to hear a speech by Fred Halstead, a leader of the SWP. Halstead speaks on the dangers of nuclear power and what labor can do to build the movement against it.

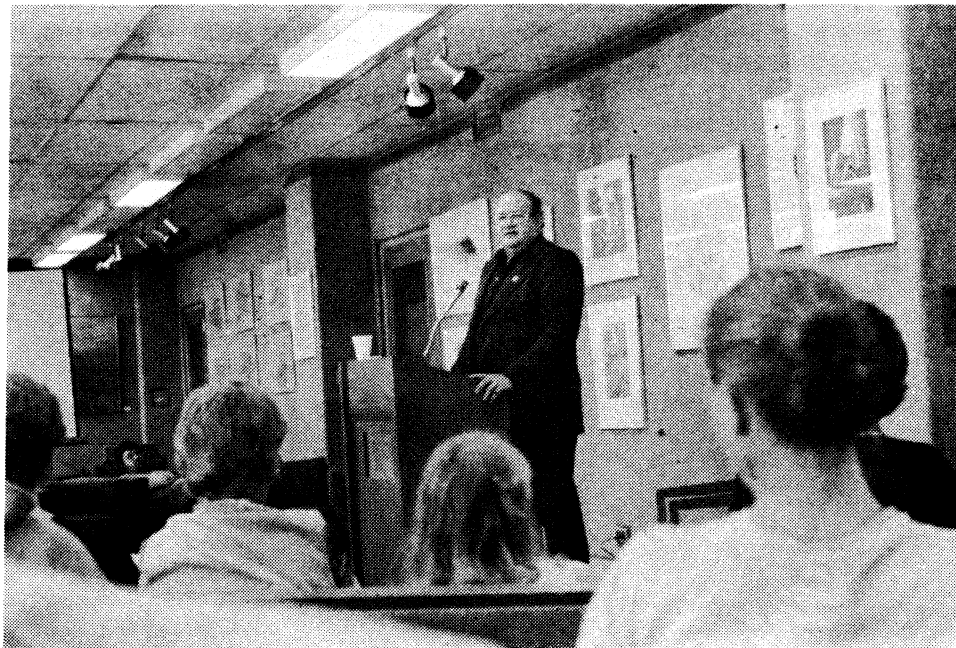
- In Milwaukee, several Nicaraguan students are among those who turn out for a campus meeting to hear an eyewitness report from Nicaragua by Cathy Sedwick, who has just returned from a visit there. Sedwick also visited Cuba this summer. She urges all those present to help build a campaign of solidarity with the revolution in Nicaragua.

All across the country Marroquín, Sedwick, and Halstead are reaching working people and youth with news about the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. To get people involved in the SWP 1980 presidential campaign, they will visit more than sixty cities in the next few months.

The revolution in Nicaragua and opposition to Carter's threats against Cuba have been major themes in the opening weeks of the tours.

In response to Carter's war moves aimed at the Caribbean and Central America, the socialist campaigners held news conferences, were interviewed on radio stations, and spoke at rallies exposing Carter's lies and explaining the truth about the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

On September 23, Héctor Marroquín



Fred Halstead speaks at Penn State Middletown campus, near Harrisburg. Militant/Arnold Weissberg

returned to Texas, where his deportation hearing last April brought him prominence and media attention. In Dallas, the *Morning News* has given his struggle to win political asylum a lot of coverage. It noted in a September 27 article that "this is his fourth road trip around the country . . . Marroquín has an added cause this trip. It is the American Socialist Workers Party and its candidates for President—Chicago-area steelworker Andrew Pulley—and vice-president—Matilde Zimmermann, a staff writer for the party's newspaper, the *Militant*."

Marroquín was interviewed by other media as well, including the Spanish-language weekly *El Sol de Texas*, which has closely followed his case. He appeared on the Ed Bush call-in show on WFAA radio for the third time. The show had been scheduled to last forty-

five minutes but the station received so many calls from interested listeners that it kept going for an hour and a half.

Marroquín spoke to the MEChA chapter at the University of Texas in San Antonio on October 3. He sold several subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to students there and at a public campus meeting the next day.

Sedwick described her visit to Nicaragua at a Militant Labor Forum in Toledo. "The people of Nicaragua fought hard to get rid of Somoza," she said, "and now they need our support more than ever. U.S. working people must demand that this government help feed and rebuild the country. And we must defend Nicaragua and Cuba against threats of military interven-

tion by the U.S."

All the campaign speakers are making a special point of meeting informally with workers and students who are interested in socialist ideas. In Toledo, Sedwick and Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for mayor, met with several United Auto Workers members for dinner. Marroquín met with a number of supporters of his case for a long political discussion in Dallas. And they are all participating in the national sales drive by selling *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions wherever they go.

Halstead's meetings on Nicaragua are enlivened by a series of slides he took while visiting there. Sixty people came to see the slides and hear what he had to say at a forum September 29 in Philadelphia.

Among those present were a number of Nicaraguans. One, a local leader of the solidarity movement, arranged to have Halstead speak to activists in the Latino community in Camden, New Jersey. He also asked for copies of the slides so the group could further publicize the truth about the revolution.

Halstead also went to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he spoke to a meeting at the Middletown campus of Pennsylvania State University. Most of those in attendance had lived through the nightmare of the Three Mile Island disaster last spring.

If you would like to arrange for one of the socialist campaigners to visit your area, contact: SWP Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014, telephone (212) 675-3820. Marroquín is available through the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003, telephone (212) 691-3587.

Your dollars keep campaign in the news

By Duncan Williams

More than \$24,000 has now been collected in the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee's \$80,000 fund drive. The drive runs until December 15.

One of the best indications that the socialist campaign is on the right track, and that it is one of the best investments around, is the wide media coverage the campaign has received so far. In their brief two- and three-day stops, candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann have received unprecedented, generally serious coverage in the local press, radio, and TV.

"Working People Must Help Rule" was the headline of a front-page article on Andrew Pulley in the Norfolk, Va., *Journal and Guide*, a Black weekly. Pulley began his nationwide tour in Newport News last month.

In a *Newport News Daily Press* article entitled "Socialist Candidate Says Response is 'Very Good,'" Pulley explained the reasons for this good response:

"People will be convinced [of socialist ideas] by the lashes they receive from the capitalist profit drive. That's the decisive factor. What convinces

them is the real experience. The capitalists do the convincing by creating the problems."

The article went on to list "the immediate objects of a Socialist administration."

"He would withdraw American troops from Guantanamo, Cuba, and send immediate aid to Nicaragua and Vietnam. He would shut down the nuclear power and nuclear weapons industries, turning federal support to housing, health and education.

"He would end mandatory overtime in industry and move toward establishing a 30-hour workweek with no loss of pay. The shortened workweek would provide jobs for the unemployed, he said.

"In other domestic issues, he would press for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"On the question of energy, Pulley favors public ownership of utilities and other energy companies, removing profit from the energy industry."

At both Newport News and at Greensboro, North Carolina, Pulley showed solidarity with the drive to organize southern labor. "Working people must have unions," he told the *Greensboro Daily News*. "They must have organization. You cannot convince the owners that the workers demands are just; neither could the slaves convince the slave masters."

An article on Matilde Zimmermann in the *Kansas City Times* began: "It's one of the first organized presidential campaigns in the 1980 elections, and it was brought to Kansas City on Sunday by a thirty-six-year-old woman who would like to see workers run the U.S. government."

As a first step toward this goal, Zimmermann explained, the socialist campaign is proposing the formation of a labor party. "If the labor movement in Kansas City took the step of fielding candidates for local offices, I think they'd be amazed at the support they'd have," she was quoted in the article.

The *Kansas City Times* article informed its readers that Zimmermann would be campaigning at the front gate of the General Motors plant in Leeds that day. Several workers at the plant came to meet her just from reading the paper.

Zimmermann also received advance publicity on the Minnesota Iron Range, her first tour stop, where

the *Mesabi Daily News* ran a brief listing of her tour schedule. In a front-page article on Sunday, September 23, the *Daily News* focused on the socialist's call for an end to the economic blockade of Cuba, withdrawal of U.S. forces from Guantánamo Naval Base, and solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Socialist workers on the Iron Range feel that Zimmermann's tour did more than anything else in the past year to put the Socialist Workers Party on the map in northern Minnesota.

Campaign rallies in several cities have also drawn coverage—for example, the September 29 rally in Cleveland to launch the Ohio petitioning effort now under way. Andrew Pulley spoke at the rally and was interviewed in the *Plain Dealer* the next day.

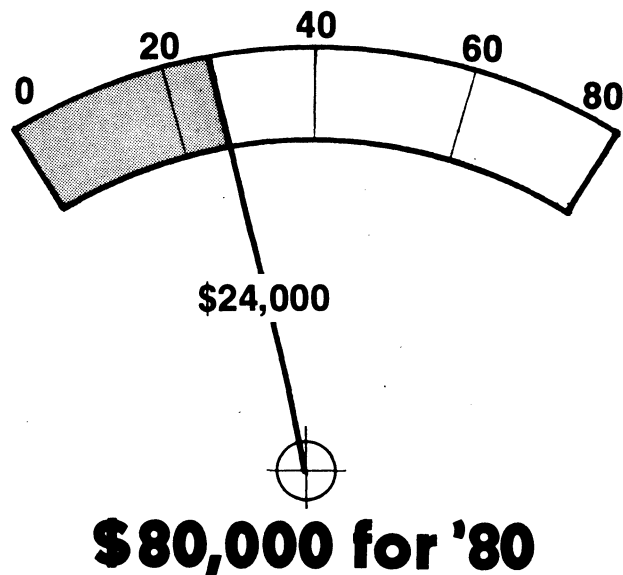
"Working people need power to benefit politically and economically," he said. "The present candidates are pledged to the status quo and under them conditions will only worsen for the working people. I am running for the interests of Blacks, women, and the working class."

If you would like to see more coverage of the socialist campaign, you can help out by sending a contribution to the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
I pledge \$15 — \$25 — \$50 — \$100 — to
the socialist campaign by December 15.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____

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.

A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.



Demand nuclear shutdown

SHUT DOWN PRAIRIE ISLAND! Prairie Island, near Red Wing, Minnesota, is an Indian reservation. It is also the site of a nuclear power plant.

On October 2 the Prairie Island plant spewed radioactive steam into the air for thirty-seven minutes. Gayle Swann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, responded with a call for "the immediate shutdown of the Prairie Island plant."

"Indians on the Prairie Island Reservation and farmers in the area were the most immediately affected," Swann said.

"Three Mile Island could happen here. Northern States Power Company, which operates the plant, is lying through its teeth when it says that the plant is safe.

"The emission of nuclear radiation is proof of the potential for catastrophe that exists. There is no safe level of radiation.

"The SWP supports the position of the United Mine Workers—coal, mined safely and burned with pollution controls, is an immediate, practical alternative to deadly nuclear power.

"I urge the working people

and students of Minnesota to get active in the fight against nuclear energy. We must continue to build a powerful movement, here in Minnesota and nationally, to force the government and the energy industry to shut down all nuclear plants NOW!"

US & THEM: In most electoral contests there are many candidates but few choices. In Phoenix this November there are only two mayoral candidates and two clear choices: incumbent Republican Margaret Hance and Socialist Workers candidate Dan Fein. No Democrat will be on the ballot.

"Seldom is there such a clear cut choice," said Fein. "Hance sits on the board of directors of one of the largest banks. I am a steelworker and pledge to represent the interests of the working people of Phoenix."

Fein is a member of Steelworkers Local 4102. He has been campaigning against the anti-union "right to work" laws and for the Equal Rights Amendment, which the Arizona legislature still refuses to pass. He has also urged an immediate halt to construction of the

Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station just outside of Phoenix.

Fein sent a letter to union locals in the Phoenix area asking to speak before their meetings. The letter says in part: "As a member of United Steelworkers of America, Local 4102, I feel strongly that labor should have a voice in the municipal elections. I am campaigning against the 'right to work' laws as well as other causes in the interest of unions and all working people. . . .

"I think the membership of your union would be interested in hearing a union brother who is running for Mayor of Phoenix."

The response has been excellent. In the last few weeks Fein has spoken to meetings of Communications Workers Local 8519 and Steelworkers Local 5913. He has explained, at these union meetings, why working people need their own party, a labor party based on the unions.

So far, Republican Hance has refused to meet Fein in a debate. One television newscaster called Fein to arrange a question and answer ses-

sion with the two mayoral candidates.

"I accepted enthusiastically. Margaret Hance says she's all booked up!" said Fein. "What could be more important than a debate so Phoenix voters can make an informed decision?"

For more information on how you can help write: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1243 E. McDowell Road, Phoenix, Arizona 85006, tel: 602-255-0450.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Dan Fein, SWP candidate for mayor of Phoenix.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION: The Young Socialist Alliance will hold its national convention in Louisville, Kentucky, from December 29-January 1. A high point of the convention will be a rally featuring Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. The YSA will discuss how to throw maximum energy into the SWP 1980 campaign.

Activists will come from around the country to participate in the convention. Discussion will take place on the Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Iranian revolutions. The YSA has also planned workshops to discuss winning the Equal Rights Amendment, defending abortion rights, and stopping nuclear power.

In addition, young workers will get together to discuss a plan of action to bring these important issues into their industrial unions.

The YSA has just published a new brochure entitled "Solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution." The brochure contains all the details on the convention. To order write: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

'GETS TO PEOPLE': "Boy, you really get to these people. How do you do it?" That was the response of one Republican hopeful to the cheers of an audience

listening to Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Toledo.

"It's not me," said Skinner. "It's the ideas I represent."

"The problems facing Toledoans are the same as in every city," Skinner told the gathering, sponsored by the Toledo chapter of the National Clients' Council.

"High unemployment, cuts in already inadequate social services, and discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, and women exist because big business runs the city. The best way to change this is for us to run the city in our interests. That is why we need our own party."

The crowd, including representatives from senior citizens groups, welfare rights organizations, and Black community groups, liked what Skinner and George Windau, Socialist Workers candidate for city council, had to say. After the meeting the Socialist Workers candidates were invited to appear on the local Black radio station, and to speak to groups at four Black churches.

—L. Paltrineri



SWP mayoral candidate Gayle Swann campaigns in Minneapolis

Militant

Ohio ballot drive: 'Socialists? I'll sign for that'

By Peter Archer

TOLEDO—"Socialists? Sure, I'll sign for that." The young Black man reached for the pen and wrote his name firmly across the petition.

All over Ohio similar scenes were repeated hundreds of times as socialists fanned out across the state in the first days of a drive to put the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot.

Ohio is the first state where campaign supporters are petitioning to put the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket on the 1980 ballot. In the coming year twenty-five or more states will join in the petitioning effort.

Over the weekend of October 6-7, campaigners in Cleveland, Toledo and Cincinnati collected 1,518 signatures to put Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president, and his running mate Matilde Zimmermann, on the Ohio ballot. In addition, they collected 1,499 signatures for John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio.

Top petitioners were in Cincinnati, where 1,595 signatures were obtained. One campaigner got 171 signatures in a single afternoon in a shopping center.

It rained all day in Toledo, but petitioners still got more than 900 people to sign the socialist petitions.

Sue Skinner, currently the SWP candidate for mayor of Toledo, was petitioning in a shopping center in the city's Black community. While talking to one woman, Skinner mentioned her campaign for mayor.

"Wow! You're the one who's running for mayor?" the woman exclaimed.

A young man who had run into the socialists in Toledo before came by.

"Hey, where's that paper you used to sell?" he demanded. Skinner handed him a copy of the *Militant*. His subscription, it seems, had run out.

Now, talking to Skinner, he said he wanted to find out more about the Socialist Workers Party. He renewed his *Militant* subscription and arranged to have dinner with some of the socialist campaigners to discuss their ideas

at greater length.

Because of notoriously undemocratic elections laws, candidates who are not members of the Democratic and Republican parties must obtain thousands of signatures in order to have their names listed on the ballot.

The Ohio laws require independent candidates to gather 5,000 signatures for ballot status. This means the socialist candidates have to collect 10,000 signatures—5,000 for Pulley and Zimmermann and 5,000 for Powers. To ensure the success of the drive, they plan to double that number—20,000 signatures—to be gathered in four weeks.

With 3,017 signatures collected thus far, the ballot drive is somewhat behind schedule. Petitioning organizers are discussing ways to catch up in the coming weeks. They are confident they can do so, and complete the drive on time by the end of October.

Petitioners found a lot of interest in the campaign of John Powers for Senate.

Powers is a member of United Auto

Workers Local 451 in Cleveland. He urges that the UAW and other powerful industrial unions get together and run labor candidates for public office.

"If one major local launched an independent labor campaign for some office, other unions would start discussing the possibilities in a new way," explained Powers. "This would immediately have a major impact on politics throughout the country. It would be greeted with enthusiasm by the ranks of labor."

"A labor party can begin on a local level. One thing is certain, it will never begin unless somebody starts it."

In addition to the weekend petitioning, the socialists plan to collect signatures among co-workers in the plants where they work.

Some of them already know about the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign and want to help circulate the petitions.

The socialists will also petition at plant gates where they already sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Rising dissent: U.S. Catholics vs. pope

By Harry Ring

There is growing opposition among Catholics to the backward social policies of the church, particularly on women's rights.

This came through, despite the unprecedented media buildup, during the pope's seven-day U.S. campaign tour.

John Paul was here to challenge that mounting opposition to church doctrine, a doctrine dedicated to preservation of the status quo.

He proved expert at what U.S. politicians call "working the crowds." But while the manner purported to be warm and charming, the message was hard-nosed and clear: the Vatican will not yield an inch on its reactionary policies.

The opposition proved equally stubborn.

Imagine. In the midst of this incredible show, as national TV cameras roll,

a nun publicly defies the pope.

Sister Theresa Kane did that in welcoming him to a Washington service.

Hitting at his repeated declarations of opposition to women becoming priests, Sister Theresa declared:

"As I share this privileged moment with you, your holiness, I urge you to be mindful of the intense suffering and pain which is part of the life of many women in these United States. I call upon you to listen with compassion and to hear the call of women who comprise half of humankind."

She was not alone in her defiance. Fifty-three of the nuns present stood up before the astonished pope in protest. Some 250 of the 5,000 nuns present came in civilian dress, in pointed defiance of the pope's declared preference that nuns wear only religious garb.

The pope says that his stand against women becoming priests in no way interferes with their civil or human rights.

But his bitter opposition to birth control, abortion, and divorce makes it clear: Women are second-class citizens, and if it's up to him, they'll stay that way.

A question was posed by Ray Carrasco, one of four teenagers chosen to escort John Paul at his Madison Square Garden appearance in New York City. Carrasco told reporters he would like to ask the pope about the "abortion issue."

"Why does he feel so strong about it?" the teenager asked. "In my parish in Brooklyn some people cannot have more kids. They cannot afford to feed the kids they have."

In Boston, the day before the pope's arrival, 250 Catholics gathered at a church to voice their objection to the decision not to let women help distribute communion during his visit.

That decision, intended to underline the church hierarchy's implacable opposition to women's rights, was also protested by Priests for Equality, a national grouping numbering nearly 2,000 members.

There were some who did like what John Paul had to say. For instance, an October 2 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* pointed to his Dublin speech as indicating a "formidable intellect."

There, in addition to counseling the victims of centuries of British oppression to shun "violence," the pope also inveighed against "pervading materialism."

"Prosperity and affluence," he warned, "even when they are only beginning to be available to larger strata of society, tend to make people assume that they have a right to all that prosperity can bring, and thus they can become more selfish in their demands."

Said the *Wall Street Journal*: "One does not need to be deeply religious to wonder whether this civilization can sustain itself if it slips too far from its Judeo-Christian mooring."

Quite a number of people don't share the *Journal's* concern.

Each year more priests leave the church. In the past decade, the number of U.S. priests declined by 25 percent. Seminary enrollment in the same period dropped from 46,000 to 16,800.

According to an Associated Press/NBC News Poll, 46 percent of U.S. Catholics favor the right of women to be priests.

Priests should be allowed to marry, say 53 percent.

Divorce should be permitted, even where children are involved, respond 63 percent.

Sixty-six percent favor contraceptive birth control.

And, the poll found, 50 percent of Catholics now favor abortion on demand.

John Paul's tour was not quite as triumphal as the tube indicated.

NOW hits pope on rights issue

LOS ANGELES—At the October 5-7 convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW), President Eleanor Smeal condemned the pope's attacks on women. She told a news conference that contrary to the pope's reactionary views, "NOW is for working women and for the right to birth control."

Smeal repeated this theme in her keynote address to the convention. "The majority of Catholics in the nation support birth control and reproductive rights," she declared.

NOW members cheered her remarks. Many participants sported anti-pope buttons throughout the convention, and Catholics who were present wore blue armbands to symbolize their opposition to the pope's antiwoman views.



Bill Schorr/Los Angeles Herald-Examiner

Protest assails Mexico's fake 'amnesty'

By Roger Rudenstein

NEW YORK—Torture, murder, and kidnapping of political activists remain the norm in Mexico, says Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

Piedra was in New York City September 27 to denounce the López Portillo regime's brutal repression and to support Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist seeking political asylum in the U.S.

Her visit coincided with José Lopez Portillo's appearance at the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"Today, as Lopez Portillo is here before the UN, we have come to point out that in our country, even though every day there is talk of respect for the laws—even though they break relations with despotic and cruel governments because they kidnap and

torture—in Mexico the same thing takes place," she stated.

Piedra is a leader of the Mexican Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared", and Exiled. She is widely regarded as an authority on human rights.

In late 1978, López Portillo enacted an amnesty law, designed to head-off growing international criticism of the brutal repression directed against workers, students, and peasants. The amnesty purported to free all political prisoners.

"The amnesty is a sham," said Piedra. Although 600 have been released, over 100 political prisoners remain in jail, she explained and over 470 have been "disappeared" by the White Brigade and army. The White Brigade is a paramilitary unit made up of different branches of the police.

Piedra released to the press the testimony of Bertha Garcia de Zazueta, a twenty-three-year-old mother who was kidnapped by police on July 19.

Zazueta was picked up with her husband, a university professor, and several relatives, all of whom were accused of being guerrillas. She was mercilessly tortured in the presence of her husband and her fourteen-month-old daughter. The police also tortured her child with electric prods in an attempt to force a false confession out of Zazueta.

Because she remained firm and refused to sign anything—and because of a publicity campaign initiated by Piedra's committee—the authorities were forced to release Zazueta and several other women. The men remain

in Military Camp No. 1.

Piedra pointed out that Zazueta is the first "disappeared" person to make a public denunciation of her treatment.

In her written testimony Zazueta states, "I make the denunciation because I believe that it is necessary to make it clear that in Mexico there are clandestine jails and in them can be found hundreds of disappeared political activists as well as common people who were disappeared, and that torture is practiced systematically with

total impunity."

The Committee is asking that letters be sent to the Mexican government protesting the "disappearances" and torture of Zazueta, in order to protect her from reprisals.

Protest messages can be sent to: Presidente José López Portillo, Los Pinos, Mexico, D.F., Mexico. Copies should be sent to Comité Pro-Defensa de Presos, Perseguidos, Desaparecidos y Exiliados Políticos, Guayaquil 205, Col. Altavista, Monterrey, N.L.

Threat to Marroquin's safety

One of the main arguments used by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deny asylum to Héctor Marroquín is that the Mexican government has "eliminated" repression.

Rosario Piedra's account of continued violations of human rights gives the lie to this claim.

Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance seeking political asylum in the United States. He fled here in 1974 after being framed up on false charges of terrorism by the Mexican police.

"I am seeking political asylum in the U.S.," Marroquín said, "because if I were returned to Mexico my human rights would not be recognized by the government and its armed terror squads."

"On July 8, Heriberto Calvo Pineda, a member of the Partido

Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [Revolutionary Workers Party—sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party] was murdered by authorities in the state of Oaxaca. This shows what Lopez Portillo's amnesty law is worth."

Calvo Pineda was a leader and founder of the Independent Union of the Indian Communities of the Mazateca Mountains, a peasant organization. He also worked with the Revolutionary Workers Party to build an electoral alternative to the corrupt municipal government.

Marroquín continued: "I urge my supporters to join in denouncing the brutal rights violations in Mexico and to support the demands of the Mexican human rights movement: Present the 'disappeared'—Free all political prisoners—Stop the torture—Disband the White Brigade!"



Militant/Miguel Pendas

ROSARIO IBARRA DE PIEDRA

Broad support can be won

New opportunities in fight for gay rights

By Harry Ring

The nation's first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, set for October 14, will help put a spotlight on the fight to end the victimization of homosexuals. It is also a contribution to the defense of everyone's privacy and civil liberties.

It is only in the past decade that a significant, visible movement for the rights of lesbians and gay men has emerged.

For too many years, lesbians and gays have been the victims of discrimination and abuse. Deepgoing, irrational prejudice has been fostered against them. Bigoted attitudes have been justified with the scientifically false assertion that homosexuals are "sick" and "perverted."

Psychiatrists reject myth

A strong blow was delivered against such biased notions when the American Psychiatric Association decided, in 1973, to stop including homosexuality in its compendium of "sicknesses."

This action by the nation's leading psychiatric body came at a time of growing public recognition that gays and lesbians are entirely justified in pressing for an end to the victimization they suffer and to the myths and stereotypes used to justify that victimization.

A measure of changed public attitudes is the fact that some forty cities across the United States have enacted gay rights ordinances. And now, for the first time, a gay rights statute is pending in Congress.

Certainly, the antigay forces have not thrown in the towel. But they are losing, not gaining, ground.

Inspired by the example of the women's movement, as well as by struggles of Blacks and Chicanos, increasing numbers of lesbians and gay men have determined to stand up for their rights.

That always commands attention—and respect. Recognition of this fight as an important civil rights question has grown steadily, especially among those who are also the victims of prejudice and discrimination. This is reflected in the fact that more than a quarter of the sponsors of the congressional gay rights bill are Black.

Reasonable demands

Certainly the demands of the October 14 demonstration are reasonable and just, deserving the broadest support. Homosexuals are entitled to the protection of their constitutional rights that these demands represent. In addition, guaranteeing these rights will help to strengthen the overall fight

against discrimination and for equal treatment for everyone.

Sexual orientation and sexual conduct between consenting adults should be an entirely private matter. The government has no business meddling with that personal right.

Repeal of antigay laws would help curb widespread police abuse. And anything that curbs the cops benefits all working people.

The demand for an end to antigay discrimination in employment is particularly important. When employers have the right to discriminate against anyone on the job, such discrimination is inevitably used to divide and weaken the entire work force.

The demand for the protection of lesbian and gay youth against laws that are used to victimize them is also important. Defense of the rights of homosexual youth will contribute to the general fight against laws that oppress young people.

Broad support can be won

Support for the demands projected by the Washington demonstration can be won from broad layers of the population—particularly from working people, who have the biggest stake in defending democratic rights.

On the basis of day-to-day experiences in the shops and on the picket lines, workers develop a sense of solidarity and fair play for all victims of oppression. Workers see that an injury to one is indeed an injury to all. That's why progressive causes have historically found their greatest receptivity in the working class.

This is particularly true of the most militant sectors of the working class, those who are themselves the targets of discrimination. Women workers Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans have a special stake in opposing all forms of bias.

Organized labor has a real stake in championing the gay rights struggle. Discrimination, prejudice, and infringement of democratic rights all play into the hands of the employers.

It's no accident that such union-busting outfits as Coors brewery are notorious for using lie-detector tests to snoop into employees' lives. Antigay witch-hunting is used to intimidate all workers.

In attacking democratic rights, the capitalists generally start out with those they consider most vulnerable. But it never stops there. Step by step, they try to move closer to their primary target—the organized working class, which they know has the potential power to stop them in their tracks.

Today, in a deepening economic crisis, the employers' antilabor offensive is escalating. But so is working-class resistance to it. As part of this, there is a growing recognition of the need for labor solidarity with all victims of oppression.

Many white workers have had to overcome their prejudices and recognize that their unions can't survive if Black people are denied equal rights.

Photos of southern white and Black workers standing shoulder to shoulder against a bloody police attack during the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard strike last spring illustrated that white workers are learning the need for solidarity.

Women's rights

Similarly, a growing number of male workers are learning that it's in their own best interests to defend women's rights on the job. As a result of that growing awareness, unions are playing a central role today in the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The labor movement can also be won to the fight for lesbian and gay rights.

That was proven by the union opposition to an initiative in the 1978 California election.

Socialist backs gay rights bill

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, will be marching October 14 in the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

In a statement issued on the eve of the demonstration, Pulley said his party endorses the demands of the action.

He called for passage of House Bill 2074, which would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by adding the words "affectional or sexual orientation" to the list of prohibited grounds for discrimination in the areas of employment, housing, public accommodations, and federal assistance.

Pulley, a steelworker, said, "Passage of this amendment will strengthen the civil rights act as a whole and is in the best interest of all working people. As long as the civil rights of any group in society are under attack, we are all victims."

"In the course of my campaign,"



Militant/David McDonald

ANDREW PULLEY

Pulley added, "I will seek support for this bill and for lesbian and gay rights. I see this as part of the fight to advance the interests of all working people, and I'm confident we can win trade-union support on the issue."

Authored by John Briggs, a right-wing state senator, a proposition was put on the California ballot that would have authorized school boards to fire homosexual teachers and advocates of homosexual rights.

That little phrase—"advocates"—helped make the game plan clear. In addition to the reactionary idea of victimizing people for their sexual orientation, teachers would also be victimized for their ideas. It was plain that any teacher unionist could fall victim to this kind of a witch-hunt proposition.

Virtually the entire trade-union movement in California declared its opposition to the Briggs amendment.

The California AFL-CIO, the Longshoremen, the Machinists, the Auto Workers, the California Federation of Teachers and California Educational Association, and many more, blasted the proposition as antilabor as well as antigay.

The Briggs amendment was defeated by California voters, 59 percent to 41 percent.

System of oppression

The big-business news media often focus on such outspoken bigots as Briggs and Anita Bryant as the central opponents of lesbian and gay rights. But these types are merely the products of the institutionalized system of antigay oppression.

That system of oppression is written

into law, enforced, defended, and promoted by politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties.

It is a reflection of the changing times that today some Democrats and Republicans solicit support from gay rights partisans. But their aim in doing so is to derail any independent gay rights struggle.

In the 1980 elections, there is only one ticket that gives unconditional support to the fight for lesbian and gay rights. That is the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

Pulley and Zimmermann are putting forward working-class answers to the racist, sexist, antilabor, and antidemocratic policies of the capitalist parties.

Pulley told the *Militant* that the new rise of working-class combativity opens inspiring prospects for the gay rights struggle.

"On a world scale, capitalism is suffering massive setbacks," he said. "And right here in America, the conditions are developing—more rapidly than many realize—for a showdown between capital and labor. The outcome of every progressive cause is bound up with the ability of the American workers to take society's destiny in their hands."

"A workers government will outlaw every form of discrimination and set about the construction of a socialist society of freedom, justice, and equality."

Demands of D.C. march

The following are the demands of the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights:

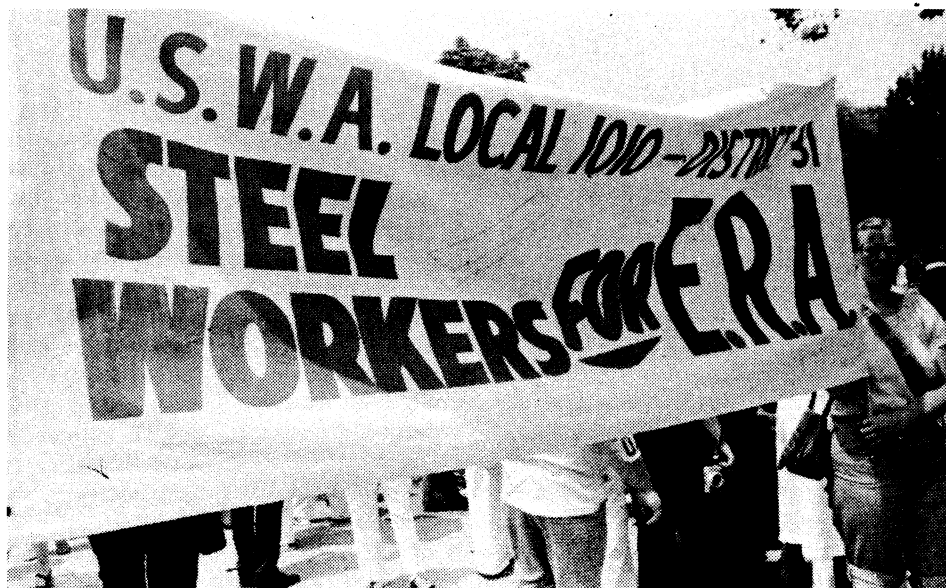
Repeal of all antilebian/gay laws.

Pass a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill in Congress.

Issue a presidential executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the federal government, the military, and federally contracted private employment.

End discrimination in lesbian-mother and gay-father custody cases.

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.



Militant/Lou Howort

Labor support for ERA reflects growing recognition that unionists have direct stake in fight for equality and fair play for all victims of discrimination.

U.S. imperialism vs. the

Below we are publishing the remaining two sections of the political resolution adopted at the August 1979 convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The October 'International Socialist Review,' which appeared in last week's 'Militant,' carried the sections of the resolution on the American ruling class's assault on the rights and living standards of working people in this country and the growing fightback in response to these attacks.

The following sections provide the world political framework in which the U.S. class struggle is accelerating.

The Crisis of U.S. Imperialism and Washington's War Drive

In the past two years four major advances for the world revolution have registered the shift in the class relationship of forces against imperialism and in favor of the world working class.

1. In February-March 1978, the Ethiopian army, along with 20,000 Cuban soldiers, defeated the invasion of Ethiopia by Somalia. The goal of this imperialist-inspired attack was to roll back the conquests and destroy the example of the Ethiopian revolution. The territory claimed and occupied by Somalia included areas where the antifeudal agrarian revolution had been the most thoroughgoing.

The mass urban and rural mobilizations in Ethiopia, which began in 1974, were the largest and deepest ever to occur in Black Africa. In the second most populous country south of the Sahara, with some 30 million inhabitants, the workers and peasants overthrew a feudal monarchy, achieved a sweeping land redistribution, gave impetus to struggles for national self-determination, won separation of church and state, carried out a series of far-reaching nationalizations, launched a mass literacy drive, and initiated other progressive social programs.

This example of intransigent anti-imperialist struggle was a major blow to imperialism both because of Ethiopia's size and strategic location in the Horn of Africa, and because of the growing crisis of imperialist rule throughout southern Africa. Revolutionary Cuba's audacious military defense of the Ethiopian revolution weights the scales throughout all Africa more heavily in favor of those fighting imperialist domination.

2. In the spring of 1978, basing itself on mass mobilizations, the Vietnamese government abolished the last strongholds of capitalist power in southern Vietnam. This marked the consolidation of a single, unified workers state throughout Vietnam. It ranks as the third most populous workers state in the world, after China and the USSR.

Since then, Washington's intensified drive to contain the Vietnamese revolution and undermine the new workers state has backfired. War-devastated Vietnam defended itself against the imperialist campaign of economic blockade, diplomatic isolation, and increasing military pressure by helping Kampuchean insurgents topple Pol Pot's reactionary capitalist regime in January 1979.

Peking's invasion of Vietnam, carried out at Washington's urging, did not achieve imperialism's central goal of forcing a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea and reestablishing a proimperialist government there. To the contrary, Vietnam increased its support to the new Kampuchean regime. The destruction of the Pol Pot government eliminated a direct threat to the Vietnamese revolution. It has also created more favorable conditions for the struggle of the workers and peasants to establish workers states in Kampuchea and Laos. And it has inspired a deepening of the class struggle in Thailand. The geographical buffer against the Thai toilers becoming "infected" by the Vietnamese revolution has been eliminated.

3. In February 1979 a massive, year-long revolutionary upsurge in Iran culminated in the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of the shah. A country of 34 million, which produced 10 percent of the oil sold on the world market, Iran under the Pahlavi monarchy had been a bulwark of support to imperialism in the Mideast.

As the Iranian revolution deepened, it unleashed powerful struggles by the oil workers and

other sections of the industrial proletariat, the urban semiproletarian masses, the poor peasants, oppressed nationalities, and women. Mass pressure led to the shutdown of U.S. military posts in Iran and the shutoff of Iranian oil supplies to South Africa and Israel. Banks and certain other foreign and domestic property were nationalized. Hundreds of the most notorious hangmen of the shah's regime were executed. Women demonstrated for full equality. The revolution strengthened the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionist oppression, inspired Arab workers throughout the region, and set an example for the oppressed masses in other semicolonial countries.

From the outset, the Iranian bourgeoisie and its religious front men were divided over how to put the lid on the unfolding process of permanent revolution. The Khomeini-Bazargan government launched a drive to repress the insurgent Kurds, Arabs, and other oppressed nationalities; to demobilize the revolutionary-minded workers and soldiers; and to restrict the freedoms won by the masses through the overthrow of the shah. This repressive drive became particularly intense over the summer of 1979.

If the Iranian toilers can beat back reaction, topple the capitalist government, and move toward the establishment of a workers and peasants government, this would send an electrifying revolutionary impulse throughout the world. It would even reach into several of the oppressed nations within the Soviet Union.

4. On July 19, 1979, the bloody Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, installed and maintained by U.S. imperialism for more than forty years, was overthrown by a massive nationwide popular insurrection that capped a coordinated offensive by the rebel armed forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The old regime and Somoza's hated National Guard were dismantled. Extensive nationalizations, land redistribution, and widespread trade-union organization were begun in the first weeks of the victory. Such measures were taken at the initiative of the toilers and organized by the revolutionists of the FSLN.

The proletarian and semiproletarian urban masses, who played a decisive role in the overthrow of Somoza, have placed their stamp on the process now under way. The road has been opened that can lead to the victory of a socialist revolution.

But imperialism is determined to prevent this. It is bringing to bear its diplomatic, economic, and military resources to try to cut short the revolutionary upsurge and prevent the establishment of a second workers state in Latin America. It will intensify threats against Cuba for supplying massive aid to the Nicaraguan revolution.

Imperialism seeks to strengthen points of support for capitalism in the country as a whole and in the government of Nicaragua. It seeks to blackmail the FSLN leadership into renouncing the further economic inroads on capitalist property necessary to satisfy the elementary needs of the masses, and to halt its arming and mobilization of the masses.

With whole units of Somoza's National Guard stationed in Honduras and El Salvador, Washington is also preparing for a possible military intervention along the lines of the CIA-organized exile invasion of Guatemala in 1954, naval operations like the blockade of Cuba in October 1962, or the U.S. occupation of Santo Domingo in 1965.

By following the road taken by the Cuban masses under the Castro leadership two decades earlier, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants can consolidate their magnificent victory. This is how they can resist the pressures of Washington, assert their national independence, press forward the agrarian reform, expropriate all imperialist property and big holdings of the national bourgeoisie, and ensure control by the workers over industry and over domestic and foreign trade.

To accomplish these tasks, the tremendous power and energy of the Nicaraguan masses must be organized and mobilized, a process that will heighten the combative spirit of the toilers and further shape the socialist consciousness of the Sandinista leadership itself. This interaction will be decisive in determining the future of the revolutionary struggle by the Nicaraguan people

and the courageous fighters of the FSLN.

Even though the stakes for world capitalism in each case are enormous, U.S. imperialism has been politically incapable of openly intervening with its own military forces. This has been decisive.

What has tied imperialism's hands?

The answer can be traced to the political repercussions of Washington's defeat in Indochina—an event as great if not greater in its impact on mass consciousness as the Great Depression. In 1973 the final U.S. ground forces were withdrawn from Indochina, and less than two years later the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese Army overthrew the neocolonial Thieu regime.

This period, between 1973 and 1975, also saw the first period of double-digit inflation since World War II, the meat shortage and initial energy crisis, and an American depression as part of the first worldwide recession in thirty-five years. Coming after more than a decade of virtually uninterrupted economic expansion, the 1974-75 depression put new restrictions on the options available to imperialism. It stunned broad layers of American workers and shook their confidence in the prospects of the American economy and the ruling class.

The broad, general opposition to U.S. foreign policy that developed during the Vietnam War did not abate following the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina. To the contrary, antiwar attitudes and distrust of Washington's actions deepened. Millions of Americans watched on television as the victorious Vietnamese masses ran the corrupt, imperialist-backed regime out of Saigon in 1975. The event had a devastating impact on confidence in government policies.

During that same period, between 1973 and 1975, the Watergate scandal reached its height. Combined with the publication of the Pentagon Papers several years earlier, and the FBI and CIA exposures that followed in its wake, the revelations surrounding Watergate brought to light some of the ruling class's hidden history. It confirmed suspicions of the government harbored by millions.

These 1973-75 events marked a watershed in post-World II history. They exposed the growing limits on Washington's ability to simultaneously serve as world cop; preserve a stable dollar and a competitive edge over capitalist rivals; maintain social stability at home; reverse antiwar sentiment and mobilize support for imperialist foreign policy; counter growing skepticism toward government pronouncements; and maintain the illusion that the bosses and workers have the same "national" interests.

The skeptical, antiwar-minded U.S. workers have stayed Washington's hand. They have strengthened the exploited and oppressed in their battles against imperialism. Thus the American working class has emerged as a crucial ally of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist fighters around the world. This is a source of deep concern for the American ruling class, which is today striving to reverse these antiwar attitudes and free its hands once again to deal massive military blows against the world revolution.

Washington's inability to do this over the past five years has cost it dearly. The four outstanding defeats already cited do not stand alone.

In Latin America, for example, the Brazilian and Peruvian workers have mobilized in important strikes and demonstrations, forcing substantial concessions from the military regimes in those two countries. The U.S.-backed strongman on the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada was toppled by insurgents now being aided by Cuba. The events in Nicaragua have inspired opposition fighters in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and elsewhere in Central America.

On the African continent, in addition to the Ethiopian revolution, the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola won political independence in 1974-75. Cuban troops played a decisive role in defeating the U.S.-backed South African invasion of Angola in 1975 and 1976. The collapse of the Portuguese empire and the setback to the South African army gave an impetus to the struggle for majority rule throughout southern Africa. The colonial-settler regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was weak-

rising world revolution

ened. Namibia's fight for independence from South Africa was advanced. And the struggles of the Black proletarian masses of South Africa escalated sharply with a series of urban rebellions.

This was a serious blow to imperialist domination and exploitation throughout Africa. It left the colonial-settler bastions of Rhodesia and imperialist South Africa more isolated than ever.

Any attempt by Washington to use American troops in Africa would meet immediate resistance from American workers and youth. This opposition would be almost universal among Blacks, who comprise a disproportionately high percentage of the army's combat troops. Industrial trade unions would be arenas of debate and antiwar action from the outset, a process that had barely begun in a few unions toward the end of the Vietnam War.

Support for South African imperialism is not popular among American workers. But the capitalist neocolonial regimes of African states are unreliable as bulwarks against revolutionary change. The U.S. ruling class has no choice other than to try to bolster imperialist South Africa; this partnership will have to become more and more overt.

Imperialist Advances

Amidst the setbacks it has suffered in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Mideast, imperialism has also registered some advances. The fact that the relationship of class forces on a world scale has shifted in favor of the oppressed and exploited does not eliminate the power of imperialism or the countless economic, political, and military options it has for pursuing its counterrevolutionary aims. *The use of these options and the resistance of the toilers remains the axis of world politics.*

A joint French-Belgian military operation, backed by Washington and London, salvaged the weak Mobutu regime in Zaire in 1978. The neocolonial government of Idi Amin in Uganda, which imperialism considered unreliable, was overthrown by the Tanzanian army and replaced by another regime more to the liking of the imperialists. And the recapture by the Ethiopian government in late 1978 of the major Eritrean cities was a setback both for the Eritrean struggle for self-determination and for the Ethiopian revolution.

In southern Africa, too, imperialism has succeeded in delivering some blows to the anti-imperialist struggle. The rigged elections and the installation of the Muzorewa government in Zimbabwe, South Africa's continued domination of Namibia, the bombing raids by South Africa and the white-dominated Muzorewa regime into Mozambique, Zambia, and Angola, and the brutal repression of young Black leaders in South Africa itself all attest to this.

Faced with its setbacks in Iran, imperialism is now trying desperately to prevent further losses in the Middle East. The "peace" treaty between the Israeli and Egyptian regimes serves as a smoke screen behind which the Carter administration is driving to build up greater U.S. military presence in the region. Whatever criticisms Washington may make of Israeli policy, strengthening the Israeli regime as the ultimate imperialist bastion in the Mideast and crushing the Palestinian struggle is the unswerving strategic policy of the U.S. ruling class.

Washington is determined to reverse the growing worldwide sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and the parallel isolation of the Zionist state, which is a major arms supplier to South Africa, as it was to the deposed Somoza. The forced resignation of United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, after revelation of his meeting with the UN representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has helped catalyze a heightened identification with the national oppression of the Palestinians among U.S. Blacks. As this aspect of anti-imperialist consciousness takes firmer root in the Black community and American labor movement, it will further restrict the military options of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast.

In March 1979 Washington sent military "instructors," fighter planes, and sizable arms supplies to North Yemen to strengthen it in its conflicts with South Yemen. Warships were

dispatched to the Arabian Sea. Carter escalated imperialist threats against Cuba for its support to the South Yemen government. These deliberate displays of U.S. military might were intended as a warning to the radicalizing Arab workers throughout the Mideast. Imperialism is determined to preserve its control over oil resources and other interests throughout the region.

In Afghanistan, too, rightist antigovernment forces are receiving extensive imperialist support in order to roll back gains made by the government that was swept to power by a revolutionary upsurge in 1978. This government, under the pressure of the workers and peasants, began to institute a number of antifeudal property reforms and progressive social programs.

In Southeast Asia the imperialists ceaselessly probe for ways to recoup their losses in Indochina. The United States has stepped up arms deliveries both to the military dictatorship in Thailand and to rightist Laotian and Kampuchean guerrillas. They continue to press their imperialist allies to refuse aid, including desperately needed food, to the governments in Vietnam and Kampuchea, which the U.S. devastated for so many years. They will go to any lengths possible to prevent the fall of the Thai dictatorship to a workers and peasants upsurge. But despite its attempts to counter antiwar sentiment in this country, Washington knows that American working people are particularly sensitive to any government moves toward open military involvement in Southeast Asia.

Pattern of World Revolution

Growing working-class combativity and class consciousness in capitalist Europe, North America, and other imperialist countries are an increasingly weighty factor in the world class struggle. This has been shown over the past half-decade by the revolutionary upheaval in Portugal, the overthrow of the military dictatorship in Greece, and the waves of workers' struggles in Italy and Spain. There have been stormy class battles in Britain and France. Signs of the class combat to come have appeared among the industrial workers of the most economically powerful capitalist countries: the first industry-wide steelworkers' strike in West Germany in half a century; the coal miners' strike, Newport News shipyard workers' organizing drive, and resistance to Carter's wage guidelines in the United States; the Inco and Murdochville strikes by nickel and copper miners organized in Canada by the United Steelworkers.

It is not only in the imperialist countries, however, that the mighty class contestants—the industrial workers and the capitalists—are more often engaging in open confrontation. There has been an important growth in the size and social weight of the working class throughout the semicolonial world. Industrial and other urban workers are more and more asserting their central revolutionary role in places such as Iran, southern Africa, Brazil, Nicaragua, and Thailand. The same is true for the workers states—from China to Poland and Czechoslovakia.

These developments mark the end of the post-World War II "long detour" in the pattern of the world revolution. Stalinism's postwar betrayals, followed by the prolonged economic expansion, gave capitalism an extended lease on life in the main imperialist countries. Because of the obstacles thrown up by the reformist leaderships in the international labor movement, center stage in the world revolution was taken by national liberation struggles in the colonial world. Peasant forces and petty-bourgeois leaderships predominated throughout most of this period.

The Cuban revolution marked an historic turning point. For the first time since the early years of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, the Stalinists and Social Democrats were bypassed by a new revolutionary current. The Castroists proved their capacities by leading the Cuban masses to victory and establishing the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere. The victory in Cuba and evolution of the Castro current helped accelerate the crisis of world Stalinism, undermining the false claims of the bureaucratic castes in the USSR and China to speak in the name of the oppressed and exploited. As the betrayals by both the Moscow and Peking Stalinists have multiplied,

and the Castroists have demonstrated their revolutionary anti-imperialism, the reputation and influence of the bureaucracies in the world working class has declined.

This weakening of world Stalinism, the emergence of revolutionists of action who bypass the Stalinists, and the rise of workers' struggles in the advanced capitalist countries and of struggles by the workers and urban poor in the semicolonial countries, have opened the door to more rapid construction of a mass world party of socialist revolution. The opportunities are now better than at any time since the beginning of the long detour to develop proletarian leadership of mass social struggles and build revolutionary parties that are composed predominantly of industrial workers.

Interimperialist Competition

World capitalism has entered a period of increasing stagnation and explosive inflationary pressures, spurring intensified competition among the imperialist ruling classes for markets, investment openings, and sources of raw materials. American capitalism's edge in productivity has narrowed, and the degree of economic predominance of U.S. imperialism over its competitors has continued to decline, especially in relation to West Germany and Japan. The dollar continues to weaken relative to the strongest imperialist currencies, as well as against gold. These changes have been reflected most dramatically in the declining U.S. share of total commodity and capital exports, and by the increasing share of industrial and financial markets in the United States taken by foreign capital.

However, due to factors such as the enormous size of the American economy and internal market, the greater productivity of U.S. agriculture, and access to domestic oil and other strategic raw materials, the U.S. rulers retain great economic power. They are able to deal stinging blows to their imperialist rivals. The West German and Japanese capitalists, for example, are much more dependent on petroleum imports, and the U.S. oil trust has been able to use the "energy crisis" against Washington's competitors. This has been an important aim of Washington's energy policies. Similarly, the U.S. rulers' new relationship with Peking is being used to muscle in on profits from the China market, where West German and Japanese capitalists had gotten a head start.

Most importantly, big business in this country has so far had more success than its imperialist rivals in increasing profits by driving down real wages and maintaining a higher level of unemployment, and slashing social services. European workers have won more extensive medical and other social benefits over the years. Their heightened combativity since 1968 has prevented the European employers from attacking real wages as successfully as employers in this country have been able to.

The contradiction between the long-term decline of U.S. imperialism and its continuing relative strength vis-à-vis its imperialist rivals is expressed in the dollar crisis. Bouts of accelerated inflation in the United States continually weaken the dollar and lead to panicky flights into gold. But there is no replacement for the dollar as a universally acknowledged equivalent in world trade. The weaker imperialist nations cannot tolerate subordination of their own economies to the needs of international finance. The paradoxical result, fraught with danger for world imperialism, is the growing use of the increasingly shaky dollar in world commerce.

The relative economic slippage of U.S. imperialism, moreover, contrasts sharply with the strategic dominance of its nuclear-armed forces over its imperialist rivals. Never before in the history of world capitalism has such a disparity existed between the relative economic and military strengths of competing ruling classes. Neither West Germany nor Japan is a strategic military power. Nor do they dare challenge either Washington or Moscow on this level. Neither possesses a nuclear arsenal, and there are nearly insurmountable political obstacles to either one developing nuclear-armed forces.

In Japan, where 200,000 people were incinerated by Washington's "trial run" at Hiroshima

Continued on next page

and Nagasaki, nuclear armament would require a devastating prior defeat of the labor movement.

Throughout East and West Europe (not to mention the Soviet Union) there would be massive working-class opposition to any attempt to arm the West German ruling class with nuclear weapons.

Every capitalist class in the world depends on the U.S. "nuclear umbrella" and its army, air force, and navy for protection against anti-imperialist rebellion and the spread of socialist revolution. Washington uses this leverage in its dealings with all other capitalist classes. As interimperialist economic rivalry stiffens, the U.S. rulers are intensifying pressure on their competitors to foot more of the bill for policing the world for capitalism.

Washington's War Drive

The U.S. ruling class can achieve a significant increase in its profit rate worldwide only by dealing major defeats to working people at home and abroad.

To recoup ground lost to the workers and oppressed around the world, Washington must be able to use its full arsenal of political, economic, and military weapons. The drive toward war is a permanent feature of U.S. foreign policy.

Among the major expressions of this drive over the past year have been Washington's military steps during the conflict between the two Yemens; the trial balloons about a permanent "Fifth Fleet" in the Indian Ocean, a U.S. military base in the Sinai, and a 100,000-strong special Mideast strike force; the reversal of announced plans to reduce the number of U.S. troops in Korea and the size of the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific; the stepped-up arms shipments to Thailand; the record \$135 billion 1979 war budget; the accelerated development of the massive nuclear arsenal aimed at the Soviet Union, guaranteed by the fraudulent SALT II arms "limitation" pact; the development of tactical nuclear weapons such as the neutron bomb; the initial moves toward reestablishing the draft; the intensification of threats against Cuba; and the barrage of statements by prominent Democratic and Republican politicians and articles by "opinion molders" in the bourgeois press about the need to engage in visible displays of U.S. military power.

These war preparations are central to the offensive against the American labor movement by the bipartisan ruling class whose goal is to beat down wages and living standards, lower workers' expectations, and chip away at the democratic rights the masses need to resist the employers. If the Carter administration succeeds in its aim, working people will have to pay—through higher taxes, drastic cuts in spending for "butter" and increases in spending for guns, "equality of sacrifice" wage controls at contract time, more speedup and forced overtime, and a further erosion of union democracy and union strength.

Workers will also pay with their lives, as they did in World Wars I and II, Korea, and Vietnam—again with Black and Latino workers dying in disproportionately high numbers.

The ruling class knows, however, that American workers today are unwilling to sacrifice economically or to march off to war for the employers' objectives abroad. It cannot use its full military power unless it convinces decisive sections of the working class that imperialism's aims are just and in the interest of all the American people. The rulers seize every opportunity to crank up such a propaganda campaign.

This is one of Washington's key aims today in raising the specter of an energy crisis brought on by revolutionary developments in the Mideast. Carter warns the American people that if "we" don't protect "our" Mideast oil interests, "all of us" will suffer rising fuel costs and energy shortages.

This is also Washington's aim in asserting that the fighting in Indochina in 1979 stemmed from the absence of American military presence. If the American people were not so traumatized by the memory of the Vietnam War, the argument goes, Washington could be playing a stabilizing and peace-keeping role there. Part of this campaign is to picture the Vietnamese government today as a barbaric tyranny, worse than the pro-U.S. regimes of the war years. The imperialists hypocritically bemoan the plight of the "boat people," while keeping their borders closed to all but a handful of these emigrants. Meanwhile, the "humanitarians" in Washington

are responsible for the starvation of hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans.

The capitalists falsely portray the Iranian revolution as a victory for "Islamic reaction," with U.S. foreign policy cast in the role of a "modernizing" force. They denounce any radical measures by the Nicaraguan toilers to reconstruct that country as "extremism," while they withhold desperately needed food and medical supplies. The Cuban revolution is targeted as a dangerous international outlaw, a new "imperialist" power swashbuckling around Africa and threatening other Caribbean nations and Central America. "National security interests" are raised as a pretext to restrict democratic rights.

Washington vs. U.S. Workers

The vast majority of American workers, however, have not fallen for this propaganda. They are skeptical of Carter's "human rights" demagoguery. There is mounting opposition to U.S. support for the colonial-settler regimes in southern Africa. More and more recognize the shah and Somoza as creations of Washington's imperialist foreign policy. And many workers discerned Washington's role behind Peking's invasion of Vietnam.

It is easier today than ever before to explain to American workers—white or Black, male or female, skilled or unskilled—that because capitalism is an international system, the direct and immediate class interests of workers in the United States are advanced by solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

A defeat for the U.S. rulers anywhere in the world weakens the bosses' ability to hold down wages, roll back health and safety standards, and increase the size of the reserve army of the unemployed in this country. Conversely, any defeat for the world revolution strengthens the U.S. employers' antilabor offensive at home.

And any victory by American workers in the fight for better living standards, against divisive race and sex discrimination, and in defense of civil liberties, becomes a weapon in the hands of all those around the world who are pitted against the greed and violence of American capitalism.

This fundamental Marxist concept of international class solidarity flows from the iron laws of capitalist political economy. The same laws dictate that the American working class, including its regularly employed and more highly paid strata, is weakened by discrimination against Blacks and women; that the working class suffers rather than benefits from protectionist trade barriers; and that the working class loses ground against the class enemy when an employer gets a tax break or rakes in higher profits. In every such case, the class power of the working class and its allies—other workers and oppressed peoples at home and abroad—is weakened, while the economic, social, and political power of the capitalists is increased.

Socialist workers can help advance working-class internationalism and counter Carter's war drive by speaking out against Washington's mammoth arms budget, telling the truth to working people about revolutionary struggles abroad, demanding no-strings-attached aid for devastated countries, and raising the slogan "U.S. Hands Off!" whenever there is a threat of U.S. intervention anywhere in the world. These are the principles that have guided us in our defense of the Cuban and Indochinese revolutions, our solidarity with national liberation struggles from Palestine to southern Africa, and in response to every new outbreak of the world revolution, such as in Iran and Nicaragua.

DÉTENTE AND THE CRISIS OF THE BUREAUCRATIC CASTES

Between 1968 and 1972—under the combined blows of the Vietnamese revolution, the growing economic crisis of world capitalism, and the developing American radicalization—U.S. imperialism was forced to make an important alteration in the character of its relations with the Stalinist bureaucratic castes in Moscow and Peking.

In return for aid in attempting to salvage capitalism in Indochina, and containing the class struggle elsewhere, Washington offered increased trade and technology, and nonaggression gestures, to both regimes. The proposal to expand and generalize this counterrevolutionary trade-off was the essence of détente.

Despite the hopes of Moscow and Peking as

they vie for Washington's favors, however, there will be no era of friendly relations between world capitalism and the workers states. The imperialists are simply buying time.

The two decisive antagonists on an international scale are the imperialists and the heavy battalions of the worldwide industrial working class. As the crisis of capitalism deepens and these two forces lock in combat, the class conflicts at the heart of all national and international politics are increasingly laid bare.

In this mighty global conflict, the petty-bourgeois social castes that have usurped political power in the deformed and degenerated workers states play an important but subordinate role.

They are not a ruling class, nor can they be. They are subject to pressures from the ruling class off whom they feed in parasitic fashion—the workers who overturned private property throughout the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and much of Asia. While the bureaucrats place the preservation of their immediate material privileges ahead of the class interests of the workers, those privileges are dependent on the survival of states in which the workers are the ruling class. Thus, they are still obliged to defend, in their own counterrevolutionary and ultimately self-defeating way, the basic conquests of the socialist revolutions.

At the same time, the bureaucracies can maintain their privileges only by preventing the working class from realizing its own power. They must suppress democratic rights. They must prevent the independent political mobilization of the workers. They must shackle the working class through class collaboration in every conceivable form—a goal they share with the entrenched trade-union bureaucracies in capitalist countries.

Thus the bureaucratic castes fear the workers even more than they fear the ultimate danger from imperialism. They must make concessions to the imperialist bourgeoisie to try to preserve the status quo and buy time to move toward meeting economic promises they make the workers. They become a transmission belt for imperialist pressures.

The Goals of Imperialism

In seeking détente, there is a sharp distinction between the goals of the Stalinist bureaucracies and those of imperialism. The aim of Washington and its partners is not just to halt the advance of anti-imperialist struggles and the extension of the socialist revolution. They are mortally threatened by the nationalized property relations and planned economies of the existing workers states. The capitalists are impelled by the laws of their economic system to aim at restoring private property in those areas of the world that have been closed to capitalist investment and, to a significant extent, the capitalist world market.

The aim of the bureaucratic castes, on the other hand, is to maintain the status quo. They neither want to overturn capitalism where it exists, nor can they allow imperialism to overturn the socialist property relations on which they live as parasites. By misdirecting, or beheading, mass revolutionary upsurges wherever they occur the Stalinists hope to convince the imperialist powers that capitalism and the workers can live in peace and harmony forever. In this way the bureaucratic castes hope to alleviate the imperialist pressures on them, be rewarded with trade and credits, provide sufficient economic progress to prevent explosive mass upsurges at home, and therefore hold on to their material privileges.

Imperialism's stance toward every single existing workers state is one of permanent aggression. Strategy, however, must be adapted to fit the circumstances. Because of the world relationship of class forces today, the imperialists cannot always take the working class head on and win. They are increasingly obliged to turn to the Stalinist bureaucratic castes in the workers states for help.

For Washington, détente represented a clear shift away from the "containment and rollback" strategy that was the heart of the previous cold-war orientation. The cold war, with its domestic expression, McCarthyism, reached its high point during the Korean War and lingered on with diminishing effect for the remainder of the 1950s.

By the end of the 1960s, underneath the facade of an all-powerful U.S. imperialism, important events already signaled the end of what the U.S. rulers proclaimed would be the "American century." The consolidation of a workers state in

China; the inability to roll back the socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe; the first explosions of the political revolution in that area of the world; the breaking of the U.S. nuclear monopoly by the Soviet Union; the unpopularity of the Korean War among the American working class and the setback the imperialists received with the military stalemate there; the continuing advances of the colonial revolution throughout the 1950s and early 1960s; the initial battles of the civil rights movement in the United States; the victory of the Cuban revolution and its successful defense against U.S. attacks—all these were indications that the relationship of forces was growing less favorable to imperialism. The objective conditions that had dictated the containment/rollback strategy and allowed the flourishing of McCarthyism had been altered.

But the cold-war policy was not immediately replaced by a new international strategy. Washington probed the possibilities of help from Moscow in exchange for easing trade restrictions and other forms of economic pressure. At the same time, it continued its nakedly hostile stance toward Peking, refusing diplomatic recognition, imposing an economic embargo, and making frequent military threats.

The turning point came only with the further major shift in the relationship of class forces resulting from the Vietnam debacle, the end of America's total domination of the world capitalist economy, and the impossibility of any rapid development of a "first strike" nuclear capability vis-à-vis the USSR.

Détente—which both Moscow and Peking had been seeking all along—was the result.

Despite the hopes of imperialism and the bureaucratic castes, however, détente has not and can not stop the unfolding of the international class struggle. To the contrary, upsurges in all three sectors of the world revolution continue to occur. This makes collaboration between the ruling capitalist classes and the Stalinist castes all the more crucial to each of them, and, at the same time, more difficult.

Imperialism & Sino-Soviet Dispute

The Sino-Soviet dispute and other similar conflicts between ruling Stalinist bureaucratic castes are not rooted in an inherent drive to expand their national bases at each other's expense. They do not represent a jockeying for position in preparation for major war, although limited wars can be initiated, as Peking's invasion of Vietnam in February 1979 testifies.

The Sino-Soviet dispute is rooted in competition between the bureaucratic castes to secure the benefits of class collaboration with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Each caste hopes to gain maximum economic and technological aid from the imperialist powers and restrain capitalist military aggression against itself. Each fears, justifiably, that imperialism's relations with the other will be pursued at its expense.

Thus, the Sino-Soviet dispute itself is fundamentally a product of imperialist pressures on the workers states—the same pressures that foster the growth and maintenance of bureaucratic castes.

The Stalinist castes, each seeking to defend their own material privileges, are subjected to differing degrees and forms of imperialist pressure. This produces differing and often conflicting needs as they compete for imperialism's favors.

The Sino-Soviet dispute began at the end of the 1950s when American imperialism started reassessing its "containment and rollback" policy toward the Soviet Union, but continued to maintain overtly aggressive pressure against China. The socialist revolution in China was much more recent, more vulnerable, and its immediate impact was still being felt throughout the colonial world.

To curry favor with the imperialists the Kremlin cut off vital economic and military assistance to the Chinese workers state, up to withholding help in developing a needed nuclear defense capacity. This clash of material interests between the two castes expressed itself politically as well. Peking, facing acute imperialist pressure, escalated its anti-imperialist rhetoric and pretenses of economic self-sufficiency, while denouncing Soviet "revisionism." Moscow, in turn, denounced Peking's challenge to the monolithic face of the "world communist movement."

Nonetheless, Peking, like Moscow, continued to seek a deal with the imperialist powers. Toward the end of the 1960s the Peking Stalinists saw an opportunity to reach their own long-desired ac-

commodation with Washington. They eagerly grabbed it, attempting to use the Vietnamese revolution as a bargaining chip.

1978-79 Events in Indochina

This competition for favors has enabled Washington to play Moscow and Peking against one another in the imperialist drive to undermine the newest and most vulnerable of the workers states today: Vietnam.

Within the framework of their détente relations, Moscow and Peking have responded differently to the most recent stage of this assault on the Vietnamese revolution. Because of geographical proximity, the impact of revolutionary advances in Southeast Asia is more directly threatening to the Peking bureaucracy than to Moscow. This is particularly true at the present time, when the Peking-based caste, under severe internal strain, has such a stake in establishing stable economic relations with American imperialism. Attempting to show its usefulness to Washington, Peking reacted to the consolidation of a workers state throughout Vietnam by openly expressing its hostility. The Moscow-based caste, although also hostile to the advances of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, did not feel the impact with the same urgency.

Peking has collaborated with Washington to "inflict punishment" on Vietnam and try to force Hanoi's withdrawal from Kampuchea. Moscow, on the other hand, has provided grossly inadequate military and economic aid to Vietnam, and collaborates with Washington to put pressure on Hanoi to reach a settlement over Kampuchea acceptable to imperialism.

Despite their current abject collusion with the most aggressively reactionary forces, however, the Peking Stalinists are neither more nor less counterrevolutionary than their counterparts in Moscow. The Soviet bureaucracy, leeching off the strongest of the workers states, is far more useful to imperialism as a counterrevolutionary weapon against working-class struggles. The Kremlin can offer capitalism the services of mass Stalinist parties and the trade unions they dominate, especially in Western Europe.

Peking's capacities are more limited and its public acts today more flagrantly counterrevolutionary. Its public positions include support for a stronger NATO; prompt recognition of the Chilean junta in 1973; complicity with the imperialist offensive against Angola in 1975-76; opposition to Cuban aid to defend the Ethiopian revolution; backing to the Mobutu regime in Zaïre; praise for the shah of Iran; and demands for increased imperialist pressure against Cuba—including thinly disguised advocacy of military strikes. These reactionary positions are useful to imperialism, but they do not have the same impact as the more extensive counterrevolutionary services of the Kremlin.

In Southeast Asia, however, Peking can readily play a direct role. Washington is willing to deal with the Chinese Stalinists because it badly needs whatever services they can render. Their most important service is the pressure—including economic sabotage and military threats—on Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, which furthers imperialism's goal of blocking the spread of socialist revolution in Southeast Asia.

Ruling Class and Caste

The Sino-Soviet conflict weakens both the Chinese and Soviet workers states, providing political cover for imperialism in its counterrevolutionary moves around the world, including its historic drive toward capitalist restoration in the existing workers states. The competition for favors from Washington is an incentive for ever greater betrayals by both Stalinist castes. Peking's invasion of Vietnam—although unsuccessful in its central goals—was a demonstration of the lengths to which these gravediggers of revolution are willing to go to demonstrate their reliability as counterrevolutionary agents.

There is only one factor limiting these betrayals: The working class in the deformed and degenerated workers states—oppressed and politically expropriated though it is—is the ruling class. It is against the workers' interests to crush revolutionary mass upsurges around the world, or suppress democratic rights. The working class opposes wars launched by the bureaucracy against other workers states in the interests of "peaceful coexistence." This was demonstrated in China by the unpopular character of Peking's invasion of Vietnam. The workers have no interest in anything but greater cooperation and collaboration in pursuit of their common world-

wide interests—the extension of the world revolution and the improvement of the welfare of the world's toiling masses.

The masses of workers who are the ruling class in the workers states stand guard over the conquests of the socialist revolution they carried through. It is they who will prevent massive and prolonged wars between workers states. It is they who will ultimately settle accounts with the parasites who have usurped political power.

Economic Limits of Détente

Owing to the more backward economic base from which the current workers states began, and imperialism's attempts to strangle their economic development, productivity of labor is lower in them than in the major imperialist powers. Bureaucratic mismanagement and distortions in economic planning contribute to chronic shortages of consumer products. The Stalinist castes are under mounting pressure from the working class to accelerate the pace of economic development, improve the standard of living, and grant greater democratic rights.

Through détente, the bureaucratic castes hope to obtain from imperialism the advanced technology needed to modernize industry and agriculture. They seek increased credits and trade and a buildup of foreign currency reserves to pay for expanded industrial and agricultural imports. They promise the workers and peasants that détente will bring speedy and dramatic rewards.

The Peking bureaucracy, for example, is waging a propaganda offensive inside China to calm rising discontent after more than a decade of disastrous economic disorganization. It has promised rapid fulfillment of the "Four Modernizations" through deals with the United States and other imperialist powers. It has deepened its campaign to portray the real enemy of China as headquartered in Moscow, not in Washington.

The abolition of capitalism and the institution of economic planning and a state monopoly of international trade have already led to impressive economic and social accomplishments in the workers states, despite bureaucratic mismanagement. The only solution to the problem of long-term economic expansion, however, is the extension of the socialist revolution to the industrially advanced capitalist countries. Technological and agricultural imports can alleviate some particular problems. But only the mobilized power of the world working class can establish new workers states, making possible worldwide economic planning, cooperation, and development.

Thus, the main internal barrier to accelerated economic growth by the workers states is the bureaucracies themselves, whose class-collaborationist policies demobilize the workers and hold back the world socialist revolution. In addition, their parasitic consumption introduces distortions into the planned economies, while their fears of democratic working-class participation in economic and political affairs limits the creativity and productivity of the masses.

If détente's economic deals cannot give a new lease on life to the Stalinist castes, can it give a new lease on life to world capitalism? Can the profits and political benefits the capitalists derive from these deals enable them to bring back a prolonged wave of expansion and relative class peace?

The answer is no. The limited trade and investment possibilities under détente can neither reverse world capitalism's long-term tendency toward economic stagnation and inflation, nor stave off the deepening of the international capitalist crisis.

Big business is eager to break into markets in the workers states. The new trade ties can even result in a major profit upturn for particular industries and corporations in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. The workers states will become another arena for intensifying inter-imperialist competition. Washington's moves to edge its Japanese rivals out of the China market are a clear indication of this.

There are relatively narrow limits, however, to what the capitalists can achieve through their deals with the bureaucratic castes. The expectations of big business have sobered since the 1972 agreements with Moscow and the massive U.S. wheat sales that followed. Experience since then has shown that even the economically strongest of the workers states has a limited capacity to finance an expansion of imports, and that its main interest is the import of technology.

There could be a qualitative expansion of trade only if the capitalists were willing to grant

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massive credits to the workers states. But they lack confidence in the guarantees given them by governments that are based on a social system and a class antagonistic to capitalism.

The capitalists' cautious estimates of their real trade prospects have been evident with regard to the newly opened China market. While welcoming the opportunities that do exist, they have expressed reservations about overextending credit lines to a regime in a workers state facing internal discontent.

Furthermore, the capitalist system cannot achieve a worldwide turnaround in its prospects merely through increased exports of commodities to the Soviet Union, China, and other workers states. They must be able to export capital to these countries as well, as they do throughout the semicolonial world and in other imperialist countries.

Yet significant investment rights in which the capitalists exercise control over the allocation of resources and over the hiring, organization, and exploitation of labor have not been offered to the imperialists in any of the workers states. The various schemes under consideration by Peking do not fill the bill.

Capitalist restoration cannot be achieved piecemeal through trade and draining off a small portion of the social surplus product of these countries. The imperialists must achieve a major breakthrough and a new lease on life only by destroying the nationalized property relations and restoring private ownership and control over the means of production.

Such a social counterrevolution could not be accomplished without a civil war. And such a civil war could be won by restorationist forces only with the help of direct imperialist military intervention. The working class in the Soviet Union, China, and the other workers states will fight to defend their historic conquests against imperialism and the threat of capitalist restoration.

The workers' commitment to their economic system, which lays the initial foundations for the transition to socialism, was confirmed in the USSR during World War II, and subsequently, during the antibureaucratic uprisings in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. In each case, the rebelling masses linked their demand for political freedom to defense of the new property relations and democratization of economic and social planning on that basis. The same has been true of the working-class strikes and demonstrations in China over the past ten years.

Moreover, the social and political weight of the working class has greatly increased in all the workers states, making the imperialists' task of restoration even more formidable. In the Soviet Union, for example, the threat of capitalist restoration was much greater in the 1920s than it is today. Then the working class was very small, and the peasantry and small businessmen still the large majority. But between 1926 and the mid-1970s, the percentage of the Soviet population active in agriculture (including agricultural workers) dropped from 83 percent to 27 percent; between 60 and 70 million workers are today engaged in industry, construction, and transportation in the Soviet Union. In China, the industrial working class grew from 3 million in 1949 (1.3 percent of the total work force), to about 60 million workers (18 percent of the work force) in 1971. (More recent figures are unavailable.)

Restoration would have to be carried out today with more force than ever before. The workers states are also stronger militarily. The Soviet Union possesses strategic nuclear weapons, posing an important obstacle to the imperialists' pursuit of restoration by military means.

But the unresolved historical alternative remains: forward to socialism or back to capitalism. And the main restorationist danger comes not from the bureaucracies' economic concessions to imperialism but from their class-collaborationist political concessions and betrayals. These reactionary policies help shield the decaying capitalist system from the blows of the world revolution, delaying its final overthrow and making counterrevolutionary assaults against conquests of the working class more possible. At the same time, anti-Stalinist political consciousness has increased. Peking's criminal services to Washington in Indochina, for example, provoked opposition to the regime among the Chinese workers, heightening their internationalism and class consciousness.

A political revolution in any of the deformed or

degenerated workers states would be a powerful blow to imperialism. By practicing workers democracy and pursuing a revolutionary internationalist foreign policy, a government reflecting the interests of the workers would inspire the exploited and oppressed of all nations.

Cuba's Revolutionary Anti-imperialism

In stark contrast to the petty-bourgeois Stalinist castes, the Castro leadership pursues an anti-imperialist foreign policy. The Cuban masses have been encouraged in a spirit of internationalist commitment, sacrifice, and pride. They look toward the extension of the revolution as the only way of guaranteeing Cuba's independence and their social gains against Washington's threats. The Cuban leadership has refused to buy into détente, despite intense military and economic pressure from U.S. imperialism and despite Cuba's heavy dependence on the Soviet Union for military and economic assistance. Havana has repeatedly refused Washington's offers to negotiate an end to the U.S. trade embargo and move toward full diplomatic ties in return for Cuba turning its back on the world class struggle.

The revolutionary character of the Castro leadership has once again been demonstrated by Cuba's response to the events in Nicaragua. By their unstinting aid to the FSLN fighters in the struggle to overthrow Somoza, by their immediate response to the new government's appeal for material aid, and by their public challenge to the imperialists as well as the Soviet Union to compete with tiny Cuba to see who can send the most aid, the Fidelistas have demonstrated that they remain thoroughly committed to the goal of extending the revolution, and that they are prepared to face whatever consequences are necessary for acting on that commitment.

Their response to the opening of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua is clear, decisive, and unambiguous proof of the continued revolutionary goals and character of the Castro leadership. Thus Cuba plays a unique role in world politics today. The political weight of its example is far out of proportion to its size and military power.

In recent years this role has been demonstrated by Cuba's dispatch of tens of thousands of soldiers to Africa, blocking imperialist moves in Angola and the Horn of Africa, and by Cuba's expressed willingness to do the same in Zimbabwe, South Yemen, Vietnam, and elsewhere.

Cuba has continued to campaign in support of independence for Puerto Rico and played a decisive role in winning freedom for the four Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners who spent twenty-five years in U.S. jails.

In September 1979 Castro assumed the chairmanship of the Movement of Nonaligned Nations. Its summit conference held in Havana demonstrated the Castro leadership's intention to utilize the prestige and power of the Cuban revolution to maximize the anti-imperialist actions and commitments of semicolonial governments, to win increased support for revolutionary democratic movements fighting for national liberation, and to expose the proimperialist course of the most servile national bourgeois regimes.

The Castro leadership has also recently taken a number of political initiatives to enlist the support of the Cuban community and others in this country for ending the U.S. economic and diplomatic embargo. In a direct political challenge to Carter's "human rights" demagoguery, Cuba has released thousands of counterrevolutionary prisoners. It has encouraged trips back to Cuba by those who left after the revolution, making possible the reuniting of divided Cuban families. The U.S. ruling class is so threatened by this political and economic breach in the blockade by tens of thousands of Cubans living in the U.S. that it has once again restricted travel to Cuba.

These moves are part of an important shift by the Castro leadership, which has previously paid too little attention to the potentially powerful impact of Cuba's example on U.S. politics. They also speak volumes about the confidence of the Cubans in their revolution and the differences between the Cuban leadership and the regimes in the other workers states.

Cuba's internationalist actions have also been an obstacle to the Kremlin's policy of stabbing revolutionary struggles in the back in order to gain favor with Washington. During Peking's invasion of Vietnam, for example, Moscow's main concern was to preserve its détente relationship and safeguard SALT II. It covered up imperialism's role and gave only meager aid to Vietnam. The Cuban government, on the other

hand, once again offered "to shed Cuban blood for Vietnam," and vigorously denounced Washington's role in the assault.

Today, Cuba's aid to the Nicaraguan revolution will make it more difficult for Moscow to refuse all assistance.

The internationalist and anti-imperialist policies of the Castro leadership coexist with the contradictions and errors that have limited Castroism as a revolutionary current from its inception. The Cuban leadership, for example, has the incorrect policy of lending political endorsement to some bourgeois nationalist regimes, while carrying out the correct revolutionary policy of aiding these countries in their conflicts with imperialism; extending educational, medical, and construction aid with no strings attached; and using every means, including diplomatic steps, to reinforce anti-imperialist stands taken by these regimes.

Strengthening the Cuban revolution continues to require the development of proletarian forms of democracy to bring the Cuban masses into the decision-making process in the most effective way. Progress in this direction lessens the growth of bureaucratism. The initiation of workers' councils would add fresh power to the Cuban workers state as living proof that socialist revolution expands the democratic rights of the oppressed, leading eventually to the withering away of the state as the world revolution unfolds.

This goes hand in hand with the development of a Leninist-type party in Cuba that guarantees the right of critical opinion to be heard and the right to form tendencies and factions. To advance its goal of world revolution, the Castro leadership needs to be part of a revolutionary international composed of such parties, thereby helping to resolve the crisis of leadership faced by the proletariat around the world. The program and cadres of the Fourth International play an irreplaceable role in the forging of such a mass world party of socialist revolution.

Because of its revolutionary foreign policy, the conflict between Cuba and U.S. imperialism can only intensify in the coming period, especially as the revolution in Nicaragua unfolds. Defense of the Cuban revolution is an urgent political task for the American working class.

Socialist workers must support the Castro tendency against the Stalinists, inside and outside Cuba, who seek to pressure the Cuban regime into subordinating its anti-imperialist foreign-policy aims to the counterrevolutionary pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism. Socialists must bring the truth about the gains of the Cuban revolution into the American labor movement, the Black and Latino communities, the women's movement, militant farmers organizations, and other arenas of U.S. class struggle. We must campaign for the unconditional lifting of all trade restrictions and the granting of diplomatic recognition.

A revolutionary proletarian party can be constructed in the United States only with a correct political line recognizing the Cuban leadership as fellow revolutionists, collaborating with them, and—in that framework—taking initiatives and making programmatic proposals to them.

In addition to the internationalist policies of the Cuban revolution, its social and economic conquests are a confirmation of what can be achieved even in a single undeveloped island-country once the weight of imperialist exploitation has been lifted, the working class has eliminated production for private profit, and rational planning for social needs has been initiated.

In Cuba, illiteracy has been virtually eliminated. Unemployment has been wiped out. The vast expansion of health care—which is totally free—has made life expectancy the highest in Latin America and infant mortality the lowest (also lower than for Blacks and Latinos in the United States). Gigantic strides have been taken toward the eradication of racism. Women have made major gains in education and integration into the work force. Quality child care is rapidly expanding and abortion on demand is available to all. There has been an explosion of cultural creativity, making Havana a center for the arts throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

These and many other gains have been made despite Cuba's small size, its legacy of colonial exploitation and backwardness, U.S. military attacks, and the economic blockade organized by U.S. imperialism. These conquests stand in stark contrast to the irrationality and inhumanity of U.S. capitalism, which has only misery and catastrophe to offer American working people.

Women in the Nicaraguan revolution

By Lynn Silver

MANAGUA—One of the outstanding features of the Nicaraguan revolution has been the immense participation of women. Every office in Nicaragua, from the government ministries to the Sandinista Defense Committees present in each neighborhood, have women in positions of responsibility.

The presence of women in all branches of the army is obvious. Every third or fourth soldier you see walking by is a woman carrying a Galil rifle or an M-16.

Nicaragua's main women's organization is AMPRONAC (Association of Women Concerned With the National Problem). That "national problem" was, of course, the Somoza dictatorship overthrown this July.

AMPRONAC was formed in September 1977. Sylvia Reyes, a twenty-eight-year-old mother of two children who is a leader of AMPRONAC, described the formation of the organization:

How AMPRONAC began

"It was born of the concerns of some of the compañeras of the Sandinista Front, supported by some women from the [opposition] bourgeoisie and the middle class. The presence of the latter brought us certain guarantees [of safety]. This was a tactic we used to form the organization."

The organization was started with about sixty members. Its purpose was to defend human rights in Nicaragua and to denounce the brutal crimes of the dictatorship.

From November 1977 to January 1978 it organized mass meetings of protest and demonstrations. In January 1978 a group of relatives of "disappeared" individuals occupied the offices of the United Nations in Managua. AMPRONAC participated in the occu-

pation, which lasted two weeks. Then the occupiers were forcibly dislodged with tear gas and bullets.

"This action brought us a spurt of growth. Many working-class women sought to join AMPRONAC," Reyes said.

New tactics

During the period from February to April 1978, AMPRONAC became a mass organization of women. It called for a national women's week in early March 1978—an action whose "emphasis was on the overall struggle to free our country. But this call responded to a necessity for Nicaraguan women, that of basing the pillars of the equality of her sex on her equal participation in the construction of a new Nicaragua." (From *Documentos de AMPRONAC*.)

The methods of struggle of AMPRONAC changed from petitions and visits to Somoza's ministries to mass meetings, demonstrations, building takeovers, and open air gatherings.

The program of the "new" AMPRONAC included: "Halt the repression!" "Freedom of organization!" "Freedom for the political prisoners!" "Punishment of those responsible for crimes and outrages!" "Halt the rising cost of living!" "End all discriminatory laws against women!" "Equal pay for equal work!" and "End the commercialization of women!"

Reyes added, "When the women in AMPRONAC from the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie realized that we were involved in the struggle for the people's interests, many of them left. But some of the compañeras from the middle class remained in our lines for the defense of human rights."

Reyes described the role played by the FSLN in AMPRONAC. "I am an activist in the Sandinista Front. Because of the orientation of the front I went into AMPRONAC together with



Militant/Fred Halstead

'Women soldiers fought during the insurrection. They intend to continue to be responsible for defense of the revolution.'

a group of other compañeras. I have been in the FSLN for five years."

"But the FSLN, being a clandestine organization, could not organize the masses, so we had to create intermediate organizations that could devote themselves to organizing the masses. These included AMPRONAC and the ATC (Association of Agricultural Workers), for example. These permitted us to reach the masses without calling ourselves the FSLN, since if we had they [the National Guard] would have killed us."

"These organizations permitted us to reach the masses, in our case specifically the masses of women—the women workers, peasants, and housewives. Our aim was to help them understand their exploitation and to make them conscious of the need for women to participate in the struggle."

"We were always an organization which supported the people's struggles. We supported the FSLN, but we couldn't say so publicly. Now we can say so. Our line continues to be one of support to the revolution."

Involved in combat

A large number of women fought during the insurrection, Reyes said.

"About 30 percent of the guerrillas were women. Of these about half were involved in combat and half in other political and organizational tasks. . . .

"I for example participated in February in Monimbó as a member of the FSLN. I was captured and imprisoned for three months, after which I returned to my mass work. I always worked both in health care and as a combatant. But when things got rough we had to drop the syringes and pick up the gun."

One of AMPRONAC's important projects had been setting up first-aid stations or clinics in the different barrios to treat the wounded, or in quieter moments to treat the residents of the barrio.

Gloria Carrión, another leader of AMPRONAC, was asked if she thought that the massive presence of women in the army is just a response to the emergency situation or if they would be integrated into its permanent structure.

"Women have a big role to play in

society," she said, "and they should be integrated into all aspects of the society. For us the military is one of these aspects. Women should be there as long as they want to be there."

Later on, this question was asked of some women soldiers here. Their answer was that in no way would they leave the army. They had fought, some for years in the mountains, and they intended to continue to be responsible for the defense of the revolution.

Defense of revolution

When asked about the role of women's organizations today, Reyes replied:

"We need to be much more active than in the past because today we are in a process of reconstruction, of consolidating the revolution. We need to integrate women into the production process. Today there is a tremendous need for everybody to be organized."

"In the past many people remained unorganized for fear of repression, for lack of political clarity, or many other factors. Today in Nicaragua we believe that everyone should be organized, even children. Because the dangers are not over. On the contrary, they are multiplying. We are conscious of the fact that every revolution is accompanied by counterrevolution, and we have to be well prepared."

"In the insurrection there was total participation on the part of the masses, but only in the final stage. We are trying to create a situation where, in the event of a counterrevolution, these same people who fought in a spontaneous way during the insurrection will fight with true political and revolutionary consciousness."

"As a women's organization we have several specific projects. We realize that the economic problems of the country don't allow the government to take on responsibilities such as the lack of hospitals, schools, and child-care centers."

"Those of us in the Solidarity Commission of AMPRONAC are asking for continued support from the friends of Nicaragua who helped us in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. We are hoping to create child-care centers in the countryside and health centers

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Members of AMPRONAC rally in Managua.

Militant/Gary Bridges

Trade union strength grows in Nicaragua

By Jesús Rodríguez

MANAGUA—Thousands of trade unionists marched here on September 18 from the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) to the newly renamed Rubén Darío People's Theater (formerly the Rubén Darío National Theater).

The purpose of the march was to demonstrate the growing strength and unity of the trade unions and to symbolically "take over" the Rubén Darío Theater—the country's most important and luxurious cultural center—for the working people of Nicaragua.

Before the march, a ceremony was held to inaugurate the CST's headquarters, which has been named after José Benito Escobar, a construction worker, union organizer, and one of the founding leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) who was gunned down by the National Guard in July 1978.

At the theater, CST leader Pedro Ortiz explained that the "takeover" of the site was "a demonstration that justice is being done for the workers, since this theater was built by the workers and with the people's money. Therefore it should be the people who participate in it and not the agents of Somoza and stooges of imperialism. . . ."

'House of the People'

The importance of the September 18 march and rally lies not only in the number of participants, but also in the fact that the theater has been a symbol of the power of the Nicaraguan capitalists. Two days earlier a similar event had taken place in Granada, where the local Sandinista Defense Committees organized a peaceful takeover of the aristocratic Social Club.

Chanting "Expropriate the Social Club from the bourgeoisie," workers,



Masaya—Revolutionary workers join demonstration.

Militant/Fred Murphy

housewives, and students had entered the old, exclusive bastion of the Conservative Party oligarchy and set about changing it into a "House of the People." It is to be open to all Granadinos for cultural and social events.

In Managua, as the workers filed in to take their places in the velvet-covered seats of the Rubén Darío People's Theater, the militant strains of the song *Trabajadores al Poder* (Workers to Power) came repeatedly over the theater's loudspeakers. The growing self-confidence of the Nicaraguan workers was evident as hundreds raised their fists and shouted over and over the song's title and the similar slogan "*Obreros y campesinos al poder*" (Workers and peasants to power).

The evening's program included a musical based on Nicaraguan history entitled *Notes on Uncle Sam*, a reading of poetry written by the martyred Sandinista intellectual Ricardo Mo-

rales Avilés, and a humorous one-act play also entitled *Trabajadores al Poder*.

The political side of what had been billed as a "political-cultural event" was provided in speeches by FSLN comandantes William Ramírez and Mónica Baltodano.

'Most revolutionary class'

Ramírez, Managua's chief of staff of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), brought greetings in the name of the EPS and the Joint National Leadership of the FSLN. His remarks offered the clearest explanation made by the Sandinista leaders so far of the role of the workers and peasants in the Nicaraguan revolution.

"As the most revolutionary social class," Ramírez explained, "the workers have the greatest obligation to lead the reconstruction process. . . ."

"Exploitation is going to end in this

country. In this country the land will belong to the peasants who work it and the workers [will be] the owners of the means of production."

Ramírez received heavy applause when he strongly criticized those who "wear a uniform and think they are going to fool everyone"—a reference to individuals who joined the Sandinista Front or the army at the last minute hoping in that way to safeguard their privileges. "We've seen a whole lot of *burguesitos* [little bourgeois] wearing olive green and playing at being revolutionaries. But they aren't fooling us."

'Represent our people'

The revolutionary workers, Ramírez declared, are the only "legitimate representatives of our people. It is they who have the right to enjoy the triumph and the privileges of this revolution. They are the exploited; the rest are extras who will separate themselves little by little. Or else we will separate them ourselves."

Baltodano spoke for the FSLN's Secretariat of Mass Organizations. Referring to the "heroes of Mandaimé"—four Sandinista leaders who were massacred by Somoza's National Guard on September 18, 1973—Baltodano said that "they did not die so that a group of bourgeois could remain in power."

"No one fought for that, nor gave their blood for a situation like the one we're still living in—where illiteracy, malnutrition, and social injustice still exist. No one fought or died for that situation to continue."

"We must all keep working," Baltodano continued, "because the future they envisioned for the people has not yet arrived and because we have not finished the task they left for us with their lives and their example."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

FSLN leader explains aims of agrarian reform

Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform, Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock, described the plans the government has for improving the lives of the peasantry in an interview in the September 14 issue of *Barricada*, the Sandinista daily.

"Our country is primarily agricultural," Wheelock pointed out. "The majority of the population lives in the countryside, and Nicaragua as a whole lives on the production of the countryside. For us, the patrimony of agricultural territory is both a national and a social question. Our Agrarian Reform has to settle from the outset that the land is the patrimony of the Nicaraguan people."

"The Agrarian Reform we are developing must establish the ownership of the state over the means of production.

We are going to encourage a cooperative movement in order to organize socially individual peasant production. We are going to develop communal production. . . ."

"In León we have eighty-five collectives. In Matagalpa more than 160 state coffee and livestock farms. . . ."

"It is necessary to understand—this is clear—that we face limitations. We aren't going to have difficulties in distributing the land because we are clear on how we are going to do it. The problem is how fast we can bring housing and prosperity to the countryside. That is where the revolution will be shaped."

Asked about the main problems facing this work, Wheelock replied: "The most important enemy is Somozaism, which left all sources of income bank-

rupt and left a very deep social and economic problem—backwardness, illiteracy, and disorganization."

Somoza's looting operation was so thorough, he said, that Nicaragua's economy is now burdened with a national debt that amounts to \$600 for every man, woman, and child in the country.

"Our biggest obstacle," Wheelock continued, "is lack of finances and underdevelopment. We count on the absolute support of the Nicaraguan people. The FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] has never had more popularity among the people than today. We have difficulties and problems but our people understand them; our army is being consolidated and acquiring greater skill, and we will overcome them. Only in moving ahead do we have any progress and future,

and nobody can reverse that process."

Wheelock continued: "It is very difficult for those who would like to intervene militarily, as in 1927, because what would occur is a war of incalculable proportions. Nicaragua today is not alone, and we are going to ask for help as soon as we encounter difficulties."

In conclusion, Wheelock said: "Our people have very great confidence in the Sandinista Front, in its capacity for leadership. The most evident fact is that our people see a revolution, and in this clearest historical fact resides the great confidence that the people now have in their vanguard."

"There are some who wanted us to advance in an extremely rapid way, but that can't be done. There are many limitations, and we have to act in accordance with the conditions that exist today."

...women

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in the working-class neighborhoods.

"In the country, the peasant goes to harvest the coffee and his wife and children go too. The children from age eight on help to harvest the coffee, the younger children run around the coffee plantation."

"Together with the ministries of Social Welfare, Public Health, and Education we want to build day-care centers in these rural areas, so that these children will be cared for, educated and have access to medical care."

"For these types of projects we need

technical solidarity, especially in the training of our people. You realize that all of us are just learning. We are taking on tasks of high responsibility, but we have neither experience nor technical knowledge. Right now the international aid is insufficient."

'We need aid'

Carrión added: "One thing our Social Work Commission will be doing is raising the question of the objective things that women need in order to participate more actively in all areas of society. For example, child-care centers and public laundries are the most important. Another thing we think will

be important is people's food centers, but that's a little complicated for right now."

Article 37 of the "Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans" decreed by the revolutionary government August 21 assures working women maternity leave with pay, and declares, "The working mother shall have the right to have her minor children cared for by the state while she is at her place of work."

Carrión pointed out that "the Sandinista movement has had as part of its activity initiating and participating in women's organizations."

"The way has been cleared for our work, but we need resources, we need aid. Much more than before and in a much more urgent way, we need international solidarity in order to accomplish our objectives."

The immense number of tasks facing the women of AMPRONAC has not caused them to forget its past as a human-rights organization. Barely one month after the overthrow of the Nicaraguan dictatorship, AMPRONAC has already launched a massive petitioning campaign of Nicaraguan women for freedom for Chilean political prisoners.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Behind U.S. lies on Afghanistan

By Ernest Harsch

The revolutionary upheaval that has been unfolding in Afghanistan for more than a year is drawing increasing fire from Washington. Through assistance to counterrevolutionary guerrilla forces, the imperialists are seeking to topple the Afghan regime and roll back the progressive social measures—such as the radical land reform—that have been carried out there.

Aiming to cover up their aggressive policies toward Afghanistan, the imperialists have also conducted a campaign of lies and vilification that has been mounting in intensity ever since the April 1978 overthrow of dictator Mohammad Daud.

Washington's hostility was further heightened following the September 16 change in the Afghan government, in which Hafizullah Amin replaced Noor Mohammad Taraki as president of the country and secretary general of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

An editorial in the September 22 *New York Times*, a newspaper that has played a prominent role in the imperialist propaganda campaign against Afghanistan, began: "The already grim news from Afghanistan has turned even grimmer. . . ." It pointed out that Amin "is no friend of the United States." Calling him "an extremist even among extremists," the *Times* said that as "the number two man [in the Taraki regime], he led the resistance to Soviet pressure for a political settlement" with the rightist guerrillas.

Three days earlier, State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III officially reiterated the White House's "concern" over the situation in Afghanistan and warned Moscow against continued assistance to the regime there.

U.S. backs rightists

Washington has not limited its "concern" to just verbal proclamations. It has taken action.

Attempting to make the peoples of Afghanistan pay a heavy price for their efforts to break away from imperialist and landlord domination and improve their living conditions, Washington has cut off all new economic aid to Afghanistan. The Carter administration has also voted several times in international financial agencies to block loans to Afghanistan.

At the same time the White House is backing the rightist forces fighting against the Afghan revolution. In one of his first news conferences as president, Amin, on September 23, lashed out at Washington's support for these groups.

Led by dispossessed landlords, former military officers, monarchists, and religious figures, these armed bands operate over wide stretches of Afghanistan's rugged countryside, destroying bridges and schools, attacking villagers, and seeking to impede implementation of the government's land reform and literacy campaigns. Many obtain sanctuary, supplies, and training in neighboring Pakistan.

The bourgeois press in the United States and other imperialist countries has given much favorable coverage to the claims and statements of these groups. Several central themes are woven into many of the "news" reports, designed to mask the true aims of the guerrilla groups and justify American backing for them.

'Muslim Insurgents'?

• The guerrillas are generally referred to as "Muslim insurgents" who are fighting a "holy war" against



Der Spiegel

Peasants demonstrate for land reform. Slogans were: 'Down with colonialism; Down with imperialism; Down with feudalism.'

religious persecution by a "godless" regime.

While some Islamic religious leaders are involved in the fighting, it is not because of any "anti-Islamic" policy of the regime, but because many of them also happen to be landlords and moneylenders whose class interests are threatened by the land reform.

A report from the Afghan capital of Kabul in the September 1 *London Economist* acknowledged, "In fact no restrictions had been imposed on religious practice: the mosques were always open, and were particularly thronged with worshippers during the Id festival last weekend."

• The guerrillas are likewise portrayed as Afghan "nationalists" fighting against "Soviet domination." As evidence, reporters often cite the increase in the number of Soviet advisers in Afghanistan since the PDPA came to power, and occasionally even claim that Moscow had a hand in Daud's overthrow.

Although Moscow does have close ties with the new government, it had also maintained trade and diplomatic relations with the former Daud regime. The Kremlin, in fact, was taken by surprise when the PDPA seized power in April 1978 under the impact of mass demonstrations and in response to moves by Daud to launch a large-scale crackdown.

According to a State Department official quoted in the May 18, 1979, *New York Times*, "We have no evidence of any Soviet involvement in the coup."

Soviet aid

Since April 1978, Soviet assistance has been crucial to the new regime, but the role and number of Soviet advisers have been blatantly inflated in the imperialist press. According to Amin, there are now between 1,000 and 1,500 Soviet advisers, a level comparable to that in the early years of the Daud regime.

In a report from Kabul in the August 31 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, correspondent Salamat Ali revealed, "Until 1976 when Daud began changing his policy [and began moving closer toward Washington and the shah of Iran], Soviet military advisers had

been appointed right down to company level. By the fall of Daud in April last year the advisers' presence had been reduced to battalion level. It has been restored to the old level by the present regime."

There is thus no reason to think that the guerrillas are motivated by fears of Moscow's "domination."

• Some correspondents argue that one element in the guerrilla actions against the regime is efforts by some of Afghanistan's smaller nationalities to win greater autonomy, in defiance of the government's alleged attempts to maintain domination by the Pushtun nationality.

The new Afghan regime, however, has taken major steps toward recognizing some of the national rights of the country's various peoples, in contrast to previous Afghan regimes. It has established schooling, newspapers, and radio programming in previously neglected local languages. A number of top ministers in the government are now non-Pushtun.

• The counterrevolutionary forces are said to have wide support, to control most of the countryside, and to be leading (in the words of correspondent Geoffrey Godsell in the September 6 *Christian Science Monitor*) a "virtual people's revolution." Prominent coverage is given to unsubstantiated claims by various guerrilla groups that they have killed large numbers of Afghan and Soviet troops, that entire units and garrisons of the regular Afghan army have defected, and even that "governments" have been set up in "liberated" areas.

Strength questionable

Given the scarcity of reliable information on the fighting, it is difficult to gauge the real strength of the rightist groups. But from the reports of some correspondents who have traveled through parts of Afghanistan, they have made less headway than is generally claimed.

Le Monde correspondent Jean de la Guerivière reported in the August 8 issue of the Paris daily that while much of the countryside is "more or less unsafe," the areas of guerrilla activity are not heavily populated. The main roads from Kabul to the Soviet

Union and Pakistan carry regular traffic.

In a dispatch from Kabul in the August 17 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Salamat Ali reported that "it is indisputable that every town of any significance remains under the control of the government," despite guerrilla claims to have captured some towns.

The September 1 *Economist* likewise admitted that the counterrevolutionary forces "have not been able to seize, hold and administer any towns or any large area of territory."

Despite the limited advances of the counterrevolutionary drive thus far, it nevertheless represents a serious danger to the regime and to the social gains that have been won by the workers and peasants. With outside support, even small fragmented groups can cause considerable damage and sap the energy and resources the country needs to move forward.

Although the Khomeini-Bazargan government in Iran is openly sympathetic to the rightist forces in Afghanistan, and has provided sanctuary for some of the opposition groups, the main backing for the guerrillas comes via Pakistan, which is ruled by the pro-imperialist military regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

Under the guise of providing "humanitarian" assistance to Afghan refugees, Zia is funneling financial and military assistance to the guerrillas, many of whom operate from camps along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

According to the Afghan regime, the Chinese government has also been providing some assistance to the guerrillas.

Popular support

• The Afghan government is portrayed as repressive and unpopular, hanging on to power only through the terrorization of the population and with the aid of Soviet military personnel. An article in the May 14 issue of *Time* magazine went so far as to claim that the regime's supporters numbered "only 2,500 people"—in a country of nearly 20 million!

Some reports in the bourgeois press have acknowledged, however, that the

Continued on next page

Central African coup: made in Paris

By Ernest Harsch

During the evening of September 20, French military transport planes, carrying hundreds of French troops, began arriving at the airport near Bangui, the capital of what was then called the Central African Empire.

Out of one of the French planes stepped David Dacko, a personal adviser and cousin of Emperor Bokassa and a former president of the country.

With French troops already taking up strategic positions around the city, Dacko announced at five minutes before midnight that Bokassa (who was abroad at the time) was deposed. Dacko declared that the country would once again be called the Central African Republic and that he himself was now president.

Following a prearranged script, Dacko then called on "our constant friend, France," for military aid. And the French government, under the pretense of responding to an appeal by a "sovereign" head of state, announced the next morning that it would send troops (which were, of course, already there).

Two days after his arrival, Dacko admitted to reporters that he had spent the previous two months outside the country preparing the coup with the help of Paris and "friendly African governments."

French intervention

This blatant French military intervention makes a mockery of African sovereignty. It is a blow against all those in Africa struggling to free their continent of imperialist domination.

The dispatch of around 1,000 French troops to Bangui was not aimed at Bokassa—a bloody capitalist dictator the French government itself had propped up for many years—but at the peoples of the Central African Republic. At a time when the urban masses were already mobilizing against the monarchy, the regime of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing felt it necessary to step in directly to protect French political and economic inter-

ests there (including the exploitation of the large uranium deposits).

This aggression is part of a broader French imperialist offensive in Africa, which in recent years has included bombing raids against the Western Saharan freedom fighters, direct military intervention in Chad, and—in direct collusion with Washington—the sending of troops in 1977 and 1978 to put down rebellions in Zaïre's Shaba Province.

The Bangui operation won praise from some of the most reactionary forces. An American State Department spokesman responded, "Vive la France!" And an editorial in the September 25 *Wall Street Journal* lamented that the political climate in the United States was not conducive to similar American intervention, no matter what "the size of U.S. interests" involved.

In Bangui itself, Bokassa's downfall was initially greeted with street celebrations, which French troops quickly sought to bring under control. But the joy subsided when the character of the new French-installed regime became clear.

New regime

Virtually all of Bokassa's imperial cabinet has been retained by Dacko, including those most identified with the repression. A few days after taking power, Dacko announced that he would seek closer diplomatic and trade ties with South Africa; he later backed off somewhat, claiming it was "all a great joke."

On September 23, only three days after the coup, the first antigovernment demonstration occurred. Hundreds of students and teachers rallied outside the presidential palace to protest the composition of the regime.

One of the most important groups formed in opposition to Bokassa, the Front Patriotique Oubanguien (FPO—Oubangui Patriotic Front),* issued a

*Oubangui is an African name for the country, which before independence was called Oubangui Chari.

social measures that benefit the workers and peasants of Afghanistan, the overwhelming majority of the population.

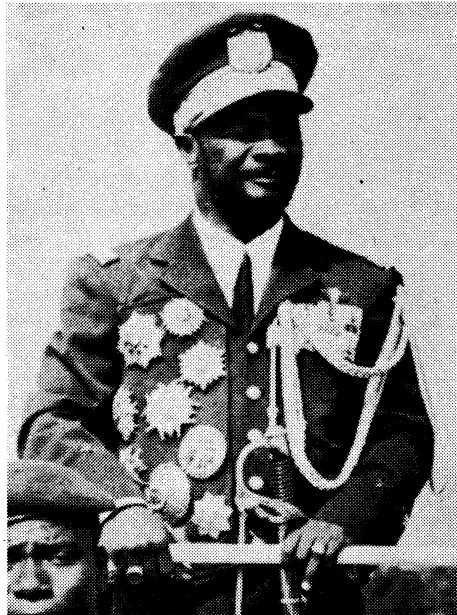
One of the most important is the land reform. Initiated on January 1, it set a ceiling on land ownership of about fifteen acres. All surplus land was to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to landless peasants and nomads. The government has announced that the first phase of the land reform, completed in June, distributed 1.4 million acres (out of a total of 1.6 million covered by the program) to 248,000 families. In addition, all debts owed by peasants were cancelled.

New schools and medical centers have been built in rural areas, and 800,000 persons have been enrolled in a literacy campaign.

In a country where women are extremely oppressed, special measures have been taken to improve their status. Primary schooling has been declared mandatory for young women, and married women are offered special courses. Arranged marriages were banned and dowries have been reduced.

Unions legalized

Trade unions were legalized for the first time in Afghanistan's history.



BOKASSA

statement in Paris the day before condemning the Dacko regime and demanding the withdrawal of French troops.

The FPO called the French intervention a "veritable act of colonial reconquest" and appealed to the peoples of the Central African Republic to "refuse to collaborate in any way with the antipeople and antidemocratic puppet regime imposed from abroad."

The French Communist Party has also demanded that French troops get out. At a September 23 news conference, CP General Secretary Georges Marchais said that Paris should "stop its interventions in Africa."

The Giscard government has sought to divert criticism of its role by stressing the repressive nature of Bokassa's regime. But this "concern" over human rights violations under Bokassa is a complete fraud.

French backed Bokassa

The French rulers supported Bokassa with hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, ever since he came to power in 1966. They even funded his

lavish coronation in December 1977, when he proclaimed himself "emperor." Paris was totally silent about Bokassa's repression—until it concluded that he had outlived his usefulness.

In January, serious opposition to Bokassa began to emerge. Students demonstrated and were soon joined by residents from Bangui's poor neighborhoods. Coming just days after the shah had fled Iran, the protesters took up the chant: "After the shah, the dog of Berengo!" (Bokassa's imperial residence was in Berengo).

Police attacked the demonstration, provoking a popular rebellion that shook the city for several days. By the time it was put down, up to 400 persons had been killed or wounded.

In the weeks that followed, there were frequent clashes between students and police. Rallies in Bangui called for Bokassa's ouster and the restoration of the republic. Workers went out on strike. Several underground groups were formed.

Police arrested many activists. In April, scores of students were reported to have been killed in prison, some by Bokassa himself.

The French government initially backed Bokassa's denials, referring to the killings as "pseudo-events." But a commission of African jurists substantiated the charges in August, further isolating Bokassa and making him a political liability to his French capitalist backers.

Around the same time, Paris learned that some of the opposition groups were planning campaigns to oust Bokassa. To forestall an insurrection or a coup by less reliable forces, the French government acted first.

Amid signs of opposition to the new regime, Dacko made it clear that he will rely on the French troops to stay in power. He declared September 24 that they would stay in the country "10 years if necessary."

A few days after his statement, even more French troops arrived.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Afghan

Continued from preceding page

regime does in fact have wide support.

A dispatch from Kabul in the January 16 *Wall Street Journal* reported that when the country's flag was changed "more than 150,000 persons, one-third of Kabul's population, marched to honor the new flag on the day it was first unfurled. Similar demonstrations of support occurred in other cities. The marches were organized, but witnesses say the participants appeared genuinely enthusiastic."

Red banners and slogans like "Proletariat of the world unite" are posted up throughout the country. "From the looks of banners and slogans all over town [Kabul], Afghan loyalty to the government can scarcely be questioned," correspondent Jonathan Randal commented in the June 11 *Washington Post*.

Salamat Ali noted in the August 17 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that despite opposition claims of mass desertions from the army, the "loyalty of the troops is remarkable considering their meagre rewards."

Land reform

The reason for the regime's popularity is simple. It has initiated a series of

Although the PDPA government has not moved directly against Afghanistan's small capitalist class, and has promised a continued role to "patriotic capitalists," the revolutionary process that has been unleashed in Afghanistan could advance further than the regime has planned to go. It has already raised the hopes and expectations of the country's workers and peasants and could open the way toward mass mobilizations that threaten capitalist property relations.

This process—both what has already been accomplished and the potential for further revolutionary change—is what has earned the intense hatred of the imperialists.

They are also worried that the example of the Afghan revolution will inspire the oppressed masses in other countries. Public sympathy for the Afghan revolution has already been expressed by some political organizations and trade unions in neighboring Pakistan.

The imperialists' concern is likewise connected to the series of setbacks they have recently suffered elsewhere: the overthrow of the shah of Iran, the advances of the Indochinese revolution, the rising struggles for Black majority rule in southern Africa, the growing international isolation of the

Israeli state; the overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua.

Their backing to the counterrevolutionary drive in Afghanistan is thus part of a global policy, aimed at defending imperialist interests wherever they are threatened and at holding back the world revolution wherever it moves forward.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Iranian socialist leader answers charges

A defense of the fourteen imprisoned Iranian socialists by Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) leader Babak Zahraie was published in the September 20 issue of the Tehran daily *Baamdad*. It was headlined, "Babak Zahraie Wants Permission for a Political Defense of the Imprisoned Socialists."

Zahraie's statement was addressed to Prosecutor General Ghodosi of the Revolutionary Islamic Republic. It was written in reply to a September 15 statement by Ahmad Janati, judge of the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Khuzestan Province, where the HKS members are imprisoned.

Zahraie explains how Janati's letter confirms that the arrests, imprisonment, and conviction of the fourteen socialists is solely for their political ideas and their membership in the HKS.

Referring to articles from the HKS newspaper, *Kargar*, which are cited by Janati, Zahraie explains that some of the quotes are taken out of context, and others bear no relation to either the HKS, *Kargar*, or the socialist prisoners. There are others that are, in fact, the HKS's various proposals for the constitution, proposals for solving many of Iran's problems.

Zahraie writes, "Mr. Janati says that socialists 'incite' the workers. . . . In fact, socialists believe that the workers themselves must take the initiative in every problem in the country."

Zahraie explains how it was the participation of the masses that brought about the successful February insurrection which, in turn, now makes possible mass participation in overcoming the country's problems.

lems.

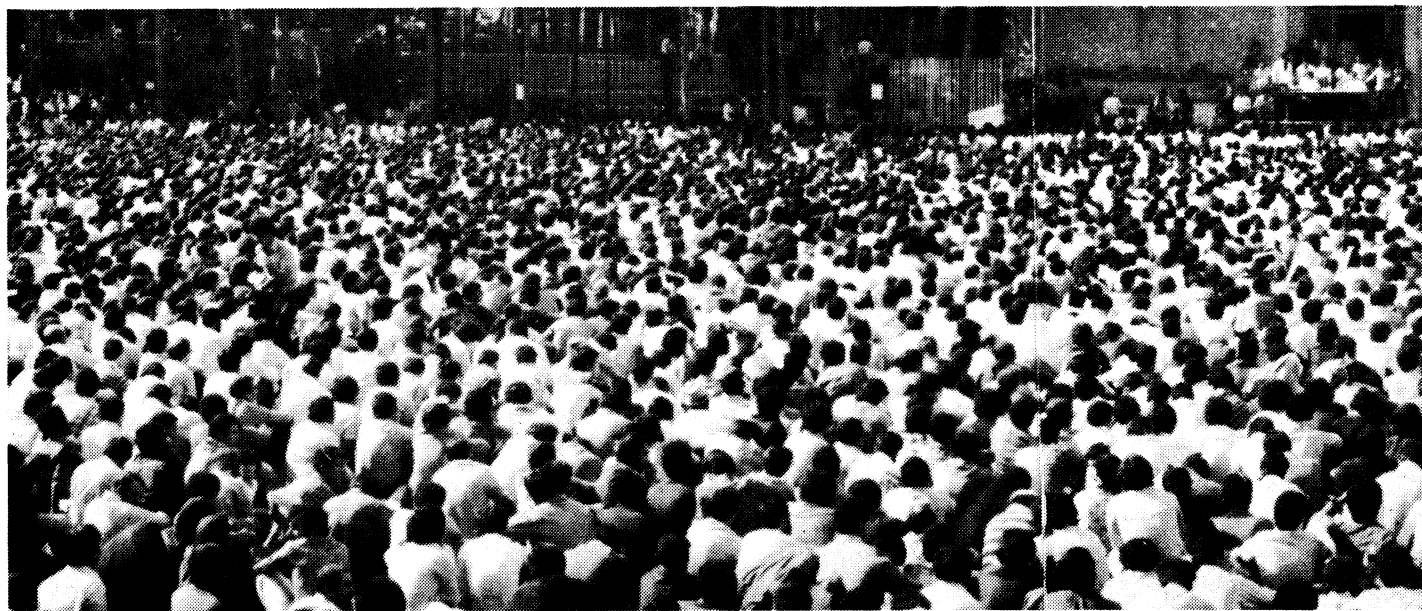
He writes, "This is the true strength of our revolution and reminding people of this fact is not, in the slightest, a conspiracy. . . . Putting opinions on trial threatens the most basic accomplishments of the revolution."

Zahraie requests that the prisoners be transferred to Tehran in order to conduct a fair inquiry to establish their complete innocence, and that

defense attorneys be allowed to represent them.

He further requests permission to act as their political attorney. "Since this is a trial of their ideas—opinions which have been heard on radio and television, in debates, and in the national press—it is necessary that I have the right to represent the opinions and program of the HKS in a public trial," Zahraie states.

—J.L.



HKS leader Babak Zahraie debated government official Bani Sadr in April. Millions heard socialist ideas.

International support for release of Iran 14

By Janice Lynn

Support continues to grow for the release of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezbollah-e Kargar-e Sosialist—HKS) who have been imprisoned in Khuzestan Province for almost four months. Their only crime has been to express their political views.

The international outcry over the sentences of death for twelve of the socialists, and life imprisonment for two others has been unprecedented. It is this mass pressure which has so far saved their lives.

In light of recent reports from Iran that eight Arabs in Khuzestan Province were executed for "sabotage and rebellion" October 4, the defense effort takes on added urgency.

Unrest among Arab and other workers in the oil fields of Khuzestan Province was reflected September 28 when the Khomeini-Bazargan government suspended Hassan Nazih, chairman of the National Iranian Oil Company. Nazih had criticized the government's attacks on human rights. Khomeini has threatened to try Nazih on charges of acting against Iran's "national and Islamic interests."

Additional dissatisfaction with the

government was expressed October 2 in Tehran when 1,500 unemployed workers and high-school graduates demonstrated outside the offices of Prime Minister Bazargan to demand jobs. They were dispersed by guards.

New support for the release of the fourteen HKS members has come from Colombia, Japan, Sri Lanka, and India.

From Colombia, telegrams were sent by members of FIRMES, a national opposition movement; Carlos Bustes, of the executive committee of the General Workers Federation; the national executive committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party; and others.

In Japan, a September 19 protest in front of the Iranian embassy in Tokyo delivered a statement signed by prominent persons from Amnesty International, and by church and labor figures in Japan.

In Sri Lanka, a protest letter was signed by seventeen leaders of major trade union federations. The Communist League of India has also telegraphed its opposition.

In Australia, forty-two union leaders and delegates at the congress of Australian Trade Unions signed a telegram to Prime Minister Bazargan.

From England, seventeen members

of Parliament signed a protest letter circulated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

From Canada, telegrams were sent by the Canadian Labour Congress; the president of the Canadian Association of University Teachers; thirty-four participants at the Manitoba Federation of Labour convention; and twenty-five railroad workers in Winnipeg.

New U.S. labor support includes fifty Milwaukee auto workers; forty steelworkers from U.S. Steel's Texas Works in Baytown; Barbara Harris, president of the Newark Teachers Association; and the executive board of the Contra Costa county chapter of the Service Employees International Union, Local 535.

A group of Iranian students living in America and Europe sent a lengthy appeal to Prime Minister Bazargan on behalf of the fourteen socialists. They declared:

"The Iranian people did not make a revolution so that socialists could be imprisoned and tortured. . . . The people of Iran made the revolution so that, once and for all, a person won't spend the best years of his or her life in prison for his or her ideas. The people of Iran made the revolution so that the gates of freedom might be open to all."

Students protest at UN

By Marilyn Vogt

NEW YORK—Seventy-five Iranian youth picketed outside the United Nations building October 4. The occasion was the U.N. visit by Iranian foreign minister Ibrahim Yazdi. The demonstration was called to condemn the Iranian government's suppression of democratic rights.

Among the banners and chants were "Stop the Massacre of the Kurdish People," "Free all anti-imperialist political prisoners," and "No censorship, for a free press in Iran."

The action was called by "Iranian students in New York supporting the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) (Left Platform)."

Members of the Committee to Save the Iranian 14 participated in the demonstration and distributed brochures in defense of the fourteen imprisoned socialists in Iran.

Maoist group betrays workers' solidarity

By Janice Lynn

A treacherous article appeared in the September 1 newspaper of a Maoist group called "Workers Viewpoint Organization" (WVO).

The headline states, "Executing U.S.-Soviet Agents and Trots is Fine!"

On the same page *Workers Viewpoint* reproduces a leaflet for a New York City emergency protest meeting to stop the executions of Iranian socialists who were sentenced to death for expressing their political views.

Over the leaflet is printed the word "Trots." A caption below reads, "Trots, like the SWP, are agents of the superpowers and engage in subversive activities in Iran. Khomeini, supported by the people in executing them will show no mercy to these counterrevolutionary dogs."

This response is scandalous and

should be denounced by the entire workers' movement. No political differences within the workers' movement justify support to repression (much less execution!) of another current. In calling for the murder of Iranian socialists, the WVO is siding with the most reactionary forces, who would like nothing better than to see all left parties suppressed in Iran.

In addition to attacking the Iranian Socialist Workers Party, the WVO also supports repression of the Tudeh (Communist) Party, which they say is "clearly carrying out subversive intrigues for their Soviet masters"; the People's Fedayeen, which they characterize as "these fake Marxists"; and the Mujahedin, which they say, like the Fedayeen, has a "revisionist position on the Soviet Union."

On the struggle of the Kurdish people for their democratic rights, the

WVO echoes the theory that although the Kurds may have some legitimate demands, they are being used by agents of the United States and the Soviet Union to "whip up counterrevolutionary attitudes."

The WVO calls on the Iranian workers and peasants to "subordinate their immediate class interests to the larger question of protecting Iran from superpower subversion."

The reactionary position of the WVO flows from the Maoist theory that the biggest danger in the world today comes not from U.S. imperialism but from the Soviet Union. The WVO states, "The main dividing line in Iran today is not what you say, but whether the various political groups actually in practice fight for Iranian independence from the two superpowers . . . or serve as their agents."

While the Maoists talk about opposi-

tion to both "superpowers"—the United States and the Soviet Union—in practice they find themselves taking the same stand as Washington: cheering for suppression of workers' struggles and democratic rights. The Workers Viewpoint Organization has not a word to say about Washington's growing rapprochement with the Khomeini regime, as evidenced by renewed shipments of U.S. arms to Iran.

All supporters of democratic and human rights should call upon members of the WVO to repudiate the outrageous position of supporting the Iranian government's attempt to execute the imprisoned members of the Socialist Workers Party.

The case of the Iranian fourteen should bring forth the rule of solidarity within the labor movement, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Avondale shipyards: 'Good life' only for bosses

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—Big, bold billboards can be found throughout this city and the surrounding area with the prominent message: "Avondale Shipyards—It's not just a good job, it's a good life."

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Avondale's main yard is located along the Mississippi, just outside New Orleans. It operates two smaller yards in nearby Harvey and Westwego. It is the fourth largest shipyard operation in the country, employing about 9,000 workers. An estimated 65 percent are Black.

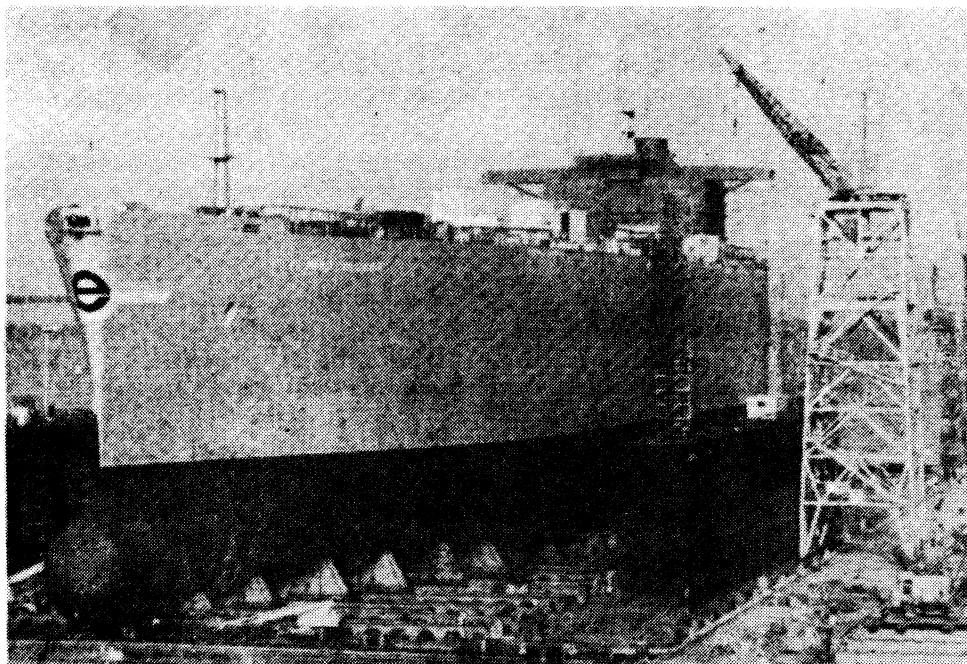
Avondale is owned by Ogden Foods Corporation. The shipyard accounted for 24.9 percent of Ogden's sales in 1978, and 44.8 percent of its profits. Unlike many other U.S. shipyards, Avondale pulls in handsome profits and has more than a three-year backlog of work. It reportedly plans to expand its workforce by at least 1,000 additional workers in the next year.

Throughout Louisiana, Avondale has a reputation as a union-busting outfit—and for good reason. In the recent past, both the Teamsters and the Boilermakers have tried unsuccessfully to organize the yard.

When new workers are hired, they receive an orientation session explaining Avondale's "non-union policy." Yard employees have many stories to tell about Avondale's anti-union tactics. These range from victimizing union militants to throwing big beer parties for employees and their families to giving them special gifts, like cars and color TVs.

In 1976, the year the "right to work" law was reinstituted in Louisiana, Avondale "gave" its workers the day off and bused them up to the state capitol in Baton Rouge to "prove" that Louisiana workers favor this antilabor legislation.

In late July of this year, thirteen workers were abruptly fired from the



Giant liquefied natural gas vessel under construction at Avondale

yard, all for trumped-up reasons. One fourteen-year veteran of the yard was fired for not wearing a hard hat. A sixteen-year employee was fired for not producing enough. And a worker with nine years at the plant was fired for leaving work five minutes early.

Immediately following the firings, officials of the United Steelworkers (USWA) announced the union's intention to file charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) on behalf of the fired workers.

Barney Morel, sub-district director of the USWA, said the workers were fired "for frivolous reasons and probably because they are part of a volunteer effort at Avondale to see how much support there is for establishing a Steelworkers union at the shipyard." He explained that the USWA started probing the possibility of organizing the yard last May.

At the end of August, the NLRB ruled against the fired workers. Morel then announced that "the USWA is

still handling the case of the fired workers before the labor relations board because we feel Avondale dismissed the people merely for union activity. We haven't expanded our union activity and so far we're satisfied with the progress we've made. Right now, we're not looking for card signers, but people with leadership quality who want to participate in the union."

USWA organizer Ken Nienczyk pointed out that the fired workers were the core of a survey team put together to see if there was sufficient interest in organizing the yard.

These recent events have sparked interest in the real situation at Avondale, which is far from the "great life" message Avondale's billboards portray.

On July 17, a young shipfitter fell eighty feet to his death within the hull of a ship. Avondale made no public statement but circulated rumors

throughout the yard, blaming the victim for the accident. Workers on the same ship, however, reported that the hole he fell through was not lit or marked in any way—clearly a gross safety violation.

The Jefferson Parish coroner's office has recorded five deaths in the yard during the past two years. And according to one worker interviewed, an ambulance leaves the shipyard at least once a day. A local TV station just completed a five-part series documenting many of the hazardous conditions in the yard.

A lawsuit against Avondale, filed by a worker who contracted the lung disease silicosis following thirteen years of employment in the painting and sand-blasting department, is now pending in the courts.

Discussions with any Avondale worker reveal intolerable working conditions. Workers there put in a nine-hour day. Often they work six days a week. Sometimes the drydock crew works twelve-hour shifts, seven days a week.

There is no sick leave. Workers are often fired for staying off the job due to job-related injuries, even though they call in sick.

As more public attention is focusing on Avondale because of the Steelworkers, the firings, and the wretched working conditions, the Jefferson Parish sheriff's department is becoming a regular feature at the gates, monitoring the coming and going of the workforce.

Large signs posted all around the fenced-in yard warn workers they will be fired immediately if they distribute any written materials on the premises.

It is conditions similar to these that spurred shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia, to launch their organizing drive for a union. Their battle with the Tenneco conglomerate continues today. It has inspired workers everywhere—including at Avondale, where the fight has just begun.

Steelworkers await ruling on shipyard election

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The big question here is, "When?"

When will the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals hand down its decision on Tenneco's most recent appeal of the Steelworkers' January 1978 shipyard union election victory?

Final arguments were presented to a three-judge panel in Baltimore September 12.

Tenneco brass have repeatedly promised that they will "live with an unfavorable verdict," that they will not appeal a pro-recognition decision to the Supreme Court, and therefore accept Local 8888 as bargaining agent for the yard's 15,500 production and maintenance workers.

Should Tenneco break its pattern of broken promises and recognize the union, contract negotiations could begin within a month of that decision.

Tenneco seems to be preparing for such a possibility in two ways.

Firings and disciplinary actions, aimed primarily at Steelworkers, continue. The pretext for these attacks is "absenteeism."

Second, the shipyard announced October 5 it was beginning a general hiring of both skilled and unskilled production and maintenance employees. This is the first general hiring notice posted since the company recruited hundreds of scabs during Local 8888's long strike for union recognition last spring.

Tenneco's aim appears to be to have a big work force in place in the event of a strike.

This hiring, however, offers Local 8888 the opportunity to mount an organizing effort to win new, young members.

The probe of the yard by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration continues. Federal Judge Walter Hoffman has been compelled to order Tenneco to cease its brazen harassment of Steelworkers who want to

cooperate with the OSHA investigators. Tenneco supervisors and shipyard private eyes have all apparently obeyed orders not to use tape recorders during OSHA interviews. Steelworkers can now more easily point out yard

safety violations to the inspectors.

The Steelworkers' participation in the fight to gain OSHA access to the yard and in the ongoing investigation has been a boost to the union's strength.

Designers face decertification drive

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—With the future of United Steelworkers Local 8417 hanging in the balance, the Newport News shipyard's marine designers began returning to work the week of October 1. They ended their two-and-a-half-year strike against Tenneco September 22.

Contract negotiations between the shipyard and union officials resumed as designers began reporting back.

On October 3, scab designers filed what they claimed were 407 valid signatures calling for a decertification election. The signatures, if valid, are 107 more than required for the National Labor Relations Board to order a new election.

The striking Steelworker designers were forced to bow to Tenneco to avoid losing their jobs. Under a court order that had determined the shipyard was guilty of unfair labor practices against Local 8417, their jobs were protected.

But the provisions of the order extended only to October 1, after which time Tenneco would be able to permanently replace the strikers. Faced with the deadline, and the prospect of a decertification fight, the union returned to work.

Local 8417 struck Tenneco on April 1, 1977, after the shipyard tried to reclassify half of the design department so that they would not be eligible to join the union.

The striking designers played an important role in the organizing drive that resulted in the January 1978 victory of the USWA as the shipyard's production and maintenance workers' union. Tenneco has fought that election result to this day.

An important barometer of the embattled designers' strength will be the number of strikers who return to work. These Steelworkers may face the task of beating back the decertification effort.

About 27 percent of the original 1,000 striking designers scabbed on Local 8417's contract struggle. Today, the design department functions at roughly 50 percent of its pre-strike capacity of 1,200.

—J.H.



Striking designers walked picket lines with production and maintenance workers.

In Review

'APOCALYPSE NOW'

Apocalypse Now. Directed and produced by Francis Coppola. Written by Francis Coppola and John Milius. Narration by Michael Herr. Starring Marlon Brando, Martin Sheen, and Robert Duvall.

Apocalypse Now is a stunning film. Its greatest impact is visual. Francis Coppola has put on the screen images of such intensity that they seem to convey the emotional pitch of combat itself.

We are drawn into the film and cannot help but be repulsed by the casual brutality and the madness, the noise, the fear, the blood. In his recreation of the reality of the Vietnam War, Coppola has made a powerful antiwar statement.

In breathtaking sequences, Coppola shows us the genocidal impact of the war on the Vietnamese.

We witness a U.S. air cavalry assault on a village that is supposed to be a National Liberation Front stronghold. U.S. helicopters fly over, randomly

Film

firing machine guns and rockets at anything that moves. We watch peasants, trying to flee their fields for cover, cut down.

The helicopters land. The U.S. troops pour out, again firing indiscriminately. The village is "captured."

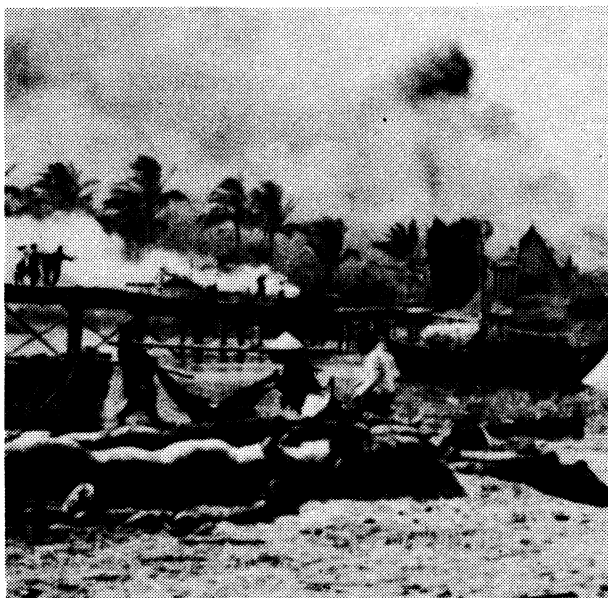
The reason for the assault? Lt. Col. Kilgore (Robert Duvall) wants to use the nearby beach for surfing. As he stands on the beach, we see in the far background dozens of Vietnamese tied together, being led off. Vietnamese mortar fire continues, so the colonel casually calls in an air strike, which engulfs the nearby jungle in napalm. Who was hiding in the trees? Did the village school evacuate to the trees? We don't know—and the colonel doesn't care.

The casualness, the coldness of this brutal violence adds a horrifying dimension to the visual images of the attack.

The story of the film is simple. Captain Willard (Martin Sheen), an army assassin, is ordered to kill Colonel Kurtz (Marlon Brando). Kurtz, once a rising star in the army, has, according to the generals, gone insane. He has holed up up the river—in Kampuchea (Cambodia)—with a private army. Willard takes the job. Kurtz fascinates him, and he sees something of himself in Kurtz.

The film moves from the odd to the surreal. The movie opens with Willard in a Saigon hotel, waiting for an assignment. He is a tortured soul, unable to sleep, drinking, haunted by visions of helicopters dropping napalm.

The separation from sanity grows as the boat progresses up the river. First is the raid. Next, while in an apparently deserted stretch of river, the boat comes upon a brightly lit stadium at a U.S. base. A



In scenes from 'Apocalypse Now,' U.S. helicopters attack Vietnamese village so officer can watch surfers.

USO show is about to start. The show ends in a riot as GIs rush the stage, driven into a frenzy by the explicit sexual posturing of three women dancers.

A dazzling sequence follows. The dark nighttime

river is suddenly burst open by flares, artillery fire, and electric lights. The lights are strung from a bridge crossing the river. As a GI there explains, every night the Vietnamese shell the bridge, and every day the U.S. army rebuilds it so the generals can say the road is open.

As Willard's boat approaches the bridge, U.S. soldiers scream for help and wade into the river, one with suitcase in hand, to escape. The boat's commander, a Black navy man, is shocked to see Americans acting this way.

Here is a vision of hell. The GIs crouch in trenches or behind sandbags. There is no light save the irregular flashes from shells and flares. The noise is overwhelming. Under constant bombardment GIs have begun to lose contact with reality. Some huddle, crying. Others move like zombies. Some just stare.

Crawling through the trenches, Willard comes upon two Black soldiers at a machine-gun post. One is firing indiscriminately into the night, screaming "You think you're bad?" at the Vietnamese—who, of course, can't hear him, and whom he can't see. Willard asks him if he knows who his commanding officer is. "I thought you were," comes the reply.

Coppola's cold style emphasizes the unreal qualities of the scene at the bridge—much as it must have seemed to GIs caught up in a war they didn't understand, dying "so the generals could say the road was open."

The last section of the film is the weakest. Willard and the two surviving boat crewmen arrive at Kurtz's jungle stronghold, with Willard consumed by desire to encounter Kurtz. Here *Apocalypse Now* descends into talk and philosophizing.

We fail to see much of a difference between the "insane renegade" Kurtz and Willard. Both see themselves as loyal to the anti-Vietnamese cause. Both are loners, twentieth century cowboys. Willard could easily become another Kurtz, as the film shows us.

Instead of seeing Kurtz as having gone mad, Willard kills him because that's his job. There's no moral distance between the two. We care little about the outcome.

It is here also that Coppola seeks to even out the blame for the war, having Kurtz tell Willard of a Vietnamese atrocity he witnessed. But this fails to move us because it is talk, secondhand; whereas we have seen and almost lived through the American brutalities.

Coppola said he wanted "to create a film experience that would give its audience a sense of the horror, the madness, the sensuousness, and the moral dilemma of the Vietnam War." He has succeeded in nearly all these efforts.

But after Coppola takes them through the horror and the madness, few viewers will find they have much of a "moral dilemma" about which side they're on. This film's talky ending does little to subtract from its overall impact.

—Arnold Weissberg

A Reader's Notes

"Turned On, Tuned Up, Burned Out" is the title of a stimulating essay on American culture's current "obsession with the humanoid" in the August 25-September 1 issue of the *Nation*. The author is Mark Crispin Miller, who teaches at the University of Pennsylvania.

* * *

Forty-six former winners and judges of the National Books Awards are boycotting the publisher-dominated program for 1980 and are asking all serious writers and critics to join with them in refusing to let their books be submitted or to serve on the publisher-dominated selection committees for the awards next year.

Their letter—effectively demonstrating how the publishers are changing the program to favor the selection of

"best sellers" at the expense of books that may not be commercial successes—is printed in the correspondence columns of the *New York Review of Books*, October 11.

* * *

An important exchange on the class character of the Soviet Union takes place in the correspondence columns of *Monthly Review*, August-September, between Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, who writes on "Why the Soviet Bureaucracy Is Not a New Ruling Class," and Paul Sweezy, *Monthly Review* editor, who holds that the bureaucracy is a new class, not a caste.

Mandel has also written a short book on Leon Trotsky on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of his birth this autumn. It is published by NLB,

distributed in the U.S. by Schocken.

* * *

An interesting symposium on "Marxist Film Criticism" will be found in the Fall issue of *Cineaste*, a quarterly "magazine on the Art and Politics of the Cinema" (\$1.50 per issue; 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014).

It begins by reprinting a 1978 article entitled "What's in a Marxist Film Review?" by Irwin Silber, the *Guardian's* film critic for over a decade; he recently left the *Guardian*. This is followed by responses to the Silber article written for *Cineaste* by the editor Lee Baxandall, Pat Aufderheide of *In These Times*, Leonard Quart of *Marxist Perspectives*, Peter Biskind of *Seven Days*, Lester Cole of the *West Coast People's World*, and Dan Georgakis, a *Cineaste* editor.

Silber's reply to them and letters from readers will be in a later issue.

* * *

Daniel Yankelovich is the head of a public opinion research firm that publishes studies about changes in opinions and beliefs. The chief subscribers to these studies are corporations that want to keep informed about mass shifts in moods and values, but they are not the only ones who can benefit from such information. Those who want to understand why American workers are beginning to be radicalized can gain insights from an article by Yankelovich reporting that "fear, money, work organization, and reliance on the work ethic are losing their effectiveness as motivational tools" for today's workforce. It is in *Industry Week*, August 6.

—George Breitman

Quote unquote

"When the Indians talk about rights, they should remember it's like a master-servant relationship. The lord giveth and the lord taketh away. This is the white man's case: There are more of us than there are of them. If the treaty gives them rights, treaties can be amended."

—A Boise, Idaho, prosecutor responding to Indians trying to enforce zoning regulations on the Fort Hall Reservation.

WALKOUT AT ROUGE AUTO PLANT

"No contract, no work," chanted auto workers at the Dearborn Assembly Plant at Ford's River Rouge complex just an hour before their contract expired October 4.

Although rumors percolated through the plant that an agreement between the United Auto Workers and Ford had

been reached, workers decided to walk out anyway.

"No union rep told us there was a settlement," explained Mac Warren, a member of UAW Local 600. "Word swept the line. So the walkout began."

"It began with a trickle," said Liz Ziers, another Local 600 member. "One line of trim left. Then as word spread to lines downstairs, people punched out and left."

The majority of the 2,500 workers on the second shift stopped work and shut down the plant.

Threatening disciplinary action for anyone who left their job, foremen circulated a leaflet explaining that the company and the union had reached agreement, and no strike was called. UAW negotiators and Ford had agreed on a tentative contract, but workers weren't taking the company's word for it.

As people left, the news media asked why they were walking out. One person answered, "As far as I know it's a stinking contract, so I'm walking out."

Outside the gate, workers held handmade picket signs displaying the slogans "No

forced overtime" and "No contract, no work."

PROBATION VOIDED FOR HOUSTON KILLER COPS

Responding to the deep anger in the Chicano community, a federal appeals court struck down the suspended sentences given three Houston cops who killed José Campos Torres by beating him and then drowning him in a bayou.

Initially, the cops were charged under state law, convicted, and fined one dollar in the 1977 killing.

Marches and other protests moved the federal government to intervene. The cops were then tried under federal statutes for violating Campos Torres's civil rights.

Convicted again, they were given five-year suspended sentences on one count and a year, which they still haven't served, on a second count.

Earlier, a three-judge appeals panel found the suspended sentence illegal but declined to order resentencing. The October 4 decision by the entire Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals orders they be resentenced. The statute carries a maximum life sentence.

An attorney for the cops

Majority favors talks with PLO

Despite the unrelenting smear campaign against the Palestine Liberation Organization, and official U.S. refusal to deal with it, a majority of Americans now favor negotiating with the PLO.

This is the finding of a national survey the *Los Angeles Times* conducted in mid-September after the initiative by U.S. Black groups to establish relations with the PLO.

Overall, 59 percent of those polled favored talks with the PLO. Twenty-six percent said no and 12 percent had no opinion.

The largest proportion in favor was among Blacks, with 66 percent responding yes.

Among Jews, 44 percent now favor dealing with the PLO.

Asked if they were more sympathetic to Israel or the Arab states, 47 percent said they favored Israel, 11 percent the Arab states, with the remaining 42 percent either neutral or undecided. Among Blacks, 13 percent said they were more sympathetic to the Arabs.

While this is a minority view, it represents a significant shift from a decade ago, when the U.S. big-business media and politicians had almost the entire country hoodwinked about the racist oppression of the Palestinians by the Zionist state of Israel.

Since then the "progressive" and "peace-loving" image of the Israeli state has been badly tarnished internationally.

UAW strikes Deere, 6 Caterpillar plants

By Osborne Hart

The United Auto Workers union is continuing its strike against John Deere, one of the three major agricultural implement manufacturers.

Some 31,000 UAW members walked out of ten plants in Illinois and Iowa, after the current three-year contract expired October 1. Auto workers struck John Deere for five weeks in 1976.

The UAW picked John Deere as its "strike target" and signed agreements with the other two companies—Caterpillar Tractor and International Harvester—to extend the contract on a day-by-day basis.

IAW Local 974 in Peoria, Illinois, however, rejected the extension and struck six plants there, adding 23,400 to the work stoppage. "Our people were getting mighty unhappy being put on the back burner" in negotiations, said Local 974 President Robert Davidson. "Many people were talking about shutting down even if we did vote to extend."

Because the strike wasn't authorized by the UAW international, the Peoria workers reportedly are not eligible for union strike benefits.

About 11,000 of the 150,000 UAW members in

the agricultural implement division work for John Deere, Caterpillar, and International Harvester. Contracts with the other agricultural equipment companies—Massey-Ferguson, Allis-Chalmers, Siemens-Allis, and Fiat-Allis—expire on October 31 and November 1.

The official bargaining demands for agricultural implement workers are similar to those their auto counterparts sought. These include increases in wages and cost of living allowance, job security, shorter workweek, pension raises, and automatic union recognition and transfer rights in new and relocated plants.

PICKETS PROTEST KENNEDY'S CRIME BILL

Fifty pickets protesting the federal revised criminal code greeted Sen. Edward Kennedy as he arrived to address the Massachusetts Bar Association in Boston September 28. Kennedy is the sponsor of this attack on civil liberties. He told the meeting that he hoped Congress would pass it before the end of the year.

The picket line was called by the Greater Boston Coalition Against Repressive Legislation.

A flyer distributed by the Massachusetts chapter of the National Lawyers Guild explained some of the worst features of Kennedy's so-called reform bill. These include: a

prohibition against advertising for abortion; creation of "official secrets" crimes that would have allowed prosecution of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other papers for publishing the Pentagon Papers; extortion and blackmail definitions broad enough to encompass many labor union activities; and various provisions aimed at locking up prisoners for longer periods of time.

LOUISVILLE NAZIS DON'T STOP 'MILITANT' SALES

Responding to a right-wing threat, Louisville socialists held their most successful sale of the *Militant* yet at General Electric's Appliance Park, reports Margaret Kelley.

The sale followed the September 30 opening of the Louisville Militant Bookstore, which self-styled Nazis tried to disrupt. In addition to threatening those going into that meeting, they claimed there was a \$500 reward for beating up a *Militant* salesperson at one of the regular sales at GE.

In response, three observers accompanied *Militant* salespeo-

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

STATE OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT. A report from the National Organization for Women national convention; report on Abortion Rights Week activities. Sat., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Road. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

OAKLAND

CUBA: BEHIND CARTER'S THREATS. Speakers: Doug Kitt, freelance writer, just returned from Central America; Ruth Cheney, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. Social after forum. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SAN DIEGO

STOP CARTER'S WAR MOVES IN CARIBBEAN. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sun., Oct. 14, 5 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2.50. Food and refreshments. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

THE RAIL CRISIS: MILWAUKEE ROAD AND ROCK ISLAND BANKRUPTCY. Speakers: John McGinness, Ill. State Legislative Dir., UTU; Vice-pres. of Ill. AFL-CIO and Dick Roberts, staff writer

for the *Militant*. Wed., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Fred Halstead, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: José G. Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA

GARY

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT: THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Fred Halstead, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Slide presentation. Fri., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. Indiana University Campus, Hawthorne Hall, Room 104. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

INDIANAPOLIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, SWP member seeking political asylum in U.S.; Dave Ellis, SWP mayoral candidate and member of Steel-

workers Local 2937; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 20, 6:30 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. 4850 N. College Avenue. Donation \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

CUBA TODAY. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party seeking political asylum in U.S. Slide presentation. Sun., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward (corner of Baltimore). Donation: \$1.50. Proceeds to Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

IRON RANGE

IS SWEDEN SOCIALIST? Speaker: Stu Singer, Steelworkers Local 6115, recently returned from Sweden. Fri., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. Carpenters Hall, Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

STOP THE THREATS AGAINST CUBA. Speaker: José G. Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently visited Cuba. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant

Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

WHY WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Frank Lovell, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON

PORTLAND

DESEGREGATION IN PORTLAND. Speaker: Ron Herndon, Black United Front. Sun., Oct. 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

ABORTION—A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Speakers: Beth Peterson, Judy Shipley, and Betsy Cummings. Sun., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH

IRAN TODAY: ANTI-SHAH FIGHTERS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Ali Mahmoud, foreign relations director, Association of Kurdish Students Abroad; Gerry Foley, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, recently visited Iran. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Dona-

tion: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000

MINERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST LAYOFFS. Speakers: Tom Moriarty, United Mine Workers member; laid-off miner from West Virginia. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

THE ENERGY SWINDLE: HOW TO STOP IT. Speaker: John Votava, member of Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists District 751. Wed., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. So. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

NICARAGUA: EYEWITNESS TO A REVOLUTION. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 20, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. So. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Socialist Workers 1980 Campaign. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

MORGANTOWN

AFTER THREE MILE ISLAND, WHY NOT COAL? A panel of coal miners and environmentalists discuss labor's alternative to nuclear power. Sun., Oct. 14, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.



Abortion rights on the block

Hoping to further slash federal funds for abortion, the House and Senate are currently deadlocked in debate.

The House appropriations bill would limit abortion funding only to cases where the woman's life is in danger.

The Senate bill would "generously" include abortion funding for rape, incest, and "prolonged physical damage to the woman"—provided there is verification by two doctors.

This will be the fourth consecutive year that Congress has voted to restrict the use of federal funds for abortion.

Since the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion six years ago, the right of women to choose has been under increasing attack. Whether through Congress, the courts, or state legislatures, the government has

persistently chipped away at this human right.

Abortion Rights Action Week, October 22-29, has been called to mobilize mass support for abortion rights. It is sponsored by a broad coalition of more than fifty organizations—including the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, National Alliance of Black Feminists, Mexican American National Women's Association, Planned Parenthood, Catholics for a Free Choice, and others.

It will consist of a nationally coordinated series of local events including marches, rallies, teach-ins and various educational activities.

For more information contact Abortion Rights Action Week, 17 Murray Street, New York, New York 10007. Telephone (212) 964-3668.

Deep thinking—A *New York Times* headline advised that a rise in wholesale prices "suggests higher costs at retail level." Meanwhile, our morning newscaster explained that the current rise in unemployment is due to "decreased economic activity."

Two for Senator Widebottom?—A White House "crackdown" was supposed to limit federal employees flying first class on the taxpayers. However, a regulation permits exemptions for bureaucrats with a doctor's slip advising that their rear end will fit better into a first-class seat.

Let 'em drink coke?—A Michigan official says illegal dumping by chemical companies, including Hooker, the folks who brought you Love Canal, may have contaminated Michigan water to the point where "we can't afford to clean it up. . . . We may find it cheaper to write off the groundwater supplies of a large portion of southern Michigan."

Roll out the welcome wagon—Richard Nixon has a home. After being forced to withdraw from two New York condominiums because the neighbors objected, he bought a twelve-room townhouse for \$750,000, with David Rockefeller and Arthur Schlesinger as neighbors. Neither voiced objection. And, the house has four bedrooms and seven bathrooms.

One of them is—A hijacker held a West German plane with a toy pistol, then surrendered. He wanted to address the nation, urging that the government hold a referendum on nuclear power, improve child care, and abolish the armed forces. "All I want," he said, "is a humane world in which it is worthwhile to live." A Lufthansa spokesman advised reporters the man was insane.

Short change?—General Motors is sponsoring ads for National Bible Week. One, addressed to ghetto youth, advises: "You can't change the world, but you can change yourself."

ple, including a GE co-worker. Channel 13 "Alive" filmed the sales team selling to GE workers in cars on their way into work.

Twenty-one copies of the *Militant* were sold, plus six copies of the *Young Socialist*. There were no incidents.

Another seven *Militants* were sold to co-workers inside.

The socialists' right to sell was widely discussed in the plant, with most opposing harassment.

An October 7 Militant Forum on the Mideast was well attended and the right-wingers did not show up.

POLICE RAID LOCKHEED

A serious attack on the rights of workers at the Lockheed Corporation plant in Burbank, California, took place September 13.

Burbank police and Los Angeles County sheriff's officers entered the parking lots and the recreation club during the noon hour. They cited fifty workers for possession of an ounce or less of marijuana and arrested twenty-three others for sale of marijuana and possession of cocaine or other drugs.

The company immediately fired all those involved. They are all members of Local 727 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Lockheed worker Janis Ball reports that undercover narcotics agents had been posing as employees for three months prior to the arrests, spying and providing information to the company and cops.

"Many of my co-workers," Ball says, "were quite angry about undercover cops pretending to be workers and were worried that these agents were spying on union activists as well."

"At an October 3 union meeting, we learned that at least two of those fired were union shop stewards. It was reported that the police just swept down like vultures, picking up people indiscriminately." The union intends to fight for their right to be rehired with full back pay.

INDIANAPOLIS TEACHERS RETURN TO WORK

Teachers in Indianapolis returned to work October 3. The

1,300-member Indianapolis Education Association ended its five-week strike after both sides agreed to binding arbitration. Among the issues to be decided are pay (the school board refuses to give a 7 percent increase), preparation time, and sick leave.

The teachers did win increased insurance coverage and a halt to split classes.

As in most teachers' strikes this fall, the school board was joined by the big-business news media and the courts in its attack on teachers. This included several incidents where pickets were hit by scab-driven cars.

According to *Militant* correspondent Jerry Ulman, the teachers' ranks maintained militancy to the end. They won support from students, who joined the picketing, and from parents, who circulated petitions calling for the recall of school board members. The United Auto Workers Community Action Program officially supported the strike.

Teachers in Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, also ended their strike, the longest teacher walkout this year, on October 3.

As we go to press, teachers' strikes continue in San Francisco, and in parts of New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

PLO LEADER TO SPEAK AT BROOKLYN FORUM

Zehdi Terzi, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) representative to the United Nations, will be the featured speaker at the Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum, Saturday, October 20.

Other speakers will include David Frankel, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and representatives of the Black community.

Entitled, "Black Americans and the Middle East: A New Perspective on the Palestinian Freedom Fight." For more information call (212) 783-2135.

Union Talk

BART union-busting lockout

This week's column is by Carol Reed, who until June of this year was a maintenance worker for the Bay Area Rapid Transit.

SAN FRANCISCO—Workers at the Bay Area Rapid Transit have been locked out by management since August 31.

The maintenance and clerical workers at BART are represented by United Public Employees Union Local 390 and the station agents and train operators by Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555.

Management's aim is to substantially weaken and destroy the effectiveness of the unions, undermine their support among the work force, and weaken union control over job conditions.

The main contract issue is BART's demand that the cost-of-living clause be eliminated. The last contract had an excellent COLA provision.

At the beginning of July, when the contract was being extended day by day, BART was claiming that the "car count" was down because workers were slowing down on the job. The unions denied it.

After two weeks, management broke off negotiations and refused to extend the expired contract any longer. They issued notices informing workers that they would no longer recognize the grievance procedure. They threatened to review individual workers shift by shift, and suspend any they determined were not working hard enough. They said the highest authority would be the supervisor.

Then at the end of July, management made its big move. BART announced that the car count was steadily going down and that some workers were sabotaging the effectiveness of the train system. Maintenance employees at the Concord Yard were to be reassigned to other yards, and in their places supervisory personnel would supposedly operate the cars and get the car count up.

But the swing shift at Concord never went home that night and were joined by workers who showed up for the midnight shift. They were also joined by some officials of the maintenance and transit unions.

All management personnel were "escorted" out of the shop and the workers locked themselves in.

This was the beginning of the Concord Yard sit-in, which lasted five days. It helped unify workers throughout the

BART system, who were beginning to get somewhat demoralized by the company efforts to beat them down.

During the five days of tremendous heat in the Concord Yard, BART shut off water supplies, electricity, and the phones and tried to cut off food supplies to the workers inside. Supporters outside the building threw food up to the roof, and when that became difficult, a helicopter was used to drop food and drinks to those sitting in.

The sit-in ended with a court order. But it was viewed as a victory for the union because the order instructed BART to forget the threatened transfers, reestablish meaningful negotiations, and take no disciplinary action unless it went to binding arbitration.

Negotiations broke down rather quickly. During the last week of August, all the air bags underneath the trains were punctured so none of the trains in one yard were usable. It was not clear who did it. Many think that union members were more sophisticated than to do something like that. But management used it to suspend all union members in the yard until the "culprit" came forward and admitted to the "sabotage."

The next day management personnel "fixed" the trains. After that the train operators didn't want to take the trains out of the yard because they believed that trains maintained by inexperienced, non-union personnel were unsafe to drive and for passengers to ride.

That same day, shift workers at Richmond Yard were suspended for refusing mandatory overtime and for not working "up to par." Among the new work rules established by the company were mandatory overtime and no sick-leave pay for the first three days out.

By the following day, most people in the three yards were suspended for one reason or another. Also, 150 swing-shift workers were suspended for attending a mass union meeting during the swing shift. Train operators were calling in sick, and by noon only twelve trains were in working order.

At 7 o'clock that night (August 31) BART shut down the system and locked out all its union employees.

BART then challenged the union employees' applications for unemployment benefits. Management won and benefits were denied.

On October 9, negotiations were resumed for the first time in four weeks.

'We will be like Che!'



CHE AND FIDEL

The following column has been translated from the October 8 issue of 'Perspectiva Mundial.' It was written by 'PM' editor José G. Pérez.

In Cuba, October 8 is the Day of the Heroic Guerrilla, commemorating the fall in battle of Commander Ernesto Che Guevara twelve years ago.

But for Cuba, Che is not just one more hero or martyr of the revolution. He is a symbol and a living presence, the highest example of internationalism.

I was able to see what Che signifies for the Cuban people during the month I spent visiting the island as part of the second contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans abroad who oppose Washington's hostile policy toward Cuba.

Fidel Castro, in his speech at the memorial meeting for Che in 1967, said:

"If we wish to express how we want the men of future generations to be, we must say, 'Let them be like Che!' If we wish to say how we want our children to be educated, we must say without hesitation, 'Let them be educated in Che's spirit!' If we wish to express what we want our children to be, we must say from our very hearts as vehement revolutionaries: 'Let them be like Che!'"

The Cuban revolution is carrying out this promise fully. Almost all of Cuba's six- to fourteen-year-olds are members of the Pioneers, a group sponsored by the revolutionary government.

I had never imagined anything like what I saw that day we went to the inauguration of the Ernesto Che Guevara Main Pioneer Palace, located in Lenin Park in Havana. Thousands of Pioneers shouting in unison the slogan of their organization: "Pioneers for Communism!"

We will be like Che!"

Speaking with the Pioneers you can tell that they are indeed being educated in Che's spirit. I asked one what games Cuban children play. He answered, "Sandinistas versus the National Guard."

"And how does it go?"

"It's hard. Nobody wants to be a National Guard. We all want to be Sandinistas."

A girl asked me if I wanted to move to Cuba. I told her that I wanted to stay in the United States to make a revolution there like the Cuban revolution.

She asked me if there were many revolutionaries in the United States, and I answered: not enough, not as many as in Cuba. To which she responded, don't worry, go ahead and start the revolution, Cuba would take care of sending us more revolutionaries to ensure victory.

I could see where the power of Cuba's foreign policy came from: not just from the internationalist line of the leadership, but from the education of an entire people in Che's spirit.

Two weeks later we went to another Pioneer Palace in the eastern part of Cuba. The Pioneers showed us the different rooms dedicated to learning about everything from scientific coffee growing to modern electronic communications.

One of the rooms was dedicated to the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and it had a display case with various rifles, some old and worn, some obviously brand new.

"These," explained one of the Pioneers, pointing to the old rifles, "are some of the weapons that we used to liberate our homeland."

"And these," he said, pointing to the new rifles, "are some of the weapons that we use today to help liberate other homelands."

UAW postcards

Some time ago we were asked to write those fellows down in Washington about the oil and gas problem. Well, I didn't think it would do much good. Also, I didn't know just what to say. I was sure they already knew all about the problem.

The United Auto Workers International Union made out these cards properly worded and with the Congressmen's and Senators' addresses on them and sent them out to all the locals. We only had to sign them with our name and address. So I thought this was O.K. We could take time out from work to sign the cards and put our name and address on them.

I never had much faith in this letter writing, because if you could get prices lowered by writing a letter, they wouldn't ask me to write.

We sent out about 6 million cards to President Carter and to Congressmen and Senators. Now that's enough writing so that everyone in Washington understands our problems.

What I want to tell people is that not only haven't I heard a word—the problem we were talking about has gotten much worse.

That's the last damn time I'm going to write to those fellows.

Maybe someone out there who reads your paper has heard from them. We here in Anchorville have not heard a word.

Rodger McFadden
UAW Shop Committeeman
Local 160
Anchorville, Michigan

Company contempt

Those of us in the United Auto Workers Local 451 at the Baker lift truck plant have learned through bitter experience not to expect any generosity on the part of the company. Yet they still find ways to surprise us with their callousness and contempt for our members.

We held a special union meeting in the plant the other day attended by all officers, stewards, and various committee members because the company had suddenly announced that the second shift was being eliminated.

This came as quite a shock to us considering that the entire plant has been working at least ten hours a day with many workers on twelve, fourteen, or sixteen hour shifts.

Another example: In August our local had requested that the company grant us five minutes of worktime to participate in the UAW's national "write-in" [on the energy crisis]. The company sent the union a letter stating that the five-minute work stoppage would be a violation of the no-strike provision of our contract.

They also told our local leadership that if we went ahead and took the five minutes, disciplinary action would be taken against them. The company also cited the monetary loss that they would suffer if work was halted for five minutes.

Last week the union received a request from the company

asking that we cooperate with them in the United Way campaign. Part of this campaign involves showing our members a twenty-minute film during worktime.

Well, we didn't forget that five minutes back in August. So both politely and otherwise we told the company to go to hell.

Besides, most workers see the United Way campaign as a form of indirect taxation—getting us to pay for services the government should provide for free.

One steward commented, "It may be socialistic, but what we need is national health care."

Glen Arnodo
Jeff Powers
UAW Local 451
Cleveland, Ohio

GM contract views

On the day of voting on the new contract with General Motors, I talked to several of my co-workers who were discussing the pros and cons of the contract. Here are some of the things they had to say.

Danny: "I'm voting against it because if Congress can get a 5.5 percent increase, then we should be able to get at least that."

Steve: "Against. It will be like living on a fixed income."

Sharon: "I'm voting for it. I think it's all we can get."

Lonny: "I'm not sure what to do. Everyone I've talked to is against it, but I just don't see what choice we have. If we vote it down, and strike, will we gain anything, or just end up with the same contract anyway?"

Sam pointed out to Lonny that it would be better not to vote at all than to vote for it, because "a big yes vote will only encourage GM to try to get away with more in three years."

Marlon planned to vote for the contract: "It's the best contract I've seen since working here."

Marty Pettit
UAW Local 93
Kansas City, Missouri

China & U.S. vs. Cuba

In recent weeks the Chinese news service Hsinhua has been filled with diatribes against Cuba. Each day, articles quoting the Pentagon or reactionary governments around the world blast Cuba for its role in the Conference of Non-aligned Countries or for its active support to the Nicaraguan and African liberation struggles.

China joins with the U.S. in denouncing Cuba by quoting Brzezinski as saying "Castro is a puppet of the Soviet Union. Throughout the world there isn't one instance in which Castro has deviated from official Soviet policy in any respect whatsoever."

Needless to say, Brzezinski knows this isn't true and that's the problem. Cuba has shown its revolutionary foreign policy in regard to Nicaragua. Where is the Soviet Union? Worrying about SALT II, which only serves to escalate the arms race?

Hsinhua seems to be denouncing Cuba now as vehemently as it was denouncing Vietnam only a couple of months ago. And no

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Learning About Socialism

'Where do I begin?'

"What do I read first? How do I begin? How can I ever take it all in?" These are the questions invariably asked by those who are beginning to study socialist ideas. As their eyes scan the array of material on Marxism found at Pathfinder bookstores or elsewhere, they feel excited and overwhelmed.

One purpose of the introductory class series that are being held by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party this fall is to help SWP members and supporters begin the systematic study of scientific socialism.

Starting with *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, students will move on to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels. Then the students will begin the study of how capitalism works with Marx's two pamphlets, *Value, Price and Profit* and *Wage Labor and Capital*. The series will also examine the basic concepts of working-class politics laid out in Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

The series is seen as the beginning, not the end, of a consistent study of Marxism. With this background, participants in the classes will be able to move on to the study of other basic socialist writings on their own and in organized classes.

Like every other revolutionist, Leon Trotsky had to come to grips with the question of where to begin. Like the socialists of our generation, he was both awed and inspired by the wealth of material that was available.

Many years later, as one of the central leaders of the victorious October revolution, he passed on the lessons of his experience to a group of Bolsheviks in the Ukrainian city of Kiev. His letter is reprinted, under the title "Don't Spread Yourself too Thin!" in *Problems of Everyday Life*, published by Pathfinder Press.

May 29, 1923

Dear Comrades:

You complain that you have not been able to read even

one-tenth of the books that interest you, and ask how to rationally allot your time. This is a very difficult question, because in the long run each person must make such a decision according to his particular needs and interests. It should be said however, that the extent to which a person is able to keep up with the current literature, whether scientific, political, or otherwise, depends not only on the judicious allotment of one's time but also on the individual's previous training.

In regard to your specific reference to "party youth," I can only advise them not to hurry, not to spread themselves thin, not to skip from one topic to another, and not to pass on to a second book until the first has been properly read, thought over, and mastered. I remember that when I myself belonged to the category of "youth," I too felt that there just wasn't enough time. Even in prison, when I did nothing but read, it seemed that one couldn't get enough done in a day. In the ideological sphere, just as in the economic arena, the phase of primitive accumulation is the most difficult and troublesome. And only after certain basic elements of knowledge and particularly elements of theoretical skill (method) have been precisely mastered and have become, so to speak, part of the flesh and blood of one's intellectual activity, does it become easier to keep up with the literature not only in areas one is familiar with, but in adjacent and even more remote fields of knowledge, because method, in the final analysis, is universal.

It is better to read one book and read it well; it is better to master a little bit at a time and master it thoroughly. Only in this way will your powers of mental comprehension extend themselves naturally. Thought will gradually gain confidence in itself and grow more productive. With these preliminaries in mind, it will not be difficult to rationally allot your time; and then, the transition from one pursuit to another will be to a certain extent pleasurable.

With comradely greetings,
L. Trotsky

wonder. After the beating that China took at the conference in Havana, China can only call Cuba and Vietnam "agents for Soviet aggression" and denounce Cuba's "organizational maneuvers" and "sabotage within the non-aligned movement."

The Chinese leadership could certainly learn a lot from Castro's speech at the Non-Aligned Conference and stop their practice of placing their deals with imperialism over the extension of socialism.

Mark Friedman
San Diego, California

Likes union news

Just these few lines to let you know that I have been receiving the paper right along and enjoying every line of it. I have always been interested in unions and yours is the only paper that consistently gives me the information about them I would like to have.

I am taking college classes again this semester and in two of my classes I have written and oral presentations to give. Of course, the subject I have chosen is unions. I will be able to give a comprehensive presentation because I have all of my back issues of the *Militant* to use for my research.

I have been watching through the years the situation in Nicaragua and I am damn glad that the people are finally able to run the country for themselves instead of their labor benefiting no one except the Somoza regime.

I especially enjoyed the issue that was devoted entirely to Nicaragua. As far as I have been able to determine it was the only paper in the not so United States to give any significant exposure to what was really going on.

I want to thank you for sending me the paper for so long without the benefit of any money from me. I have been sharing it with quite a few of the other convicts here and we all send our greatest appreciation, because the *Militant* is the only place where we can get some idea of what is really going on.

A prisoner
Michigan

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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U.S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- Title of publication: The Militant. 1A. Publication No. 349040.
- Date of filing: September 27, 1979.
- Frequency of issue: Weekly. (A) No. of issues published annually: 49. (B) Annual subscription price: \$20.00.
- Location of known office of publication: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Editor: Steve Clark, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Managing Editor: Cindy Jaquith, Andy Rose, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
- Owner (If owned by a corporation,

its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) 408 Printing & Publishing Corp., 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Joel Britton, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Thomas Kerry, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Allan Hansen, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Elizabeth Stone, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Barbara Matson, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Gus Horowitz, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Caroline Lund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Jack Barnes, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Peter Camejo, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state) None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. Does not apply.

10. Extent and nature of circulation. Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. A. Total no. copies printed (Net press run), 15,236. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through

dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 8,073. (2) Mail subscriptions, 5,978. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2), 14,051. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies, 38. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D), 14,089. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 1,091. (2) Returns from news agents, 56. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A), 15,236.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date. A. Total no. copies printed (Net press run), 15,800. B. Paid circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 9,500. (2) Mail subscriptions, 5,245. C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2), 14,745. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies, 87. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D), 14,832. F. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled

after printing, 903. (2) Returns from news agents, 65. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A), 15,800.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(signed)
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Nationalize the energy industry!

What Socialist Workers candidates propose

The following statement was issued by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, in support of the October 17 union-sponsored protests against the energy ripoff.

The energy monopoly has the working people of this country by the throat. We cannot afford for one more day to leave vital energy resources in private hands, where production and distribution decisions are made in secret, determined by the drive for profits instead of social needs.

Soaring prices, gas lines, shortages and breakdowns, pollution of the air and water, and the spread of the deadly danger of nuclear power—these are the catastrophic results of the mad race for profits by the energy corporations.

Energy prices are increasing at an annual rate of more than 30 percent. Working families are paying a higher and higher percentage of our incomes for gas, heat, and electricity. This burden is heaviest for Blacks and Latinos, those who are on the bottom of the ladder to begin with.

Yet the combined profits of the top twenty-two U.S. oil giants came to \$5.2 billion for just the first six months of this year, up 63 percent over a year ago!

Democratic and Republican politicians alike insist that the "oil shortage" is real and is the cause of higher prices. But the truth is what millions of workers already know: *there is no shortage of oil.*

The rulers of this country are trying to shift the blame for the energy crisis onto the Arab countries and the Iranian revolution. But the fact is that the transportation, allocation, refining, and marketing of "OPEC oil" remain firmly in the hands of the giant U.S. oil companies. It is these companies that have driven up the price of oil to boost their profits.

Racist demagoguery against the Arabs and Iranians is a cynical device to divert attention from the U.S. oil monopoly. It is designed to prepare American workers to accept U.S. military intervention in the Mideast. The sole purpose of such intervention would be to block the spread of social revolution and to protect the oil companies' profits.

American workers have no interest in shedding our blood for Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, and Mobil.

Most people aren't buying the anti-OPEC lies. A few months ago, a poll conducted by NBC News and the Associated Press asked people if they agreed with the following statement: "The oil companies have created the recent gasoline shortage to increase prices."

"Yes," said 71 percent of the American people.

They were right.

A study last summer by the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union found that crude oil supplies in this country had risen by 107 million barrels in the previous 15 months despite the temporary loss in Iranian oil. Supplies rose by 6.4 percent from the



Stop Big Oil protests are planned in some sixty cities October 17. The actions against skyrocketing energy prices are sponsored by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and Progressive Alliance and are backed by a host of unions at all levels. Above: Protesters rally against Exxon in Linden, New Jersey, on May 21 of this year.

beginning of 1978 to the beginning of 1979, while demand rose by only 3 percent.

So why was there a gas shortage last summer?

Because the oil companies were hoarding it. They created the artificial shortage. This served as the basis for whopping gas price increases. It was also aimed at creating the political atmosphere that would allow the Democrats and Republicans to ram through price decontrol, roll back antipollution safeguards, and build more nuclear power plants.

When the price went sky high the gas lines disappeared—until next time!

This ripoff can succeed only because the public is kept in the dark about the facts—the real costs, real profits, real reserves, and real stockpiles.

The capitalist system

The energy crisis is the result of a private-profit system in which ownership and control of the world's resources and the wealth of society—wealth created by the labor of millions—is concentrated in the hands of a few fabulously wealthy families.

The future of humanity depends on the working class taking power away from the capitalists. This means making natural resources as well as the mines, mills, factories, and means of transportation the collective property of society.

With production democratically planned for use, not for private profit, we can have an economy of abundance, not of shortages, breakdowns, layoffs, and inflation. We can have a society of equality and cooperation, not of exploitation, racism, and discrimination against women.

Our proposals to solve the energy crisis point toward such a socialist reorganization of society. The energy industry must be taken over by the government—nationalized—and converted into a public utility. Energy is too vital to our lives, our security, our survival, to be left one day longer in the hands of the profit-mad, destructive, and disorganizing rulers of private industry.

Every aspect of the energy industry must be opened up to public scrutiny. The criminal secrecy must be abolished.

Workers in the oil fields, refineries, coal mines, and power plants can play a crucial role in bringing out the truth and exposing the capitalists' manipulations. Through their unions or plant committees, these workers should have the right to control conditions, hours, pace of work, and safety and health conditions.

The union movement should lead a fight by all those affected by the energy crisis—farmers, small businesspeople, consumers—to force open the financial books and records of the

energy giants, to police prices, and to assure fair distribution of fuel.

Management of the nationalized energy industry should be put into the hands of an elected board that will function under close scrutiny of unions and consumer groups. We don't want any boards that are in the hip pocket of the corporations and conduct their business in secret, like Amtrak or the Postal Service. Books and records must be open, meetings public, everything out in the open.

Role of organized labor

The workers of this country are ready to fight for public ownership of the energy industry. Wherever nationalization of the oil companies is raised in union locals, it is a highly popular idea.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council reflected this sentiment last summer when it proclaimed that if the energy monopoly "fails to adequately serve the public interest, consideration should be given to nationalization of the industry."

It is time to act on that proposal. Working people have the power to solve the energy crisis if the power of our unions is unleashed.

The positive response from union ranks to the call by the Machinists, the Auto Workers, and other unions for demonstrations on October 17 to "Stop Big Oil" is a sure sign that working people are ready for action. The October 17 protests should be the first step in a big nationwide campaign of picket lines, rallies, and massive demonstrations to get out the truth and mobilize our forces.

But labor's power is not being used as it should be. We are handcuffed because the union leaderships remain tied to the Democratic and Republican parties—the parties of the oil companies.

Genuine labor political action can have nothing in common with the politics of the two capitalist parties. These parties are united in their assault on the working class and the rights of the American people. The only difference between them is the dispute over how best to carry out this assault, and over which gang of thieves will personally profit from holding office at our expense.

Increasing numbers of people view the antics of these politicians with indignation and disgust. An independent labor party, based on the power of the unions, would be met with a great response from working people and our allies—farmers, Blacks and Latinos, women, and other victims of the two-party system.

An independent labor party could provide the weapon we need to fight politically for labor's interests, which are the interests of the overwhelming majority of the American people. It could fight to resolve the energy crisis, and the other catastrophes that the capitalist system is creating.

This is what the Socialist Workers Party is advocating in this presidential campaign. If you agree with these ideas, you should join in the fight to put them into practice.

Join us.