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THE MILITANT

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Unionists protest energy swindle

By Brian Williams

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Three hundred unionists rallied at the steps of the state capitol here October 17 as part of a nationwide day of protests to "Stop Big Oil."

Thousands demonstrated throughout the country in protests called by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, led by the International Association of Machinists, the United Auto Workers, and other unions.

Two of the signs at the Charleston rally best expressed the sentiment of the crowd: "Greatest love affair of the country—politicians and oil companies," and "We must publicly own oil, gas, and electric power."

Joining in the rally was Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who was on a campaign swing through West Virginia. (See page 4 for more on Pulley's tour.)

As West Virginia governor John D. Rockefeller 4th was speaking, a spontaneous chant of "Nationalize Standard Oil" was picked up by many in the crowd. Shouts of, "And Exxon too!" could also be heard. Rockefeller, whose family owns much of the energy industry, hurriedly wrapped up his talk.

The majority of those at the rally were delegates to the West Virginia AFL-CIO convention, which recessed early so that the unionists could attend the demonstration.

At the rally sixty-three copies of the *Militant*, featuring Pulley's proposal for nationalization of the energy industry and for a labor party, were sold to the crowd. Pulley and his campaign supporters also distributed hundreds of copies of a statement

calling for shutting down all nuclear power plants and using coal instead.

"The great interest in our proposals is an indication of the fighting mood of union people in this country," Pulley said. "People are angry. They have no respect for the Rockefellers and the other oil profiteers and capitalist politicians who they know are the ones responsible for this energy crisis."

Pulley described how the crowd of unionists reacted to Rockefeller. "He tried to make people think *they* were responsible for the energy problem. He asked, 'How many of you have written to your congressmen?'"

"But people were turned off," Pulley explained. "People were just outraged that *Rockefeller* had the nerve to show up at the 'Protest Big Oil' rally and try to tell us how to solve the problems the energy industry is causing."

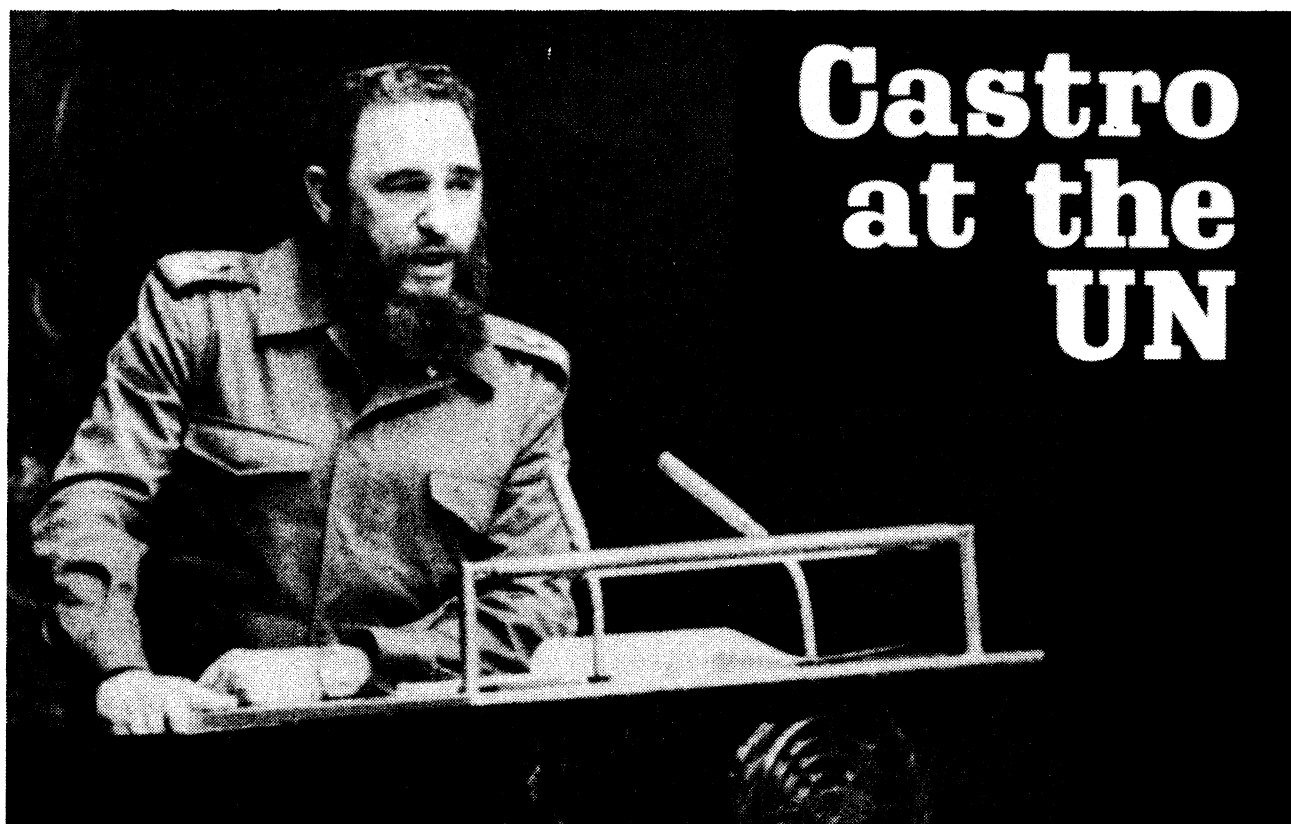
During a "citizens' comment" part of the rally, Mary Falbo, the daughter of a West Virginia coal miner, said people shouldn't trust Rockefeller. He's only interested in using coal for the billions of additional dollars he can make. His pocket is already bulging. Several coal miners spoke on the same theme.

Before joining the rally, Pulley held a news conference. He told reporters why nuclear power is unsafe and called for the immediate closing of all nuclear power plants. He explained that the 13 percent of the country's electricity now produced by nuclear power could easily be made up through the use of more coal. He hailed the strong stand of the United Mine Workers union against nuclear power and for burning coal instead.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley joined protests, called for nationalizing energy industry and for a labor party.

Pulley pointed to the October 17 energy protests as a big step forward. "This bodes well for the future—for working people using our power. To really unleash the power of our unions we need our own party, a labor party. This could be a tremendous weapon in the fight for ending the lies and secrecy of the energy industry and for nationalization. A labor party would fight to defend all our interests against the united attacks by the Democrats and Republicans."



Castro at the UN

Inside: full text of UN speech

In this issue of the *Militant* we are printing the complete text of Fidel Castro's speech at the United Nations October 12.

We are devoting considerable space, in addition, to coverage of his visit here and related news.

No other newspaper in the country has covered this story in such depth.

Militant salespeople will be campaigning to bring our special coverage to working people all over the United States.

Why are we making this extra effort?

Because we think that Castro's speech to the United Nations is top-priority news for American working people.

Castro spoke, not only as president of Cuba, but as the current president of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. "We

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...speech

Continued from front page

are ninety-five countries from all the continents, representing the immense majority of humanity," he explained.

Anyone speaking in that capacity deserves to be listened to with care.

Especially Fidel, who can voice the needs and concerns of this immense majority with unmatched eloquence.

He painted a vivid picture of the injustices and human misery throughout the world. He showed how the imperialists, particularly those in the United States, rule over the immense majority of humanity; how, for the sake of profits, they prevent the peoples of the world from breaking out of abject poverty, famine, illiteracy and disease; how, to maintain their rule, they prop up tyrannical dictatorships, make war, and threaten nuclear holocaust.

This system is irrational. It must be replaced.

"I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread," Fidel Castro said at the conclusion of his UN address.

He was appealing to the conscience of the world.

But he counseled no trust in good will from the rich and powerful.

His message was clear: if poverty and despair are to be ended, if the world is to progress, if we are to prevent war and economic catastrophe, then power must be taken away from the tiny capitalist minority that now wields it.

The working people and farmers, the oppressed and downtrodden of the world, must take power into their own hands. That is the

only way to create the "new world order" that Fidel Castro called for.

Castro was speaking at the United Nations. But his intended audience was the toiling masses of the world—including American workers and farmers.

More and more working people are coming to realize that we have no common interests with the ruling class in this country.

Our enemy is the same as the imperialist enemy of the world's poor, the enemy that Castro spoke about.

The U.S. ruling class drives our wages down and throws us out of work, just as it does to workers elsewhere.

It fosters racist and sexist oppression here at home, just as it does abroad.

We, as well as other peoples, are the victims of galloping inflation, caused in large part by the bloated military budget.

We are subjected to continued threats of war—in which American youth will die, as well as peoples in distant lands.

And the lives of all of us are imperiled by the danger of nuclear war.

We must put a stop to this "madness in our era"—as Castro put it.

The immense majority of humanity is looking to us to do our part in the struggle against the common enemy.

That's why the Cuban Mission to the United Nations printed Castro's speech in the *New York Times*.

Castro told the Nonaligned Conference in Havana last month that "the important role that the people of the United States and world opinion played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should not be forgotten."

Today, our solidarity is needed more than ever.

At the very time that Castro was speaking at the UN, the U.S. government was carrying out war threats against Cuba.

The latest move was an October 17 amphibious landing of marines at Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base that remains on Cuban soil against the will of the Cuban people.

The aim of that military exercise was to demonstrate Washington's willingness to go to war against Cuba. The Carter administration

wants a free hand to intervene in Nicaragua, where the people have kicked out the U.S.-sponsored dictator Somoza, or in El Salvador, where the masses threaten to do the same.

The U.S. war threats in the Caribbean have been condemned, not only by Cuba and Nicaragua, but by other governments of the area, and by the Nonaligned movement as a whole.

We working people in the United States must raise our voices even louder against the war threat—which is a danger to us as well as to the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America.

Our message to the capitalist rulers of this country must be:

Hands off Cuba!

U.S. troops out of Guantánamo!

End the blockade of Cuba!

Aid, not troops, to Nicaragua!

Building a strong movement for these objectives is the best response we can give to the appeal Fidel Castro presented to the UN on behalf of the peoples of the world.

Media farce

A lesson can be learned from the way in which the big-business press covered Castro's visit here.

"Castro Brings His Police State to 39th Street" was the screaming headline of the *New York Post*.

"Castro Costs New York \$170,000 in Two Days," said the *New York Times*.

They were referring to the police protection Castro needed. There were an unprecedented number of threats on his life.

Who wanted to assassinate Castro? Who owned the deadly weapons?

Most were Cuban counterrevolutionaries, armed and financed by U.S. government agencies, and whipped up by President Carter's anti-Cuba drive.

A mob of them tried to get to the Cuban UN Mission, where Castro was staying. One of them threw a bomb.

Yet the big-business media blamed *Castro* for needing protection!

They never blamed Pope John Paul II for the protection he got the week before.

Their self-proclaimed objectivity is a farce.

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Grenadian leader vs. Carter

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Chrysler in crisis

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Military coup in El Salvador

Move to prevent another Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Oct. 17—In a move designed to head off a revolutionary explosion, a group of young military officers in El Salvador ousted General Carlos Humberto Romero from the presidency on October 15.

The U.S. State Department gave the coup "an unusually friendly reception," according to the October 17 *New York Times*.

The new Salvadoran military junta, headed by colonels Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez and Adolfo Arnaldo Majano, issued a declaration pledging to "respect human rights."

But the first acts of the new regime were to declare a state of siege and suspend constitutional rights.

A 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew has been imposed for the next thirty days, and groupings of more than three people are prohibited. It is forbidden to express views that the new junta considers damaging to the republic.

Soon after the coup, police security forces in the capital, San Salvador, violently dislodged striking workers who had been occupying the Lido

bread factory and the Arco construction company. The workers reportedly put up stiff resistance.

At the Duramás shoe factory and the Apex textile factory, which were under occupation by workers, fires broke out. The same for the Sherwin Williams paint factory, according to the correspondent for Mexican TV news, "24 Horas."

Clashes between military forces and protesters were also reported at churches in the town of Soyapango, nine kilometers from San Salvador, and in the Mexicanos and Cuzcatango districts of the capital. The churches had been occupied by members of the February 28 People's League (LP-28), who demanded the release of political prisoners. Barricades were reportedly erected in the streets near the Mexicanos army barracks.

An October 16 UPI dispatch states that the National Guard attacked, armed with submachine guns and machetes, and supported by tanks. At least twenty persons were killed and dozens wounded in the first two days,

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San Marcos, El Salvador. Woman and child duck bullets as police attack guerrillas.

New attacks on Black support to Palestinians

By Fred Feldman

The ruling class has launched an offensive against Black leaders who challenged Washington's all-out support for Israel.

Among the targets are Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rev. Joseph Lowery, and Rep. Walter Fauntroy. They visited the Middle East last month, met with leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and denounced Israeli terror bombing of refugee camps in Lebanon.

In a counter-move, a delegation of seven Blacks arrived in Israel October

14 headed by Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, and William Pollard, director of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. Rustin stated, "I want to make it clear to the Israelis that there are great numbers of Black people who want the United States to give Israel all the support it needs."

Vernon Jordan, president of the Urban League, has declared that solidarity with the Palestinians detracts from "vital survival issues." An official of the Urban League was part of the delegation to Israel.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, has also attacked the initiative by Jackson, Lowery, and Fauntroy. "If Americans want to involve themselves in foreign policy," he said, "they should do it through the State Department." He has had no criticism of the Rustin-Pollard mission to Israel, however.

Figures such as the head of the Progressive National Baptist Convention and Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, on the other hand, criticized attacks on Jackson, Lowery, and Fauntroy. And polls showed most Blacks continue to favor U.S. recognition of the PLO.

The criticisms by Hooks and Jordan are similar to those that top leaders of the NAACP and Urban League leveled at Martin Luther King when he denounced the Vietnam War. King con-

sidered Vietnam to be a "vital survival issue."

If Blacks and other Americans had followed Hooks's advice to leave it to the State Department during that war, Americans could still be fighting and dying in Indochina.

Editorials in the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* praised Hooks and Jordan, claiming that the only way to prevent a "Black-Jewish rift" is to silence Blacks who identify with the suffering and struggles of Palestinians.

It isn't a rift between Blacks and Jews that the rulers are trying to head off, however, but the growing rift between Black people—and other workers—and U.S. imperialism. The imperialists view the willingness of Black leaders to denounce the crimes of the Israeli government as a blow to imperialist interests in the Middle East. They are trying to muzzle Jackson, Lowery, and Fauntroy because they want to be able to use Blacks as cannon fodder in the Mideast.

Bayard Rustin, who is spearheading this pro-Israel drive, does not represent the interests of Blacks, Jews, or union members. Not only does Rustin support the racist policies of Israel, but he is also a prominent backer of the white-dominated regime in Rhodesia and an increasingly open apologist for the South African rulers. Rustin de-

fends the interests of U.S. imperialism first, last, and always.

Proclaiming in Tel Aviv that his delegation would not meet with PLO leaders, Rustin stated: "To give credence or respectability to one terrorist organization gives it to all, and to make the PLO in any way respectable is to make the Ku Klux Klan equally respectable."

But Rustin is meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, whose regime has terrorized more than a million Palestinians, driving them from their homes.

Begin is the former head of the Irgun, a terrorist Zionist outfit that specialized in massacres of Arab villagers. Unlike the PLO, the ultraracist Irgun had an avowedly racist ideology that really was parallel to the Ku Klux Klan.

In light of the record, Rustin stands condemned for moral hypocrisy.

The attacks on Blacks who speak out won't stop the growing pro-Palestinian sentiment. Oppressed and exploited Black Americans can't help but feel a common bond with the persecuted and plundered Palestinian people.

In this regard, Blacks are leading the way for all American working people, who will increasingly recognize that they have nothing to gain and everything to lose from supporting the racist, imperialist state of Israel.

NEW YORK CITY BLACK AMERICANS AND THE MIDDLE EAST

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Mass. energy protest

Union rally cheers Pulley's call for labor party

By Nelson González and Mike Pearlman

LYNN, Mass.—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, won enthusiastic applause from a union crowd here when he declared, "What would really allow us to solve the energy problem is if we had our own party, if we could build a labor party, a party based on the trade unions."

Pulley was speaking before nearly 400 people at an October 11 Energy Protest Rally here while on a campaign tour of the Boston area. While in Boston, he also spoke out against the racist attacks on Black school children.

The majority of those at the energy rally were older, white retirees from Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and younger workers from the giant General Electric plant in Lynn. They were angry at the devastating effect the energy crisis has had on their lives and were fed up with the evasive "promises" made by the Democratic and Republican politicians.

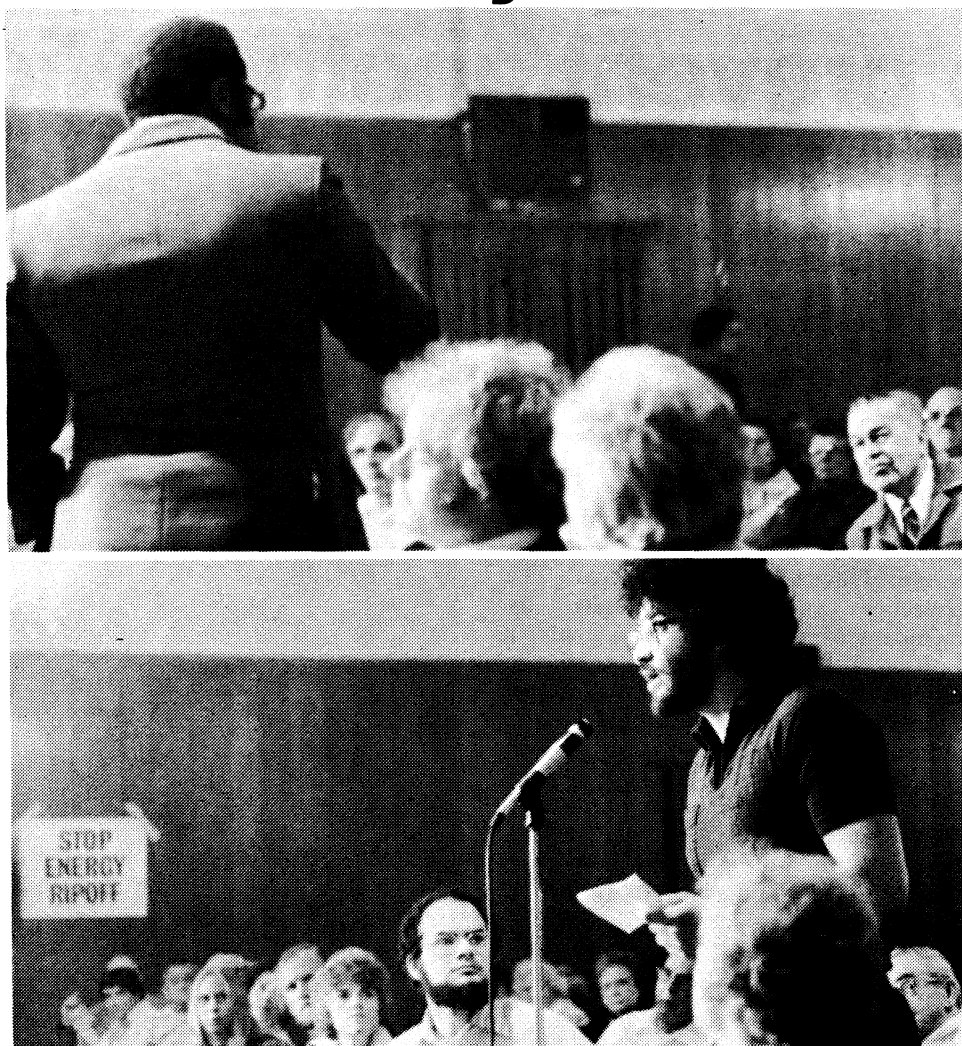
One worker from the Everett General Electric plant asked invited legislator Thomas McGee, Democratic House Speaker in the Massachusetts State Legislature, "How come the government can control my wages, but they can't control the price of oil?"

McGee's only response was, "I'd like to know the answer to that myself."

In contrast, Pulley explained, "The problems we face aren't so difficult to solve. The reason the problems appear so difficult is the bi-partisan efforts of the Democrats and Republicans, the Kennedys and the Carters, to protect first the oil profiteers."

Pulley was speaking during a "public testimony" part of the protest meeting, where speaker after speaker rose to tell how the energy crisis had caused hardships on their families and to denounce the callousness of the oil companies. The overwhelming sentiment expressed at the rally was for nationalization of the oil industry.

Pulley's campaign workers had distributed a statement calling for the energy industry to be nationalized by



Andrew Pulley (top) and G.E. worker Nelson González speak at Lynn, Massachusetts, energy protest meeting.

the government and converted into a public utility. He called for the union movement to lead a fight to force open all the financial books and records of the energy giants.

At the rally Pulley explained how workers in Lynn were setting a tremendous example for other workers around the country. He said that we need more meetings like this, more rallies, and more demonstrations that can show the power the labor movement has.

His call for a labor party was met with approving comments from many in the audience. "That's a great idea," was a common response. The enthusi-

asm from the union audience to the labor party idea is a clear sign of the receptivity that exists for genuine independent labor political action.

Several GE workers, inspired by Pulley's remarks, came over to meet and talk with the presidential candidate after the rally.

Other speakers included IUE District Two President Peter DeCiccio; Rev. Allen Hollis, president of the Greater Lynn Council of Churches; and Al Hamilton, president of IUE Local 201.

DeCiccio told the rally that the New England IUE district and IUE Local 201 adopted a resolution last June calling for nationalization of domestic

energy resources. His remarks were greeted with spontaneous applause.

Rev. Hollis said he believed the oil industry had placed its concern for profits ahead of human suffering. He said, "I don't want to do any funerals this winter for people who freeze to death in their homes."

Pulley told 60 people at an October 13 Boston SWP campaign rally, "What is happening in Lynn is a sign of what is to come. IUE workers and the Lynn community have only begun to reflect the mounting anger and demands for action against the oil companies. The workers of this country are ready to fight for public ownership of the energy industry. Working people have the power to solve the energy crisis if the power of our unions is unleashed."

At the campaign rally, three people said they had decided to join the Socialist Workers Party.

While in Boston, Pulley also expressed his solidarity with protests by the Black community against the recent racist attacks on Black school children. Pulley denounced the shooting of seventeen-year-old Black student Darryl Williams, at a football game in all-white Charlestown, September 28.

A delegation of students met with Mayor Kevin White October 10 to demand that the city protect Black children in school and on public transportation. The students were angered at White's vague response.

At an October 11 news conference covered by radio and TV stations, Pulley blasted the city's failure to prosecute the youths arrested for shooting Williams. The snipers claimed they were shooting pigeons and accidentally shot Williams.

"By accepting the story that they were shooting pigeons," Pulley told reporters, "the police and Mayor White are emboldening the diehard antibusing forces and setting the stage for more violence. These incidents are directly aimed at the right of Black children to a decent education. The perpetrators must be jailed."

Later that day, Pulley spoke before 100, predominantly Black, Madison High School students.

SWP fund: where your money will do some good

By Frank Lovell

Most political parties are in trouble, some more than others. The capitalist parties claim their troubles come largely from lack of money, which is a lie. The Socialist Workers Party lacks money and always has trouble raising enough, and that's the truth.

The SWP has an \$80,000 fund drive for its 1980 presidential campaign, a modest sum compared to the millions collected by Republicans and Democrats.

Money comes easy to the capitalist parties because they represent the people who have it. We can't rightfully expect anything from that source. But what we must guard against are their schemes

to steal campaign funds from working people. That is money that ought to go for the building of a mass working class party based on the unions, an American labor party.

Fund raising for the Democrats and Republicans is not only a way of getting more money. It also serves their political need to keep up the appearance of a real contest, disguising the sham battle. This requires what on the street are commonly known as shills, come-on artists. In the political arena the labor flunkies of the capitalists perform this service. They collect small contributions and hustle votes.

Union officials in charge of these money-collecting operations find that it takes something more than a smile and a promise to get workers on the job to contribute to another unknown "friend of labor." Workers are asking when the pay off comes if the "friend" wins. So many have been winning in recent years that they are a big majority in Congress and one of them lives in the White House.

What is the pay off?

High prices. Low wages. Longer hours. More taxes. Less gas. This is why the union steward on most jobs no longer tries to collect "COPE dollars."

There are always more gimmicks to be found. An example is the "National Call for Kennedy" sent out a while back by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Winpisinger's appeal asks for money only incidentally (the soft touch), almost as if it were an afterthought. Anybody knows Kennedy doesn't need more money.

When Kennedy is convinced that millions want him for president, says Winpisinger, "at that very moment the National Call for Kennedy committee will cease to exist."

Why should any working man or woman want Kennedy for president?

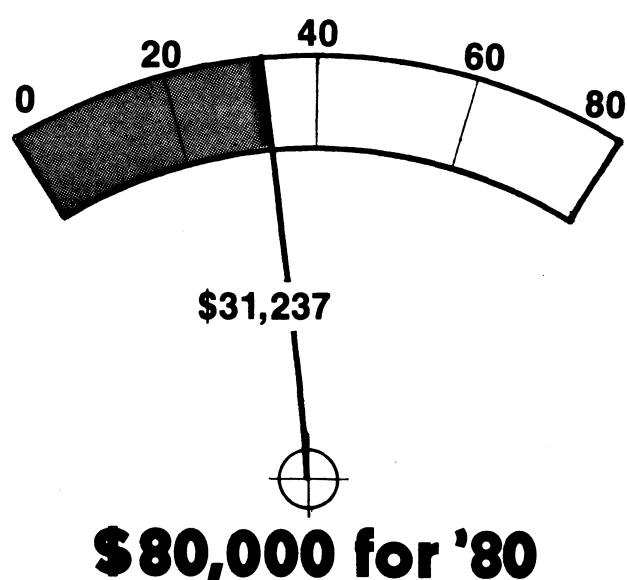
Here is what the National Call for Kennedy says about him:

"He has fought—really fought—for a long time on a lot of fronts—for tax reforms, campaign finance reform, national health insurance, handgun control, breakup of big oil companies, clean water, clean air, antitrust actions against corporate mergers."

Some fighter.

He's been fighting for seventeen years in the U.S. Senate and hasn't won a single battle.

The SWP has a plan for workers to take care of themselves first. That's why workers who are serious about breaking up the two-party capitalist racket—operated by a gang of strikebreakers, bigots, and warmongers—ought to contribute to the SWP campaign fund where their money will do some good.



Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
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San Diego tour

Zimmermann at plant gates, schools

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO—Chanting "Hands off Cuba" and "Aid to Nicaragua now," supporters of the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign picketed President Carter here October 11. The picket line, which coincided with Fidel Castro's arrival in New York to address the United Nations, was in response to Carter's stepped-up military moves against Cuba and Central America.

Reports of the picket were carried on several radio stations, television, and by the daily papers.

On October 14, Matilde Zimmermann, SWP vice-presidential candidate, started her San Diego tour at a reception followed by a campaign rally. The rally raised \$1,000 for the campaign. Almost half of the fifty participants were new supporters of the socialist ticket.

The following morning fifteen supporters campaigned with Zimmermann at General Dynamics, a large aerospace plant. A leaflet announcing the rally had been distributed to workers there the previous week.

Zimmermann spoke at the main gate of the plant over a portable sound system to the hundreds of people going to and from work. Campaign supporters were busy selling the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Young Socialist*, and distributing campaign material.

The campaigning then moved to a similar rally at San Diego High School. There the socialists were able



SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. Her San Diego supporters picketed Carter in protest of military threats against Cuba.

to sell many papers and distribute campaign material despite harassment by school security and the San Diego police. During the day, students inside discussed the socialists' campaign. Antígona Martínez, high school student and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, reported that "the discussion focused on opposition to the draft."

One young woman told Martínez, "I don't think she'll [Zimmermann] win, because the big corporations won't let her. But she should. She certainly has my vote."

Another rally was held during a shift change at Rohr Industries, which

is organized by the International Association of Machinists. A dozen copies of the *Militant* were sold while workers came over to meet Zimmermann.

One young woman machinist asked what could be done about the recent layoffs that were disproportionately affecting women in the plant. Zimmermann explained that a separate seniority list for women, Blacks, and other minorities is needed to help defend affirmative-action gains in times of layoffs.

The woman agreed: "I've been trying to figure out what to do. That sounds like a good idea. I'm going to vote for you."

Denver socialists hit energy hoax

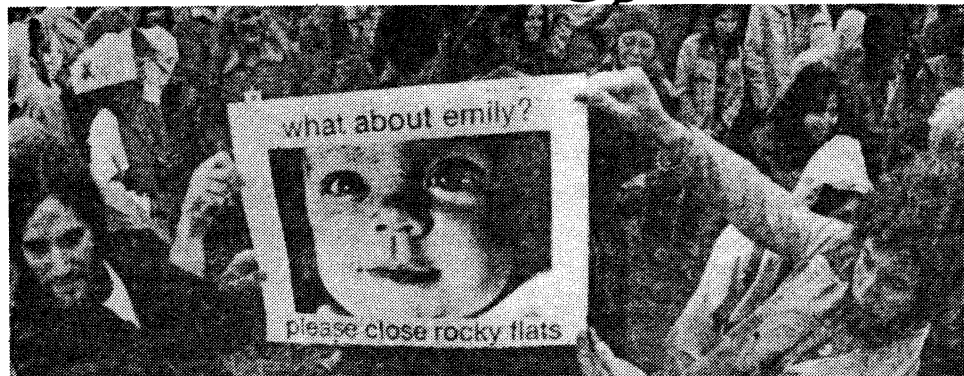
DENVER—Calling for an end to nuclear production and nationalization of the energy industry, the Colorado Socialist Workers Party opened its campaign for the 1980 elections with a press conference in Denver.

Announcing her candidacy for U.S. Senate, Silvia Zapata charged that the energy corporations are responsible for the rising cost of fuel that hits working people hardest. "Workers should not have to pay an arm and a leg to gas their cars and warm their homes. All the books and secret records of the oil companies must be opened to public inspection so we can learn the truth about the so-called oil shortage. Energy resources should be a public service placed under public ownership."

Zapata, a switchperson on the Colorado and Southern Railway, is a member of United Transportation Union Local 212. She has been active in the movement opposing the deportation of undocumented workers.

Running for U.S. Congress from Denver is Harold Sudmeyer, a track laborer on the Burlington Northern railroad and a member of Lodge 1351, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Sudmeyer, a former anti-Vietnam war activist who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Denver this spring, advocated closing the nuclear facilities at Rocky Flats and Fort St. Vrain.



Rocky Flats protest. SWP candidates Harold Sudmeyer and Silvia Zapata call for closing down nuclear weapons plant.

"Nuclear plants can't be safe, and every minute they continue to exist means more deaths from low-level radiation. It increases the possibility of an accident even more catastrophic than Three Mile Island," he said.

Sudmeyer explained that the energy lost by closing the plants could be immediately replaced by coal that can be mined safely and burned cleanly. The workers at the plants should be guaranteed jobs and free medical care, he added.

Zapata also spoke out against the U.S. government's current threats against Cuba. She called for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba, and for aid to Nicaragua.

Both candidates stressed that workers need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties, which

put the profits of the wealthy few ahead of the human needs of the majority who work for a living. "I'm campaigning to encourage the unions to start a labor party that we would control, because only working people can solve the problems we face," Zapata said.

Sudmeyer pointed out that incumbent congresswoman Patricia Schroeder and the other Democrats and Republicans all support nuclear production, differing only on how best to sell it to working people.

"Schroeder says she wants nuclear weapons production moved from Rocky Flats, but she's against ending it altogether," he explained. "She agrees with the purpose of nuclear weapons, which is the defense of corporate investments around the world, and has nothing to do with our security."

Sudmeyer said that the billions spent on the war budget, including on nuclear weapons, should be used instead for health, education, day-care centers, housing, and mass transportation.

Asked by a reporter about their chances in the elections, the candidates replied that low turnouts at recent elections and conversations with fellow workers show that working people are disgusted with the two capitalist parties and open to an alternative. "We think we have that alternative and we're starting our campaign early to reach working people with it," Zapata said.

Campaign rally

Hear

Matilde Zimmermann

SWP vice-presidential candidate

Silvia Zapata

SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

Harold Sudmeyer

SWP candidate for U.S. Congress

Saturday, October 27, 7:30 p.m.
Auraria Community Center,
1212 Mariposa, Denver



SILVIA ZAPATA



Hear the
Socialist
Workers
candidates



CINCINNATI SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate
for president

Mark Rahn, SWP candidate for
city council

Sunday, October 28

Reception 5:30 p.m.

Rally 7 p.m.

970 E. McMillan

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For more information call
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Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Oct. 24-25 Louisville

Oct. 28-29 Cincinnati

Nov. 1-2 Cleveland

Nov. 4-5 Milwaukee

Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Oct. 23-24 New Orleans

Oct. 27-28 Denver

Oct. 30-

Nov. 2 Phoenix

Nov. 4-5 Houston

other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Oct. 22, 24-26 Washington
D.C./Baltimore

Oct. 29,
Nov. 1-3 New York/
New Jersey

Fred Halstead

Oct. 19-21 Chicago/
Gary

Oct. 29-31 Bay Area
Nov. 2-4 Salt Lake City

Héctor Marroquín

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!

A sister city to Managua

PHOENIX MAYORAL CANDIDATE URGES AID FOR NICARAGUA: The following article appeared in the daily 'Arizona Republic' October 10:

A new sister city for Phoenix—Managua, Nicaragua—was proposed Tuesday by the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor.

Dan Fein, a welder by trade, said Managuans are in dire need of food, clothing, medicine and other aid after the fall of the Anastasio Somoza regime.

Fein said the mayor's office in Phoenix could be a collection point for aid to Nicaragua.

"The city (Phoenix) could grant city employees paid time off to do service work in Managua," Fein added. "City engineers could be sent to construct sanitation facilities, help with water purification and health problems. They mayor's office could establish a program for teachers to be sent to Managua."

The program would require Phoenix to hire more employees to fill in for those on leave, Fein said, adding: "There is plenty of money available for this."

Fein charged that the United States is withholding aid from Nicaragua "to pressure the Sandinista government against infringing on U.S. corporate interests."

Cuba, meanwhile, has sent teachers, medical personnel, milk, and textbooks to Nicaragua, Fein said.

"Let's have Phoenix follow the Cuban example in aiding the people of Nicaragua," he said.

SOCIALIST SCORES DEBATER POINTS: On October 3, Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadel-

phia, spoke at the fourth in a series of public candidates debates. Danielson was excluded from the first three debates. The topic of the October 3 meeting, sponsored by the Philadelphia Bar Association, was Philadelphia's educational system.

Danielson, a railroad worker, explained that she had been excluded from the previous debates because "the rich and powerful don't want people who are growing more disillusioned with the Democrats and Republicans to hear what I have to say. I think working people need our own political party, a labor party, to defend our rights and standard of living."

The invitation to this fourth debate came after Danielson and her supporters mounted a public campaign protesting her exclusion—including picketing a September 19 debate. Howard Millbourne, president of the Transit Workers Union Local 234; Jeff Brown and Howard Deck of American Federation of State,

County and Municipal Employees; Lucien Blackwell, Danielson's opponent on the Consumer Party ticket; and Spencer Coxe of the American Civil Liberties Union all signed a statement calling for the debates to be opened to Danielson.

Danielson said that her inclusion in this debate was "a victory not only for my rights as a candidate but for the rights of all Philadelphians to hear all the candidates and make their own choice."

Unfortunately, the League of Women Voters, sponsor of the fifth debate, disagrees with Danielson. Citing "time constraints" the league rejected her request to be in the October 24 debate.

MARROQUIN INTRODUCES SAN ANTONIO CANDIDATE: Héctor Marroquín, an SWP member fighting deportation, was in San Antonio to introduce Anthony González, the Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the Twentieth

District, at a news conference.

When reporters asked González, a twenty-two-year-old production worker at Turbine Support and a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers, why someone "so young" is qualified to run, he replied, "I'm not a businessman or a lawyer. I work for a living and that qualifies me more than anyone in Congress today."

González blasted the incumbent, Democrat Henry B. González, as a "military hawk who masquerades as a friend of working people. He has voted to deny poor women the right to abortion, to exclude Chicanos from the Voting Rights Act, and to restrict busing for school desegregation."

The press conference was covered by the two dailies, KWEX-TV, and several radio stations.

Marroquín and González, along with other campaign supporters, campaigned at five plants, including Turbine Support.

Marroquín's San Antonio



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Pam Burchett, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City.

tour was capped with a campaign rally on October 6. The thirty people present contributed \$475 to the campaign effort.

THE VOTES ARE IN—I: Pam Burchette, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in Salt Lake City, was credited with 593 votes in the October primary. This represented 2 percent of the total vote, placing the socialist candidate in a tie for third out of a field of eight candidates.

In the weeks leading up to the election Burchette appeared extensively on Salt Lake radio and television stations. Many people who heard the coverage called the campaign office to find out more about her ideas.

Ed Berger, Socialist Workers candidate for City Council, received 1 percent of the primary vote.

THE VOTES ARE IN—II: With the final vote tally in, Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Diego, received just under 1,000 votes. This is the highest vote total of any SWP candidate in San Diego in recent years.

—L. Paltrineri



Anthony González (speaking) and Héctor Marroquín at San Antonio rally.

Militant

Ohio petition drive: 'Put workers on the ballot'

By L. Paltrineri

CLEVELAND—"Hey, didn't this guy run for office in Chicago?" asked a young Black worker sitting in his car to keep warm. He recognized Pulley's picture on the petitioning board. "I liked what he said. Where do I sign?"

"Yeah! I'll sign for Zimmermann," exclaimed a young woman shopper in Toledo. After she heard the socialist candidates' program to nationalize the energy industry and eliminate the war budget to create more jobs, she said she would not only sign the petition but she would vote for the SWP too.

The response for putting Socialist Workers Party candidates on the Ohio ballot—Andrew Pulley for president, Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president, and John Powers for U.S. Senate—was good. Petitioners in Toledo, Cleveland, and Cincinnati collected more than 4,400 signatures this week. Many of those who signed were laid off their jobs this fall and were glad to see a worker running against Carter.

In Toledo the campaign of Sue Skinner for mayor was successful in forcing the board of elections to back

down from threats of refusing to allow her to run as a write-in candidate in next month's municipal election. In Toledo candidates are required to pay a filing fee in order to have their write-in votes counted. Both Skinner and George Windau, SWP candidate for city council, paid this fee. Earlier in the week, the *Toledo Blade* reported that the board of elections was considering not counting their votes.

Skinner and Windau responded to this with a news conference on October 11.

Skinner told the television audience on the evening news that "election laws are designed by the Democrats and Republicans to make it hard for independent parties to run. The issue here is clear: should voters in this city be able to vote for whomever they want and have their votes counted? We say yes."

The next day several radio and television stations called Skinner, inviting her to participate in scheduled mayoral debates.

In Cleveland, cold weather accompanied by rain and hail didn't stop

determined petitioners from gathering several hundred signatures for the Socialist Workers candidates.

John Powers, SWP senatorial candidate, petitioned at one west side shopping center where several of his co-workers shop. When he told them he was running for Senate they were eager to sign. Powers is well known in his United Auto Workers Local as a strong supporter of the striking Bailey Meter workers. This strike is now in its fifth month.

One co-worker told Powers that he wasn't registered to vote, "but I will register so I can vote for you."

Petitioning among co-workers in Cleveland has been successful. One socialist worker circulated petitions on his lunch hour. Many in the lunch-time crowd signed. Some who had not yet heard of the socialist campaign took literature to find out what the SWP stands for.

Cincinnati petition organizers reported that most people they asked to sign were fed up with the record of the Democrats and Republicans and glad to sign for the socialist alternative. A unionist from the Amalgamated Cloth-

ing and Textile Workers, who has been active in the J.P. Stevens boycott, wanted to sign to put "some workers on the ballot for a change."

One signer liked the socialist program so much that he offered to take petitions. Still others took campaign literature and later called up the campaign headquarters to get more information.

One Cincinnati petitioner, Mark McCrary, collected the day's high of 165 signatures in four hours.

Ohio socialist campaign supporters plan to collect 20,000 signatures in the month of October. After the first eight days of the drive they had collected approximately 7,400 signatures.

Bad weather hampered the drive this week but has not prevented it from staying close to schedule. Organizers in all three cities are planning to step up the drive through daytime petitioning teams for the next two weeks in order to finish by the end of October.

If you would like to help petition, contact the SWP campaign committee: Cleveland (216) 991-5030; Cincinnati (513) 751-2636; Toledo (419) 536-6383.

'Washington starves Kampuchean people!'

The following was published as a letter to the editor in the October 14 issue of the British 'Manchester Guardian Weekly.' John Pilger's series of articles on famine-stricken Kampuchea has appeared in the London 'Daily Mirror,' Boston 'Globe,' and New York 'Post.'

I am one of the few journalists to have travelled extensively in Cambodia for a long time, I realise that small nations are expendable under the rules of the game of power politics, and that official lying is part of the game.

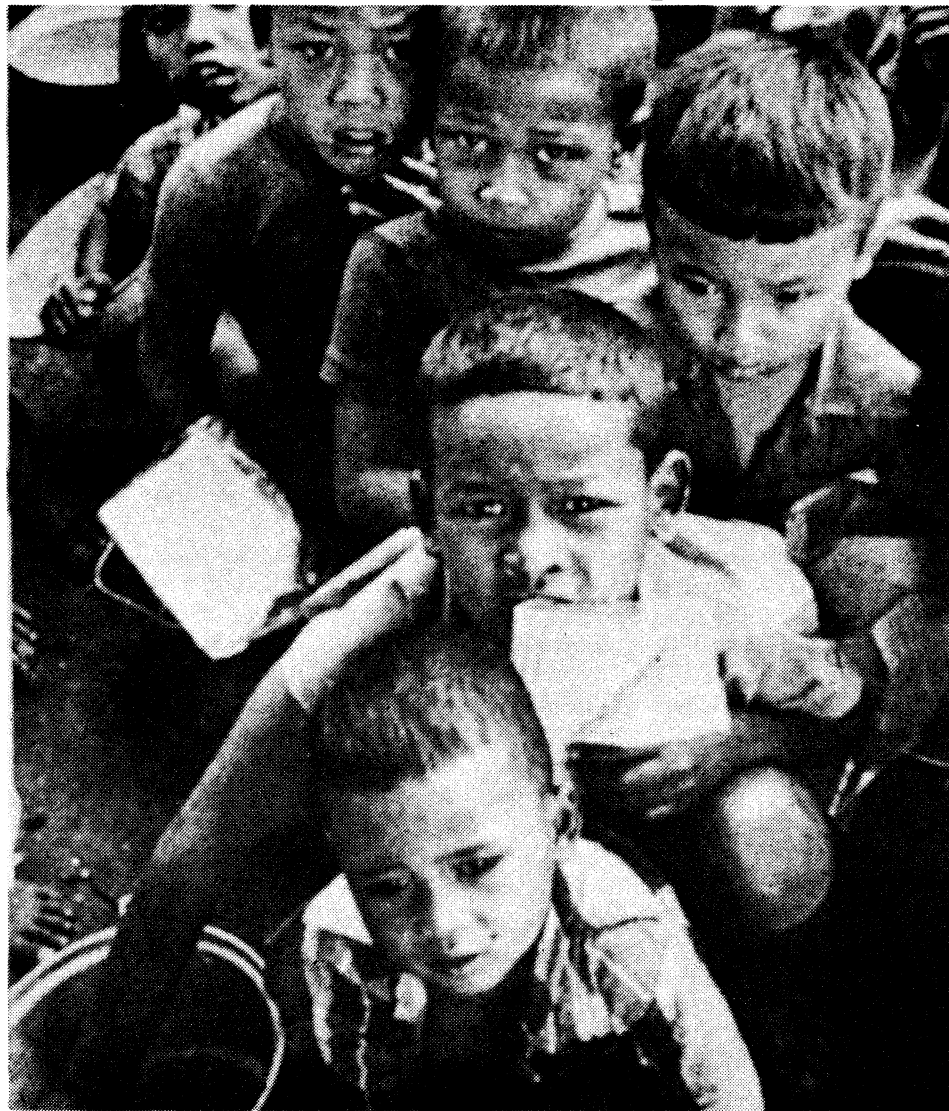
However, to witness the enormity of the human tragedy in Cambodia and then to return to London and read of craven attempts, on both

John Pilger's firsthand account of the crimes of the Pol Pot regime, as told to him by Kampucheans, is featured on page 23.

sides of the Atlantic, to deceive on the question of aid, is to be consumed by a sense of helplessness and anger.

The people of Cambodia, who are mostly starving children, are being allowed to die because Western governments, and especially the United States, do not wish to be seen giving even de facto recognition to the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh. This was made clear at the United Nations a fortnight ago when America orchestrated the charade of support for a Chinese motion to continue recognition of the Pol Pot regime, which no longer exists and which was responsible for the deaths of more than two million people.

Britain, to its lasting shame, voted to support perhaps the most tho-



Children line up for rice in Pnompenh. U.S., Britain, and U.S.-controlled relief agencies are holding back food in effort to bring down Heng Samrin government.

rough mass murderers since Hitler. China, the principal backers of the monstrous Pol Pot, is of course the current trade and strategic darling of the West and must not be displeased.

Both the International Red Cross

and UNICEF have bent to these politics, whose aim is, as the Guardian outlined (Leader [editorial], September 30), "to structure aid to Cambodia in such a way as to give minimum legitimacy to Heng Samrin and maximum help to Pol Pot."

While its relief people have done virtually nothing, the public relations men of the International Red Cross have been hard at work. On September 27 the Guardian reported a Red Cross announcement that the "deadlock" over aid had been broken. This is untrue.

The Red Cross announcement (which embarrassed its partner, UNICEF) was merely kite-flying; the Red Cross is putting only six officials into Phnom Penh and it remains as intransigent as ever on the political strings attached to its proposed relief "programme." The PR men in Geneva no doubt hoped to create the illusion that the International Red Cross was at last doing its job.

Since the Phnom Penh government appealed for specific quantities of food and drugs *three months ago*, the International Red Cross, by its own admission, has sent only 100 tons of relief: in effect, almost nothing.

All those who connive in the denial of relief to Cambodia, including those who write the lies in Foreign Office handouts about "political obstruction," when the obstruction is theirs, and those American syndicated columnists who knowingly publish State Department propaganda on the same baseless theme, will bear some of the responsibility for the death by starvation and related diseases of *at least* a million people by Christmas.

The cries of fleshless children are unrelenting in Cambodia today; I have heard them; unfortunately, they cannot be heard in Geneva, Washington, and Whitehall [British Foreign Office].

John Pilger,
Daily Mirror,
London EC1.

Press lies cover up denial of aid

Carter reply to food pleas: new war moves

By Fred Feldman

The Kampuchean people need 165,000 tons of food over the next six months to survive. They are not getting it. As a result, more than two million people are starving.

The *New York Times* charged October 15 that the Heng Samrin government in Pnompenh had "obstructed the world's offer of help."

The *Washington Post*, on October 12, blamed Vietnam, accusing it of "genocide."

This line has been repeated in all the major capitalist media.

But the Pnompenh government has eagerly accepted every bit of aid that has been sent.

Vietnam has sent more food to Kampuchea than the United States, Britain, France, Canada, and West Germany combined—even though the Vietnamese people themselves face near-famine conditions.

The October 14 *New York Times* reported that the Carter administration is "ready to send" \$7 million in aid to Kampuchea—a paltry sum. Not a single ounce of U.S. food has been sent so far, however.

On October 14, about 55 tons of food, fuel, and other supplies from international relief agencies arrived in Kampuchea—a drop in the bucket.

The truth is that the imperialist powers and the relief agencies they support are holding back food from the Kampuchean people in the hopes that mass starvation will help bring about the downfall of the Heng Samrin government.

As a stalling tactic, political conditions were demanded of the Pnompenh government before aid is delivered.

Red Cross and UN representatives insisted that Pnompenh sign an agreement endorsing a step-up in the aid program established for tiny enclaves near the Thai border that are controlled by the remnants of Pol Pot's genocidal regime. They sought complete control of administration, transportation, and distribution of aid.

And they demanded iron-clad guarantees that none of the food would be eaten by soldiers supporting Heng Samrin.

No such limitations are imposed on the aid program for the Pol Pot forces. A CBS news report from the Thai-Kampuchea border October 9 revealed that most of the food aid is being taken by Pol Pot's troops. Nigel Starke, a reporter for the Australian Broadcasting Company, said the same.

The cruel maneuvers to starve most of the Kampuchean people is stirring protest.

In Britain, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, in an editorial September 30, condemned "the whole immoral nature of great power maneuvering over Cambodia. . . ."

"The West should not have supported Pol Pot at the UN. It should not now compound the mistake by trying to structure aid to Cambodia in such a way as to give minimum legitimacy to Heng Samrin and maximum help to Pol Pot. Nor should it pursue the unrealistic aim of using an army of aid officials in Cambodia as a means of 'internationalizing' that country and opening it up to [Prince Norodom] Sihanouk."

Even the *Washington Post* was somewhat embarrassed by Carter's policy, stating on October 5 that the

U.S. "opposes sending food aid directly to or through Heng Samrin, on grounds that he and Hanoi will use it to feed their own soldiers and supporters, not the mass of Cambodians gnawing at roots and dying by the side of the road."

"The results of this policy, in Cambodian terms, are plain. Not only has the United States forfeited an opportunity to draw Heng Samrin into humanitarian relief; it also finds itself in indirect complicity with the loathsome Pol Pot."

While denying food to Kampuchea's people, Washington and its allies are stepping up military assistance to Pol Pot.

Pnompenh charged October 13 that Thailand was sending ships into its waters to aid the Pol Pot units.

When heavy shelling drove 25,000 Pol Pot soldiers and their civilian captives over the Thai border, Thai officials declared October 12 that troops would be rushed in to protect them. The Thai army has organized camps for the Pol Pot troops—compelling Kampuchean civilians to remain in the Pol Pot camps against their will. Thai forces then rearm the Pol Pot units and convoy them back into Kampuchea to resume fighting.

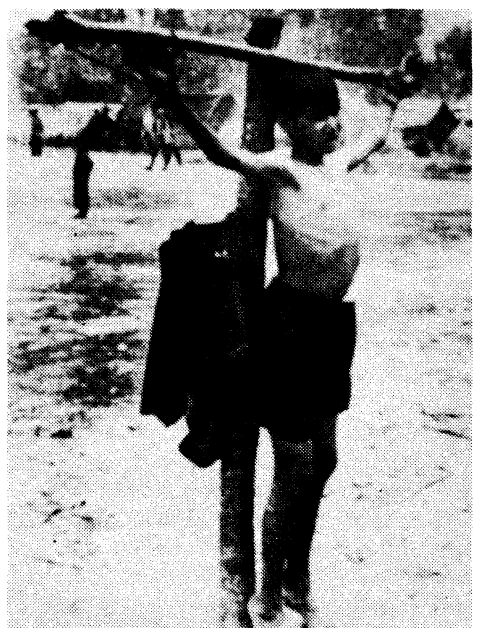
Reporting from the Thai-Kampuchea border October 12, *Washington Post* correspondent John Burgess explained that "the Thai government believes that a Khmer Rouge government in Cambodia is preferable" to that of Heng Samrin.

The October 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, reporting an interview with Singapore's minister for foreign affairs S. Dhanabalan, said that, in the view

of the U.S.-dominated Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "some kind of peacekeeping force, such as the UN forces may be necessary [in Kampuchea] to ensure law and order. . . ."

At the same time, U.S. arms shipments to the Thai regime have quadrupled and U.S. "advisors" continue to be sent into Thailand.

Working people have no stake in the hideous crime against the Kampuchean people that is being perpetrated by the Carter administration. Our demands must be: "No arms for Pol Pot and the Thai regime! Stop stalling and send immediate massive food aid to the people of Kampuchea!"



A youth is punished for 'stealing food' at a refugee camp in Thailand controlled by Pol Pot with help of Thai army.

Pulley rips migra-FBI plot against socialists

By Roger Rudenstein

Newly uncovered FBI documents show that the agency joined with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in a program to deport people for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party. The documents were obtained through the socialists' \$40 million lawsuit against government spying.

The documents show that the FBI and INS initiated a plan to frame up SWP members who are not citizens and deport them. Toward this end the FBI arranged to make its stool pigeons, who spied on and harassed the socialists, available to *la migra*.

On October 4, SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley sent a letter to Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti blasting the INS-FBI disruption program. Pulley asked Civiletti for a meeting where he could present the facts. The letter was released at a news conference at the Federal Building in Houston on October 11.

Interference in campaign

"Any attempt by the INS to victimize SWP members or supporters for their political beliefs," wrote Pulley, "is an attack on basic constitutional rights. It would also be an unlawful interference with my campaign for president in violation of [the federal code]. . . ."

"As Attorney General you have the responsibility to order the INS to halt its disruptive efforts and to make available to us all of the documents concerning these efforts."

The documents released thus far show that on January 21, 1964, an INS official named Fass contacted the FBI office in New York City. Fass complained that the INS was having trouble deporting SWP members. He cited the Scythes case as an example.

George Scythes was a former member of the SWP who the INS tried to deport in 1958. A native of Canada, Scythes had lived in this country for twenty-eight years. The INS held that Scythes' membership in the SWP was grounds for deportation because the SWP "advocates violence."

After a five-year legal battle, the U.S. Court of

Appeals in Chicago overruled the INS on September 13, 1962. ". . . we find no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches . . . the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States," the court ruled.

Stymied by the Scythes decision, the INS turned to the FBI for help. The G-men were more than happy to oblige: "This could be the start of something big," crowed the author of the memorandum.

In a document dated March 23, 1964, the FBI gave the go-ahead to the INS and agreed to furnish dossiers on SWP members. The FBI advised the INS of an important piece of "evidence" that could be used against the SWP: the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This, together "with the [SWP] Declaration of Principles would tend to establish the violent nature of the SWP," the FBI said.

In a third memo dated April 7, 1964, the FBI wrote, "Obviously any case seeking to deport an individual because of association with the SWP immediately becomes in effect a trial of the SWP itself." They encouraged the INS to try to deport SWP members because "a successful prosecution of the SWP would be of extremely great value not only to INS but to the entire Federal Government."

In the letter to Civiletti, Andrew Pulley reminded him that after almost thirty years of snooping not one shred of evidence has been found that the SWP or YSA violate the law. In fact, former Attorney General Levi, in response to the SWP suit and public pressure, ordered the FBI to call off its "investigation" in September 1976.

"However," said Pulley, "Mr. Levi made no reference to any instructions given the INS concerning its persecution of socialists. Although none of the documents we have been furnished with are recent, we have every reason to believe that the plan is still in operation."

Marroquín, Bustin cases

Pulley cited the cases of SWP members Héctor Marroquín and Marian Bustin as proof of his statement.

Marroquín, a Mexican national, fled here in 1974

after the cops framed him up on false terrorism charges. In 1977 he was arrested by border cops.

In April 1979 the INS hauled Marroquín into a deportation hearing in Houston, Texas. There INS prosecutor Daniel Kahn based his case solely on opposition to Marroquín's socialist views. "The U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," Kahn boasted.

In line with the practices outlined in the FBI documents, Kahn cross-examined Marroquín and each defense witness about their political beliefs, asking them if they agreed with *The Communist Manifesto* and arguing about political issues.

On April 11 Marroquín was ordered deported by immigration judge James Smith. In his ruling, Smith disparaged Marroquín's membership in the SWP and implied that Marroquín should seek asylum in "Castro's Cuba" rather than the United States.

According to the law, the United States must take in any refugee who shows "a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of . . . political opinion." In Marroquín's case the INS is not only violating this law but the socialist's constitutional right to free speech.

Marroquín appealed Smith's ruling to the Board of Immigration Appeals on July 30. He is still waiting for a decision.

In the other case that Pulley cited, that of Marian Bustin, the INS also acted illegally. Bustin has "permanent residence" status, meaning she is permitted to live and work in this country. Recently, Bustin was summoned to the offices of the INS in New York City and told that her "loyalty" was in question due to her membership in the SWP. Agents of the INS warned her that she was under investigation. Since then *la migra* has pestered her parents-in-law and her landlord with questions about her political beliefs.

Pulley explained that the court decision in the Scythes case makes it illegal for the INS to deport people because they are socialists. He called upon all supporters of civil liberties to repudiate the INS attacks on SWP members and demand a full airing of the facts about the INS-FBI disruption program.

Marroquin confronts Leonel Castillo in Texas

By Rick Berman

HOUSTON—Héctor Marroquín wasn't the only person to return to Houston this month. Leonel Castillo is also back in town. He is running for mayor.

On the first day Marroquín was here, October 8, he went to city hall, where the candidates for mayor and city council were to gather to draw for position on the November ballot. Marroquín accompanied Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

Marroquín wanted to talk with all the candidates about his case, but he particularly wanted to talk with Cas-

tillo. They had met before, but under different circumstances.

For two years, as director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Castillo prosecuted the government's case against Marroquín. His office was bombarded with protests from around the country and around the world. Trade unionists, Latinos and Blacks, students, and prominent individuals by the thousands had sent telegrams, letters, and petitions supporting Marroquín's right to asylum.

Now that Castillo has resigned from the INS to run for mayor of Houston, Marroquín hoped that Castillo would support his right to asylum.

As Marroquín arrived at city hall, reporters and candidates milled about. Some recognized him as he entered the council chambers, asked about the progress of his case and wished him well.

Olga Soliz, a well-known Chicana feminist and Democratic Party activist, sat down to talk with Marroquín and express her solidarity. As they talked, Soliz waved over Marroquín's shoulder to someone approaching.

"Leonel," she cried, "how are you? You know Héctor. . . ." As Marroquín turned to face Castillo, the former INS director turned pale.

"Mr. Castillo, I want to talk with you about my case a little later," said Marroquín. Castillo mumbled and quickly left the room.

About five minutes later Castillo returned, looking a bit more composed. Debby Leonard and Marroquín approached him.

Leonard and Marroquín remarked that Castillo must be familiar with Marroquín's case. "If you are not following orders from Carter anymore, and if you support human rights," said Marroquín, "you should support my request for asylum."

"No," said Castillo, shaking his head.

"You know that if I am deported my life and security will be endangered," continued Marroquín. "At my hearing I showed much evidence of repression in Mexico. . . ."

"Yes," said Castillo, "I know all of it."

"Then why do you think I should be deported? Because you don't like my politics? Because I'm a socialist?"

"I think you have a weak case as the law is written," Castillo answered.

"This is not just a question of law," countered Marroquín. "It's a question of human rights. And the law is on my side. According to law the right of asylum should not be denied anyone

Update on case

The Board of Immigration Appeals has granted an INS request for additional time to submit a legal brief in response to Héctor Marroquín's appeal of the deportation order against him. The INS brief is now due on November 5. Marroquín's appeal was filed in July.

Letters and telegrams supporting Marroquín's right to asylum should be sent to: David Crosland, Acting Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. Send copies to Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



Castillo (left) with Houston mayoral candidate Debby Leonard and Héctor Marroquín. Former INS director refused to support Marroquín's right to asylum.

Chrysler crisis: bailout for banks?



Chrysler workers demonstrate against plant closing in Detroit.

Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

By Frank Lovell

(first of two parts)

Chrysler Corporation is stepping up its push for massive financial aid from the federal government and contract concessions from the United Auto Workers.

The debt-ridden auto company is reported to be lining up congressional support for a bill that would authorize an "independent" three-person board to grant federal loan guarantees and make direct government loans to Chrysler.

Meanwhile, company chairman Lee Iacocca appeared before a UAW bargaining committee October 15 to plead his case for wages and benefits even lower than those negotiated in the new General Motors and Ford contracts. And UAW President Douglas Fraser says he is eager to move on to negotiations with Chrysler without waiting for Ford workers to vote on their agreement.

The question of a government bailout for Chrysler is not confined to the 130,000 Chrysler workers, although they are the most immediately affected. An estimated 26,000 have already been laid off indefinitely, many of them without their promised Supplemental Unemployment Benefits because the Chrysler SUB fund is already low. These are the first casualties of the Chrysler fiasco.

Millions more will be affected, however. If government money is given to Chrysler, working-class taxpayers will foot the bill.

If pollution, safety, and mileage standards are loosened, it is mostly workers who will breathe the poisonous air and drive the gas-guzzling death traps.

If wages are cut for some auto workers, all companies under UAW contract will be encouraged to probe for contract givebacks.

What happened at Chrysler?

Chrysler is the tenth largest U.S. corporation. Corporate structures of this size are not supposed to collapse. When they do it is the result of weaknesses in the whole capitalist system, and the collapse of such a large segment further weakens the entire economy.

This contributes to mass unemployment and aggravates other symptoms of the sick economy. The result is a deepening social crisis. This is why the capitalist government is alarmed.

Twice Chrysler has gone to Washington asking for a loan of \$1 billion and more, first in July and then in September. On the second try, Chrysler executives submitted a "recovery plan" detailing their present plight. They say things will get worse before they get better, and they deal in very large figures.

The company says it expects a loss of \$1.07 billion for 1979—the greatest loss for any corporation in U.S. history.

It projects that it will be \$2.1 billion short of what it will need by 1982 to finance its full recovery plan and begin, after that, to show a profit.

The hope of Chrysler executives is that \$900 million can be raised from the sale of present assets, and perhaps another \$700 million can be borrowed from private banking institutions. But these hopes are pinned on government loan guarantees of \$1.2 billion—\$500 million immediately and \$700 million in case of further need.

\$1-a-year men

Chrysler management is preoccupied with these matters of high finance, much more so than with automobile production.

The two top Chrysler executives, President Lee Iacocca and board chairman John Riccardo, announced shortly before making their second bid for government funding that they were offering their services at \$1 a year for the next period in order to cut overhead expenses.

But there was a catch to it. Both officials will continue to receive fringe benefits and insurance coverage from the company based on their \$360,000 annual salaries. Besides this, they claimed credits which they expect to redeem in the future.

After submitting Chrysler's financial plan to the U.S. Treasury Department, Riccardo resigned suddenly September 17. His reasons were ill health and being "closely associated with the past management of a troubled com-

pany." He will collect full benefits under Chrysler executives' early retirement plan.

This left Iacocca, former president of the Ford Motor Company, in charge at Chrysler. He was guaranteed more than \$2 million for the two years 1979-80, plus \$400,000 in stock options, when he was brought to Chrysler after being fired by Ford. Iacocca has not forfeited this guaranteed income, which is completely aside from his present \$1-a-year salary.

Banks skim the cream

Chrysler's car production, both in quality and efficiency, compares favorably with Ford and GM. Its problems do not arise in the manufacturing process. They are largely financial.

Chrysler has been selling cars and producing big profits all along, but these profits have been siphoned off by banks and other investors.

"In 1978, when the company reported a 'bottom line' loss of more than \$200 million, owners of capital took about \$1 billion out of Chrysler!" according to an article in *Economic Notes*, published by the Labor Research Association, Inc.

Stock dividends totaled \$65 million that year. Interest payments to banks, insurance companies, and so on were a whopping \$166 million. Miscellaneous payments to banks were another \$69 million. These items alone add up to \$300 million, a cool \$100 million more than the reported \$200 million loss.

Chrysler's weaknesses have driven it further into debt, and the banks' demands for interest have further dragged the company down. Its net interest expense rose from 0.2 percent of sales in the first half of 1973 to 1.5 percent of sales in the same period this year. Chrysler pays \$125 in interest for each car or truck it sells, compared to only \$10 for General Motors.

The largest bank lenders to Chrysler are Manufacturers Hanover, Chase Manhattan, National Bank of Detroit, and Royal Bank of Canada. All have agents on Chrysler's board of directors, where corporate policy is decided.

These banks want Chrysler to get government subsidies so that there is no interruption of interest payments

on outstanding loans. That's why Chrysler is asking for \$1.2 billion from the U.S. treasury.

What can be done?

Treasury Secretary William Miller told Chrysler officials that their asking price is too high. One billion dollars, he said, is politically impossible. He thinks Congress would never approve such a large loan.

But the *Wall Street Journal* reports that "administration sources have indicated they would consider a total federal loan guarantee plan in the \$500 million to \$750 million range."

Miller advised Chrysler officials to seek supplementary help from state and city governments, and from the UAW.

The position of the UAW officialdom on this matter is no secret. The August 20 issue of the union's official publication, *Solidarity*, says that UAW president Fraser, vice-president Marc Stepp, and other union representatives "met this month with government officials to press for federal programs to help Chrysler."

Fraser advocates a \$1 billion "government investment" in Chrysler. He accepts the company argument that part of Chrysler's problems are due to expensive retooling to meet federal fuel-efficiency standards.

Fraser's suggestion of a \$1 billion government investment, if accepted, would give the government a 30 percent share in the corporation and permit "public" representation on the board of directors. Fraser thinks federal investments "could be earmarked for dealing with problems such as plant closings, and the development of a new car which emphasizes safety, fuel efficiency, and low pollution."

Vice-president Stepp called for worker participation in management decisions "at all levels of the Chrysler Corporation." He said Chrysler offered some such plan to British unions at Chrysler UK in 1976.

He neglected to say that Chrysler's "joint management" scheme was rejected by British workers, who saw it as a way of coercing them into taking responsibility for speedup and profitability.

Rohatyn to the rescue?

The Carter administration is seeking "public" involvement in the Chrysler problem and favors UAW support of the corporation, but not in the way Fraser and Stepp talk about it. The Treasury Department has asked some major New York banking firms for an opinion on Chrysler's recovery plan.

Felix Rohatyn, a partner in the Lazard Frères investment banking firm, is mentioned as a possible "public representative" to help oversee the Chrysler recovery operation. Rohatyn became prominent in the 1975 financial rehabilitation of New York City as chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac").

Already similarities to the New York "rescue" are emerging. Fraser reported at the end of September that he would have "no problem" lending UAW pension funds to Chrysler, so long as he gets "absolute guarantees" that retirees will continue to be paid.

The parallel with the New York City bankruptcy scare is worth sober consideration by auto workers. Rohatyn's accomplishments in that episode were hailed throughout Wall Street.

He established a "partnership" with municipal union officials to make sure the banks never lost a dime on their holdings of shaky New York bonds.

The costs were borne by New York city employees and working-class residents of the city. Wages were frozen for three years. Millions from union pension funds were sunk into meeting the city's interest payments to the banks.

Tens of thousands of employees were laid off, with a corresponding sharp decline in health care, sanitation, education, transit, and other human services.

Is this the kind of "rescue" Chrysler workers should look forward to?

(to be concluded)

Requests pour in for Castro's speech

By Harvey McArthur

Working people are doing a lot of thinking about Cuba as Carter steps up his war moves in the Caribbean. One indication of this is the question asked by people who hurried into the socialist bookstores in San Francisco and Phoenix just after Fidel Castro's October 12 address to the United Nations.

They asked, When are you going to print the full text of Castro's speech?

One California subscriber even called our circulation office long distance to ask this question.

As readers of this issue can see, the answer is: Right away!

We hurried Castro's speech into print because auto workers, steelworkers, and other unionists told us how useful it would be for the many discussions they are having with co-workers about Cuba, Castro's visit to the United Nations, and Carter's war drive.

This issue of the *Militant*, and issue number twenty of *Perspectiva Mundial*, appearing next week, are virtually the only place working people throughout the United States can read what Castro had to say.

Socialists will want to put a big push on sales of these issues.

These stepped-up sales efforts will give a needed boost to the fall sales drive being carried out by members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Last week, sales slipped to a total of 4,473 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Only eleven cities made their weekly quotas.

Sales of issue thirty-nine of the *Militant* are reported in this week's score-

board. We should be at 57 percent of the 150,000 goal, but we are only at 39.5 percent.

The biggest weakness in the drive has been sales of subscriptions. So far, we have received 847 subscriptions in the circulation office. These total 11,830 points, or 19.7 percent of our 60,000-point subscription goal. We should be at 30,000 points.

A strong side of subscription sales has been sales to co-workers in industry. One hundred eighty-two, or 21.5 percent, of the new subscribers identify themselves as industrial unionists. This is almost up to the 25 percent mark that we set over the course of the sales drive, a goal we clearly can surpass.

Another strong point has been *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription sales: 116, or 13.7 percent, of the total sold.

However, it is clear that special measures will be needed if each city is to make its subscription sales projections.

To catch up, the SWP and YSA have set the week of November 3-11 as a national subscription target week. That week, they will set sales of subscriptions as the number-one priority.

Several areas have already planned or started subscription blitzes of their own. They are sending teams of Pulley-Zimmermann campaigners knocking on doors in working-class neighborhoods and through college dormitories. Socialists in big plants have discussed taking special quotas for sales of subscriptions to their co-workers.

These are the kind of things that all our supporters will be doing November 3-11.

Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	% Ind.
Dallas	90	173	30	67	120	240	200.0	12.5
San Antonio	50	76	15	24	65	100	153.8	31.0
San Diego	105	146	20	9	125	155	124.0	21.9
Kansas City	110	138	7	7	117	145	123.9	2.8
New Orleans	100	112	5	6	105	118	112.3	.8
Portland	90	99	0	1	90	100	111.1	4.0
Iron Range	75	82	0	0	75	82	109.3	24.4
Seattle	140	153	5	5	145	158	108.9	12.7
Salt Lake City	110	113	5	8	115	121	105.2	12.4
Morgantown	100	103	0	0	100	103	103.0	21.4
Birmingham	150	152	0	0	150	152	101.3	10.5
Albuquerque	115	112	25	22	140	134	95.7	*
Detroit	200	186	10	8	210	194	92.3	30.4
Chicago	275	236	50	35	325	271	83.3	28.8
Gary	90	79	10	4	100	83	83.0	*
Pittsburgh	200	165	0	0	200	165	82.5	29.1
Washington, D.C.	140	111	35	33	175	144	82.2	5.6
Boston	175	142	15	14	190	156	82.1	5.8
Tacoma	125	97	0	0	125	97	77.6	6.2
Phoenix	120	95	40	29	160	124	77.5	37.1
Denver	120	82	20	23	140	105	75.0	7.6
San Francisco	200	129	50	54	250	183	73.2	4.9
Milwaukee	115	68	10	23	125	91	72.8	5.5
St. Louis	100	70	0	0	100	70	70.0	21.4
Philadelphia	170	114	30	19	200	133	66.5	11.3
Atlanta	125	81	0	0	125	81	64.8	6.2
Cincinnati	100	62	0	0	100	62	62.0	19.4
Toledo	60	39	3	0	63	39	61.9	15.4
Indianapolis	100	60	0	0	100	60	60.0	16.7
Newark	125	77	25	8	150	85	56.7	8.2
Oakland/Berkeley	190	106	25	11	215	117	54.4	*
Albany	100	55	5	1	105	56	53.3	5.4
New York City	445	209	105	78	550	287	52.1	*
Louisville	100	49	0	0	100	49	49.0	22.4
Miami	100	49	30	9	130	58	44.6	13.8
Baltimore	125	54	0	0	125	54	43.2	20.4
Piedmont	75	29	0	0	75	29	38.6	17.2
Houston	170	65	30	7	200	72	36.0	*
TOTALS	5875	3968	705	505	6580	4473	68.0	13.0

Not reporting: Ann Arbor, Cleveland (petitioning), Los Angeles, San Jose, Tidewater, Twin Cities. Covers sales of issue thirty-nine of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue eighteen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

*% Ind. indicates percentage of total sold at plant gates and to co-workers on the job.

*Figure not reported.

Thousands at national gay rights march

By Peter Seidman

WASHINGTON—Thousands of people participated in the first national march for lesbian and gay rights here October 14.

Spirits were high as the crowd—which included a significant proportion of women, Blacks, and Latinos—marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to a rally at the Washington monument.

The demonstrators were demanding that Congress pass comprehensive legislation to protect the rights of lesbians and gays.

They also demanded:

- A presidential executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the federal government, the military, and federally contracted private employment.
- Repeal of all anti-lesbian/gay laws.
- The end of discrimination in lesbian mother and gay father custody cases.
- An end to laws used to discriminate against, oppress, or harass gay youths in their homes, schools, jobs, and social environments.

All but a tiny handful of onlookers seemed to support these demands.

Estimates varied as to the size of the demonstration. The *Washington Post*, citing the U.S. Park police, said there were 25,000 protesters. The *New York Times* put the figure at 75,000 based on estimates by the Washington, D.C., district police. Some march organizers said the figure was even higher.

National organizations with contingents in the march included the National Gay Task Force, the National Organization for Women, and the Metropolitan Community Church.

The Gay Caucus of the American Psychiatric Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Mobilization for Survival also participated.

Andrew Pulley, the 1980 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, marched—along with supporters from cities throughout the East Coast.

The socialists distributed a statement by Pulley and SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zim-



October 14 was first national march for gay rights.

Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

mermann endorsing the march. More than 300 copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Contingents of gay rights supporters appeared to be present from every state and region of the country—from Florida and Alabama to Alaska and Hawaii.

There were gay liberation groups present from many campuses.

Demonstrators also carried slogans against nuclear power, in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and demanding jobs.

Speakers at the rally included: Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Maria Dias, representing Washington, D.C.; Mayor Marion Barry; Lucia Valeska, National Gay Task Force; and U.S. Rep. Theodore Weiss (D-N.Y.).

Smeal explained that NOW, the "strongest and largest feminist organization in the world" is "100 percent emphatically for full rights for lesbians and gays."

"Those who preach ignorance and fear," Smeal said, "will not win. . . . Those of us who march for equality

will be the overwhelming majority of humanity."

Welcoming the demonstrators, Dias explained that Mayor Barry had proclaimed "National Gay and Lesbian Awareness Week" in Washington, D.C.

Theodore Weiss is the sponsor of H.R. 2074. He urged demonstrators to build support for this bill when they returned home. The measure, now before Congress, would amend existing civil rights laws to prohibit discrimination based on "affectional preference or sexual orientation" in employment, housing, and the military.

Many other speakers and entertainers participated in the rally, including: U.S. Rep. Phil Burton; Arlie Scott, NOW; Betty Santoro, New York Lesbian Feminism Liberation; Troy Perry, Metropolitan Community Church; Richard Ashworth and Adelle Starr, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays; Armando Gaitan and Juanita Ramos, Comité Homosexual Latinoamericano; Robin Tyler; and musicians Tom Robertson and Mary Watkins.

Third World Conference

By Glova Scott

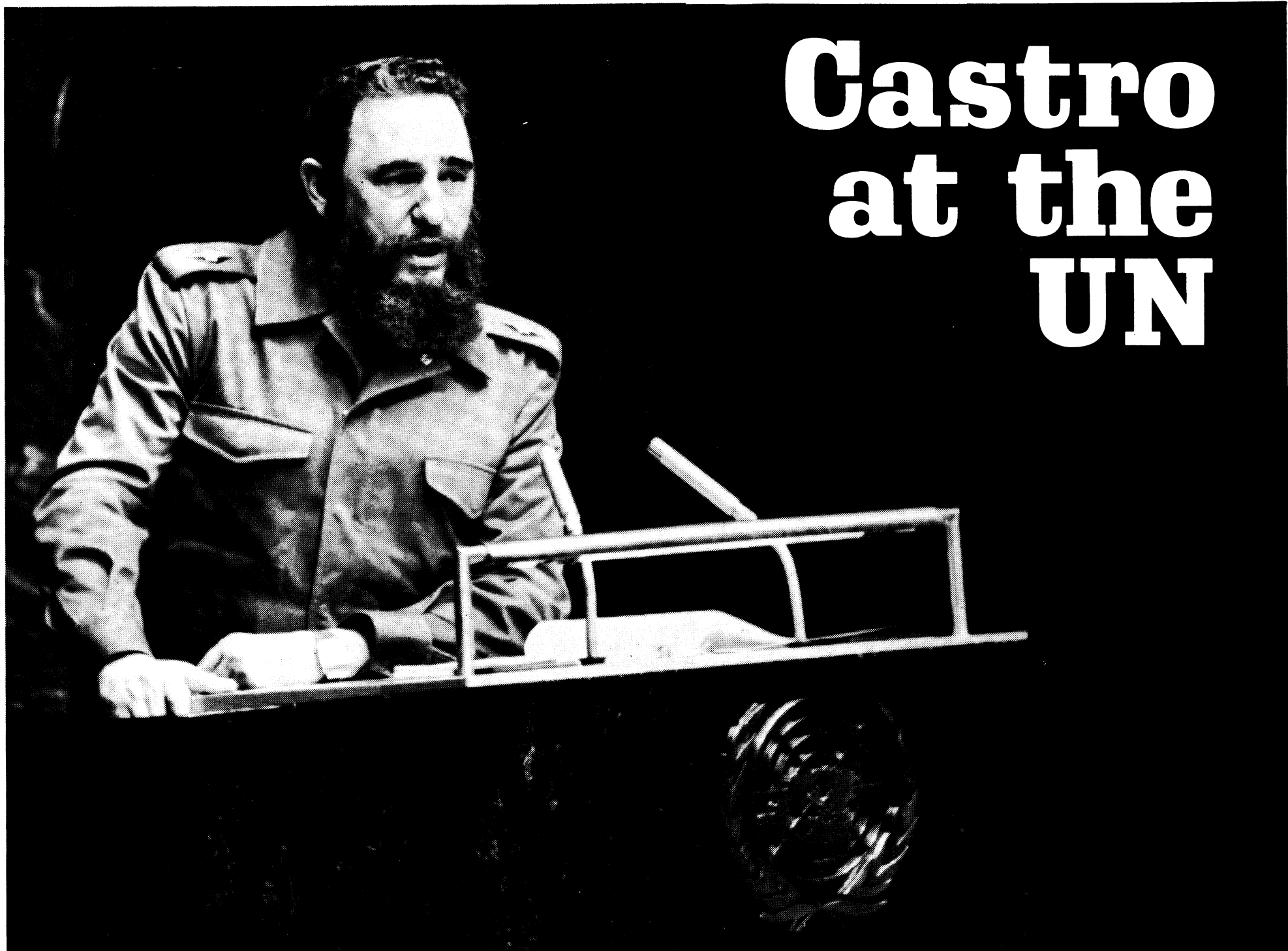
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Nearly 500 Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans took part in a Third World Lesbian/Gay Conference here the weekend of the October 14 march.

Participants came from thirty-nine states as well as Costa Rica, Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies.

Many of those present were also activists in struggles for affirmative

action, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment, and against sterilization abuse and nuclear power.

In workshops and plenary sessions speakers stressed the need to educate on the importance of gay rights within these other movements. The audience cheered one speaker from the San Francisco Gay Latino Alliance who called for solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.



United Nations/Sam Lwin

'I speak for the children without a piece of bread'

By Gus Horowitz

Before an overflow audience at the United Nations, in an eloquent speech punctuated by frequent applause, Cuban President Fidel Castro called for "a new world order, one based on justice, on equity, and on peace. One that will replace the unjust and unequal system that prevails today."

"I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread," said Castro, summing up the needs of the world's poverty-stricken masses. "I speak on behalf of the sick who lack medicine. I speak on behalf

son, as he explained, for "ninety-five countries from all the continents, representing the immense majority of humanity."

The countries that he represented have differing social and political systems. But all suffer imperialist exploitation, are subject to direct or indirect political domination, and live in the shadow of imperialist military power. On the basis of this common oppression, Castro presented the case against their common oppressor.

But Castro also spoke as a socialist, a revolutionist—as everyone knew he would. His speech was both a powerful indictment of imperialism and a moral justification for rebellion.

Profound changes

The fact that Fidel Castro could be chosen to present such a speech, and be so warmly received, testifies to profound changes in the world. It also explains why the imperialist media slandered and vilified him so.

Attacks against Cuba, such as the latest U.S. war threats in the Caribbean, have been going on for twenty years, Castro explained at the outset. He thanked the Nonaligned movement for backing Cuba up against these threats at its conference in Havana last month.

In fact, Castro's UN speech was itself a timely and effective parry to the threat of U.S. aggression against Cuba, Nicaragua, or anywhere else in the Caribbean or Central America. Such aggression would be viewed around the world as an attack on a country that speaks for the interests of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

Castro's approach to combating the threat of nuclear war was altogether different from that of Moscow. In the name of "peaceful coexistence," the Moscow Stalinists seek to uphold the

status quo in their dealings with Washington.

Castro, however, said that the "principles of peaceful coexistence also include the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, to independence, sovereignty . . . and the right to choose [their] own social, economic, and political system."

The struggle for peace, he stressed, includes "political, moral, and material support for the national liberation movements."

Africa and Mideast

Castro charged the imperialists with "continuing their aggressive policies with the aim of perpetuating, regaining, or extending their domination and exploitation of the African nation."

He called for support to the independence struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. He blasted the United States and other imperialist powers for "their direct or indirect collaboration" with South Africa.

Turning to the Mideast, Castro denounced Israel's "policy of aggression, expansionism, and colonial settlement in the occupied territories."

The rights of the Palestinians are the crux of the matter, Castro said. He called for "total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories as well as the return to the Palestinian people of all their occupied territories and the restoration of their inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine."

He condemned Washington for "working to attain partial solutions that are favorable to Zionist aims," such as the Camp David agreements.

Castro condemned U.S. military interference in Latin America and the

Caribbean. He reaffirmed the Non-aligned conference's support for the right of the people of Belize and Puerto Rico to independence. He called for U.S. withdrawal from Guantánamo and an end to "the blockade with which the United States government continues its efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution."

He also hailed "the remarkable victory of the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

As spokesperson for the Nonaligned movement, Castro did not take up Indochina, on which the Havana conference was divided. It was Cuba, however, together with Vietnam, that led the fight at that conference and later at the UN to unseat Pol Pot's deposed dictatorship in Kampuchea.

Castro's strong defense of these national liberation struggles evoked stony silence from the imperialist delegates, and vigorous clapping from the rest. But the most exuberant applause came in response to his moving appeals on behalf of the hundreds of millions of poor the world over.

Why civilization?

"Why should some people go barefoot, so that others may travel in expensive cars? Why should some live only thirty-five years, so others may live seventy? Why should some be miserably poor, so that others be exaggeratedly rich?"

"In short, some countries possess abundant resources, others have nothing. What is their fate? To starve? To be eternally poor? Why then civilization?"

Despite the victories over colonial domination, Castro explained, the immense gap between rich and poor—between the advanced imperialist countries and the backward, dependent, and superexploited countries—

Continued on next page

Full text of Castro speech begins on next page.

of those who have been denied the right to life and to human dignity."

When he finished his address, the representatives and UN staffers—most of them from colonial and semicolonial countries—began shouting "Fidel! Fidel!" They gave him a long and stormy standing ovation, quite different from the usual polite applause for UN speeches.

Fidel Castro had not earned this support by fine oratory alone. A much more weighty credential is Cuba's record of staunch anti-imperialist action in Africa, Latin America, and the Mideast and the exemplary social progress that Cuba has made over the past two decades.

When Castro addressed the UN nineteen years ago, he came as spokesperson for the new and developing socialist revolution in Cuba.

This time he came in a far larger world role—president of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, spokesper-

Fidel Castro's speech at United Nations

The following is the full text of the speech given by Fidel Castro before the United Nations General Assembly on October 12. This translation is based on the UN's simultaneous translation, corrected against the original Spanish text by 'Intercontinental Press/ Inprecor.' Another translation was subsequently released by the Cuban mission to the U.N.

* * *

Most Esteemed President:

Distinguished representatives of the world community:

I have not come to speak about Cuba. I am not here to denounce before this Assembly the aggressions to which our small but honorable country has been subjected for twenty years. Nor have I come to injure with unnecessary adjectives the powerful neighbor in his own house.

We have been charged by the Sixth Conference of heads of state or government of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries to present to the United Nations the results of its deliberations and the positions to be derived from them.

We are ninety-five countries from all the continents, representing the immense majority of humanity. We are united by the determination to defend the cooperation between our countries, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality, and self-determination.

We are associated in our determination to change the present system of international relations, based as it is on injustice, inequality, and oppression. In international politics we act as an independent world factor.

Meeting in Havana, the movement has just reaffirmed its principles and

confirmed its objectives.

The Nonaligned countries stress that it is imperative to do away with the enormous inequality that separates the developed countries from the developing countries. We are struggling to eradicate poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy, from which hundreds of millions of human beings still suffer.

We aspire to a new world order, one based on justice, on equity, and on peace. One that will replace the unjust and unequal system that prevails today, in which, as proclaimed in the final declaration of Havana, "wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a few powers, whose wasteful economies are maintained by the exploitation of the workers as well as the transfer and plunder of the natural and other resources of the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Asia, and other regions of the world."

Peace with equality

Among the problems to be debated in the present session of the General Assembly, peace is a concern of the first order. The search for peace also constitutes an aspiration of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and has been the subject of its attention at the Sixth Conference. But for our countries, peace is indivisible. We want a peace that will equally benefit the large and small, the strong and weak, peace that will embrace all regions of the world and reach all its citizens.

Since its very inception the Movement of Nonaligned Countries has considered that the principles of peaceful coexistence should be the cornerstone of international relations, constituting the basis for the strengthening of peace and international security, for the relaxation of tensions and the expansion of that process to all regions of the world and to all aspects of

international relations, and must be universally applied in relations among states.

But, at the same time, the Sixth Summit considered that these principles of peaceful coexistence also include the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination to self-determination, to independence, sovereignty, the territorial integrity of states, the right of every country to put an end to foreign occupation, to the acquisition of territory by force, and the right to choose its own social, economic, and political system.

Only in this way can peaceful coexistence be the foundation for all international relations.

And this cannot be denied. When we analyze the structure of the world today, we see that these rights of our peoples are as yet not guaranteed. The Nonaligned countries know full well who our historic enemies are, where the threats come from, and how to combat them.

Struggle against imperialism

That is why in Havana we resolved to reaffirm that "the quintessence of the policy of nonalignment, in accordance with its original principles and essential character, involves the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference, or hegemony as well as the struggle against great power and bloc policies."

Thus it will be understood that the final declaration of Havana also linked the struggle for peace with "political, moral, and material support for the national liberation movements and joint efforts to eliminate colonial domination and racial discrimination."

The Nonaligned countries have always attached great importance to the possibility and necessity of détente among the great powers. Thus the Sixth Conference pointed with great concern to the fact that in the period that elapsed after the Colombo summit conference there was a certain stagnation in the process of détente, which has continued to be limited "both in scope and geographically."

On the basis of that concern the Nonaligned countries—who have made disarmament and denuclearization one of the permanent and most prominent objectives of their struggle, and who took the initiative in the convocation of the tenth special session of the General Assembly on disarmament—examined the results of negotiations on strategic arms and the agreements known as SALT II. They feel that these negotiations constitute an important step in the negotiations between the two main nuclear powers and could open up prospects for more comprehensive negotiations leading to general disarmament and relaxation of international tensions.

But as far as the Nonaligned countries are concerned, those treaties are only part of the progress toward peace. Although negotiations between the great powers constitute a decisive element in the process, the Nonaligned countries once again reiterated that the endeavor to consolidate détente, to extend it to all parts of the world, and to avert the nuclear threat, the arms build-up, and war is a task in which all the peoples of the world should participate and exercise their responsibility.

Mr. President, basing ourselves on the concept of the universality of peace, and on the need to link the search for peace, extended to all countries, with the struggle for national

...UN

Continued from preceding page

"not only persists, but has substantially increased."

He detailed how the imperialist-dominated world economy perpetuates and aggravates this problem. "Today, one hour of labor in the developed countries is exchanged for ten hours of labor in the underdeveloped countries." This unequal exchange dooms these countries to distorted economies.

Mounting indebtedness diverts billions of dollars of desperately needed development funds into the imperialist banks. These debts "must be cancelled!" he declared to roaring applause.

The road to development, Castro

said, requires external financing. He called for \$300 billion over the next ten years.

End war spending

The funds exist. "The United States alone will in the 1980s spend six times this much on military activities." By ending the arms race and using the funds freed up for development, this "in turn would contribute to reducing the danger of war and to helping improve the international situation."

In this way, Castro pitched his appeal to the working people of the advanced capitalist countries. He also pointed out that "as industrialization and progress spread throughout the world, so trade will also spread to the benefit of all."

Castro did not really expect his proposals to gain favor with the imperialists—"some may think that we are asking too much . . . some may consider our demand irrational."

But he described how Cuba, even with limited resources, had been able because of its socialist revolution to place human needs as its top priority. He stressed that "development . . . primarily involves attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal of all development efforts."

If the aggravated crisis of the colonial and semicolonial countries is not resolved, Castro warned, the developed capitalist economies themselves will face bankruptcy, and this could "engender a world conflagration."

It is "doubtful that the capitalist system would survive," he said. And he added, to vigorous applause, that "in any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries."

"I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution," Castro said in conclusion. "I have not come here to ask or to wish that the world be violently convulsed." But "if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic."



Militant/Lou Howort

Pickets welcome Fidel Castro in front of United Nations October 12

Castro was standing in the UN General Assembly Hall when he spoke these words. But his intended audience was clearly the oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world—including workers and farmers in the United States.

American workers can prevent the apocalypse that Castro warned of. We can take power out of the hands of the profiteering capitalist warmakers. And

we can create a new, socialist society that will act in cooperation with the peoples of the world, rather than against them.

Fidel Castro's UN speech is a masterful piece of socialist, anti-imperialist education. Its distribution can help convince American working people why they should join in the struggle for a socialist United States and a socialist world.

COMING
SOON

Castro's U.N. speech

Pathfinder is going to press with a pamphlet reprinting the full text of Castro's United Nations speech along with an introduction by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Order now!

\$1.25 each (Please enclose \$.75 for postage and handling).

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

independence, full sovereignty, and full equality among states, we, the heads of state or government who met at the Sixth Summit Conference in Havana, gave our attention to the most pressing problems in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and other regions.

It is important to stress that we started from an independent position that was not linked to policies that might stem from the contradiction between the great powers. If in spite of that approach, which was objective and uncommitted, our review of international events became a denunciation of the supporters of imperialism and colonialism, this merely reflects the essential reality of today's world.

Colonialism and racism

Thus, having started the analysis of the situation in Africa, and having recognized the progress made in the African peoples' struggle for their emancipation, the heads of state or government stressed that a fundamental problem of the region is the need to eliminate from the continent, and especially from southern Africa, colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, and apartheid.

It was indispensable that we stress the fact that the colonialist and imperialist powers were continuing their aggressive policies with the aim of perpetuating, regaining, or extending their domination and exploitation of the African nations.

And that is precisely the dramatic situation in Africa. The Nonaligned countries could not fail to condemn the attacks on Mozambique, on Zambia, on Angola, on Botswana, the threats against Lesotho, the destabilization efforts that are constantly being made in that area, the role played by the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. The pressing need for Zimbabwe and Namibia to be completely liberated quickly is not just a cause of the Nonaligned countries or of the most progressive forces of our era, but is already contained in resolutions and agreements of the international community through the United Nations, and it implies duties that must be taken up and whose infractions must be denounced.

Therefore, when in the final declaration the heads of state or government approved the condemnation by name of a number of Western countries, headed by the United States, for their direct or indirect collaboration in the maintenance of racist oppression and South Africa's criminal policy, and when on the other hand they recognized the role played by the Nonaligned countries, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries, the Scandinavian countries, and other democratic and progressive forces in supporting the struggle of the peoples of Africa, this did not involve even the slightest manifestation of ideological leaning. It was simply the faithful expression of objective reality. To condemn South Africa without mentioning those who make its criminal policies possible would have been incomprehensible.

Respect & peace for Africa

More forcibly and urgently than ever, the Sixth Summit Conference expressed the need not only to end the situation in which the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples' right to independence is denied and the Black men and women of South Africa's pressing need to attain a status in which they are considered as equal, respected human beings is denied, but also to guarantee conditions of respect and peace for all the countries of the region.

The continued support for the movements of national liberation, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, was a decision that was as unanimous as it was expected. And let us state very clearly now that this is not a case of expressing a unilateral preference for solutions through armed struggle. It is true that the conference praised the people of Namibia, and of SWAPO which is

their sole and authentic representative, for having stepped up the armed struggle and for advancing in it, and called for total and effective support for that form of combat. But that was due to the fact that the South African racists have slammed the door on any real negotiations and the fact that the efforts to achieve negotiated solutions go no farther than mere maneuvers.

The attitude toward the Commonwealth's decisions at its Lusaka meetings last August to have the British government, as an authority in Southern Rhodesia, call a conference to discuss the problems of Zimbabwe confirmed the fact that the Nonaligned countries are not opposed to solutions that may be achieved without armed struggle, so long as they lead to the creation of an authentic majority government and so long as independence is achieved in a manner satisfactory to the fighting peoples, and that this be done in accordance with the resolu-

a member of the United Nations commission that investigated the situation in Western Sahara, and this enabled our representatives to verify the Saharoui people's total desire for self-determination and independence.

We repeat here that the position of the Nonaligned countries is not one of antagonism against any country. The welcome that we gave to the agreement between the Republic of Mauritania and the POLISARIO Front and to the Republic of Mauritania's decision to withdraw its forces from the territory of Western Sahara is in keeping with the application of our principles and the agreements of the United Nations, as is our deploring the extension of Morocco's armed occupation of the southern part of Western Sahara, previously administered by Mauritania.

Therefore the conference expressed its hope that the ad-hoc committee established at the Sixteenth OAU Summit Conference would make it

to continue to follow its policy of aggression, expansionism, and colonial settlement in the occupied territories, with the support of the United States, constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security.

The conference also examined the problem from the standpoint of the rights of the Arab countries and of the Palestinian question.

For the Nonaligned countries the Palestinian question is the very crux of the problem of the Middle East. They both form an integral whole and neither can be settled in isolation from the other.

No just peace can be established in the region unless it is based on total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories as well as the return to the Palestinian people of all their occupied territories and the restoration of their inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine in accordance with Resolution 3236 of the General Assembly.

This means that all measures taken by Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including the establishment of colonies or settlements on Palestinian land or other Arab territories, whose immediate dismantlement is a prerequisite for a solution of the problem, are illegal, null, and void.

Persecution by Zionists

As I stated in my address to the Sixth Summit Conference, "... we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiate the merciless persecution and genocide that the Nazis once visited on the Jews, but there is nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and the Zionists are currently practicing against the Palestinian people.

"Pushed off their lands, expelled from their own country, scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid example of sacrifice and patriotism, living symbols of the most terrible crime of our era." [Applause]

Can anyone be surprised that the conference, for reasons that stemmed not from any political prejudice, but rather from an objective analysis of the facts, was obliged to point out that the United States policy, in aligning itself with Israel and in supporting it and working to attain partial solutions that are favorable to Zionist aims and to guarantee the fruits of Israel's aggression at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people and the entire Arab nation, played a major role in preventing the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the region?

The facts, and only the facts, led the conference to condemn the policies and maneuvers of the United States in that region.

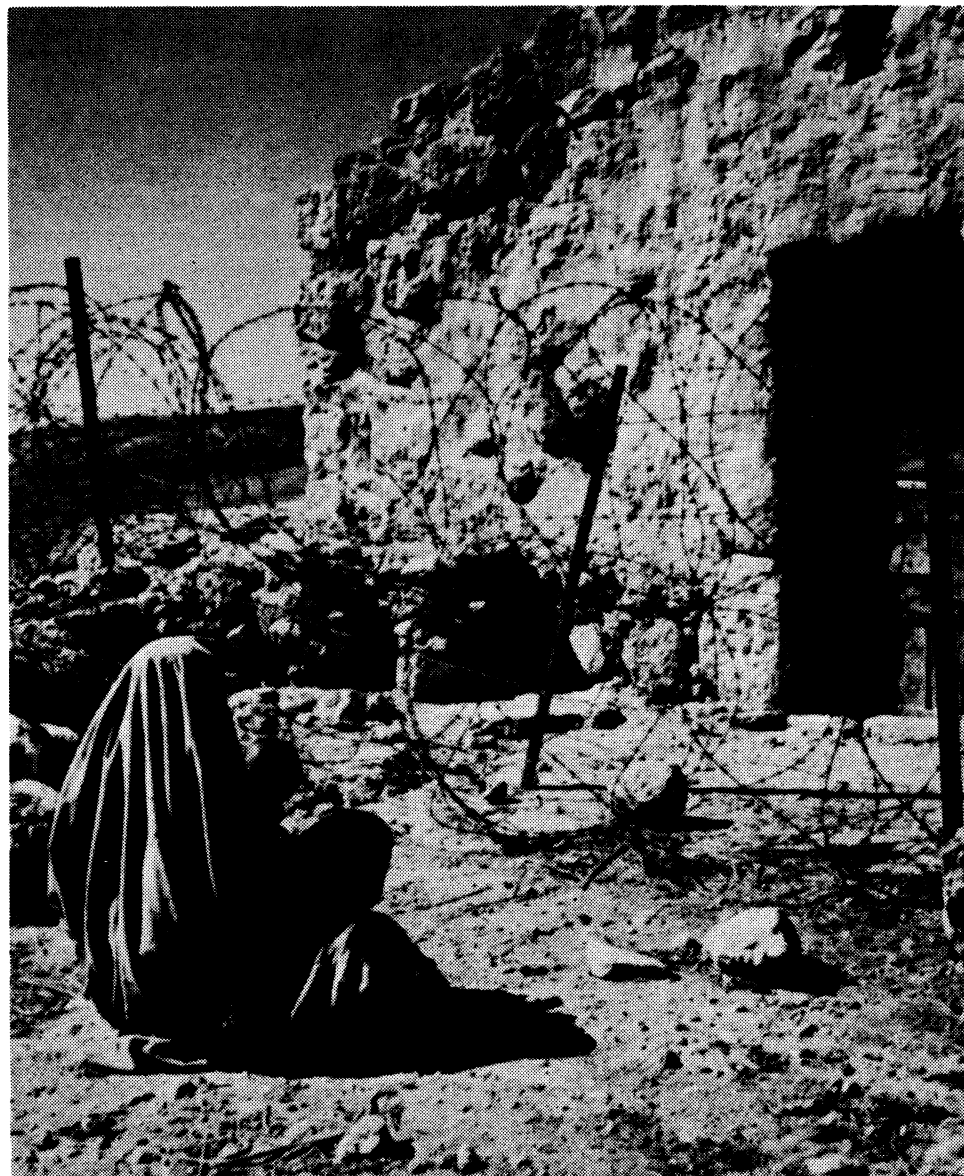
When the heads of state or government arrived at the consensus that condemned the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty of March 1979, their formulations had been preceded by long hours of detailed study and fruitful exchanges which allowed the conference to consider those treaties not only as a complete abandonment of the cause of the Arab countries, but also as an act of complicity with the continuing occupation of Arab territories.

Egyptian people

These words are harsh. But the words are true and just. It is not the Egyptian people who have been subjected to the judgment of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. The Egyptian people command the respect of each and every one of our countries, and enjoy the solidarity of all our peoples.

The same voices that were raised to

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tions of such bodies as the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, and our own Nonaligned countries.

Western Sahara

Mr. President, the Sixth Summit once again had to express its regret over the fact that Resolution 1514 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, has not been applied to Western Sahara. We should recall that the decisions of the Nonaligned countries and the resolutions of the United Nations, and more specifically General Assembly Resolution 3331, have all reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.

In this problem Cuba feels a very

special responsibility since it has been possible to insure that the people of the Sahara would be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible.

That same principle and that same position determined the resolution on Mayotte and the Malagasy islands and the need for them to be reintegrated into the Comoros and Madagascar respectively.

Palestine

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that the problem of the Middle East has become one of the situations that give rise to the greatest concern in today's world. The Sixth Summit Conference examined it in its two-fold dimension.

On the one hand the conference reaffirmed that Israel's determination

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denounce the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty eulogized Gamal Abdel Nasser, a founder of the movement and an upholder of the fighting traditions of the Arab nation. No one has been unaware and no one will ever be unaware of Egypt's historic role in Arab culture and development or of its merits as a founding nation and a driving force in the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries.

The conference also gave its attention to the problems of Southeast Asia. The growing conflicts and tensions that have been created in the region are a threat to peace that must be avoided.

Similar concern was expressed by the Sixth Summit Conference regarding the situation of the Indian Ocean. The declaration adopted eight years ago by the United Nations General Assembly that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace has not been fulfilled. The military presence in the region is not reduced, but rather is growing. Military bases have now reached as far as South Africa, and are also serving as a means for surveillance against the African liberation movements. The talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are still suspended, despite the recent agreement between the two countries to discuss their resumption.

All this led to the Sixth Summit Conference's invitation to all states concerned to work effectively to fulfill the objectives of the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The Sixth Conference also analyzed other issues of regional and world interest, such as those touching on European security and cooperation, the problem of the Mediterranean, the tensions that still exist there and that have now been increased as a result of Israel's aggressive policy and the support given it by certain imperialist powers.

Cyprus and Korea

The conference also studied the situation in Cyprus, an island still partially occupied by foreign troops, and Korea, still divided despite the Korean people's desire for a unified homeland. This led the Nonaligned states to reaffirm and broaden resolutions of solidarity aimed at fulfilling the aspirations of both peoples.

It would be impossible to refer to all the political decisions of the Sixth Summit Conference. If we were to do so we would be unable to touch upon what we consider to be one of the most fundamental aspects of that Sixth Summit Conference: namely its economic perspectives—the clamor of the people of the developing countries, weary as they are of their backwardness and the suffering it engenders. Cuba as the host country will present to all members of the international community copies of the conference's final declaration and additional resolutions. But before informing you of how the Nonaligned countries view the world economic situation and what demands they make and what hopes they nurture, perhaps you will allow me to take a few more moments to inform you of the final declaration's approach concerning Latin American issues of the moment.

U.S. hands off Latin America

The fact that the Sixth Conference was held in Latin America allowed the heads of state or government meeting there to recall that the peoples of that region began their efforts to obtain independence at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. They also did not forget, as is said in the declaration, that "Latin America is one of the regions of the world that historically has suffered the most from the aggression of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism from the United States and Europe."

The participants in the conference

were forced to point out that remnants of colonialism, neocolonialism, and national oppression still remain in that area of struggle. Thus the conference spoke out in favor of the eradication of colonialism and all its forms and manifestations. It condemned the presence of foreign military bases in Latin America and the Caribbean, such as those in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and again demanded that the government of the United States and other colonial powers restore to those countries that part of their territory occupied by those bases against the will of their people.

The experience lived through in other areas led the heads of state or government to reject and condemn any attempt to create in the Caribbean a so-called "security force," a neocolonial mechanism which is incompatible with the sovereignty, peace, and security of these countries.

By calling for the restitution of the Malvinas Islands to the Republic of Argentina, by reaffirming its support for the inalienable right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence, and territorial integrity, the conference once again gave evidence of what its declaration had defined as the very quintessence of nonalignment. It welcomed the fact that as of October 1

nevers tending to perpetuate the colonial status of that country. [Applause]

No more appropriate tribute could be paid to the Latin American traditions of freedom and to the heroic people of Puerto Rico, who in recent days have just celebrated another anniversary of the "Cry of Lares," which expressed their indomitable will for freedom some hundred years ago.

When speaking to the Latin American reality, the heads of state or government, who had already analyzed the significance of the liberating process that took place in Iran, could not fail to refer to the revolutionary upheaval in Grenada and the remarkable victory of the people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front [Applause] and to emphasize the historic significance of that event for the peoples of Latin America and of the world. The heads of state or government also stressed something new in Latin American relations, something that sets an example for other regions of the world; namely the way in which the governments of Panama, Costa Rica, and Mexico, as well as the member countries of the subregional Andean Pact—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela—acted in consort and solid-



Militant/Lou Howort

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the treaties on the Panama canal concluded between the Republic of Panama and the United States would enter into force. It gave its full support to those treaties and it called for their being fully respected in both letter and spirit, and called on all the states of the world to adhere to the protocol of the treaty concerning the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal.

Freedom for Puerto Rico

The heads of state and government reiterated their solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and their inalienable right to self-determination, independence, and territorial integrity, despite all the pressure, the threats, and the flattery that was brought to bear by the U.S. government, despite the United States government's demand that the issue of Puerto Rico be considered an internal question of the United States. And they called upon the government of the United States of America to refrain from any political or repressive ma-

arity to achieve a just solution of the Nicaraguan problem, as well as Cuba's traditional solidarity with the cause of that people.

End the blockade

I confess that these considerations on Latin America would alone have justified the Cuban people's efforts and the work of the hundreds of thousands of men and women of our country who were determined to enable Cuba to give a worthy welcome to the fraternal nations of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries at the Havana summit conference. But for Cuba there was much more than this. There is something that, on behalf of our people, we would like to thank you for in this forum of the United Nations. In Havana, the Cuban people's right to choose their political and social system was supported, as was their claim to the territory occupied by the Guantánamo base, and the condemnation of the blockade with which the United States government continues its efforts

to isolate the Cuban revolution, seeking to destroy it. [Applause]

We appreciate the deep feeling and the universal resonance of the movement's recent denunciation in Havana of the hostile acts, pressures, and threats against Cuba by the United States, declaring them to be a flagrant violation of the charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law, as a threat to world peace.

Once again, we respond to our brothers, and we assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity.

An arduous battle

Mr. President, history has taught us that when a people, freeing itself from a colonial or neocolonial system obtains its independence, it is at one and the same time the last act in a lengthy struggle and the first in a new and arduous battle. Because the independence, sovereignty, and freedom of our apparently free peoples are constantly threatened by foreign control over their natural resources, by financial impositions by official international bodies, and by the precarious situation of their economies, all of which reduce the fullness of our sovereignty.

For this reason, at the very beginning of their analysis of the world economic problems, the heads of state or government, "Once again solemnly emphasized the paramount importance of consolidating political independence through economic emancipation . . . and they therefore reiterated that the existing international economic system runs counter to the basic interests of the developing countries and is profoundly unjust and incompatible with the development of the Nonaligned countries and other developing countries, and does not contribute to the elimination of the economic and social evils that afflict those countries. . . ."

And furthermore, they emphasized "the historic mission that the Movement of Nonaligned Countries should play in the struggle to obtain the economic and political independence of all developing countries and peoples; to exercise their full and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources and economic activities; and to promote a fundamental restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the new international economic order."

And the statement concludes with the following words: "The struggle to eliminate the injustice of the existing international economic system and to establish a new international economic order is an integral part of the people's struggle for political, economic, cultural, and social liberation."

Unjust economic system

It is not necessary to show here how profoundly unjust and incompatible with the development of the underdeveloped countries the existing international economic system is. The figures are already so well known that it is unnecessary for us to repeat them here.

There are discussions on whether there are only 400 million undernourished people in the world or whether the figure has once again risen to 450 million, as certain international documents stated. Four hundred million hungry men and women already constitute too heavy an accusation.

But nobody doubts that all the hopes that have been raised in the developing countries appear to have been dashed and extinguished at this ending of the second development decade.

The director-general of the Food and Agricultural Organization council has acknowledged that "progress is still disappointingly slow in relation to the long-term development goals contained in the International Development Strategy, in the Declaration and the Program of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, and in the Resolution of the World Food Conference and in several subsequent conferences." We are still

far from having achieved the modest 4 percent annual average increase in the developing countries' food and agricultural production, which was proposed ten years ago to solve some of the most pressing problems of world hunger and to approach still-low consumption levels. As a result of this, food imports by the developing countries, which right now constitute an aggravating factor on their unfavorable balance of payments, will soon, according to FAO figures, reach unmanageable proportions.

In the face of this, official commitments of foreign aid to agriculture in the developing countries are falling off. This panorama cannot be prettied up. At times certain official documents reflect circumstantial increases in the agricultural production of some areas of the underdeveloped world, or stress the cyclical price increases registered by some agricultural items. But these are cases of transitory advances and of short-lived advantages.

The developing countries' agricultural export revenues are still unstable and insufficient to meet their import needs for food, fertilizers, and other items required to raise their own production. Per capita food production in Africa in 1977 was 11 percent below that of ten years earlier.

While backwardness in agriculture is perpetuated, the process of industrialization cannot advance either. And it cannot advance because most of the developed countries view the industrialization of the developing countries as a threat.

Industrial stagnation

In 1975, the Lima World Conference on Industrialization proposed as a goal to the developing countries that we be responsible for 25 percent of the world's manufacturing output by the year 2000. But the progress from the Lima conference to today has been so insignificant that if the measures proposed by the Sixth Summit Conference are not implemented and if a crash program is not put into effect to modify the economic policies of most of the developed countries, that target will never be met. We now account for less than 9 percent of the world's manufactured output.

Our dependency is once again expressed in the fact that the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America import 26.1 percent of the manufactured goods that enter into international trade, and we export only 6.3 percent of them.

It may be said that some industrial expansion is taking place. But it does not take place at the necessary pace, nor in the key industries of industrial economy. This was pointed out at the Havana conference. The world redistribution of industry, the so-called industrial redeployment, should not consist of a new confirmation of the deep economic inequalities that emerged in the colonial era of the nineteenth century. At that time we were condemned to be producers of raw materials and cheap agricultural products. Now, an effort is being made to use the abundant labor power and starvation wages in the developing countries to transfer to them the low technology industries, the industries of lowest productivity, and those that most pollute the environment. We categorically reject this.

The developed market-economy countries today absorb more than 85 percent of the world's manufactured goods, including those whose industrial production requires the highest technology. They also control more than 83 percent of all industrial exports; 26 percent of those exports go to the developing countries, whose markets they monopolize.

The most serious aspect of this dependent structure is that our imports, that is, consumer items as well as capital goods, are all manufactured according to the demands, needs, and technology of the most developed industrial countries and the patterns of consumer societies, which are thus introduced through the chinks of our trade, contaminating our own socie-

ties, and in this way adding a new element to the already permanent structural crisis.

The result of all this, as was noted by the heads of state or government in Havana, is that the gap between the developed and developing countries not only persists, but has substantially increased. The relative share of the developing countries in the world output decreased considerably during the last two decades, which has still more disastrous effects on such problems as malnutrition, illiteracy, and poor sanitation and health services.

Some would like to solve the tragic problem of humanity with drastic measures to reduce the population. They remember that wars and epidemics helped to reduce population in other eras. They wish to go even further. They want to blame underdevelopment on the population explosion.

that the crisis of the international economic system is not a phenomenon of a cyclical nature, but is rather a symptom of the underlying structural maladjustments and of a disequilibrium that are part of its very nature; and that that imbalance has been aggravated by the refusal of the developed market-economy countries to control their external imbalances and their high rates of inflation and unemployment. That inflation has precisely been engendered in those developed countries that refuse now to implement the only measures that could eliminate it. And let us further point out, and this is something to which we will return later and which has also been set down in the Havana declaration, that this crisis is also the result of the persisting inequality in international economic relations, so that eliminating the inequality, as we propose, will

ersionary, and divisive tactics adopted by those countries. The failure of the fifth UNCTAD session highlighted that very situation.

We confirm that the unequal exchange in international economic relations, defined as an essential characteristic of the system, has, if possible, become even more unequal. While the prices of manufactured goods, capital goods, foodstuffs, and services that we import from the developed countries are constantly rising, the prices of the raw materials we export are stagnating and are subject to constant fluctuation. The terms of exchange have worsened. We emphasized that protectionism, one of the factors aggravating the Great Depression of the 1930s, has been reintroduced by some developed countries.

Developing nations

The conference deplored the fact that in the GATT negotiations the developed countries belonging to it did not take into account the interests and concerns of the developing countries, especially the least developed among them.

The conference also denounced the way in which certain developed countries are intensifying their use of domestic subsidies for certain products, to the detriment of the products of the developing nations.

The conference further deplored the shortcomings in the scope and operation of the Generalized System of Preferences, and in that spirit condemned the discriminatory restrictions contained in the United States Foreign Trade Act and the inflexible positions adopted by some developed countries, which prevented the adoption of an agreement on these problems at the fifth session of UNCTAD.

We express our concern over the constant deterioration of the international monetary situation. The instability of the exchange rate of the main reserve currencies, along with inflation, increases the imbalance in the world economic situation, creates additional economic difficulties for the developing countries, lowering the real value of their export earnings and reducing the value of their foreign currency reserves.

We point out that the disorderly growth of international liquidity, mainly through the use of devalued United States dollars and other reserve currencies, is a negative factor. We note that while the inequality of international economic relations is raising the developing countries' accumulated foreign debt to over \$300 billion, the international financial bodies and the private banks are raising their interest rates, are imposing shorter terms of loan amortization, and are thus financially strangling the developing countries.

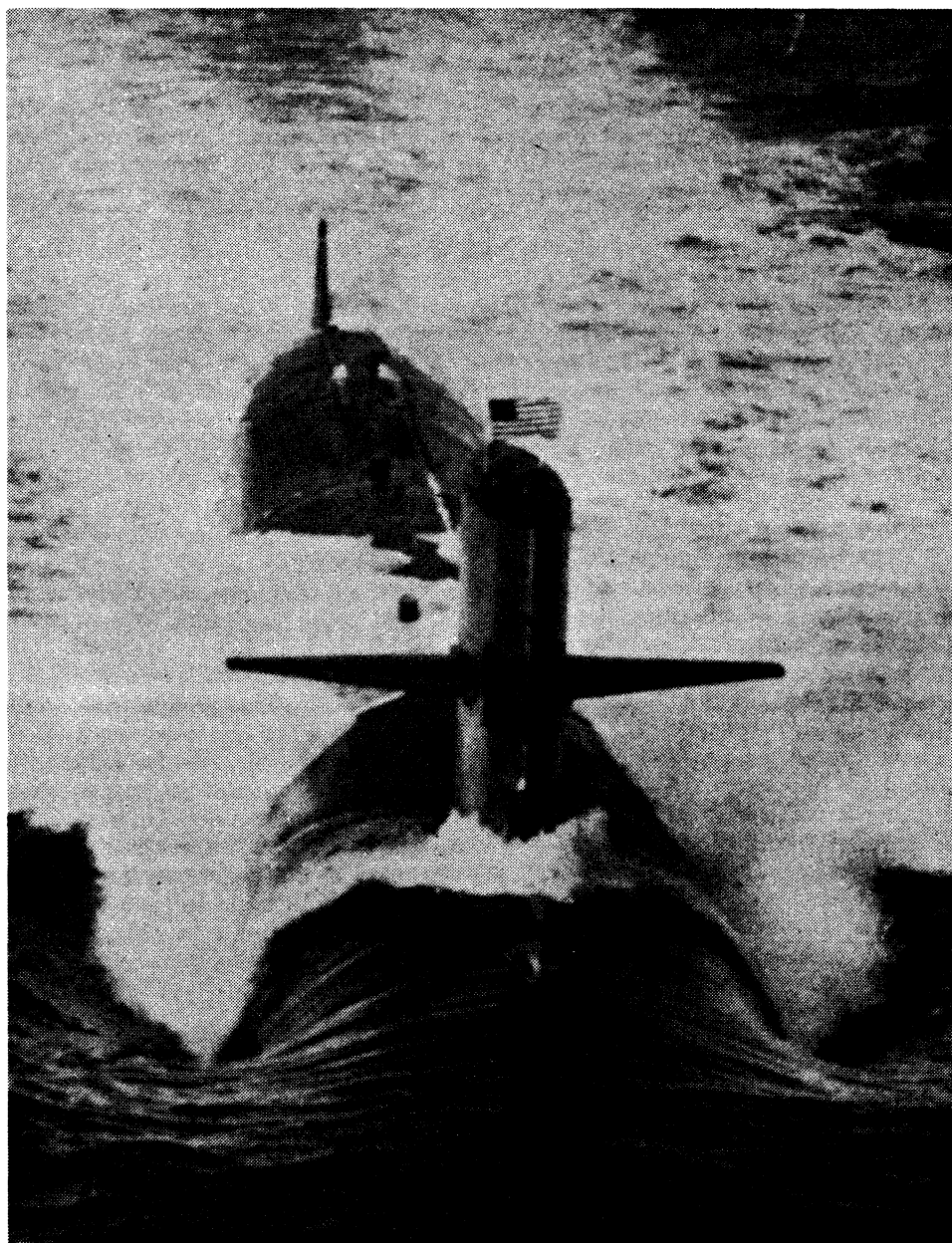
The conference denounced all this as constituting an element of coercion in negotiations, which allows them to obtain additional political and economic advantages at the expense of our countries.

Right to natural resources

The conference took into account the neocolonialist determination to prevent the developing countries from exercising their full, effective, and permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and it reaffirmed this right. It was for this reason that it supported the efforts of raw-material-producing developing countries to obtain just and remunerative prices for their exports and to improve, in real terms, their export earnings.

Moreover, the conference paid more attention than ever to the strengthening of economic relations and to scientific-technical and technological transfers among the developing countries. The concept of what could be defined as "collective self-reliance," that is, mutual support and collaboration among the developing countries, so that in the first place they will depend on their own collective forces,

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'We condemn the persistent diversion of human and material resources into an arms race which is unproductive, wasteful, and dangerous to humanity. And we demand that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major powers, be used for economic and social development.'

But the population explosion is not the cause, but the result of underdevelopment. Development will bring solutions to the problems of poverty and also, through education and culture, will help our countries to attain rational and adequate rates of growth.

A recent report put out by the World Bank paints an even blacker picture. It is possible—the report says—that by the year 2000 some 600 million people on this earth may still be submerged in absolute poverty.

Mr. President, distinguished representatives, the state of agricultural and industrial backwardness from which the developing countries have still not managed to emerge is, as the Sixth Summit Conference pointed out, undoubtedly the result of unjust and unequal international relations. But, as the Havana declaration also points out, to this is now added the prolonged world economic crisis.

I shall not dwell too long on this aspect. Let us however state that we heads of state or government consider

contribute to reducing and eliminating the crisis itself.

Havana conference guidelines

What are the main guidelines formulated in Havana by the representatives of the movement of nonaligned countries?

We condemn the persistent diversion of human and material resources into an arms race which is unproductive, wasteful, and dangerous to humanity. [Applause] And we demand that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major powers, be used for economic and social development.

We expressed our grave concern over the negligible progress that has been made in the negotiations for the implementation of the declaration and the program of action on the establishment of a new international economic order. We point out that this was due to the lack of political will on the part of most of the developed countries and we specifically censure the delaying, div-

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is given greater emphasis in the Havana declaration than it ever had before.

Cuba, as president of the movement and coordinating country, intends together with the Group of 77 to do everything necessary to promote the program of action outlined by the conference with regard to economic cooperation.

Nevertheless, we cannot conceive of that "collective self-reliance" as anything even remotely resembling self-sufficiency. We rather consider it to be a factor in international relations that will mobilize all the possibilities and resources of that considerable and important part of humanity represented by the developing countries and incorporate them in the general current of resources and economies that can be mobilized in both the capitalist camp and the socialist countries.

Energy and monopolies

Mr. President, the Sixth Summit rejected the attempts of certain developed countries to try to use the question of energy to divide the developing nations.

The energy problem can only be examined in its historic context, by taking into account the fact that the wasteful consumption patterns of some of the developed countries and the role played by transnational oil corporations has led to the squandering of hydro-carbons, and by noting the plundering role of transnational corporations, which have benefited from cheap energy supplies—which they have used irresponsibly—up until only recently. The transnationals have been exploiting both the producers and consumers and reaping unjustified windfall profits, while at the same time falsifying facts by shifting the blame for the present situation onto the developing countries that are exporters of oil.

Permit me to recall that in my opening remarks to the conference I pointed out the desperate situation of the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, especially the least developed ones, and at that time I expressed the confidence that the Nonaligned oil-producing countries would devise formulas to help alleviate the unfavorable situation of those countries that had already been hit by the world inflation and by the inequalities of trade relations, and who suffer serious balance-of-payments deficits and sharp increases in their foreign debts. But this does not obviate the principal responsibility of the developed countries, their monopolies, and their transnational corporations.

The heads of state or government, when considering the matter of energy from this standpoint, stressed that this subject should be the main focus of global negotiations within the United Nations, with the participation of all countries and linking the energy question to all the development problems, to financial and monetary reforms, to world trade and raw materials, so as to make a comprehensive and global analysis of the aspects which have a bearing on the establishment of the new international economic order.

Transnational corporations

In reviewing the main problems confronting the developing countries within the context of the world economy, we could not fail to examine the functioning of the transnational corporations. Once again their policies and practices were declared unacceptable. It was charged that in their search for profits they exhaust the resources, distort the economy, and violate the sovereignty of developing countries. They undermine the rights of people to self-determination. They violate the principles of noninterference in the affairs of states. And they frequently resort to bribery, corruption, and other undesirable practices, through which they seek to subordinate—and they

manage to subordinate—the developing countries to the industrialized countries.

In view of the inadequate progress achieved in the work carried out within the United Nations for drawing up a code of conduct to regulate the activities of transnational corporations, the conference reaffirmed the urgency of early completion of this work, in order to provide the international community with a legal instrument with which at least to control and regulate the activities of the transnational corporations in accordance with the objectives and aspirations of the developing countries.

In setting forth all the overwhelming negative aspects in the economic situation of developing countries, the Sixth Summit called special attention to the mounting problems of the least developed, the most disadvantaged, the landlocked countries, and those isolated in the hinterlands, and asked that urgent measures be adopted to alleviate their problems.

That, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, was the far from optimistic, rather somber, and discouraging picture which the members of the nonaligned movement had in mind when they met in Havana. But the nonaligned countries did not allow themselves to be swept into positions of prostration or exasperation, however understandable that might have been. While drawing up strategic concepts for advancing and continuing in their struggle, the heads of state or government repeated their demands and defined their positions.

Eliminating unequal exchange

The first and fundamental objective in our struggle consists of reducing and finally eliminating the unequal exchange that prevails today and converts international trade into a very useful and helpful vehicle for the plundering of our wealth. Today, one hour of labor in the developed countries is exchanged for ten hours of labor in the underdeveloped countries.

The Nonaligned countries demand that serious attention be paid to the integrated program for commodities, which up until now has been manipulated and juggled in the so-called North-South negotiations. In the same way, we demand that the Common Fund, which was projected as an instrument of stabilization that would establish a permanent linkage between the prices we receive for our products and those paid for our imports, and which has scarcely begun to have an impact, be given a true impulse and impetus.

As far as the nonaligned countries are concerned, this linkage—which permanently ties the prices of their export items with the prices of basic equipment, industrial products, raw materials, and technology that they import from the developed countries—constitutes an essential pivot for all future economic negotiations.

The developing countries demand that the countries that have created inflation and have stimulated it through their policies adopt the necessary measures to control it and thus put an end to the aggravation of the unequal exchange between our countries.

The developing countries demand—and will continue their struggle to achieve—access to the markets of the developed countries for the industrial products of their incipient economies; a halt to the vicious protectionism that has been reintroduced in the international economy and that threatens once again to lead us into a murderous economic war; and that nonreciprocal tariff preferences be applied generally and without deceptive falsehoods so that the young industries of the developing countries can be developed without being crushed in the world market by the superior technological resources of the developed countries.

Law of the sea

The Nonaligned countries consider that the negotiations which are about to be concluded on the law of the sea

should not be used as certain developed countries seek to use them—to ratify and endorse the existing imbalance as regards sea resources—but should serve as a vehicle for equitable redress. The conference on the law of the sea has once again brought out and stressed the arrogance and imperialist determination of some countries which, placing their technological possibilities ahead of the spirit of understanding and accommodation requested by the developing nations, threaten to take unilateral action in carrying out deep-sea mining operations.

The foreign debt of the developing countries has now risen to \$335 billion. It is estimated that about \$40 billion a year goes to servicing this foreign debt, which represents more than 20 percent of their exports. On the other hand, the average per capita income in the developed countries is now fourteen times that of the underdeveloped countries. This situation is insupportable.

The developing countries need the establishment of a new system of financing, enabling them to obtain the necessary financial resources to ensure continuous and independent development of their economies. These financing methods should be long-range and low-interest. The use of these financial resources should be completely at the disposition of the developing countries. This will enable them to establish a system of priorities for their own economies, in accordance with their own plans for industrial development, and it will help prevent those funds from being absorbed, as they are today, by transnational corporations, which use alleged financial contributions for development to aggravate the distortions of the developing countries' economies and reap maximum profits from the exploitation of these countries' resources.

The developing countries, and on their behalf the movement of Non-aligned nations, demand that a substantial portion of the immense resources now being squandered by humanity on the arms race be dedicated to development, which in turn would contribute to reducing the danger of war and to helping improve the international situation.

Voice for developing nations

Expressing the position of all the developing countries, the Nonaligned countries call for the establishment of a new international monetary system, which will put an end to the disastrous fluctuations to which the main currencies used in the international economy, especially the United States dollar, are today subject. The financial disorder also hits the developing countries, which hope that when the outlines of the new international monetary system are drawn up, they, as the majority of the countries in the international community, representing as they do more than 1.5 billion men and women, may be given a voice in the decision-making process.

Summing up, Mr. President, distinguished representatives:

Unequal exchange is ruining our peoples. It must end!

Inflation, which is being exported to us, is crushing our peoples. It must end!

Protectionism is impoverishing our people. It must end!

The existing imbalance in the exploitation of the resources of the sea is abusive. It must be abolished!

The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient. They must be increased!

Arms expenditures are irrational. They must cease and the funds thus released must be used to finance development!

The international monetary system prevailing today is bankrupt. It must be replaced!

Cancel the debts!

The debts of the least developed countries, and of those in a disadvantageous position, are burdens impossible to bear, to which no solution can be

found. They must be cancelled! [Applause]

Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically. There must be relief!

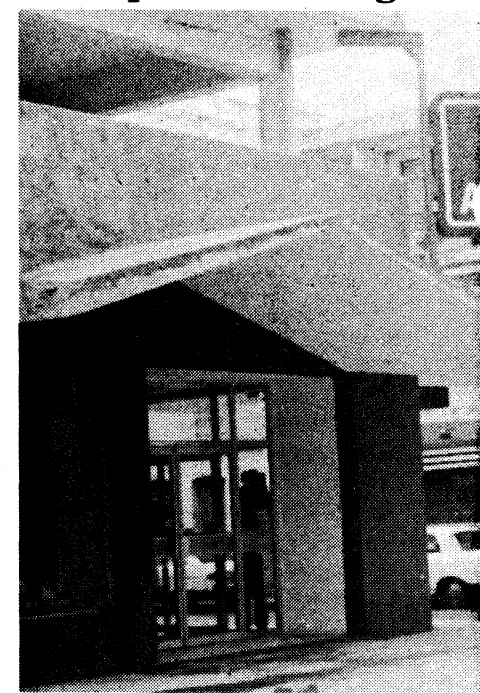
The economic chasm between the developed countries and the countries seeking development, is not narrowing but widening. It must be closed!

These are demands of the underdeveloped countries.

Mr. President, distinguished representatives:

Response to these demands, some of which have been systematically presented by the developing countries in international forums through the Group of 77 and by the movement of Nonaligned countries, would permit a change of course in the international economic situation that would provide the developing countries with the insti-

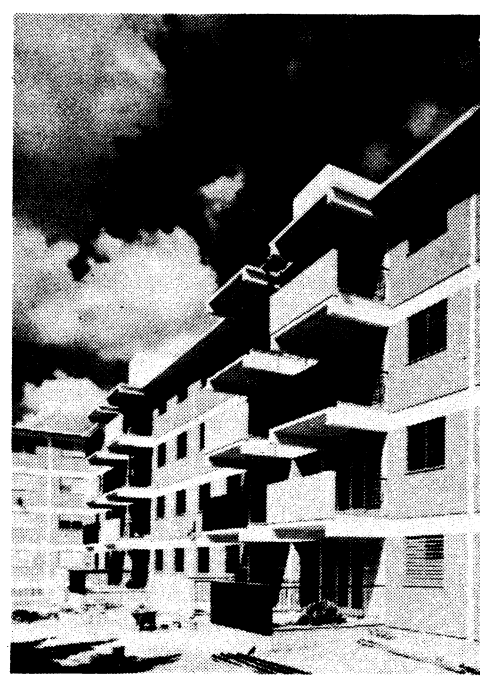
'Unequal exchange is



'Inflation, which is be must end!'



'Arms expenditures are released must be used



tutional conditions for organizing programs that would definitely place them on the road to development.

But even if all these measures were implemented, even if all the mistakes and evils of the present system of international relations were rectified, the developing countries would still lack one decisive element: international financing.

All the domestic and internal efforts, all the sacrifices that the peoples of the developing countries are making and are willing to make, and all the opportunities for increasing the economic potential that could be achieved by eliminating the inequality between the prices of their exports and those of imports and by improving the conditions in which their foreign trade is carried out, would not be enough.

In the light of their true financial

situation at present, they need further resources to be able both to pay their debts and to make the enormous expenditures required on a global level required for the jump into development. Here again, the figures are far too well known to require repeating.

The Sixth Summit Conference was concerned not only because the debts of the underdeveloped countries were practically unbearable, but also because that debt was growing yearly at a rate that could be termed galloping and alarming. The data contained in the recent World Bank report, which came out while we were holding the conference in Havana, confirmed that the situation was growing worse daily. In 1978 alone, the foreign public debt of ninety-six of the developing countries rose by \$51 billion. This rate of growth has raised the foreign debt to

the astronomical figures already mentioned.

We cannot, Mr. President, resign ourselves to this somber prospect!

Irrational system

The most renowned economists, both Western and those who ascribe to Marxist concepts, admit that the system of international indebtedness of the developing countries is completely irrational and that its persistence could lead to a sudden interruption that might endanger the entire precarious and unstable balance of the world economy.

Some try to explain the surprising economic fact that the international banking centers continue to provide funds to countries that are technically bankrupt by arguing that these are generous contributions to help those countries meet their economic difficulties. But this is not so. In fact, it is an operation for saving the international capitalist order itself. In October 1978, the Commission of European Communities admitted by way of clarification:

"The present balance of the world economy depends to a considerable extent on continuing the flow of private loans to non-oil-producing developing countries . . . on a scale unprecedented prior to 1974, and any obstacle to that flow will endanger that balance."

World financial bankruptcy would be very hard, most of all for the underdeveloped countries and the workers in the developed capitalist countries. It would also affect even the most stable socialist economies. But it is doubtful that the capitalist system would be able to survive such a catastrophe. And it would be difficult for the resulting dreadful economic situation not to inevitably engender a world conflagration. There is already talk of special military forces to occupy the oil fields and the sources of other raw materials.

But if it is the duty of everyone to be concerned over this somber prospect, it is first of all the duty of those who possess the greatest wealth and material abundance.

World without capitalism

In any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries. [Laughter and applause]

It has been proposed that instead of a spirit of confrontation we employ a sense of world economic interdependency that will enable us to call on the resources of all our economies to obtain joint benefits. But the concept of interdependency is acceptable only when you start by admitting the intrinsic and brutal injustice of the present interdependency.

The developing countries will not accept the unjust, arbitrary international division of labor which modern colonialism imposed on them with the English industrial revolution and which was widened and deepened by imperialism as "interdependency."

If we wish to avoid confrontation and struggle, which seem to be the only road open to the developing countries—a road that offers long and arduous battles whose proportions no one today can predict—then we must all seek and find formulas for cooperation to solve the great problems, which, while affecting our peoples, cannot be solved without also affecting the most developed countries in one way or another.

Not so many years ago we stated that the irrational squandering of material goods and the subsequent waste of economic resources by developed capitalist society had already become intolerable. Is that not the cause of the dramatic energy crisis that we face right now? Who, if not the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, has to bear the main brunt of it?

This sentiment of the necessity of putting an end to the waste of the consumer societies in regard to resources is very widely held. A recent document of the United Nations Industrial-

Development Organization states, "The present way of life, especially in the industrialized countries, may have to undergo a radical and painful change."

Naturally, the developing countries cannot and do not hope that the transformation they seek and the financing they require will come to them as a gift following mere analyses on international economic problems. In this process, which implies contradictions, struggles, and negotiations, the Non-aligned countries must first of all depend upon their own decisions and their own efforts.

That conviction emerges clearly from the Sixth Summit Conference. In the economic portion of the final declaration, the heads of state or government acknowledge the need to carry out in their countries the necessary economic and social structural changes, considering that this is the only way to eliminate the present vulnerability of their economies and to turn a simple statistical growth into genuine development.

Cuba's example

The heads of state and government recognize that only thus will their people be willing to pay the price required of them to become the main protagonists in the process. As I said on that occasion, "If the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

The history of my own country provides irrefutable proof of this.

The emerging and crying need to solve the problem of underdevelopment brings us back, Mr. President, to the problem I mentioned a little while ago, and which is the last one I should like to submit to this Thirty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly. I refer specifically to international financing.

One of the most serious phenomena that accompany the accelerated indebtedness of the developing countries, as we have already said, consists of the fact that the majority of the funds received from outside by the developing nations have to cover their trade balances and negative current accounts, renew their debts, and make interest payments.

If we take as an example the non-oil-exporting developing countries to whose situation I referred at the Havana conference, we note that in the last six years alone they have run up deficits in their balance of payments of over \$200 billion.

In view of this, the investments required by the developing countries are enormous and they need them primarily, and with practically no exception, in those branches of production that yield low profits and therefore do not appeal to private foreign lenders or investors.

To increase the production of foodstuffs so as to do away with the malnutrition that afflicts those 450 million persons I mentioned earlier, we must provide many new land and water resources. According to specialized estimates, 76 million more hectares of land in the developing countries would have to be cultivated, and over 10 million more hectares of land irrigated in the next ten years to meet these needs.

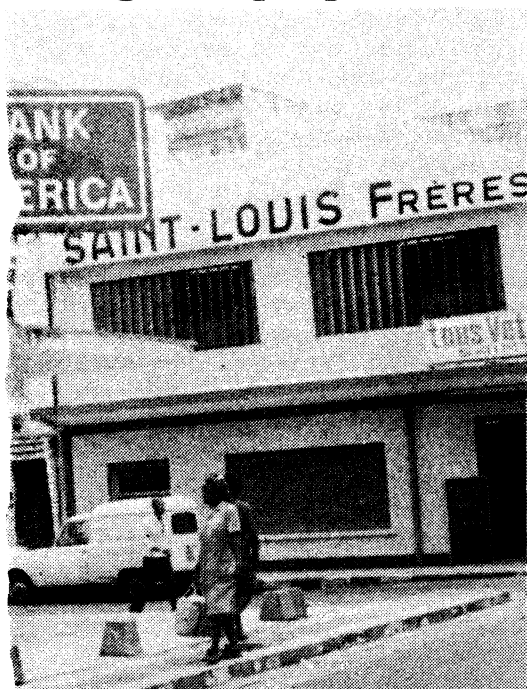
Agricultural growth

Irrigation systems for 45 million hectares of land would have to be repaired. And therefore, even the most modest estimates admit—and I refer to aid and not the total flow of resources—that between \$8 billion and \$9 billion a year will be required to obtain an agricultural growth rate of from 3.5 to 4 percent in the developing countries.

With regard to industrialization, the estimates are far higher. The United Nations Conference on Industrial Development, when defining the goals for the Lima session, stated that at the heart of international development policy there should stand a target to be achieved in the year 2000 of annual

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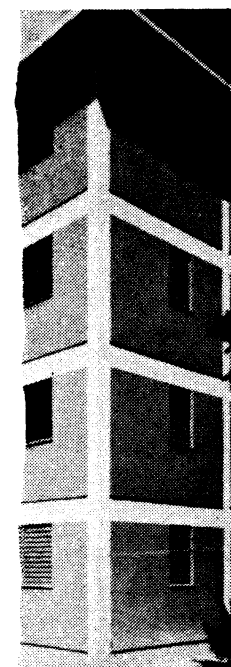
uining our peoples. It must end!"



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irrational. They must cease and the funds thus to finance development!"



...Castro

Continued from preceding page

levels of between \$450 billion and \$500 billion a year, of which a third, that is, from \$150 billion to \$160 billion, will have to be financed from external sources.

But, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, development includes more than agriculture and industrialization. Development primarily involves attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal of all development efforts.

To cite the example of Cuba alone, I will point out that during the last five years our country has invested an average of nearly \$200 million a year in school construction. Investment in medical equipment and construction of public health facilities averages over \$40 million a year. And Cuba is only one of nearly 100 developing countries, and one of the smallest in terms of geography and population.

Therefore, it can be deduced that the developing countries will need tens of billions of dollars more invested every year to overcome the results of backwardness in education and in public health services.

This is the big problem that faces us.

And that is not, gentlemen, our problem alone, a problem solely for the countries victimized by underdevelopment and insufficient development. It is a problem for the international community as a whole.

Mobilize for development

On more than one occasion it has been said that we were forced into underdevelopment by colonization and imperialist neocolonization. Therefore the task of helping us to emerge from underdevelopment is first and foremost a historic and moral obligation for those who benefited from the plunder of our wealth and the exploitation of our men and women for decades and for centuries. [Applause] But it is at the same time the task of all mankind as a whole, as was stated at the Sixth Summit Conference.

The socialist countries did not participate in the plunder of the world and they are not responsible for the phenomena of underdevelopment. But even so, because of the nature of their social system, in which international solidarity is a premise, they understand and assume the obligation of helping to overcome it.

Likewise, when the world expects the oil-producing developing countries to contribute to the universal flow of external financing for development, it does not do so as a function of historic obligations and duties that no one can impose, but because of a hope for and a duty of solidarity among underdeve-

loped countries. The big oil exporting countries should be aware of their responsibilities.

Even those developing countries that are relatively more advanced should make their contributions. Cuba, which is not speaking here on behalf of its own interests and which is not defending here a national objective, is willing to contribute, in accordance with its means, thousands or tens of thousands of technicians, doctors, teachers, agronomists, hydraulic engineers, mechanical engineers, economists, middle-level technicians, skilled workers, and so on.

The time has therefore come for all of us to join in the task of drawing entire peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, out of the backward-

mit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, to formulate a concrete proposal for the establishment of a new fund.

But there can be no doubt that the problem of financing should be discussed thoroughly and fully in order to find a solution to it. In addition to the resources already mobilized by various banking channels, loan organizations, international bodies, and private finance agencies, we must discuss and decide upon the strategy for the next development decade, so that in that strategy we will include an additional contribution of not less than \$300 billion at 1977 real value, to be invested in the underdeveloped countries and to be made in yearly installments of at least \$25 billion from the very beginning. [Applause] This aid should



'The time has therefore come for all of us to join in the task of drawing entire peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, out of the backwardness, poverty, malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy that keep them from enjoying full human dignity and pride.'

ness, poverty, malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy that keep them from enjoying full human dignity and pride. [Applause]

We therefore must mobilize our resources for development, and this is our joint obligation.

Mr. President, there are so many special multilateral funds, both public and private, whose purpose is to contribute to one or another aspect of development, be it agricultural or industrial, or meeting deficits in the balance of payments. Therefore it is not easy for me, on presenting to this Thirty-Fourth Session of the General Assembly a report on the economic problems discussed at the Sixth Sum-

mit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, to formulate a concrete proposal for the establishment of a new fund.

It is imperative that these additional funds be mobilized as the contribution of the developed world and of other countries with resources to the underdeveloped world over the next ten years.

Money for arms or people?

If we want peace, these resources will be required. If there are no resources for development there will be no peace. Some may think that we are asking too much, but I think that the figure itself is still modest. According to statistical information, as I stated in the inaugural session of the Sixth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries, the world is making an annual investment in military expenditures of more than \$300 billion.

With \$300 billion you could in one year build 600,000 schools with a capacity for 400 million children; 60 million comfortable homes for 300 million people; 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds; 20,000 factories with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or you could build irrigation systems to water 150 million hectares of land, which with appropriate technology could feed a billion people. Mankind wastes this much every year on its military spending.

Moreover, consider further the enormous waste of human resources in full youth, of technicians, of scientists, of fuel, raw materials, and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

The United States alone will in the 1980s spend six times this much on military activities.

We are requesting less for ten years of development than is spent in a single year by the ministries of war, and much less than a tenth of what will be spent for military purposes in ten years.

Some may consider our demand irrational. But where the true irrationality lies is in the world's madness in our era and the peril that threatens humanity. The enormous responsibility of studying, organizing, and distributing these amounts of resources should be entrusted entirely to the United Nations. These funds should be administered by the international community itself on a footing of absolute equality for all countries, whether they be contributors or beneficiaries, without any political conditions, and without the amount of the donations having anything to do with the voting power and deciding when loans are to be granted and to whom.

Even though the flow of resources should be measured in financial terms, it should not consist only of money. It may well be made up of equipment, fertilizer, raw materials, fuel, and complete factories valued in the terms of international trade. Aid in the form of technical personnel and the training of cadres should also be considered a contribution and counted as such.

We are convinced, Mr. President, distinguished representatives, that if the secretary general of the United Nations, with the assistance of the president of the General Assembly, with all the prestige and weight of this organization behind them, and further supported from the very outset by the backing that the developing countries and especially the Group of 77 could and would give that initiative—we are convinced that we would be able to call together the various factors we have mentioned and initiate discussions in which there would be no room for the so-called North-South, East-West antagonisms, joining together instead all forces in a common undertaking, a common duty, a common hope. And that is how this idea that we are now submitting to the General Assembly could be crowned with success.

All countries will benefit

This is not a project that will benefit only the developing nations. It will benefit all countries.

As revolutionaries we are not afraid of confrontation. We have placed our trust in history and peoples. But as spokesman and interpreter of the feelings of ninety-five nations, I have the duty to struggle to achieve cooperation among peoples, a cooperation which if obtained on a new and just basis will benefit all countries comprising the international community and will especially improve the prospects for peace.

Development at the short-term view may well be a task entailing apparent sacrifices and even donations which may seem irrecoverable. But the vast world now living submerged in backwardness with no purchasing power and extremely limited consumer capacity will, with its development, add a flood of hundreds of millions of consumers and producers to the international economy. It is only in this way that the international economy can be rehabilitated and help the developing countries emerge from the crisis in which they are submerged.

The history of international trade has shown that development is the most dynamic factor in world trade. A major portion of the trade of today takes place among fully industrialized countries. We can assure you that as industrialization and progress spread throughout the world, so trade will also spread to the benefit of all.

And it is for this reason that on behalf of the developing countries we advocate our cause and we ask you to support it. But this is not a gift which we seek from you. If we do not come up with effective solutions we will all be equal victims of the catastrophe.

Humanity's rights

Mr. President, distinguished representatives, human rights are very often spoken of, but we must also speak of humanity's rights.

Why should some people go barefoot, so that others may travel in expensive cars?

Read about Cuba

These two books are essential reading for anyone looking for insights into the remarkable vitality of the Cuban revolution.

In 'Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution' (393 pages, \$5.45), Joseph Hansen, who closely followed the events, has written the definitive Marxist explanation of the process that took Cuba from a national liberation struggle to a socialist revolution.

While offering his own criticisms and suggestions, he shows how the leaders of the Cuban revolution remained true to their original objectives.

'The Leninist Strategy of Party Building' (608 pages, \$7.95) is a balanced critique of the strengths and weaknesses of the guerrilla strategy by which revolutionists in Latin America sought to repeat the success of the Cuban revolution.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose seventy-five cents for postage and handling.

dynamics
of the cuban
revolution

The Leninist Strategy
of Party Building

The Debate
on Guerrilla Warfare
in Latin America
Joseph Hansen

Why should some live only thirty-five years, so that others may live seventy?

Why should some be miserably poor, so that others be exaggeratedly rich?

I speak on behalf of the children of the world who don't even have a piece of bread. [Applause] I speak on behalf of the sick who lack medicine. I speak on behalf of those who have been denied the right to life and to human dignity.

Some countries are on the sea, others are not. [Applause] Some have energy resources, others do not. Some possess abundant land on which to produce food, others do not. Some are so glutted with machinery and factories that even the air cannot be breathed because of the poisoned atmosphere. [Applause] And others have only their own emaciated arms with which to earn their daily bread.

In short, some countries possess abundant resources, others have nothing. What is their fate? To starve? To be eternally poor? Why then civilization? Why then the conscience of man? Why then the United Nations? [Applause] Why then the world?

You cannot speak of peace on behalf of tens of millions of human beings all over the world who are starving to death or dying of curable diseases. You cannot speak of peace on behalf of 900 million illiterates.

The exploitation of the poor countries by the rich must cease.

I know that in many poor countries there are exploiters and those who are exploited.

I address myself to the rich nations, asking them to contribute. And I address myself to the poor nations, asking them to distribute.

Enough of words! Now to deeds. [Applause]

Enough of abstractions. We now want concrete action! Enough of speaking about a speculative new international order, which nobody understands. [Laughter and applause] We must now speak of a real, objective order which everybody understands!

I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution. I have not come here to ask or to wish that the world be violently convulsed. I have come to speak of peace and cooperation among the

peoples. And I have come to warn that if we do not peacefully and wisely solve and eliminate the present injustices and inequalities, the future will be apocalyptic. [Applause]

The noise of weapons, of threatening language, and of overbearing behavior on the international arena must cease. [Applause]

Enough of the illusion that the problems of the world can be solved by nuclear weapons. Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick, and the ignorant but bombs cannot kill hunger, disease, and

ignorance. Nor can bombs kill the righteous rebellion of the peoples. And in the holocaust, the rich, who are the ones who have the most to lose in this world, will also die. [Applause]

Let us say farewell to arms, and let us in a civilized manner dedicate ourselves to the most pressing problems of our times. This is the responsibility, this is the most sacred duty of the statesmen of all the world. Moreover, this is the basic premise for human survival.

I thank you. [Ovation]

Inside the UN: Ovations and chants of 'Fidel!'

By Aníbal Yáñez

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 12—The hall of the General Assembly of the United Nations is overflowing with people: representatives of the majority of the world's countries, but mostly UN staff members, guests, and journalists.

People are in the aisles, five deep. All have come to hear Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban revolution and president of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries.

The empty seats are those of the dictatorships in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Guatemala; the apartheid regime in South Africa; and the seat held illegitimately by Pol Pot's deposed tyranny in Kampuchea.

Fidel enters, wearing green fatigues open at the collar, and the applause breaks out, building to an ovation. Everybody, even the U.S. representatives (albeit tardily), is on

their feet.

Fidel, speaking in the name of the majority of humanity, devotes more than two hours to a precise and well-documented condemnation of the imperialist system of world domination. He expresses intransigent solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed peoples.

The first ovation explodes when Fidel denounces the dispossession, persecution and murder of the heroic Palestinian people. Another ovation interrupts him when he reiterates solidarity with the independence struggle of the Puerto Rican people. Much more applause is to come.

After analyzing the imminent possibility of an economic catastrophe in which "it is doubtful that the capitalist system would be able to survive," Fidel comments: "In any case, the prospect of a world without capitalism is not too frightening to us revolutionaries." At this point the

guests, although not all the delegates, break into laughter and then applause.

I am sitting next to *compañeros* from the magazine *Bohemia* and the daily *Juventud Rebelde*, both publications from Cuba. We feel we are among *compañeros*—Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Latin Americans and other supporters of the Cuban revolution.

The unfavorable reactions to Fidel's speech come from the representatives of the United States and their imperialist allies, who can do no more than . . . not applaud!

Fidel ends his speech. A standing ovation, ever louder. It becomes rhythmic. "Fidel! Fidel! Fidel!" we chant from the gallery. "Cuba! Cuba! Cuba!"

No doubt about it. Fidel has dealt another blow to "the powerful neighbor," not with unnecessary adjectives, but with the reason of humanity's socialist future.

Protests condemn right-wing Cuban attacks

MIAMI—The Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here was the object of a bomb threat October 12.

Andrea Baron, Miami SWP organizer, told police an anonymous phone caller had said, "We have planted a bomb in your office."

The threat, the second in five months, came within hours after Fidel Castro's speech to the UN and shortly after a local demonstration by anti-Castro Cubans.

The SWP office serves as the campaign headquarters for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the SWP presidential campaign ticket.

Like the SWP nationally, Miami campaigners have been forthright in their support of the Cuban revolution.

Police came to the hall, made a perfunctory check, and advised that many groups and individuals have been receiving similar threats.

The Cuban counterrevolutionaries, Baron noted, have become even more violent as their isolation in the Cuban community has become increasingly apparent.

Last April, right-wing Cubans were responsible for the murder of Carlos Muñoz in Puerto Rico. Muñoz was a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young Cubans abroad working to promote solidarity with Cuba.

On September 29, a film showing by the Brigade in Miami was violently attacked by armed members of the counterrevolutionary group Abdala.

Although a number of participants in the attack were identified, the police have been slow to move. Since the attack they arrested first one individual and then a second—on charges of stealing the admission money from the showing they broke up.

The threat against the SWP was characterized by Matilde Zimmermann as an outgrowth of President Carter's inflammatory attacks on Cuba.

The government "knows exactly who the terrorists are," Zimmermann added. "In many cases it trained

them."

The SWP, she said, will continue to press for an end to the blockade against Cuba, "and we will not be intimidated by the threats of right-wing thugs."

BOSTON—A film showing by the Antonio Maceo Brigade was the target of an armed attack by two men here October 14.

The Brigade had anticipated an attack by Cuban counterrevolutionaries and had also notified the police in advance.

However, forty-five minutes before the scheduled showing, while only eight people were in the hall, two Cuban men, unknown to anyone there, came into the hall. They asked several questions about the showing. Then one of them drew a gun.

They lined up the eight people, threatened them, and then took the film projector, firing a warning shot into the ceiling as they left.

The Brigade was able to obtain another projector and the film showing went ahead as scheduled.

The police finally came to the scene,

but so far there have been no arrests.

The Brigade members said that they intend to enlist the support of concerned individuals and groups to demand an investigation by the police. They also plan to seek support for their right to hold meetings such as this without interference.

Previously, several members of the Brigade had received threats from counterrevolutionaries. In several cases students said that their parents in Miami had been threatened because of their activity in the Brigade in the Boston area.

Castro meets with Puerto Rican Nationalists

By Nancy Cole

"We assure the international community that Cuba will remain true to the principles of international solidarity," Fidel Castro pledged in his speech before the United Nations October 12.

He reinforced that point the next day when he met for five hours with the recently freed Puerto Rican Nationalists—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores.

"As long as there is a single Puerto Rican who supports independence, we will back them up," TV viewers heard Castro say with his arm around Lebrón.

Earlier in the day he had met with Congressional Black Caucus members Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Mickey Leland (D-Tex.).

"If the United States can be in communication with the Soviet Union, and if the United States can be in communication with China, why can't it be in communication with a tiny nation ninety miles off the coast of Florida?" Dellums asked after the meeting.

In a phone interview with the *Militant*, Leland agreed that diplo-

matic relations with Cuba should be established and the economic blockade ended. He called the official U.S. stance toward Cuba "absurd" and "hypocritical."

Leland said that during the meet-

ing Castro explained Cuba's involvement in Africa and Latin America. Castro also spoke of Nicaragua, Leland said, calling on the U.S. government to contribute to its reconstruction.



Puerto Rican Nationalists leaving Cuban mission. Left, wearing tie, Rafael Cancel Miranda. Right, Lolita Lebrón.

1,200 cheer Grenadian leader in New York

By Osborne Hart

BROOKLYN—Interrupted repeatedly by applause and cheers, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada addressed an enthusiastic rally of his Caribbean brothers and sisters here October 13.

"We are very happy to have the opportunity to explain what the Grenadian revolution has been all about," he told the overflow crowd. More than 1,200 turned out for the meeting at New York City Community College here.

Just seven months ago to the date, the thirty-four-year-old Bishop led the New Jewel (Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation) Movement in an insurrection that toppled the U.S.-backed dictator Sir Eric M. Gairy.

The tyrant Gairy ruled Grenada for more than twenty years. While the island was under British domination, Gairy was placed in power as Grenada's prime minister.

In 1974 the NJM organized a month-long general strike against the government.

Gairy answered his opponents with fierce repression. The secret police and political goon squads assaulted oppositionists. Bishop was beaten and arrested, and his father was assassinated.

Bishop explained how the Gairy government maintained a facade of democracy to the outside world.

"There were thousands and thousands of names on the voters list" in the 1976 elections, he said. "Names of people who were dead, names of people who had left our country. Yet somehow they managed to rise from the grave on election day to cast their vote. Everyone must know that the Gairy dictatorship remained in office, not as a result of a free vote and a fair election, but as a result of an electoral coup d'etat."

As Bishop catalogued the repressive nature of Grenadian society under Gairy, heads nodded throughout the auditorium. Many in the crowd were Grenadians who fled to the U.S. to escape the poverty and lack of rights in their country.

"You know, sisters and brothers, that even the right to work, the right to form and join trade unions, we did not have in our own country," Bishop said. Up to a few months ago it was not possible to publish a newspaper without a \$20,000 advance to the government.

Nor, he added, was it "possible to address any kind of meeting without first getting police permission, which was never granted."

On March 13, Bishop and his movement organized an early morning raid



Militant/Osborne Hart

The crowd hailed the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Vietnamese revolutions—as well as the liberation struggles in Africa and the Middle East.

on the army barracks while Gairy was in the United States.

Within a few hours, they had captured the barracks and moved on the island's only radio station. Once the radio station was secured, the NJM broadcast across the island.

"The response of the population was a massive response," Bishop said. "The workers in St. George's [the capital]—dock workers, electrical workers, telephone workers, commercial workers, civil servants—came out into the streets."

"What this does not fully explain," he added, "is the fact that, were not the party [NJM] fully rooted in the people of our country, we would have failed."

Bishop said the new government immediately appealed for arms and other assistance from several countries, including the U.S., "to be in a position to defend our revolution."

Only three countries responded—Jamaica, Guyana, and Cuba. The U.S. did not.

"But when a Cuban ship landed in Grenada bringing assistance for us, the U.S. ambassador said they would view with great displeasure the development of any relations between Grenada and Cuba," Bishop stated. "So we asked, who instructed you or your government to talk to us? Why do you think you can come down here and tell us what we must do in our own country?"

To the cheers of the audience, Bishop went on: "Having fought for our freedom, and tasted that freedom, we are not going to accept instructions from

the United States or any other country."

Bishop spoke at length on Cuba.

"We have found nothing but the most principled relations with the Cubans. It is very interesting that the very people who you can't get arms from are the same people who [say] that those people willing to assist your country you shouldn't have relations with!"

Bishop's stay in New York coincided with Fidel Castro's visit.

The Grenadian leader attacked the U.S. media for criticizing his meetings with Castro. He said of Castro, "I say here tonight, I know nobody who is more honest, committed, sincere, and principled."

The audience broke out in a loud ovation and chants of "Viva Fidel!"

Since the insurrection, he said, the new government has reinstated and expanded democratic rights, instituted education reform, organized community brigades for rebuilding efforts, and strengthened the trade unions and farmer organizations.

"The specific stage that our struggle has reached is the stage of national reconstruction," he explained. "That is the first point in the journey that we have begun, aimed at revolutionizing our economy, our society, our country as a whole."

Although Grenada is a small country—120 square miles and little more than 100,000 inhabitants—the Grenadians don't see themselves isolated from international events. Bishop explained it is "our duty to sup-

port all just causes and contribute to all just causes around the world. Part of our debt to humanity is to support these struggles. A foreign policy should be an extension of an internal policy."

Grenada has recognized the revolutionary government in Nicaragua and has sent financial aid to that country. In addition, it has recognized the Palestinian Liberation Movement and the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea and supported the liberation struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Namibia, and the Western Sahara.

In a special salute, Bishop paid tribute to the "heroic people of Vietnam, who fought for so many years against three sets of colonialists and imperialists." He introduced a delegation present in the room from the People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnamese were given a standing ovation by the meeting.

Recent events in the other Caribbean islands demonstrate that the Grenadian revolution is not isolated.

The newly elected regime in Saint Lucia has condemned U.S. threats against Cuba. And on the island of Dominica, the government of Patrick John fell in June under pressure of a general strike against his policies of restricting trade-union rights and maintaining ties with South Africa.

"There is a new respect for our country in the world," concluded Bishop. "An important process has begun in Grenada, a model for the rest of the Caribbean."

Bishop blasts Carter's war moves in Caribbean

By Nancy Cole

UNITED NATIONS—Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop told a news conference here October 11 that Carter's new military action in the Caribbean is "interference in the internal affairs" of his country.

In light of the U.S. government's history of invasions and destabilization efforts in Cuba, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and other countries, Bishop said, "we feel we are entitled to reject Carter's proposal."

He called on "the international community to support us in demanding immediate withdrawal of this proposal."

The timing of the first announcement that the U.S. government had "discovered" Soviet troops in Cuba, "which was during the Nonaligned Conference in Havana, and now the timing of Carter's speech itself last week is certainly very suspicious," Bishop said.



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch
MAURICE BISHOP

Carter's "flimsy pretext" for building up a military presence, he continued, is really a reflection of the "winds of change" in Latin America and the Caribbean—in Nicaragua, the revolution in his own Grenada, in Dominica, and in Saint Lucia.

"Consider the fact that in just the

areas of Panama, Guantánamo, and Puerto Rico," Bishop said, "there are twenty naval, air force, and military bases. More than 30,000 [U.S.] troops are stationed in that area."

Reporters here pressed Bishop on the small nation's relations with revolutionary Cuba. "What would you like to say now to justify and clarify your relations with Cuba?" one demanded to know.

"We don't have to justify it—clarifying is easy enough," responded Bishop, launching into an explanation of what colonialism had done to the Caribbean, "chopping up the area like a loaf of bread."

His government, Bishop said, seeks to break down these artificial barriers.

"We are going to choose who our friends are and who our enemies are," he declared.

As for the Cubans, "they have led a very important process from which

we have learned a lot and can continue to learn a lot."

Fidel Castro, he went on, is an "outstanding figure" and "we admire his sincerity, his commitment, his qualities of leadership."

"We believe that in the area of health and education the Cubans have done exemplary work. We feel there is much the world in general can learn from them."

"Therefore, we have no excuse or apology to make for building relations with them."

The day before, on October 10, Bishop addressed the United Nations General Assembly. He put his new government on record against imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid. Then he went on to offer support for, among others, the rights of Palestinians, the new government of Kampuchea, and the people of Cuba trying to recover Guantánamo Bay.

Broadcast throughout country

Nicaraguans hail Castro's UN speech

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Fidel Castro's appearance at the United Nations received wide coverage in the Sandinista communications media here. Stories on the Cuban leader's arrival in New York and on his speech to the General Assembly appeared under front-page banner headlines in the FSLN's daily *Barricada* on October 11 and 12.

Castro's UN speech was carried live by Radio Sandino. The following day television viewers were able to see the entire event broadcast on videotape by the Sandinista national network.

Finally, the full text of the speech

was printed in *Barricada* in installments beginning October 13.

The close solidarity between the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions has been visible here in other ways as well in recent days.

The imminent arrival of 1,000 Cuban teachers was announced October 14. These educators will be sent to areas where there is currently a shortage of teachers and will be paid for by the Cuban government, with the Nicaraguans responsible only for room and board.

President Carter's military threats against Cuba were the main topic of an October 10 speech by FSLN Comandante Tomás Borge at ceremonies marking the close of a training course for the Special Forces of the Sandinista People's Army.

"They have blamed Cuba for the revolutionary movements of Latin America," Borge said, "and now they are beginning to blame Nicaragua too. But what fault is it of ours that the peoples are hungry, that the masses live in unhealthy conditions?"

Speaking of the Latin American military dictatorships, Borge continued: "Neither Cuba nor Nicaragua is to blame for those tyrannies. The peasants do not have land, the workers do not have jobs, and the workers and peasants of those countries do not control their own destinies."

The example set by Nicaragua "cannot be controlled by Carter," Borge said, "and the U.S. fleet in the Caribbean cannot control the examples set by the revolutions of Cuba and Nicaragua."



Militant/Anibal Yáñez
Internationalism is at heart of Nicaraguan revolution.

U.S. solidarity conference

The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan people will hold its second national conference in Detroit November 16-18.

This will be an important event for activists across the country who are working to develop solidarity and material aid for the Nicaraguan revolution.

Groups and individuals affiliated with the National Network include unionists, church groups, and local solidarity committees.

Among them are Leo Suslow, director of International Programs for the United Auto Workers.

Also, Abe Feinglass, vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, and Frank Arnold, executive board member of the Santa Clara, California, Central Labor Council.

A tentative schedule for the conference provides for registration and a social gathering Friday evening, November 16, a plenary session Saturday, and workshops both on Saturday and Sunday.

The plenary session will be addressed by representatives of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Several workshops will focus on the economic situation in Nicaragua and what is needed to achieve reconstruction of the devastated country.

Holding the conference in Detroit, the center of an entire area of union strength, helps in the important job of involving the organized labor movement in a massive campaign of aid to Nicaragua.

The conference will be held at the Sacred Heart Seminary, 2701 West Chicago Boulevard, Detroit. To register in advance, send \$10 to National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

gua. They can put controls on our border if they want, but what customs duties or controls can be put on the example of our revolution? . . .

"Each time a shot is fired in El Salvador or Guatemala, each time a new revolution arises in Latin America, they will be thinking of the exam-

ple of our people. They will be stimulated by the heroism of our people because we have taught, as other revolutions have taught, and as further revolutions are going to teach other peoples, that it is possible to achieve victory however powerful the army that is faced."

...El Salvador coup

Continued from page 3

according to news reports compiled by Pacifica radio today.

Mexican TV news "24 Horas" also reported that the new regime is carrying out roundups of persons suspected of belonging to rebel groups.

On October 16 armed members of the Revolutionary Peoples Army (ERP) seized several radio stations and broadcast statements denouncing the new military regime and calling for continued armed struggle. The Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) also declared their intention "to continue the struggle by means of arms until the liberation of the Salvadoran people."

No response has yet been reported here on the part of the two largest Salvadoran workers and peasants organizations, the Revolutionary Peoples Bloc (BPR) and the United Peoples Action Front (FAPU).

The new Salvadoran rulers say their intention is to fight against extremists of the left and right, and they have suggested that their coup was launched to head off a bid by the extreme right wing of the military.

With the ousted Romero regime so discredited, the new junta appears to be trying to give the armed forces a more progressive image. Upon taking power, it issued a declaration that included the following:

- A denunciation of the Romero regime for violating human rights, tolerating corruption, and causing the loss of prestige internationally for "the country and the noble armed institutions."

- A warning that Romero's rule had "provoked a loss of confidence on the part of the private sector," leading to a massive flight of capital from El Salvador.

- Pledges to halt "violence and corruption," "guarantee human rights," declare an amnesty for political prisoners, and bring about "an equitable

distribution of the national wealth."

- Pledges that elections would be held in which all political forces—"regardless of ideology"—would be allowed to participate.

Radio reports from El Salvador that were monitored here by the Sandinista daily *Barricada* said the new regime would order the dissolution of the hated right-wing paramilitary group ORDEN (which was organized and controlled by the Romero regime).

Support for the new regime was announced almost immediately by the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and by the Catholic archbishop of El Salvador, Oscar Arnulfo Romero. According to an Agence France Press dispatch from San Salvador, the archbishop "called on opposition groups to put down their arms and wait for solutions favorable to the diverse problems of the country." Archbishop Romero had been one of the most prominent and outspoken opponents of the previous regime's enormous violations of human rights.

The Christian Democrats have ties to the group of officers who led the coup. A former leader of that group, Colonel Ernesto Claramount, was the PDC candidate for president in 1977. He was deprived of victory only by a massive vote fraud organized by General Romero and his allies in the armed forces.

According to the October 16 *Barricada*, Claramount, now in exile in Costa Rica, "affirms that he was in contact with Colonel Gutiérrez."

President Carter's hand in the coup seems very clear. A U.S. State Department source told the *Washington Post* that the coup "certainly did not take us by surprise."

The White House has been particularly concerned about the situation in El Salvador, ever since the Sandinistas overthrew the Somoza dictatorship here in neighboring Nicaragua in July.



Militant
San Salvador protest in September. Romero regime was unable to stem revolutionary opposition.

Fearing that the freedom struggle against Romero would be encouraged by the Sandinista victory, the Carter administration sent three top-level missions to El Salvador to discuss ways to dampen the mounting unrest.

But mass opposition to the Romero dictatorship continued to rise, and the U.S. officials, according to the October 17 *New York Times*, "had come to regard the situation as virtually hopeless."

The development that the U.S. government sought to avert, according to the *Times*, "was a coup by right-wing military leaders even more extreme than General Romero." This, the U.S.

feared, would "have soon provoked a revolution, probably led by leftist elements."

However the situation develops over the next few weeks, one thing is clear. The ruling class in El Salvador, and its backers in Washington, are fearful that the example of Nicaragua will spread to El Salvador.

Here in Nicaragua the events in El Salvador are being watched with great interest. In recent days, solidarity actions with the struggle there have been held by the teachers union (ANDEN), by the Association of Nicaraguan Women, by the July 19 Sandinista Youth, and by a number of Sandinista Defense Committees.

'Welcome Fidel!'

Big pro-Cuba demonstration held at UN

By David Frankel

NEW YORK—Undeterred by right-wing threats and a soaking rain, 1,000 demonstrators turned out here October 12 to welcome Cuban President Fidel Castro and show their opposition to U.S. attacks on Cuba.

The pro-Cuba rally at the United Nations was too big to be contained on the sidewalk and spilled over onto the adjoining street. As demonstrators chanted: "Cuba sí, bloqueo no!" and "U.S. troops out of Guantánamo!" Rev. Manuel Espinosa, speaking in Spanish, told the crowd:

"They say the anti-Castro demonstrators speak for the Cubans in this country. . . . But these terrorists don't represent anything! They don't even represent 1 percent of the Cuban community! They're a small minority, although they're well organized and aided by you-know-who. . . . We are the majority! Those who oppose the blockade are a majority!"

A leader of the Cuban community in Miami and a central figure in the dialogue initiated by the Cuban government with Cubans abroad, Espinosa has been subjected to repeated terrorist attacks for his activities. He received another death threat just before the UN demonstration.

Espinosa stressed the importance of demonstrations such as this one in breaking the power of the right wing. He declared that "we know there are many Cubans in Miami who wish they could be here but have been prevented from coming because they're afraid of losing their jobs. They've been prevented by the threat made by a terrorist group—terrorists who do not represent the voice of Cubans."

After pointing out that the 80,000 Cubans from the United States and Puerto Rico who have travelled to Cuba this year represent the real sentiment of the Cuban community, Espinosa said, "We're tired of these terror-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Socialist Workers Party was among builders of UN welcome for Castro

ists, we want them out of our communities! We shouldn't have to live in fear!"

The demonstration was organized by the same forces that had carried out a protest of 500 a week earlier, denouncing President Carter's new military moves in the Caribbean around the pretext of Soviet troops in Cuba. These included individuals from the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young Cubans abroad who support normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba; Casa de las Américas, an organization of New York-area Cubans who support the revolution; the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; the Socialist Workers Party; and the Communist Party.

There were a high proportion of Latinos on the action, including a group of people who came up from Miami's Cuban community. Consuelo Pérez, a woman from Cuba, said of the picket line: "This is marvelous! There aren't words for this!"

Although she said that "Fidel's trip and the whole dialogue are big news in Cuba," she was surprised by the dem-

onstration. "I never expected it would be like this. I didn't think there would be so many people. But I guess Fidel has his people wherever he goes."

Following the picket line, the demonstrators marched to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. Although police had allowed counterrevolutionary demonstrators to take over the block originally designated as the rally site for the action welcoming Castro, the marchers were able to get within sight of the mission.

Cubans could be seen waving to the crowd from an upstairs window, and it was announced from the platform that Fidel was among them. The demonstrators responded with chants of "Fidel, Fidel, Fidel!"; "Se siente, se siente, Fidel esta presente!" (You can feel it, you can feel it, Fidel is here!); and "Fidel, Fidel, Puerto Rico te saluda!" (Fidel, Fidel, Puerto Rico salutes you!).

Rightist thugs tried to attack the demonstration at the Cuban Mission, but were unsuccessful. In general, it was a bad day for the counterrevolutionaries.

Despite an all-out mobilization, rightists were unable to produce a qualitatively larger turnout than the defenders of the Cuban revolution. Even the most sympathetic big-business news reports were unable to claim more than 3,000 for the counter-revolutionary protest.

The rightists, who had predicted a turnout of 10,000, vented their frustration by beating up a Black bystander who was accused of being a backer of Castro. Another of their number threw a pipe bomb wrapped in a Cuban flag at the Cuban Mission. He was charged with "possession of a deadly weapon" and "reckless endangerment."

Having armed and trained terrorist groups for years, and encouraged them in their bloodthirsty attacks on Cuba, U.S. authorities had to mount a massive police operation to protect Castro against their own creatures while he was in New York.

The bourgeois media tried to play on the security provided for Castro to turn public opinion against the Cuban leader. The *New York Times*, for example, quoted one resident of the wealthy midtown area near the United Nations complex and the Cuban mission as saying of the security measures: "Now I've seen what it's like to live in a police state."

The gutter press even complained about the money spent by the city government to protect Castro. No such complaints were made, of course, about the millions spent on security for Pope John Paul II the week before.

In any case, the sniping and carping by the capitalist media certainly failed to erase the impression made around the world by Castro's speech at the United Nations. And it cannot hide the fact that for the second time in a week defenders of the Cuban revolution were able to take to the streets and successfully demonstrate, despite all-out mobilizations by counterrevolutionary thugs.

1960: How Harlem turned out for Castro

By Harry Ring

It was September 1960 and the Cuban revolution was but twenty months old.

Washington had already targeted it for destruction. Fidel Castro and his fellow revolutionists clearly meant business about a new life for the Cuban people.

And they didn't intend to be bullied by Washington.

The U.S. capitalist press unleashed a vitriolic slander campaign against the revolution. Fidel Castro was depicted as a bloody tyrant.

It was in that atmosphere that the thirty-four-year-old leader of the Cuban revolution arrived here to address the United Nations.

There was a substantial Cuban community in New York composed largely of people who had left under the Batista dictatorship. Soon thousands of them were to return to their homeland.

When Fidel landed at the airport several thousand Cubans and other partisans of the revolution were there to greet him.

The Cuban UN delegation checked in at a modest midtown hotel near the UN.

The hotel management hassled them and, in a few days, cancelled the contract.

Other hotels in the area, obviously encouraged by government agencies, were suddenly "filled up."

The Cubans turned the situation into a major political victory. They moved to a hotel that was ready to take them—the Theresa, which at the time was a landmark hotel in Harlem.



Street scene in front of Harlem's Theresa Hotel during 1960 Castro visit

Harlem welcomed Castro and his associates with open arms.

Night after night, huge crowds gathered on 125th Street outside the Theresa. The biggest crowd was estimated at 10,000.

Hundreds of Cubans came to Harlem to demonstrate their solidarity. Blacks began joining in.

The Cubans chanted "Venceremos!" "What does it mean?" some young Blacks asked.

"We will win."

The Blacks began shouting, "Venceremos!"

Impromptu street meetings and

hundreds of discussions went on for hours.

One young Afro-Cuban, an eloquent speaker, told a crowd that the papers were now saying that Fidel had come to Harlem "to make propaganda."

Why, the speaker asked, don't the other politicians come to the Theresa to "make propaganda"?

The crowd roared.

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee held a reception for Fidel at the Theresa ballroom.

Fidel spoke briefly, thanking the committee for its solidarity. He then circulated around the ballroom, stop-

ping briefly at each table to chat with guests and—with obvious embarrassment—to sign autographs.

His speech at the UN was political dynamite.

He spoke four and a half hours. It was the most truth that body had yet heard.

He detailed some of the history of U.S. colonial exploitation of Cuba and the resulting misery for the Cuban people.

He spoke of the program of the revolution and some of the initial gains—slashing rents 50 percent, cutting utility rates, beginning a land reform program for the landless peasants.

He described the mounting U.S. aggression against the revolution and vowed Cuba would not yield an inch.

He declared Cuba's solidarity with liberation struggles of the time—the Congo, Algeria.

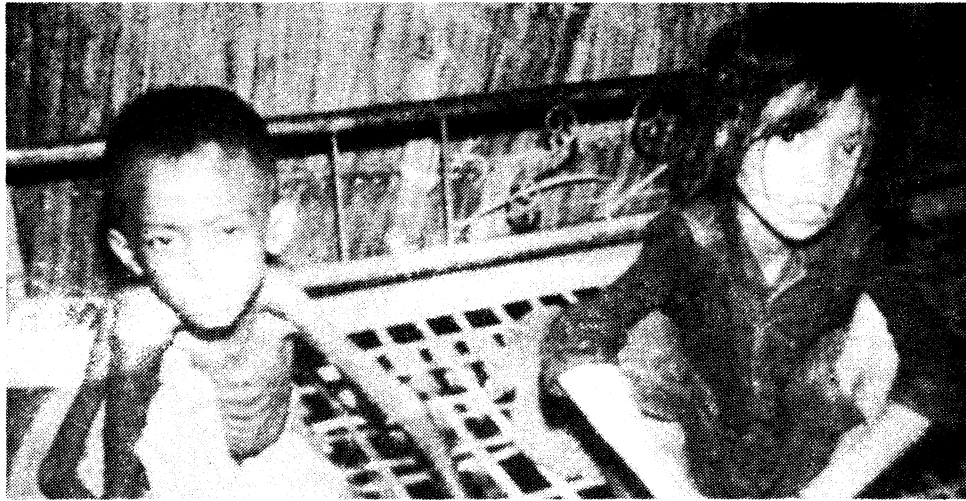
That night the crowd outside the Theresa was inspired.

One young Harlem resident gave the *Militant* his reaction to the speech.

"Man, it was wonderful—beautiful—the greatest! I was so tense when he was talking. I was sure they'd cut him off. . . . The first part, about Cuba, was good. But the part about what's happening in the world—nobody ever talked the truth like that!"

Another young person said: "Before Castro came here we didn't think too much about Cuba. We read all that stuff about how they were taking property away from Americans—but he didn't take anything from anybody in Harlem."

Inside Kampuchea 'A nation of children facing starvation'



Emaciated Kampuchean children. U.S. government is deliberately withholding food aid.

'London Daily Mirror' reporter John Pilger and photographer Eric Piper are the only Western journalists who have traveled extensively in Kampuchea since April 1975. Pilger's report on what they saw was published in the September 12 and 13 issues of the 'Daily Mirror,' from which the following has been excerpted.

The plane flies low, following the Mekong river west from Vietnam.

There is nobody, no movement, not even an animal, as if the great population of Asia stopped at the border. Whole towns and villages on the river bank stand empty; the doors of houses flapping open, cars on their sides, mangled bicycles in a heap, chairs and beds in the street.

... what has happened here ... has no parallel in modern times.

That may sound a sweeping claim, but it is true. Coming here is like happening on something unimaginable: a human catastrophe and crime without measure. For even Hitler's demonry did not involve the enslavement of the *entire* population and the systematic slaughter of all those "touched and corrupted by the twentieth century."

The statistics are numbing. Cambodia's population in 1975 was roughly seven million. Today between a million and a half and three million people are "missing," presumed dead.

... few of those born during the period of terror appear to have survived.

Young adults are equally difficult to find; a generation has gone. Indeed, this is now a nation of mostly children, isolated from the world and facing starvation of such intensity that not even a comparison with Biafra is adequate.

Who did this? How could it happen?

In the spring of 1970, Cambodia's tranquility was terminated by the greatest saturation of bombing in history.

Nixon's secret war

This was the secret war launched by President Nixon and Dr. Henry Kissinger in violation of American constitutional law and in defiance of Congress. Pilots were sworn to secrecy and their operational logs were falsified or destroyed. For three years the American public knew nothing about it.

By 1973 the equivalent, in tons of bombs, of five Hiroshimas had fallen on neutral Cambodia.

At 7:30 on the morning of April 17, 1975 the Khmer Rouge entered the capital. At one o'clock they ordered the city to be abandoned.

There were to be no exceptions. The hospitals were emptied at gunpoint; doctors were forced to stop in mid-operation. Dying patients were wheeled onto the streets in their beds.

"I was in my classroom when they burst in," says Mr. Prak Sarinn, a

former teacher. "They put their guns on us and told us to march north into the countryside.

"The children were crying. I asked if we could go home to join our families. They said no. So we just walked away, and most of the little ones died of exhaustion or hunger. I never saw my family again."

The haemorrhage of people lasted two days and two nights. When the Vietnamese army drove into Phnom Penh last January, ending four and a half years of terror, they found the city almost exactly as it had been abandoned on the first day of "Year Zero."

Past the evaporated cathedral [dismantled by the Khmer Rouge] walk a man and a boy, striding with a rhythm of fear that all the survivors have. The boy is fifteen and looks nine, and he is starving.

His father balances a load on his head and an arm on his son's shoulder. He is blind and terribly scarred with smallpox.

A carpenter's story

He is a carpenter and his name is Khim Kon. "This boy," he says, patting his son, "is my only one left. Because we came from the city we were classified 'new people,' and we had to work from three in the morning until eleven at night: the children too. My wife and three other boys are all dead."

"How did you lose your sight?" I ask him.

"I was always blind in one eye," he replies. "When my family began to die, I cried, so they took out the other eye with a whip."

My notebook is filled with similar horrific stories, which come directly from simple people who have no reason to lie: I have yet to find a family that has not been decimated.

"If you want to live," the Khmer Rouge cadres told the townspeople, "you must surround your lives with silence. Hear nothing, know nothing, understand nothing."

The rulers were explicit. People would live in collective farms, in straw-roofed barracks without walls, so that they could be watched all the time. They would be fed according to how "productive" they were, and this usually meant a tin of rice—the size of a small Nescafe tin—twice a week.

An opaque-eyed woman, her grief locked inside her, tells me that she was forced to go into the fields at night leaving behind her six-month-old baby without a roof or food or care of any kind; in two days she returned to find the baby dead.

"Can you imagine they take away friendship?" says a young woman of twenty-five called Sophak, who has become my interpreter and who was about to be thrown into a well on the day the Vietnamese soldiers liberated her camp. "A young boy, a student who tried to disguise himself as a peasant, was taken away and beaten to death because he smiled at me while

we husked the rice. *We never even talked...*"

As the price of extra food and life, young boys were recruited as spies and listened from the rafters for laughter or sorrow. Anybody falling asleep during a midnight "ideological" lecture was denied a week's rations, or killed. Even the word itself—sleep—was banned; from Year Zero there would be only "rest."

Much of the work was mindless. While many fields and paddies fell fallow, forests were cleared for "strategic" reasons. The Khmer Rouge leaders were obsessed with the prospect of a Vietnamese invasion, even though they constantly extended their killing in attacks on border villages in Vietnam.

Crammed with skeletons

In a valley nearby the ancient temples of Angkor Wat in western Cambodia, one of the wonders of the world, there is a ribbon of tall grass that gives way to trenches which have been recently excavated. They are crammed with skeletons, with evidence of terrible head wounds: the hammer being the most common instrument of death. So far, the remains of 9,000 people have been found here.

During the past three weeks photographer Eric Piper and I have seen many sights like this and at times we have felt like those who, in 1945, first came upon Belsen and Auschwitz. Last June, we both saw Auschwitz itself during the Pope's visit to Poland. The other day we saw a place so similar that it might have been copied from the original: and perhaps the following description may help to gain international recognition of the enormity of what has happened in Cambodia.

It was once a school and was renamed the "Tuol Sleng extermination centre." Like Auschwitz, it has a fence of double barbed wire. Like the victims of Auschwitz, many of the prisoners were brought by train, 150 to a carriage, and the weak seldom survived.

It was run by a gestapo called "S 21" which was divided into an "interrogation unit" and a "torture and massacre unit." In the former classrooms, where people were mutilated on iron beds, their blood and tufts of their hair are on the floor: so much of it.

Between December, 1975, and June, 1977, some 12,000 people died slow deaths here: a fact easy to confirm because the killers, like the Nazis, were pedantic in their sadism. They photographed people before and after they were killed.

They recorded their names, ages, even their height and weight. And, like at Auschwitz, there is a room filled to the ceiling with their clothes and shoes, many of them children's.

When the Vietnamese army discovered this place, they found among the corpses eight survivors, including four children and a month-old baby. Eam Chan was a sculptor and Van Nath was a painter and they survived be-

cause they were put to work making busts and painting heroic pictures of Pol Pot.

Mass murderer Pol Pot

That is the news from Cambodia, delayed for four and a half years. Today, the "government" that committed this crime still enjoys the respectability of recognition at the United Nations, and its leader, the mass murderer Pol Pot, has been given refuge in China.

Two men remain directly responsible for bombing Cambodia into the chaos that contributed to the rise of the Khmer Rouge; indeed, they bombed this land and its people literally back to the Stone Age. One of them, Richard Nixon, was disgraced in 1974 for domestic crookedness. The other, Henry Kissinger, received the Nobel Peace Prize and is still feted as a statesman.

The legacy of them all is a famine so severe that, in the words of one of the few relief officials here, "we have just six months to save three million people."

The truth is that no substantial relief is reaching the most ravaged country on earth, a country stricken by the most intense famine in memory. The majority of the population of Cambodia are children, many of them infants. Their parents have been killed and they cannot plant the rice because they are too small and too weak from hunger and disease.

Why are these children being allowed to die?

The Western governments and their dependents have mounted a campaign to blockade and punish the Vietnamese. One of the reasons given for this campaign is Vietnam's "aggression" in Cambodia—that is, its overthrow of the murderous Khmer Rouge regime.

Vietnam saved nation

Every Cambodian I have met regards this "aggression" as having saved their nation from slavery and extinction.

Mrs. Thatcher's Government and the EEC have gone as far as cutting off food aid to Vietnam, the *only* country attempting to hold back the famine in Cambodia with supplies of food and drugs that it badly needs to combat its own critical shortages.

Whitehall [British Foreign Ministry] officials have privately told the relief agencies that there may be "political obstacles" to getting relief here. That is untrue. The plane that brought [Oxfam representative] Jim Howard and his drugs was a private charter that flew directly here. *Any* relief plane can come, without conditions.

America's Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, said recently: "We are aware there is a severe famine in Cambodia, caused by past events. But what can we do in the circumstances?" Six years ago America sent more of its most lethal bombers to Cambodia than it has sent anywhere. It has not sent one relief plane.

Interview with Italian auto worker

FIAT workers struggle for control

The following interview with Rocco Papandrea, a member of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International), was obtained by Tom Leonard earlier this year. Papandrea, a twenty-eight-year-old auto worker, has worked at the giant FIAT complex in Turin since 1969.

Question. What were the conditions like at FIAT when you began working there?

Answer. Until 1969 the Italian automobile industry, in particular FIAT, had conditions similar to the automobile industry in the United States and other European countries. There was extremely strong control by the bosses.

The foremen ignored the possibility of accidents and speeded up the work to the physical limits of the workers. It even went to the absurd limit that workers on the assembly line were not given time off to go to the bathroom for as much as eight hours unless a substitute could be found to take their place on the line. There was no right to this substitution. It was done by the foreman when he felt like doing it.

And when the worker got to the bathroom, control was maintained even there because the doors were very small and low hung. There were cases where workers were laid off because they were seen smoking or doing something else in the toilet, like reading a leaflet or newspaper.

At that time the unions at FIAT were very weak. The strongest union from the organizational point of view was closely tied to the management of the company. In addition there were three other unions. Two were very collaborationist, and the union tied to the Communist Party, the CGIL, was very weak, with only several hundred card-carrying members and only a few dozen active members in FIAT.

This was not the case all over, but it was the case at Mirafiori, where I worked, which is the largest factory complex in Italy, with some 100,000 workers.

Inhuman pace

In terms of working conditions, the pace of work was absolutely inhuman, as were all the other conditions of work. There was no air, little light, the ceilings were low, there were a lot of fumes, there were many accidents at work and no first-aid facilities. There were very high assembly lines on which they put short workers and low assembly lines where they put tall workers.

If workers protested against these conditions they were immediately laid off or transferred. And there was no chance of preventing the layoff or transfer. This was the normal situation. You would come to work in the morning and couldn't be sure you would have the same job that you had the day before.

In addition, there were a number of pay categories, which were determined in an absolutely arbitrary manner. It was the foreman who decided what pay category you were in, and there was no relationship between the category and the kind of work you were doing. There might be two workers doing the same job, one in the morning shift and one in the afternoon, and one would be in the second category and one in the third category.

Obviously, the pay categories were decided in relationship to the workers' collaboration with management, their

willingness to spy on the other workers or betray them in the struggles.

There were also special bonuses that the bosses gave out to the most loyal workers.

Under the contract the work week was forty-four hours, but in reality it was much more. Almost all workers had to work every Saturday, even though the forty-four hour week was supposed to mean working only every other Saturday.

In addition, many of the workers had to work overtime after eight hours. The numbers of hours people would have to work was inhuman. They could do little more than work, go home, and sleep.

Because of the repression by the

valta, where another 20,000 workers were hired.

This was a time of economic boom, and FIAT was doing very well, so there was an expansion. There was a real renewal of the work force at FIAT, with the hiring of many very young workers who had come from the South of Italy.

These new young workers were not marked by the defeat that had come before; instead they were marked by the general radicalization of youth, which was beginning to affect Italy. They came north to Turin and to FIAT with big expectations that they would be able to improve their condition.

The reality they found was very different. They found themselves in a

at FIAT, because the majority had come from the South very recently. So, there was a great hatred against the behavior of the police, and the strike was successful in several parts of the plant.

The workers who had decided to strike looked for ways to convince the others to join in. They found that the most effective way was to march together through the factory to organize the strike. And this led to quite massive marches through the factory, and the workers began to see that together they were a real force.

Marches

Before, there were thousands and thousands of workers who were di-



Demonstration against layoffs outside FIAT plant in Turin.

bosses, there was nothing the workers could do about those hours of overtime. If the worker protested he was given all sorts of hard duty or was laid off. And since the wages were so low, there was a very strong additional pressure on the workers to work beyond the forty-four hours.

Struggles at FIAT

Q. What led to these conditions being changed?

A. Beginning at the end of 1968 there was a new upsurge of struggles. At FIAT, important struggles had taken place up to 1954. FIAT was like the fist of the working class of Italy. After 1954 there was a savage repression by the bosses which included the laying off of thousands and thousands of workers, especially members of the Communist Party and of the trade union linked to the CP.

So, the working class at FIAT suffered a real defeat in 1954. Beginning in 1967 massive hiring began to take place at FIAT. In no more than a year they had hired some 20,000 new workers at Mirafiori. And in the same year they opened a new factory, Ri-

real hell. And outside their job, it was not much different—it was the city of Turin, the city of FIAT, an "auto city." There was no social life, no recreation facilities, not even decent lodgings.

At the end of 1968, despite the extreme weakness of union organization and left political parties at FIAT, there began a real wave of struggles. There were two general strikes, one to protest police murders of peasants in two cities in the South of Italy, and one on the issue of social security benefits.

For the first time, these strikes had the participation of massive numbers of workers at FIAT. Even the way the strikes were announced in the factory was different. There were leaflets from the unions announcing the strikes, but in the past such leaflets remained a dead letter with no effect.

But this time, some of the vanguard workers took the initiative during the half-hour lunch break when all the workers were together, and in some plants there were guys who got up on the tables and began to speak, explaining that these were our brothers who had been killed in the South.

This had a big effect on the workers

vided, each one only knowing a few other workers they felt close to, and fearing the other workers as perhaps being spies for the boss. There was no confidence among the workers in themselves. They were thousands, but they were isolated and divided.

When the strike began, and the marches through the factory, they could see that they were no longer isolated, that they were a massive force.

I had this experience myself, with the marches through the factory. It really makes an impact on you; it's like a liberation. You realize that right there in the plant, yes, the boss has his power, but you also have a powerful force to contest his power.

After this first strike and this beginning of consciousness of the workers of their own power, there also began to be changes in the overall lives of the workers. The workers began to discuss among themselves. They would say, we know now we can fight back, we have the force to fight back, so let's fight to change our own conditions of work, which were absolutely inhuman.

on the job

Q. What were the demands of the workers?

A. In several parts of the factory, especially among the painters at the end of the assembly line, and among the skilled workers who repair the machines, strikes began over wage demands.

For the first time, the demands were the kind that could unify the workers—that is, equal wage increase for all as opposed to a percentage increase, so that you wouldn't have bigger increases going to those who already earned more, and the lowest increases for the lowest-paid workers. The demand for a wage increase was many times bigger than had ever been demanded in the past.

In addition, there were demands relating to the categories of work—that is, demanding that everyone who worked in production should be in the same category, the second category, and that the foreman could not arbitrarily determine your category. The demand was: for the same work, the same pay and the same category.

The workers also made the point that we all have to eat, and we all eat more or less the same kinds of things, so we should all earn more or less the same so we can live.

The other issue of struggle was over working conditions and health and accident insurance. The workers took the position that we were not ready to sell our health.

The policy of the bosses was that they would give a higher wage for jobs involving the worst conditions, where there was a high risk of accidents and job-related illnesses. And the workers began to say, no, our health can't be bought and sold. We refuse to put a price tag on our health.

This struggle led to experiences of real workers control on the job. For example, on the question of the pace of the line, the workers began to say we're fed up with having the speed of the line fixed by the foreman. We should decide what speed is possible, and we should impose the limits.

Elected delegates

It was out of this struggle that a new instrument of struggle arose: the delegates. Each team of workers who joined in the struggle got together and elected their own delegate.

Each team of workers had a foreman, who represented the power of the boss, and the workers would elect their delegate, who represented the power of the workers against the boss.

Another axis of struggle was hours. On the one hand, there was the demand for a forty-hour week, and on the other hand, the demand that the forty-hour week should be *real*, not just a fiction. The workers demanded zero hours of overtime, together with a salary that allows you to live.

Our demand was: we want to work to live, not live to work. This feeling was very strong.

So, struggles began. They did not immediately bring victories on all these questions. But we began to make gains on some questions—the categories, the line speed, some wage increases. You see, we did not have strikes that involved the whole factory complex. Separate departments or plants would launch a strike, and each victory would encourage other strikes.

They were wildcat strikes. Sometimes strikes of two hours, one after another in different parts of the line, would succeed in shutting down the whole line for the day.

Or sometimes there would be a strike

of everybody together, where someone would stop working at the beginning of the line, and then gather together the workers to march through the factory explaining their strike and showing again the power the workers had.

Through these kinds of experiences the workers became radicalized. Although the layer of militants was very small at the beginning, in a few months it grew to a sizable layer. They had matured almost spontaneously through their participation in these struggles.

Each partial victory in one plant would stimulate struggles in other plants. This was the situation at FIAT between February and August 1969.

Union leaders

Q. What role did the trade-union leadership play in this?

A. At the beginning the trade union opposed these struggles. They tried to impose different demands than those the workers wanted.

This was another factor that pushed the workers to elect delegates, in order to have an instrument of struggle that would represent them. Since the trade-union delegates wanted to negotiate for demands other than those the workers were raising, the workers elected their own delegates who would fight for these demands.

The far-left groups that existed at FIAT were also opposed at the beginning to the delegates structures, and this had the effect of limiting support to these groups inside the factory.

But by the summer the attitude of the unions, even of the top bureaucrats, had begun to change. The example of the struggles at FIAT began to be followed by workers in other companies. And the union leaders began to see the danger of the dynamic of these struggles. They decided to try to channel the movement onto a less militant road.

In many plants the union leaders would take the demands raised at the FIAT plant, generalize them, and try to take the credit for these struggles.

In regard to overtime, the unions did not accept all of the workers demands. They proposed strong limits on the amount of overtime, although not its elimination.

Overtime

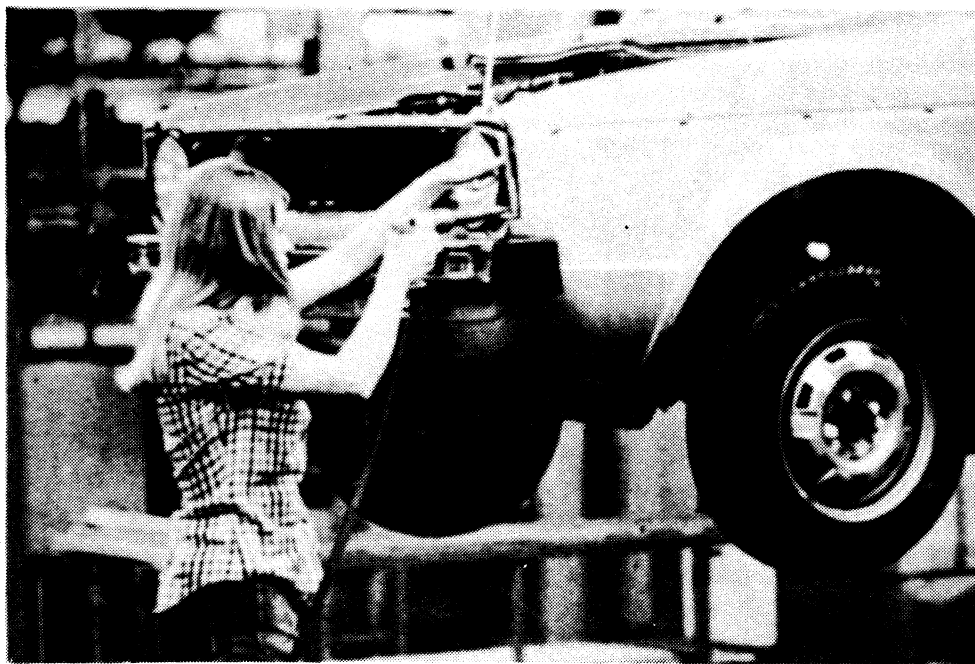
Q. Would you describe some of the gains that were made?

A. In the new contract there was a limitation on overtime of not more than two hours in one day, not more than eight hours in one week, and not more than 200 hours in a year.

But management alone could not decide on the overtime. The union had to agree to it. In the 1969 contract it said that there had to be a special reason for overtime, such as a breakdown in machinery during the regular work day, etc. It couldn't simply be imposed to increase production.

This was a big step forward in comparison to the past. But the workers saw it as only a partial victory, because they didn't want any overtime. And the workers wouldn't even work the amount of overtime stipulated in the contract. If the foreman asked them to work overtime they said no, and went home. The foreman no longer had the power to force you to work overtime.

In the next contract there was another step forward. The limitation on overtime per year was lowered to 120 hours. And half the overtime you work has to be made up to you in time off.



'Since 1977, with growth of women's movement, number of women in plants increased.'

Despite these provisions, the workers are still successful in working far less overtime than is allowed in the contract. Sometimes the boss tries to blackmail the workers on the question of overtime by saying that if they work, more workers will also be hired.

For example, a year ago the bosses said it was necessary to work six Saturdays because there was a big improvement in the market for cars, and they told the workers that if the workers permitted this Saturday work, the bosses would also hire new workers. In the end the union decided against the overtime and there were even strikes against it.

And even though no workers went to work on five of those Saturdays, there were big picket lines to make sure no one tried to enter. The slogan was that not a single worker should go in.

Another example is a struggle that involved a comrade in our organization, the GCR, who works on an assembly line. In his case a team of workers further up the line were asked to work overtime, and agreed to. When the workers in the comrade's team came in on Monday they found that there was a lot of extra work due to the overtime these other people had put in over the weekend.

The comrade's team decided they would only do their regular Monday work and wouldn't do any work on the cars that had been worked on on Saturday. It was a two month struggle they waged around the slogans "no to any overtime," "yes to new workers being hired."

This struggle had a big impact because FIAT tried to refuse the demand. It's too long to go into now, but suffice it to say that there was a sharp conflict, and after two months of hard struggle they won almost everything they asked for.

Q. Were there any fights between the workers regarding overtime?

A. No, there were no fights because there were not many who wanted to work overtime and there were ways of making life difficult for those who did work it. For instance people might come in and find that their work clothes were soaked. Sometimes they found them soaking in the toilet.

Control over line

Q. How much control have the workers been able to win over the assembly line?

A. We have quite a bit of control compared to workers in other industries, or in the auto industry in other countries.

We have very specific agreements with the boss which concretize this control. There is a half-hour when the whole line closes so everyone can eat together. There are also individual breaks that are guaranteed to eve-

ryone, and the foremen have to give these to you. That comes to forty minutes per day, in addition to the half hour for lunch.

In addition, the speed of the line is regulated so that each worker must be actually working only 88 percent of his time on the job. This is in contrast to a speed of the line where every second is used in doing the work allotted to that section of the line.

The bosses wanted that 88 percent to be the average, with some jobs paced above that and some below. We said no, that has to be the maximum for every individual. And it is our interpretation that carries. This means that the average saturation work rate is therefore less than 88 percent since some jobs take less time and 88 percent is the maximum allowed.

Sometimes the bosses try to find ways to speed up the line by dividing the work into smaller portions. In our contract we have provisions that limit this practice. There can be no job that takes less than one minute.

Q. How did you prevent the bosses and foremen from getting new workers to violate this agreement?

A. The new workers are the youngest workers and are the most combative. The older workers are somewhat satisfied. They see that they have made some gains. But the young workers come into the situation as it is now and say that this is a bad situation. They want to change it.

We also got an agreement that the faster the line moves, the lower the percentage of the minute actually involved in working.

Production rates

Another thing that we were able to do is force the bosses to provide precise three-month projections for the production rate on each assembly line. This was extremely important for the following reason. In the past workers could be shifted from one line to another as needed.

For instance, if today line A is producing a model at 200 cars per day and line B is producing another model at 400 cars per day, some of the workers from line A would be switched to line B. And if the next day line A was producing 300 cars a day and line B was producing 300 cars, some of the workers from line B would be shifted back to line A.

But we forced the company to fix production rates for each line for three months at a time and to staff each line with the number of people needed for that rate of production. A worker cannot be shifted from one line to another, and therefore the bosses now have to hire a full complement for each line.

Given that the average absenteeism is 16 percent, it means that each line

Continued on next page

...FIAT

Continued from preceding page

must now have an organic workforce of 16 percent more than normally needed assigned to it fulltime. And each three months the company determines what the average absenteeism has been on each line and then adjusts the workforce to reflect the real absenteeism.

If we didn't have this it would mean that the foremen would try to make those present work even harder to cover for the absentees.

There aren't any part-time workers because if everyone came in there would be more people than work.

Q. How long do the contracts run?

A. Three years for the whole industry. Then the contract for each local plant runs one year and covers only the specific conditions in that plant. The bosses tried to get the national contract to establish limits on what could be demanded in the local contracts, but that was beaten back.

Q. How many people are in the union?

A. Among metalworkers as a whole in Italy the percentage is very high, around 70 percent. At my plant it is lower. Where I work a little over 40 percent are unionized. FIAT was always the weakest area in terms of unionization because of the setbacks I mentioned.

But the delegates are elected by all the workers, not just those in the unions. And workers who are not in unions can be elected as delegates to the factory council, which is the local structure of the union. These councils are both a union and a movement. At the top it is a union, at the base it is a movement.

Women in workforce

Q. To what extent have women entered the workforce on the floor as opposed to the offices, and how successful have they been in being accepted by the workers and by the foremen?

A. Women have been in the plant for many years, some for thirty years. In the past they were mainly concentrated in a few factories. In 1967 when there was a big wave of hiring, women began to move into other areas as well. And this continued in the years that followed.

The struggles that took place around conditions of work helped make it possible for women to be hired. Today there is an agreement at FIAT that no worker has to lift more than twenty kilos.

Q. Are there different job categories for people of different physical abilities, so that, for instance, a small person doesn't get put on jobs that require a lot of height?

A. There shouldn't be jobs that are so hard that only some people can do them. We try to force the bosses to introduce new machines or new technology that makes that possible.

This aids the general health of everyone.

Q. Would you go into more detail on the situation faced by women?

A. After 1974-75, the number of women in the plants declined. They were not pushed out, but there was greater turnover of women and less were hired than quit.

But since 1977, with the growth of the women's movement and the unions taking up the question, the number again increased.



Demonstration by Milan auto workers, February 1974.

The unions demanded some control over hiring and wanted the imposition of more objective criteria for hiring. We felt that it should not be the bosses who have control over hiring, but rather that all the workers who don't have jobs should sign up on a list and be classified on the basis of the length of time they have been out of work and their family situation.

Someone who is the head of a family gets more points than someone who isn't. A woman who lives alone or whose husband is out of work would get more points than someone whose husband is working or than a man whose wife was already working.

With this system it turned out that there were more women than men on the list of those who needed jobs. Moreover, many of the men on the list, which was compiled by the city administration together with the unions, did not want to work at FIAT. So those who ended up at FIAT tended to be women and young. Last year many more women than men were hired.

As a result of this process the women have spread throughout much of the plant, although there are still some sections where they do not appear. Overall, about 20 percent of the workforce is women, but in some parts of the line women are more than 50 percent.

Discrimination

In Italy the law prevents discrimination on wages. "Same work, same wages." So there isn't this kind of discrimination. But there is discrimination of another kind. A young male worker, for example, may be able to get a skill if he has the desire and wants to get ahead. A young woman usually cannot.

In most plants, the more skilled the job, the fewer women you have. Women are found in difficult jobs, but not in skilled jobs. But a certain consciousness is beginning to develop on this question among men and women. In one plant there is discussion going on about opening a struggle to get a

fixed percentage of women into these openings.

Unfortunately the bosses' ideology that some work is men's work is accepted by many women and by many male workers. Many women see that unequal pay for the same work would be clear discrimination and they would oppose that, but they do not yet see that the fact that some job categories are restricted to men is also discrimination.

But I believe that after the last wave of hiring that took place, which was so heavily youth and women, this attitude will change also.

Up until ten years ago when these big struggles took place, foremen frequently gave favors to women in return for sexual favors, which was a form of prostitution of women. When, through the struggles, the power of the foremen over questions of assignments and job categories was greatly reduced,

this no longer took place. There was the contract that had to be honored, and delegates to see that it was enforced.

This eliminated the objective base of the foreman's power over women. In addition, no one in the team is going to tolerate an authoritarian attitude by the foreman, even when it is directed toward women. There is more solidarity between men and women workers than between men workers and men foremen.

But of course backward attitudes still exist, although they haven't taken extreme forms. Among the delegates and the most advanced workers there is consciousness on the question, which tends to cut down on the extreme forms of this exploitation of women, although even here we should not exaggerate the consciousness.

The main kind of antiwomen attitudes are the ones more associated with everyday life. Men read pornographic magazines and put up pin-ups. But it doesn't go beyond that. There's no violence against women.

It is the normal kind of prejudice that exists outside the factory that is reflected within as well. But I think that there is less in the factory than in general society, and from what I gather there is less in big factories in Italy than in other countries.

I think the reason for this is that for a number of years we have carried out big struggles all together, big demonstrations together, and the sense of solidarity is very strong.

These ten years of struggle have created a much more human atmosphere of solidarity compared to the past, a big change. For many workers their main social life, friendships, relationships, are oriented around the factory.

Political activity

Q. What kind of political activity is carried out in the plant?

A. All our posters, literature, leaflets and the like are distributed right in the factory under the nose of the foreman. I can go up and hang a GCR poster right next to the foreman. All the left organizations do this.

These days, during the elections, there are more posters inside FIAT than there are at any political headquarters. There are no areas of the plant that aren't totally covered with posters.

Every morning the members of the different political groups bring their papers into the plants. And in each factory there are a number of special places to put up posters. This is not in the contract, but has been imposed on the company by the workers.

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Black, antiwar leaders speak

Meeting hails gains for Palestinian fight

By Peter Seidman

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Recent support by Black leaders signals a "new era" for the cause of Palestinian rights, says Palestine Human Rights Campaign chairperson Jim Zogby.

Zogby hailed this historic breakthrough at the PHRC's second national conference here September 21-22.

Both Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, addressed the 400 participants at the conference.

Blacks are in the forefront of this growing opposition in the United States to the Zionist regime.

But other significant forces are also beginning to raise their voices in support of Palestinian rights.

Hence Zogby also saluted as cause for "celebration" the participation in the conference of antiwar and civil liberties activists Dave Dellinger, Don Luce, and Ramsey Clark.

Dellinger, editor of *Seven Days*, was a prominent leader of the movement against the Vietnam war.

Luce, of Concerned Clergy and Laity, is best known for his role in exposing the notorious tiger-cage torture dungeons used by the U.S.-backed Saigon dictatorship.

Clark is a former U.S. attorney general, who in recent years has spoken



Antipersonnel bomb made in USA, photographed by Don Luce on fact-finding tour in southern Lebanon.

out on civil liberties issues.

Alexandra Johnson, who was fired as a U.S. consular official in Jerusalem for her role in exposing systematic torture by the Israeli government, and U.S. Rep. Paul Findley also addressed the conference.

Dellinger, Luce, and Clark had all recently returned from a fact-finding

tour in Southern Lebanon.

Describing the effect of Israeli bombing in the area, Clark said "the havoc that's been wreaked in Lebanon" is "a human tragedy of historic dimensions."

These assaults violate international law, the former attorney general stressed. They also violate the U.S.-Israeli defense agreement and the Arms Control Export Act. "We ought to stop supplying Israel with all arms while these aggressions continue," Clark demanded.

Dellinger blasted the Zionists' claims that they were only bombing "military targets" in Lebanon.

Writing in the September 28 issue of *Seven Days*, Dellinger expanded on these observations:

"Like the U.S. in Vietnam, Israel justifies its raids on Lebanon in terms of military necessity. . . .

"But, to my horror, what I observed was not a policy of selective military strikes, but a program of massive Israeli terrorism against the population of Lebanon. I saw an extensive, systematic destruction of civilian targets—houses, schools, medical clinics, churches, and mosques. The kinds of targets, weapons used (including antipersonnel bombs outlawed by the Geneva and other international conventions of warfare) were painfully reminiscent of Vietnam—and so were the results. . . . In the end, after four months, every village, town, and refugee camp south of Sidon (and many places north of it) have been hit many times, with catastrophic human results.

"So far, the Israelis have driven an estimated 800,000 Lebanese and Palestinians from their homes, most of them since the signing of the Camp David accords."

Dellinger told conference participants of a second parallel to the Vietnam war.

He recounted how just before the first big national protest demonstration in April 1965 he was reproached by several peace activists for joining an antiwar march on the grounds that this meant support of "Vietcong terrorists."

As a pacifist, Dellinger said, "I had to wrestle with this. But what became clear was that when the United States attacks a country like Vietnam, you cannot equate the violence."

The same applies to the Palestinians, Dellinger argued. "You cannot equate the terrorism of the weak with the massive terrorism of the Israeli airforce and army."

Dellinger called for a coalition of Blacks, Native Americans, antiwar and antinuclear forces, feminists, and others to insist that the Mideast conflict not be allowed to spark World War III.

"An essential demand of such a coalition," he said, "must be an end to all U.S. arms and financing for Israel." Further, such a coalition must "insist that Palestinians have a fully independent homeland."

Don Luce also stressed the parallels between what he saw in southern Lebanon and in Vietnam.

He told of Palestine Liberation Organization chairperson Yassir Arafat's welcome to their delegation. "We have been waiting for people like you to come," Arafat told them.

"We thought that when the Vietnam war ended, Americans like you would take up the cause of Palestinian justice right away. We have been waiting, and now we consider it an accomplishment that you are here."

PHRC organizers say the group now has chapters in thirty-four cities.

A prisoners committee has been established under the leadership of Sami Esmail. Esmail, a U.S. citizen of Palestinian descent, was himself a political prisoner in Israeli jails for ten months.

Activists from the American Indian Movement, various church organizations, the Nicaraguan solidarity group NICA, and the Bloc of Salvadoreans in Washington in Solidarity with the Popular Revolutionary Bloc of El Salvador voiced their solidarity at the conference.

Felicia Langer, an Israeli attorney well known for her defense of Palestinian human rights, also spoke.

Defend Ziad Abu Ein

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Ziad Abu Ein is a nineteen-year-old Palestinian political prisoner—locked away in a *Chicago jail* since August!

U.S. authorities seized Ziad at the request of the Israeli government.

The Zionist regime wants to extradite Ziad on frame-up charges. They say he is a member of Al Fatah and that he participated in a May 14, 1979, bombing in Tiberius, Israel.

At the time of the incident, Ziad was actually working at his family's store in Ramallah (some seventy miles away).

Granted a U.S. visa in June, he had been living with his sister in Chicago before his arrest.

The Zionists' charges against Ziad are based on a "confession"—prepared in Hebrew and obtained under torture—from another Palestinian political prisoner, Jamal Yassim.

Yassim has since repudiated his "confession."

Nabil Abraham, director of the

Association of Arab-American University Graduates, appealed for support to the newly-formed Chicago-based Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee at the recent conference of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

Abraham blasted the extradition treaty between Israel and the United States.

He protested that it allows U.S. cops to harass and silence supporters of the Palestinians in this country on the basis of nothing more than frame-up charges lodged by Zionist authorities.

Israeli officials have come under increasing international criticism for their fabrication of such charges based on phony confessions by Palestinian prisoners. Often obtained under torture, these confessions are written out in advance in Hebrew, a language many Palestinians cannot understand.

For more information contact the Ziad Abu Ein Defense Committee at (312) 772-9383. —P.S.

Bomb raids increase as Zimbabwe talks go on

By Fred Feldman

Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front has been served with an ultimatum by Britain's Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.

Carrington is demanding that the Black liberation fighters accept the constitution Britain is trying to impose on Zimbabwe. He declared that the British government would proceed with negotiations with the white-dominated Muzorewa government without the Patriotic Front unless the ultimatum is accepted.

The Patriotic Front's rejection of the constitution led to the adjournment of the London talks on October 11. The British proposal assured whites substantial control over the army and police in a future Zimbabwean government, and guaranteed the interests of white plantation owners by requiring sizable compensation for expropriated land.

This proposal is particularly outrageous since the land owned by whites was expropriated without compensa-

tion from Blacks in the first place, and was worked for decades by underpaid Black labor.

The conference was the latest in a series of military and diplomatic moves by the imperialists and their allies aimed at pressing the Patriotic Front and the five frontline states in southern Africa to drop the fight for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

On September 5, just five days before the London negotiations were set to open, Rhodesian war planes and ground troops launched a major attack into neighboring Mozambique.

A Rhodesian military communiqué claimed at the end of the three-day assault that its forces had killed 300 Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops. Schools, hospitals, and bridges were bombed, according to the Mozambican government. A report in the September 24 *Christian Science Monitor* revealed that Rhodesian bombs had destroyed part of the dam at Aldeia de Barragem, which could seriously affect next

year's rice crop.

On September 27, Rhodesian forces again struck in Mozambique. After withdrawing five days later, they claimed to have killed "several hundred" Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

Washington and London issued no condemnation of the raids, thus giving a green light for further attacks.

The apartheid regime in South Africa is following a similar strategy, hoping to weaken the Angolan economy and undercut support for the Namibian liberation forces.

According to the Angolan government, South African planes bombed several areas of southern Angola on September 11. On September 26 they bombed factories, schools, homes, and markets in the towns of Lubango and Xangongo, killing sixty persons. This destruction, an Angolan defense communiqué states, was "aimed at the destabilization of the political and social situation in our country."

By and about Malcolm X

Malcolm X Speaks.

242 pp., paper \$1.95

Malcolm X on Afro-American History.

74 pp., paper \$1.95

By Any Means Necessary

by Malcolm X.

192 pp., paper \$2.95

The Last Year of Malcolm X

by George Breitman.

169 pp., paper \$2.95

Assassination of Malcolm X

by George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith.

190 pp., \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410

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

UAW WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Women members of United Auto Workers Local 12 in Toledo have formed a women's committee to take up equal rights issues in the workplace and in the union, reports *Militant* correspondent Janet Post. The committee has a large outreach potential, since Local 12 is an amalgamated local with units in some eighty plants and more than 12,000 members.

On September 23 the committee sponsored a showing of *With Babies and Banners*, attended by fifty local members and friends. The film deals with the 1937 Flint GM strike, in which women played a crucial role.

It was of special interest to several women from the Rowe Industries unit of Local 12. They have been on strike since June 12, 1978. Almost all of the forty-eight strikers are women who have from ten to twenty-six years' seniority. The company makes back-up systems for nuclear power plants, torpedo warheads, and cable for radar. The pay is only \$3.58 an hour, and there is no pension plan.

Rowe is currently operating with scab labor, and is paying them the fifty cents more an hour that the strikers are demanding.

The Local 12 Women's Committee is publicizing and winning support for the strike. It initiated a support rally sponsored by Local 12, to be held November 11 at the union hall.

The other main issue the committee is taking up is how to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Right now committee members are discussing organizing participation from Toledo in the January 13 demonstration called for Richmond, Virginia, by Labor for Equal Rights Now.

ARMY CONTAMINATED OAT CROPS

U.S. army biological warfare tests in 1950 resulted in the contamination of oat crops with cereal rust, a grain disease, according to recently released government documents. The Army released homing pigeons whose feathers had been dusted with cereal rust

Iran tour wins new support



Farhad Nouri, center, petitions at plant gate in San Diego for release of Iran prisoners.

"His goal: Save friends from execution in Iran," read the headline of an article in the October 9 *Minneapolis Star*.

"Today, Nouri, a 29-year-old Iranian revolutionary, is campaigning on behalf of 12 men who have been sentenced to die by the Iranian government, and two others who received life imprisonment," the article states.

"The 14 socialists are friends and comrades—people with whom he marched on picket lines, organized rallies and demonstrations against the Shah of Iran."

Nouri is on a three-country tour seeking to win the release of fourteen members of the Hezbe-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS) in jail in Iran for their political views.

Nouri's tour has received wide media coverage. An October 2 news conference at the Duluth International Airport was aired on local radio and TV and reported in the press. His two-day stop on the Mesabi Iron Range raised more than \$500.

Well over 100 people turned out October 5 to hear Nouri speak at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. More than a third of the audience was Iranian, and \$300 was raised for the defense.

Unfortunately, during the

discussion period a group of Iranians who had come to disrupt the meeting began chanting, forcing the meeting to a close.

In Chicago, Nouri shared the platform with Dennis Brutus, South African exile and poet, and Dr. Quentin Young, chairman of the Department of Medicine at Cook County Hospital. The September 30 meeting, attended by more than 100 people, also heard messages from Rejai Busailah, a Palestinian rights activist; Patrick Gorman, chair of the board emeritus of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union; and Carl Shier, international staff representative of Region Four, United Auto Workers. More than \$500 was raised.

Protest telegrams should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Ayatollah Ghodsi, Prosecutor General of the Revolutionary Islamic Republic, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartosh-tian Alley, Tehran, Iran; and to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

Financial contributions are urgently needed.

spores in upper New York State.

A report proudly declared that the test could "initiate a cereal rust epidemic." The Army also conducted a similar "experiment" in the Virgin Islands.

300 RALLY AGAINST KLAN IN OHIO

Three hundred people rallied in Middletown, Ohio, October 7, in response to recent Ku Klux Klan (KKK) provocations. The rally was organized by the Middletown NAACP. A KKK grand dragon, Van Lowman, lives in Middletown.

Militant correspondent Kathleen Denny reports that speakers at the rally included Middletown NAACP president, Marcus Hammonds, Jr.; Victor Davis, NAACP president from nearby Hamilton; Dorothy Bunch, Ohio NAACP chair; Rev. Morris McCracken; Anne Braden, co-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and C.T. Vivian, executive secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The large ARMCO steel plant, employing 6,800 workers, is located in Middletown. ARMCO has a long union-busting record. Black workers are relegated to the lowest-paying jobs. Union-organizing drives have thus far failed.

The rally was endorsed by Local 776 of the International Union of Electrical Workers in Cincinnati.

One speaker at the rally, Ken Chastain, a member of Local 1961 of the International Brotherhood of Paint and Al-

lied Workers in Atlanta, received a good response when he suggested that the ARMCO Steel Co. was behind the Klan activity in the area.

The NAACP reported that fifty new members joined the NAACP at the rally.

MD. STEELWORKERS STRIKE GLIDDEN PLANT

Four hundred workers at the Glidden Pigments plant in South Baltimore walked out September 23 after rejecting the company's "final" contract offer. Glidden is part of the SCM Corporation. Its workers are represented by United Steelworkers Local 14019.

The major issues are cost-of-living clause, wages, pensions, and vacations. Glidden is offering an 8.5 percent wage increase for the first year, but only 6 percent for each of the following two contract years. The maximum COLA offered would amount to twenty-two cents a year.

"I was hungry before the strike, and I'll stay hungry until we get a decent contract," an angry worker on the picket line told *Militant* correspondent Tania Abdulahad.

FMC, another small chemical plant near Glidden, has been struck for more than 120 days. FMC strikers have agreed to walk Glidden's picket lines when a union meeting is called and Glidden workers will do the same for FMC strikers.

UNION WINS ELECTION AT J.P. STEVENS

In an important victory, workers at a J.P. Stevens plant

NEW YORK CITY

ANTI-SHAH MILITANTS IN IRANIAN PRISONS

Speakers: Farhad Nouri, leader of Iranian Socialist Workers Party; Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Irish civil rights activist; Pablo Valcarcel, United Auto Workers District 65 Hispanic Affairs Committee; William Kunstler, attorney; Ali Mahmoud, Association of Kurdistan Students Abroad; Dupa Ndlovu, Black Consciousness Movement of So-

Africa, U.S. Region; Laurie Roberts, National Lawyers Guild; and Sheila Ryan, Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Fri., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. Tishman Hall, NYU Law School, 40 Washington Sq. So. Donation: \$2. Aup: Committee to Save the Iranian 14 and NYU Lawyers Guild. For more information call (212) 260-0574.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

EVENING IN SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA. Speakers: Manuel Vallez, Nicaraguan consul; Blase Bonpane, Singer from Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture. Videotape on the battle of Poncasón. Fri., Oct. 26, 7 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. Donation: \$3. Aup: National Committee for Reconstruction of Nicaragua.

SAN DIEGO

HOW TO WIN WOMEN'S EQUALITY ON THE JOB. Speakers: Pat Hryczyszyn, president, San Diego National Organization for Women; Elizabeth Reed, Southern California vice-president of Service Employees International Union; Selva Machado, member, International Association of Machinists Local 1125. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

TAX THE RICH, NOT WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Debra Liatos, Socialist Workers candidate for Board of Supervisors, District 7; Bob Barber, Grass Roots Alliance. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

WHAT'S BEHIND CARTER'S THREATS AGAINST CUBA? a panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. N.E. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

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.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

CARTER'S NEW WAR THREAT: ITS

MEANING FOR CUBA AND NICARAGUA.

Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, national chair, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Cuba and Nicaragua. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

STOP RACIST ATTACKS: THE FIGHT TO IMPLEMENT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOSTON. Speakers: Mel King, state representative; others. Fri., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth, 4th fl. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (716) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, 1980 Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate; Gayle Swann, SWP candidate for mayor. Sat., Oct. 20, 6:30 p.m. social; 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. rally. United Electrical Workers Hall, 3055 Central Ave. N.E. Donation: \$5 banquet & rally; \$1.50 rally only. Aup: SWP Campaign Committee.

For more information call (613) 825-6663.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

AUTO WORKERS UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Osborne Hart, staff writer for the *Militant*; Heidi Rose, UAW Local 980. Sat., Oct. 20, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

THE FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY. Speakers: Doug Wilber, member, PROD; Vic Cabán, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 301, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

LOWER MANHATTAN

EL SALVADOR: A PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE. Speaker: Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Nov. 10, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. (1/2 block east of Union Sq.). Donation: \$2. Aup: *Militant*

and *Perspectiva Mundial*. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH

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.

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.

Abortion Rights Action Week

By Suzanne Haig

As a show of strength for women's right to choose abortion, a coalition of women's, union, civil rights, and religious organizations is sponsoring Abortion Rights Action Week, October 22-29.

Sponsoring organizations include the Coalition of Labor Union Women, District 1199 of the hospital workers union, Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, National Alliance of Black Feminists, Mexican American National Women's Association, Planned Parenthood, and others.

In New York City a whole week of activities is planned. A rally and fair will take place October 27 at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, Forty-seventh Street between First and Second avenues. The rally, which begins at 1 p.m., will include speeches by

Betty Shabazz, Black activist and widow of Malcolm X, and Ruby Jones, president of New York CLUW.

Earlier in the week, on October 24, a discussion on "Abortion and Working Women" will take place at District 1199 headquarters, 310 West Forty-third Street, at 6:30 p.m.

In Detroit on October 23, Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black Massachusetts doctor who has fought to perform safe, legal abortions, will speak at Cobo Hall. Ms. magazine editor Gloria Steinem will address an October 27 meeting in Detroit on the Wayne State University campus.

For more information on activities in other cities, contact the Abortion Rights Action Week office at 17 Murray Street, Fourth Floor, New York, New York 10007. Telephone (212) 964-3868.

in High Point, North Carolina, voted 68-48 for representation by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Stevens, the country's second-largest textile firm, has resorted to lawbreaking, coercion, and harassment to forestall union organizing in its eighty-two plants.

The win at High Point came despite the usual company campaign of firing and threatening union supporters. The ACTWU charged also that Stevens brought in a one-legged man on crutches to tell the workers he had lost the leg because of a strike.

The victory was the second vote for the union in its sixteen-year campaign to organize Stevens. The first, in 1974, included 3,000 Stevens workers at seven plants in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. Stevens has refused to bargain seriously, and the workers still are without a union contract.

DEMAND RELEASE OF JUAN MARI BRAS

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has called

for protests against the arrests of two leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in Puerto Rico.

Juan Mari Brás, PSP general secretary, and Pedro Baigés Chapel were arrested on September 24 and 25 for contempt of court.

The contempt charges stem from recent protests against the U.S. Navy occupation of Vieques, an island used for target practice by the U.S. military. Baigés Chapel was arrested when he sailed, along with Puerto Rican fishermen, into a restricted zone. Mari Brás was acting as his attorney. Both have refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts in Puerto Rico.

The USLA statement calls the arrests "an attempt to harass these two leaders of the Puerto Rican independence movement and intimidate others who would join that cause."

USLA is urging people to heed the call by the PSP to send protest messages to President Carter and the Justice Department in Washington, D.C.

Copies should be sent to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Rm. 812, New York, New York 10003.

Nuclear danger targeted

Protests will take place across the country October 28-29 against nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

A coalition of sixty anti-nuclear groups is planning two days of protests in New York City against investment in nuclear power. The Wall Street Action, as the coalition calls itself, has demanded that the New York Stock Exchange drop sixty-one corporations that invest in nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

On Sunday, October 28, the coalition will hold a noon rally to protest corporate nuclear investment and to demand funds for human needs. The rally will take place in front of the World Trade Center, on Church Street, in Manhattan.

The following day a sit-in at the New York Stock Ex-

change is set to begin in the early morning. A support vigil will take place simultaneously across the street.

In Washington, D.C., two days of protests at the Department of Energy, sponsored by Mobilization for Survival, will demand "No More Nuclear Victims." A teach-in is set for October 28, and nonviolent civil disobedience at DOE offices for the next day, along with a legal support rally. For more information call Mobilization for Survival at (215) 386-4875.

Two days of protests against the Trident missile/submarine system—each of which costs nearly \$2 billion—are set for Bangor, Washington, October 28-29. For more information call Live Without Trident at (206) 682-5145 in Seattle.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



War on inflation—As a public service, the advertising industry has produced a pamphlet advising that inflation is a serious problem. However, it assures, we can all help do something about it. For instance, "If you don't think you can afford something, don't buy it."

Pretty perky—Each U.S. senator has in his office a WATS telephone line which, at a cost to the taxpayer of some \$1,500 a month, permits unlimited phone calls anywhere in the U.S. And, it was recently inadvertently disclosed, they have had "extenders" of these phones at their homes for the past four years. For official business use only, natch.

Our forward-looking FBI—As long as they keep their nose to the ground, FBI agents will no longer be automatically dismissed for engaging in heterosexual activity outside the bonds of matrimony. And, says Bureau chief Webster, they're even looking into the question of homosexuality. He would not preclude that the rule on that may be modified, "some years hence."

First-class alibi—A Grand Rapids,

Michigan, letter carrier was given five years probation for delaying mail after thousands of pieces were found in his garage. He said he took the mail home because he didn't have time to deliver it all during working hours. Seems to us that instead of prosecuting, the government would have nominated him for postmaster.

Our sane society—Under this system, you have freedom of choice. No one leans on you, and competition keeps prices down by eliminating waste, right? Like, for instance, last year 100 companies invested \$10 billion in advertising. A solid \$23 million was spent just to plug Crest toothpaste. The commercials probably cost more than the paste.

Honest John Tiffany—Such a dignified store. Like when they noted the recent gold price hikes by boosting the price of gold jewelry already on hand. Sniffed a Tiffany exec, "We cannot afford to sell our inventory at less than replacement value." Somehow it recalled the cartoon of the shopper scurrying for the supermarket checkout, with a clerk in hot pursuit armed with a stamp to add on the latest price increase.

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



A NOW conference photo

Almost 3,000 women attended the National Organization for Women's national conference October 5-7 in Los Angeles.

I could tell from the women I talked to and those I listened to in workshops that NOW is bringing to its ranks many new feminist fighters—including more and more trade unionists and other working women who only recently became involved in women's rights.

Many of the women who came were interested in the economic problems facing working women, the gap in wages between men and women, and the need to organize women into unions.

That's why Barrie Michaels of Los Angeles was there.

Michaels, a Black woman, has been a NOW member for two months. Besides the fight against racism and sexism, she saw the unionization of women as her main issue. She was "surprised and impressed" to find that it is also of interest to many other NOW members.

Because of her experiences with the Communication Workers of America, she was very concerned about getting more women elected to leadership positions in unions that are predominantly female but still have mostly male officials.

The events of last year—from Three Mile Island to the leaking of industrial and atomic wastes—have had a great impact on many NOW members.

Take Linda Shaw, who came from San Diego. Shaw was a NOW member five years ago and has since rejoined. This was her first national conference since 1975.

She is actively involved in the antinuclear movement in California and recently participated in the protest action at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.

Shaw felt strongly that nuclear power was a woman's issue and that NOW should take a stand opposing both nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons.

"The same power structure that oppresses women is pushing war," she said. "It's insanity. It's threatening the human race!"

While we were at the NOW conference,

the capitalist media were extolling the pope's "mass appeal" in this country.

One person who didn't buy what the pope was selling was Patricia Lenberg. She came to the NOW conference in reaction to the pope.

Good.

There are many others like Patricia.

She decided to come to the conference after watching the pope on TV rejecting women's demands to be priests.

The pope was followed on TV by Eleanor Smeal, NOW national president, who condemned the pontiff's attacks on women's rights.

"They flashed the Bonaventure Hotel while the NOW president was speaking, so I thought I'd come," Lenberg said.

Although the NOW conference was on the West Coast, people came from all parts of the United States—including Alaska.

Drina Fairchild came from Anchorage. "Women are in a number of non-traditional jobs in Alaska—particularly due to the building of the pipeline," Fairchild said.

"Women hold electrical, welding and construction jobs. There's a big teamsters union up here and women are joining it."

One such woman—a real fighter for women's rights on the job—was at the conference labor workshop. She was a truck driver on the Alaskan pipe line and from Teamsters Local 959.

Being the only woman driver on the night shift, she's been subject to constant harassment by the company—and some of the male drivers.

"I joined NOW because of this and I'm going to find an answer for when I get back," she told the workshop participants.

Many women active in the fight for their rights have reached some very basic conclusions about the entire system. One was Meri Dreyfus, who was at her first conference.

Also active in the antinuclear movement, she said she had no faith in the system.

"We need total change and revolution. And it can't be done from the top."

Militant (I'll accept all charges) or tell me how I can get one. By the way, my nationality is Iranian. A.G. Corvallis, Oregon

UAW members harassed

Pullman Trailmobile, at its plant outside Philadelphia, has opened a campaign of intimidation aimed at employees, active members of United Auto Workers Local 2068, for distributing the *Militant*.

On September 17, four workers were handing out leaflets at the edge of the company driveway to first-shift co-workers leaving in their cars. The leaflets explained what the *Militant* is all about.

A local cop drove up and told them to move off company property. Several workers had bought *Militants* before the cop showed up. Later the four were called into the office of Industrial Relations Manager D.W. Gillaspay and warned they had better leave the plant that night with as much literature as they had carried in.

The UAW members demanded beforehand to have a union steward present for the meeting with Gillaspay but this was never granted.

This attack on all workers' right to read socialist, pro-union ideas and exchange political views comes in the wake of a company productivity drive. The employer is cracking down on absenteeism, lateness, and demanding ever more quantity and quality while at the same time laying off workers.

The company is out to weaken the power and solidarity of the union. One way is by stifling political discussion and infringing upon employees' right to read what they choose to read.

Company rumors have been spread in the plant of 700 workers that the "socialists are trying to take over the union." This slander is especially serious since the UAW just won a union organizing election a little more than a year ago and is still in the process of consolidating its strength.

Rumors, threats, and harassment were also company tactics used against UAW organizers and supporters. They too were greeted with intimidation by local cops and company officials for distributing pro-UAW literature to workers.

Militant supporters have gone on a campaign at the plant for the right of workers to read whatever paper they choose without company interference. Feedback has been encouraging and supportive, including from those who have never read the paper.

Steve Knox
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.

The Communist Manifesto

This fall members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party will be studying a manifesto issued by a tiny political party called the Communist League more than 130 years ago. Written by two young Germans, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the *Communist Manifesto* begins: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism."

Today that spectre haunts the exploiters not only in Europe but around the world. The capitalist class has launched crusades, witch-hunts, and bloody wars to exorcise it, only to have it come back stronger than ever.

Why does this manifesto continue to have such influence?

It captures the very essence of the dynamics of modern capitalist society. Marx and Engels were able to do this because of the doctrine of historical materialism (dialectical materialism applied to the study of human society) that the two men had worked out several years before.

Historical materialism recognizes that changes in the productive forces available to human beings and changes in the distribution of wealth are the key to the history of society.

The given level of productive forces in a society gives rise to a corresponding class structure. Today most of humanity has advanced beyond primitive subsistence societies. That has produced a social structure where one class—the capitalists—owns the means of production and exploits the labor of another class—the workers.

The exploiting and exploited classes have conflicting interests and engage in constant struggle. Eventually a stage is reached where the forces of production no longer correspond to the existing social relations or property forms.

This contradiction is not resolved automatically, but through the class struggle.

The triumph of the great revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe that transformed feudal society into capitalist society are an example.

The young authors saw another such crisis approaching as they wrote the *Manifesto*: "Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells."

But the capitalists also bring into being a class that can transform bourgeois society. "... not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians. ...

"The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and

there the contest breaks out into riots. "Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another."

The second chapter deals with the role of the revolutionary socialists or communists relative to the rest of the working class. Marx and Engels write, "They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."

The authors add, "The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

The manifesto then goes on to answer the objections of the capitalists to communism.

"You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society."

"In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend."

The heart of the chapter and indeed of all Marxism is the following lines. "We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

The *Manifesto* is a basic document of Marxism, but is not all of Marxism. Marx was to live for 30 more years and Engels for 40 more.

Today in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution the *Manifesto* comes truly into its own. Now the working class throughout the world, above all in the United States, must take power or the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will end in their mutual ruin—a nuclear holocaust. This is the real reason why studying the *Manifesto* is so exciting today. It is truly a document of the late twentieth century.

—William Gottlieb

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 733 E. Hedding. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-5876.

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

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevisky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

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

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737. Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S.

Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048. **MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o M. Casey, 42 McClellan. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 537-6537. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4120, Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1287, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Upper Manhattan: SWP, YSA, P.O. 564 W. 181 St., 2nd Floor. Send mail to P.O. Box 438, Washington Bridge Sta. Zip: 10033. Tel: (212) 928-1676. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 733, Greensboro. Zip: 27401.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA,

13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Oberlin: YSA, c/o Gale Connor, OCMR Box 679. Zip: 44074. Tel: (216) 775-5382. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

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

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 782. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

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

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, c/o Deann Rathbun, Rt. 1, Box 504, Sheton, Wa. 98584. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., S. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Tacoma: SWP, YSA, 1306 S. K St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Va. steelworkers win union recognition

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—“We now recognize the United Steelworkers of America as bargaining agent for our production and maintenance employees.”

With these words on October 12, Edward Campbell, president of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, conceded union recognition nearly twenty-one months after the USWA won a representation election at the huge shipyard.

With 15,500 production and maintenance workers, Newport News is the country's largest private shipyard. The recognition victory for USWA Local 8888 is a big step forward for the labor movement in the heart of the “right to work for less” South.

Campbell's announcement came one day after the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of appeals upheld the Steelworkers' January 31, 1978, triumph over the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, a company union.

Tenneco, the oil-rich corporation that owns the shipyard, snarled Local 8888 in legal knots from that day on.

On the first anniversary of the election, the union struck for recognition. For nearly three months Tenneco used antipicket “right to work” laws, arrests, scab hiring, and police violence against the strikers. They hung tough, however, eventually returning to work to regroup the union forces and continue their struggle inside the yard.

On October 11 hundreds of Local 8888 members jammed the Plumbers and Pipefitters Hall in a joyous victory celebration. Black and white, young and old, male and female, they sang, cheered, and hugged each other to toast their sweetest success since the representation election.

“We expected the court's decision,” local President Eddie Coppedge told the *Militant* at the celebration. “It's a big victory for us. Now, we're going to get a contract.”

“Now the fight really begins,” one union member said.

The victory party was the first union event for one young worker who had



Newport News shipyard workers march to celebrate union victory

Militant/Jon Hillson

just signed up with Local 8888 that day. He'd been on the job less than a week. How did he feel? “Proud to be a Steelworker,” he told the *Militant*.

The next morning, Local 8888 activists went to work early, spreading the word of the court verdict outside the gates as workers streamed in.

On the job, during work, on ship decks, in tanks, machine shops, shouts of “88” echoed throughout the yard. “People are getting less afraid to speak out,” a Steelworker told the *Militant*.

Then at lunch break came the icing on the cake. Campbell's announcement of Tenneco's decision to bow to the court order and recognize the union was handed out by Tenneco security guards.

Amidst a sea of blue and white Steelworkers caps, a hundred Local 8888 members marched down Washington Avenue.

“What do we want?” a worker shouted.

“Contract!” scores of voices roared back.

USWA officials have stressed the union's desire to begin bargaining quickly. “We hope the company will send representatives to the bargaining table now with the intention of reaching agreement,” USWA international President Lloyd McBride stated.

USWA sub-district director Jack Hower noted that “wages and pensions are of primary concern to the workers. Insurance and sickness and accident policies, too. And, of course, the basic contract language,” providing for a grievance procedure.

As Steelworker marchers neared the main gate on October 12, they began chanting, “Close the gate, 88,” the popular picket line slogan last spring.

Memories of Tenneco's past stonewalling lead many workers to doubt the company will engage in “good faith” negotiating now.

“We'll be on the bricks before Christ-

mas,” a welder told the *Militant*.

“We'll strike to get what we want,” another worker said, “but we want it without a strike if we can get it that way.”

Oscar Pretlow, a veteran of more than forty years in the shipyard, was one of the original group of workers who decided more than three years ago to embark on the USWA organizing drive. How did he feel on October 12?

“It's a big day for us,” Pretlow told the *Militant* after marching down Washington Avenue. “I had a feeling it would take this long, and we knew it wouldn't be easy. Now we need to get a contract we can be proud of,” he said with a big smile.

Shipyard workers know the next stage of their fight won't be easy either. Tenneco hit them with harassment and firings when they returned to work last April. Such victimizations of pro-union workers continue to this day. Defending its members will have to be a top priority.

Shipyard workers also know from bitter experience that legal recognition is no assurance the anti-union Tenneco will bargain seriously. It recognized USWA Local 8417, representing the yard's 1,200 marine designers, back in 1977.

But Tenneco then embarked on a two-and-a-half year drive to break the designers' union, forcing them on a long strike that was just ended with no contract and with the Steelworkers facing a decertification election.

If Local 8888 can force a decent contract out of Tenneco, the shock waves will be felt throughout the South and nationwide. Workers across the country will benefit, as employers are less able to use the threat of moving to the low-wage, nonunion South as a club against the unions.

That is the historic opportunity now opening up as the men and women of Local 8888 enter the next stage of their long battle for union rights. Now as never before, they need and deserve the solidarity of every union in the country.

Unions organize for ERA march

An August 12 conference in Virginia, sponsored by Labor for Equal Rights Now and attended by 500 trade unionists, voted to launch an education and action campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment, including a January 13 march in Richmond.

The National Organization for Women endorsed the action at its October 5-7 national conference in Los Angeles. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has also pledged to build the march.

By Rhonda Rutherford

Railroad workers from New Jersey will be marching for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13.

On October 9, Local 800 of the United Transportation Union (UTU)—representing more than 120 firepersons and engineers in the New Jersey and Hoboken divisions of Conrail—unanimously endorsed the January 13 ERA demonstration.

Rhonda Rutherford is a member of United Transportation Union Local 800.

Local 800 also became one of the first UTU locals in the country to establish an ERA committee to build activities and support for January 13.

The sisters and brothers attending the union meeting responded enthusiastically not only to building support for the ERA within the local itself but also in other UTU locals on the Northeast Corridor.

Trainwomen in UTU Local 1370 have already expressed an interest.

Each member of our local had a personal experience that brought them to the banner of the ERA.

The secretary of the local had a civil

rights suit pending in court for his daughter. She had interviewed for a job for which she was better qualified than the male who was eventually hired.

The treasurer also had a similar suit pending. His daughter worked at a job requiring the same skills and responsibilities as her male co-worker. Yet she

received \$108 a week and he received more than \$200 a week.

The local chairman, who was appointed advisor to the ERA Committee, as well as other officers, are already laying the groundwork for building ERA support among railroad workers for January 13.

This is just the beginning.

USWA Local 65 sets plans

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—On October 8 the Equal Rights Amendment subcommittee of the United Steel Workers of America Local 65 women's committee met.

A report was given on the October 5-7 national conference of the National Organization for Women. The focus of the report was NOW's en-

dorsement of the January 13 Labor for the ERA rally in Richmond.

Following the report, the committee discussed plans for a labor speak-out for the ERA to be held at Local 65 headquarters in December.

The proposal for the speakout was endorsed by both the executive board and membership meeting of Local 65 held on October 10.