

THE MILITANT

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

NO TO DRAFT!

Carter tries to set stage for new Vietnams

The following statement was issued by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, in response to Carter's State of the Union speech January 23.

President Carter's State of the Union message bore a grim message for American working people: prepare for new wars and economic hardships.

His call for reinstating selective service registration—a big step toward restoring the draft—is a deadly threat to working-class youth, especially Blacks and Latinos.

Carter wants us to sacrifice our living standards, and prepare to sacrifice our lives, so that the U.S. government can fight new Vietnams.

I was one of the millions of young people dragooned into the army in the 1960s and early '70s. Washington used young working people as cannon fodder for its bloody assault on the peoples of Indochina. Like millions of other workers, I am absolutely opposed to any new draft and any new U.S. military adventures in the 1980s.

More than 50,000 American GIs died in Vietnam. Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon assured us they were fighting for independence, freedom, and security—just as Carter tells us now. But working people learned that Washington was really defending a brutal and corrupt dictator who was hated by his own people.

So it's little wonder that Carter didn't even mention Vietnam in a speech that pretended to summarize four decades of U.S. foreign policy.



Carter's attempt to prepare for war abroad also means war *right now* at home—against the aspirations of working people for jobs, better wages, education, housing, and medical care.

Carter demanded that we accept "realistic pricing" of energy. He means two dollars a gallon for gas.

He demanded billions of dollars more for military spending. That means higher taxes, more inflation, and fewer social services.

He demanded that labor "restrain pay increases in a fair fight against inflation." He means we should settle for 7 percent wages

when prices are rising at 14 percent.

Carter lectured us, quoting a one-time newspaper columnist that "you will have to sacrifice your comfort and your ease. There is nothing for nothing any longer."

What arrogance!

As though working people haven't worked like hell for the little we have. As though the oil barons, war profiteers, and other big capitalists won't be getting plenty for nothing if Carter's plans go through.

Carter was cheered by the Democratic and Republican politicians as he called for sacrifices and steps toward a draft. And why not?

They sure aren't going to sacrifice. They aren't going to fight and die in any wars.

No, they plan for those burdens to fall on the working-class youth, the Blacks, the Latinos, and other working people. These capitalist politicians don't give a damn about our lives and well-being.

They try to convince us, as Carter explained, that we are threatened by the Arab oil-producing countries and by the revolutionary developments in Iran and Afghanistan. To meet the "challenge to our interests" Carter called for major increases in the arms budget; for establishing U.S. military bases near the Persian Gulf and northeast Africa; for installing more nuclear missiles in Western Europe; for proceeding with plans for a rapid-deployment military strike force; and for giving the CIA the go-ahead for more covert operations against popular revolutions.

Carter presented these proposals as re-

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SOCIALIST BALLOT DRIVE Challenge to racist, antilabor forces



Matilde Zimmermann (right), Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, joins petitioning to put SWP on ballot in North Carolina. Page 4.

March against Klan terror in North Carolina Feb. 2

By Morris Starsky

CINCINNATI—"We must go to North Carolina and march. . . . We must rise up again in the spirit of Montgomery, Alabama, in the spirit of Birmingham, Alabama, in the spirit of Selma. . . . We must write a new chapter in the struggle for freedom and justice. We must go."

This was the powerful message of Southern Christian Leadership Council leader Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth to a rally here January 20 to mobilize support for the February 2 March Against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Terror in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The gathering here was one of many activities throughout the country to build the February 2 march. Support for the march, called in response to the brutal Klan-Nazi murder of five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro November 3, is growing rapidly.

Among the endorsers are Wilmington Ten defend-

ant Rev. Ben Chavis; Operation PUSH leader Rev. Jesse Jackson; the Delegate Assembly of New York's District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.).

The momentum behind the march shows the powerful sentiment across the country for standing up to right-wing terror—whether carried out by Klan thugs, anti-union goons, Nazis, or anti-Cuba terrorists.

Organizers in New York City have reserved twenty buses to go to Greensboro. Buses will roll from Washington, D.C.; Birmingham, Alabama; Atlanta; and Baltimore. And from Cincinnati; Newark, New Jersey; Charleston, West Virginia; and Pittsburgh.

The 130 people at the rally here also heard Rev. Iberius Hacker of the National Network Against the

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...Pulley

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sponses to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. But each was being advocated by his administration for months, in some cases years, before that event.

Just as Washington has been pushing and probing ever since Vietnam to see if public opinion would tolerate renewed selective service registration.

The "turmoil, strife, and change" that Carter blames for the war danger are more truthfully described as the struggles of the oppressed of the world to end poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment—and to shake off U.S. imperialist domination that has preserved the unbearable status quo.

The real threat of war stems from Washington's attempts to protect the ill-gotten wealth of U.S. corporate profiteers. That's why Washington went to war in Vietnam. That's why it has backed bloody tyrants like the shah and Somoza all over the world.

That's why Carter aided ultra-right-wing Afghan terrorists who were trying to roll back land reform and bring down the government of Afghanistan—thus provoking the Soviet intervention.

The gains the masses have won in Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and elsewhere actually help stay the hand of the warmakers. Carter's inability—for all his bellicose talk—to drag us into war over Iran and Afghanistan is evidence of this. Together with the deep antiwar sentiment of American working people, the victories in the colonial revolution are the main reason why the U.S. government hasn't been able to send American youth to war since Vietnam.

Working people here have no reason to join Carter's war against the poor and oppressed of the world. We have no reason to sacrifice so our rulers can prepare new Vietnams.

We have a lot more in common with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America than we do with the rich minority that Carter represents.

No to the draft!

No to Carter's austerity plans!

No to Washington's war drive!

NYC crisis...again

One of the immediate consequences of Carter's war-austerity drive is renewed attacks on social services and public employees.

New York Mayor Edward Koch revealed budget proposals last week that call for more cutbacks in social services and jobs for New Yorkers, who are still reeling from the massive cutbacks of 1974-75. With contract negotiations coming up for key city unions, the mayor is also hoping to intimidate workers into accepting more layoffs and cuts in real wages.

If the Democratic city administration has its way, \$750 million will be slashed from the budget for 1981 and 1982. This would mean the elimination of 13,000 jobs. The biggest cutbacks would be in education, where at least 4,000 teachers would lose their jobs and class sizes would soar.

Koch is also calling for a tax package increase of \$198 million.

The working people of New York City are not alone in their plight. In the city that "used to work," Democratic Mayor Jane Byrne is trying the same antilabor gambit. Chicago school teachers recently experienced their third payless pay day.

Just five years ago, during the 1974-75 budget crisis, New York unions gave in to city demands for wage freezes and layoffs to "save the city." The result? New York bankers continued to reap every penny of debt service on high-interest loans to the city; social services declined to near-catastrophic levels; job and pay losses were never recovered; and the city's union movement has been gravely weakened.

Now the bosses are extending their black-mail attacks to workers in basic industry—Chrysler, U.S. Steel, and railroads. "Save the city" or "save the company," it's the same swindle to bail out profits at workers' expense.

Such attacks should convince industrial workers to beware the trap of blaming public workers for their plight.

To prevent further erosion of living standards both groups of workers will need to wage a united fight to restore social services, redirect the billions now squandered on war preparations, and put the tax burden on the rich, who can afford to pay.

Such a united defense of working-class interests could begin now in New York and Chicago. It could serve as a model for workers everywhere.

Sakharov's exile

The January 22 arrest and deportation from Moscow of Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov was an outrageous violation of democratic rights. Although Sakharov has been neither charged nor tried for any crime, the Brezhnev government stripped him of all titles and honors—including those he won for helping create the first Soviet hydrogen bomb. He has reportedly been exiled to the city of Gorky.

The goal of this move is evidently to cut Sakharov off from contact with foreigners, particularly the Western news media. (Gorky is barred to all non-citizens of the USSR.)

Sakharov has used his access to the Western media as a weapon in his struggle for the expansion of political freedom in the Soviet Union. He relentlessly exposed frame-up trials against dissident artists and scientists, the use of psychiatric hospitals as prisons, the mistreatment of non-Russian nationalities, and other abuses.

Through Sakharov, many victims of bureaucratic high-handedness—including Soviet workers—have made their protests known to the world.

A member of Amnesty International, he contributed his name to the successful effort to free imprisoned Black activist Martin Sostre. He joined protests against the use of torture by right-wing military dictatorships in Uruguay and elsewhere.

Sakharov often expresses views on world politics with which we disagree (most recently on Afghanistan). But it is his right to hold such views and express them.

As usual, the Kremlin will try to justify this new outrage by charging Sakharov with making "slanders against the Soviet state." Sakharov's fight for democratic rights is not besmirching the Soviet workers state; that dishonor belongs to the corrupt caste of bureaucrats that tries to hold onto power by suffocating free thought, debate, and discussion.

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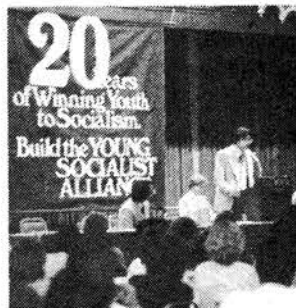


Heroine of Cuban revolution dies

Celia Sánchez, a major leader in the Cuban government, died on January 11. She was a founder and leader of the July 26 Movement, which led the struggle to bring down the Batista dictatorship. **Page 7.**

Young Socialists hold convention

Delegates at the Young Socialist Alliance nineteenth national convention enthusiastically reaffirmed the YSA's decision to get as many members as possible into industry. They also launched a national youth support group for the Socialist Workers Party 1980 campaign. **Page 19.**



Socialists launch leadership school

Seven leaders of the Socialist Workers Party will attend the SWP Leadership School beginning March 1. The party plans to raise \$50,000 to finance the school. **Page 10.**



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Buses roll for Greensboro

March against Klan violence Feb. 2!

Continued from front page

Klan. He underscored that the Klan does not represent the interests of poor and working-class whites. "Where was the Klan in the last century when the children of white sharecroppers died from pellagra? Where was the Klan when white farmers were evicted from their homes by the bankers? Where was the Klan when white workers organized into unions to fight for a living wage?"

"In every single case the Klan was seeking to destroy the will of people to fight for their own interests together with those who share their oppression. The Klan speaks for the rich and powerful and they always have."

The audience also heard Mac Warren, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 in Detroit. A leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Warren was active in the Boston desegregation struggle.

Warren stressed that the Klan, the Nazis, and other ultraright groups operate under the cover of the employers and their government.

To defeat the Klan, he explained, we must aim our main fire against the bosses and the government. But "when the bosses' flunkies get out of line, like they did in Greensboro, we have to demand that action be taken against the bosses' boys by the government."

Anne Braden of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Racial Justice also spoke, as did Marcus Hammond of the Middletown, Ohio, NAACP.

Norfolk, Va.

By Jon Hillson

NORFOLK, Va.—"No longer will we sit back when the Klan kills Black people," Rev. Lavert Taylor told a January 22 news conference here.

Representing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Inter-



Speakers at the Cincinnati anti-Klan rally included Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth (at podium), Mac Warren, Marcus Hammonds, and Anne Braden.

religious Foundation for Community Organization, Taylor termed the upcoming February 2 anti-Klan march in Greensboro "a truly national effort, a show of force that says there is no need for the Klan to operate in America."

"It's crucial for people to go to Greensboro," Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association, remarked. "The civil rights movement, the labor movement, women's groups are all involved in this together."

She linked Klan terror to the same forces that "oppose labor unions, deny teachers the right to collective bargaining in Virginia, the people who organize racism and sex discrimination."

"We saw a coming together of people who have something in common in Richmond on January 13, when thousands of unionists, Blacks, and women united behind the ERA," Kelly said. "We have to do the same thing in Greensboro."

On January 20, 1,000 people attended an SCLC-sponsored march and rally here to commemorate the birth of Rev. Martin Luther King.

Officials challenge right to march

By Rebecca Finch

GREENSBORO, N.C.—As endorsements mount for the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration, city officials here are trying to push back the growing majority sentiment against right-wing terror.

In a provocative move, officials have signed a contract with a Black music promoter to cosponsor and finance a concert in the Coliseum the day of the anti-Klan protest.

The planned march route terminates at the Coliseum. The February 2 Mobilization Committee, organizing the action, has been negotiating for use of the Coliseum as a post-march rally site.

Under the pretext that the Coliseum is unavailable, city officials are trying to deny the marchers a parade permit.

A new proposed city ordinance, if passed, would restrict demonstrations by requiring a sizable bond and police protection; limiting the size of posters and banners; and allowing only the number of persons stated in the permit to participate.

The new ordinance has drawn substantial protest.

The American Civil Liberties Union has submitted a brief challenging the provision's constitutionality. City council discussion on the ordinance is postponed until February 21.

Despite the city's campaign, support for February 2 continues to mount. Some recent endorsers in this area include the Raleigh Ministerial Union and the North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers.

Washington, D.C.

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Even though I face the possibility of being put back in prison if I go, I will be in Greensboro on February 2," Rev. Ben Chavis, the Wilmington Ten defendant who was recently let out of prison in North Carolina, made this pledge here to an audience of more than 350 January 21.

Many Blacks and others had turned out for the meeting, called to mobilize support for the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration. Other speakers included Harold Fisher, president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Donald Isaacs, a representative of the Laborer's International Union, Local 960; and a spokesperson from the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

Referring to the November 3 murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators, Chavis told the crowd: "What happened in Greensboro taught us the necessity of building the bridges of unity."

Unity was important in freeing the Wilmington Ten, he added. "If it hadn't been for your struggle, getting on Carter's case, getting on the governor of North Carolina's case, I wouldn't be here tonight. Because you said no, the prison doors were opened up."

Chavis also addressed the racist hypocrisy of U.S. government officials here and around the world.

"They're talking about boycotting the Olympics. I remember when John Carlos raised his fist in the '68 Olympics. They all talk about not making the Olympics political. Now when it suits them, they change their mind..."

"They talk about the hostages in Iran—and there are 40 million hostages in this country! They kidnap our people around the world."

Emphasizing the importance of a broad mobilization February 2, he said, "I issue an invitation to our national leaders to join us in Greensboro, but most of all the people must be there."

Unionists condemn KKK terror

The following resolution endorsing the February 2 anti-Klan march was passed January 16 by Local 2336 of the Communications Workers of America in Washington, D.C.

Because the forces of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are by their nature anti-union and anti-democratic and,

Because the forces of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis historically have been used as strike breakers, goons, scabs, to bust unions and to intimidate and prevent union organizing and,

Because the forces of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis stand diametrically opposed to the basic foundations of the CWA and,

Because the February 2 Mobilization Committee is a very broad coalition of civic, religious, political, labor and other social action groups representing diverse progressive viewpoints and,

Because an attack on one is an attack on all,

Therefore, be it resolved that Local 2336 of the Communications Workers of America endorse the February 2 March Against the Klan-Nazi Terror in Greensboro, and that Local 2336 of the Communications Workers of America publicize the February 2 March Against the Klan-Nazi Terror in Greensboro by immediately posting notice of said march on the bulletin boards at each garage, and that Local 2336 of the Communications Workers of America pledge to donate \$500 as a New Year's gift for freedom to the February 2 Mobilization Committee.

San Antonio

By Anthony González

SAN ANTONIO—Four hundred people marched against Ku Klux Klan terror in a demonstration organized by the San Antonio Coalition Against the KKK here January 19.

Demonstrators—predominantly Chicano—chanted "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho—KKK has got to go!"

Jaime Martínez, an international representative of the International Union of Electrical Workers, addressed the rally following the march. Martínez denounced the Klan as an anti-labor outfit.

Other speakers included representatives of the Texas Farm Workers; United Auto Workers; *El Pueblo* newspaper; and Texas Black Caucus.

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Hail anti-KKK march

Socialists celebrate No. Carolina ballot drive

By Louise Halverson

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—It was the culmination of a great week—a week of petitioning to get socialist candidates on the ballot in North Carolina.

One hundred and fifteen people gathered January 19 at the newly opened North Carolina Socialist Workers campaign headquarters here. Socialists came from Newport News, Virginia and Morgantown, West Virginia to celebrate the first six days of successful petitioning. Winston-Salem socialists brought several of their co-workers to the rally and a few people came after meeting petitioners on the street.

And everyone was busting loose with enthusiasm.

"We have already gathered 10,330 signatures this week," announced Jeff Miller, SWP candidate for Congress in North Carolina's Fifth District. "With seven days left in our drive, we are sure we will get enough valid signatures for a place on the ballot."

North Carolina's undemocratic election laws require independent parties seeking ballot status to

AS WE GO TO PRESS: Socialist petitioners had collected a total of 14,500 signatures as of January 22 to put the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket on the North Carolina ballot.

collect the signatures of 10,000 registered voters. The Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee here is aiming for well over that number to assure its candidates a place on the ballot.

Thirty-three campaign supporters from around the country have come to North Carolina to help in the effort. They have been campaigning in cities throughout the state this week. All of them were inspired by the openness to socialist ideas among working people here.

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president, and Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president, joined the petitioning effort.

Three local television stations filmed Zimmermann petitioning on the streets of downtown Winston-Salem. They aired interviews of Zimmermann talking about the SWP program.

The *Winston-Salem Journal*, the daily newspaper, covered the socialist campaign rally. And a local television station came to the campaign headquarters the day after the rally to film interviews with Pulley and Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina.

"I have never found petitioning so exciting," said Pulley in his remarks to the rally. "I talked with about eighty people today and only five or so refused to sign."

Inspiration to socialists

Pulley explained that the ballot drive here is an inspiration to socialists across the country who are preparing the SWP's 1980 national ballot drive. The SWP is aiming to be on the ballot in thirty states this year. This is the most ambitious effort the party has ever made. In 1976, the SWP was on the ballot in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia.

The party has already filed 21,000 signatures to get on the ballot in Ohio and will soon begin petitioning drives in several more states. Ohio petitioners found a similar enthusiastic reaction to socialist candidates.

The successful collection of signatures in North Carolina and the positive response the petitioners are encountering is an answer to those who say that working people in the South are turning to the right.

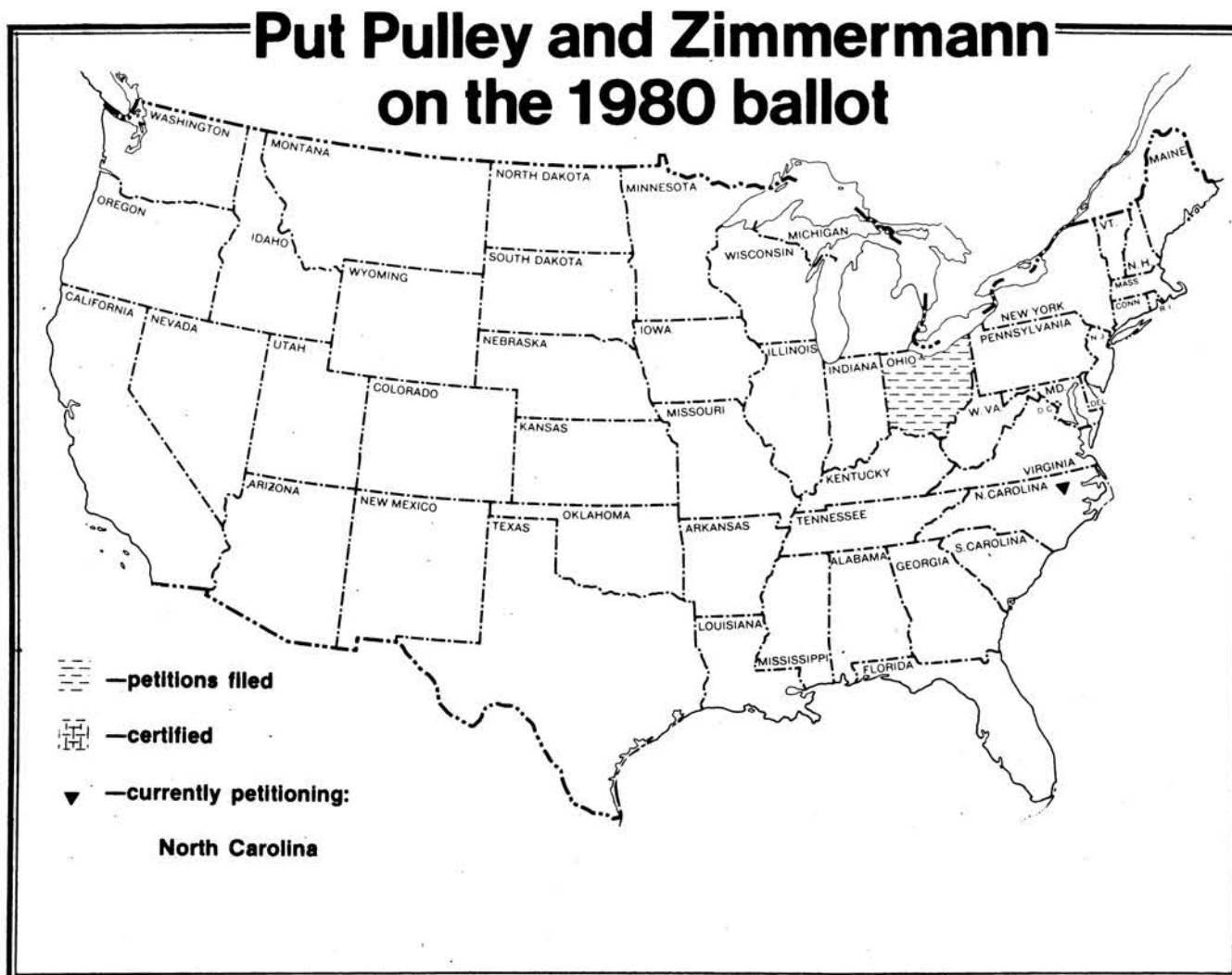
SWP gubernatorial candidate Douglas Cooper pointed to some of the reasons for the receptivity to socialist candidates.

"North Carolina is first in the nation in percentage of the total work force employed in industry. But, North Carolina is forty-ninth in wages. Most people in this area work two jobs or work lots of overtime, or farm a couple of acres after work, just to make ends meet."

Under the impact of the government's drive against working people's living standards, North Carolina workers are looking for new, more effective ways to fight back. They are more open to socialist ideas than ever before.

The socialist ballot drive has received significant support in North Carolina. Larry Little, a Black Democratic Party member of the Winston-Salem Board of Aldermen, gave his endorsement to the

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



drive in greetings to the rally.

"When I was asked to address this rally, I didn't hesitate for one minute," he said, "because I believe that the Socialist Workers Party has the right to be on the ballot."

Little said that although he had many disagreements with the SWP he appreciated the support SWP members had given to defense efforts for the Wilmington Ten and the Charlotte Three, civil rights activists in North Carolina who were framed up because of their political activities.

One of the Charlotte Three defendants, Jim Grant, sent greetings to the rally. "I feel that it is extremely important that a party that is representative of the people of the state of North Carolina be on the ballot so that people can gain some degree of political influence. . . . People should do whatever they can to aid in this effort, whether it is gathering names on petitions, speaking before groups and organizations, or going door to door informing people of the presence of the party."

The petitioning teams have learned a lot this week about just how deep the changes are among working people in the South. They attended two classes on southern labor history that traced the battles workers in North Carolina have fought to overcome the big gap in wages and unionization between themselves and their brothers and sisters in northern, more unionized states.

The petitioners learned how the civil rights movement and the destruction of Jim Crow segregation began to break down racist divisions between workers. This has enabled Black and white workers to unite to organize unions today. These efforts by Black and white workers pose a deadly threat to the employers' haven of the low-wage, right-to-work South.

February 2 anti-Klan march

That is why the Greensboro city officials have been trying to sabotage efforts to build the February 2 demonstration, called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to protest the Klan's massacre of five members of the Communist Workers Party on November 3 (see page 3).

The socialist petitioners have been telling everyone they meet about the demonstration. Once the ballot drive is completed, one team of petitioners will work to help publicize February 2, distribute campaign literature, and sell the *Militant*.

"The government is deathly afraid of a real response to Klan violence," said Rebecca Finch, the SWP's candidate for U.S. Senate in North Carolina.

"They are deathly afraid of the challenge that a massive, peaceful, legal demonstration on February 2 would represent—a challenge to the government's

attacks against affirmative-action programs, to continued school segregation on North Carolina campuses, to the racist divisions that the employers are trying to foster to keep Black and white workers from building unions together."

Finch also denounced Governor James Hunt's call December 19 for infiltration and surveillance of "extremist" groups.

Finch told the rally, "Harassment. Disruption. Provocation. These are better words for what the police agencies have in mind. These actions are aimed against fighters for social and economic justice, not against the Klan. The ultimate target for such activity is the unfolding union struggle in this state."

"February 2 can be a powerful show of force against Klan violence and against all attacks on democratic rights."

Donations needed

Seven hundred fifty-eight dollars was pledged at the North Carolina ballot drive rally. That's a lot of money from socialist election campaign supporters, whose wages are far lower than those of workers from highly unionized states.

The money pledged by participants at the rally is in addition to the \$385 that was raised by socialist election campaign supporters at the beginning of the ballot drive. That means we have raised a total of \$1,043 of the \$3,000 goal set for the special North Carolina petitioning fund.

Expenses for the petitioning effort are higher than we had expected. Gasoline, food, printing supplies . . . it all adds up.

Please rush your contribution today. Use the coupon below.

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'Glad to sign to put SWP on N.C. ballot'

By Jeff Miller

Socialist campaigners spanned out over Winston-Salem on a sunny Saturday to gather more than 2,000 signatures to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in North Carolina. The day's effort brought their total in the ballot drive to more than 10,000 signers.

One white worker, about twenty-two, told petitioner Warren Simmons that he had heard of the socialist campaign.

"Things are getting worse," he said, "and people are going to turn to socialism. I don't totally agree with you, but I'll sign to put you on the ballot."

Another campaign worker approached a young white worker in High Point. She told him she was petitioning to put candidates on the ballot.

"What party is it for?" he asked. When told it was for the Socialist Workers Party, he said, "Oh yeah, I'll definitely sign for that. I saw your candidate on TV."

A white woman, about forty, had come from her home in a rural area to do some shopping in High Point. When she learned that the socialist candidates had to collect 10,000 signatures to appear on the ballot, she said, "You just know that the oil companies have bought the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. You only have to read the newspapers to know they are making billions off us." She signed the petition.

Another socialist petitioner talked to a young white worker from the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem. He had already been approached with the petition and came back to find out what it was about. He said he wanted to know more before he signed.

"The only time they give us a raise at R.J.R. is when the union comes around," he said. He had been involved in a Teamsters union organizing drive at Halstead Metal Products in Pine Hall. Workers there have been on strike for months, fighting the company for a union contract.

He said he thought there needed to be more unions in North Carolina, but, he said, he was mad because "the union always plays along with the company." Every night at work at R.J.R., he said, the workers get together to talk about problems like these. But they don't know what to do.

He promised to check out the socialist campaign materials he received.

"We're the people who say working people should run the country because we keep it running," says campaigner Kate Daher, as she asks people to sign her petition.

"Oh yeah. I remember that. I heard your candidate say that on TV," one person responded. Another said, "Working people pay the taxes, we should run the country."

At the predominantly Black Northside Shopping



SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann (right) petitions in Winston-Salem.

Militant/Greg McCartan

Center, another worker from the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company talked with SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

After signing the petition he told Pulley, "I voted for Carter last time, but we shouldn't be in another war. The main reason is, I might be involved."

When one signer heard that Pulley was a steelworker he said, "I'm a steelworker too. I work at Graverly Tractor. You should come out to my plant and petition. People will sign up."

One person who didn't want to sign the petition said, "I never care to support any organizations until I dig deeply into what they stand for."

One campaign worker reported that some people are afraid to sign because they think their names might appear on some list.

One signer expressed his opinion that the state government had let the Ku Klux Klan carry out its murderous assault on anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro November 3.

A Black woman, a student at Forsyth Technical Institute, asked Douglas Cooper, the SWP's gubernatorial candidate, what he stood for. After reading a campaign leaflet she said, "If you're against nuclear power, if you're for sending that criminal back to Iran, and if you're for stopping the gas ripoff, I'll be glad to sign."

Shopowner helps out

Sometimes it's hard to find places to petition. The big shopping malls are considered private property by the state of North Carolina. The socialist petitioners are often asked to leave them by store managers or owners who don't like what they stand for.

But that isn't always true.

Andrew Pulley was petitioning in front of a small fish store in a shopping mall in Winston-Salem's Black community. The store owner, who was white, came out to ask him what he was doing.

"Maybe you can help me out," said Pulley. "I'm the socialist candidate for president of the United States and I have to get 10,000 signatures of registered voters to get on the ballot in the state of North Carolina. How about signing?"

"Sure, I'll help out. Come in and sign up all my customers too."

Some of the other socialist campaigners were confused when store customers told them later, "I already talked to the man in the fish store."

—J.M.

SWP campaign fund drive goes over top

By L. Paltrineri

As we go to press, we have collected \$81,376 for the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, going over our \$80,000 fund drive goal.

Our thanks go to the hundreds of people who dug deep into their pockets to help bring the socialist program of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann to thousands of people.

Who are the people who contributed to the socialist presidential campaign?

Thousands of dollars poured in from SWP members working in steel mills, and coal and iron ore mines, as well as from truckers, auto, rail and refinery workers and many others. Much of this

was contributed at the August rally in Oberlin, Ohio, launching the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign.

Contributions came from workers who are not yet members of the SWP. But there's no mistake about it—the SWP is their party. Many of these campaign supporters gave money after hearing Pulley or Zimmermann at a local campaign rally.

Special thanks to the 115 *Militant* readers who responded to a holiday fund appeal by sending over \$4,000. One of these supporters in Fairbanks, Alaska, sent \$100 as well as an offer to help pay the costs of campaign advertising in some major Alaskan newspapers.

A communications worker from Texas wrote, "This \$200 is good use of holiday pay."

An AFSCME member from Harrisburg sent \$100. A reader from Rockville, Indiana, sent \$5 and reports he is passing the *Militant* around to his co-workers who "love the truth" about Iran, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

When U.S. imperialism threatened military moves against the people of Iran, Pulley and Zimmermann were among the first to speak out in defense of the Iranian revolution. One New York supporter responded with an extra \$200 to aid the printing of campaign literature and buttons.

Hundreds of dollars arrived with short notes saying: "Here's my \$50. I'm fed up with the Democrats and Republicans," and "\$10 is all I can afford right now. When will the candidates be in my area?" A retired couple sent \$20 from a fixed income because they are "firm believers in a socialist America."

The national campaign received 300 letters last fall. \$500 in contributions came in this way, and

thirty-seven of these people asked to join the SWP.

As a result of this overwhelming generosity and interest the 1980 socialist campaign went beyond our most ambitious goals.

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, as well as campaign spokespeople Fred Halstead and Cathy Sedwick, traveled to fifty cities on national speaking tours. There were special stops too—Boston, to protest racist attacks; Greensboro, to speak out against the Klan murderers; and Charleston, West Virginia, to join a labor protest against big oil. They joined with striking rail workers, grain millers, and marchers for the ERA and gay rights.

This was no small feat. And it's just the beginning.

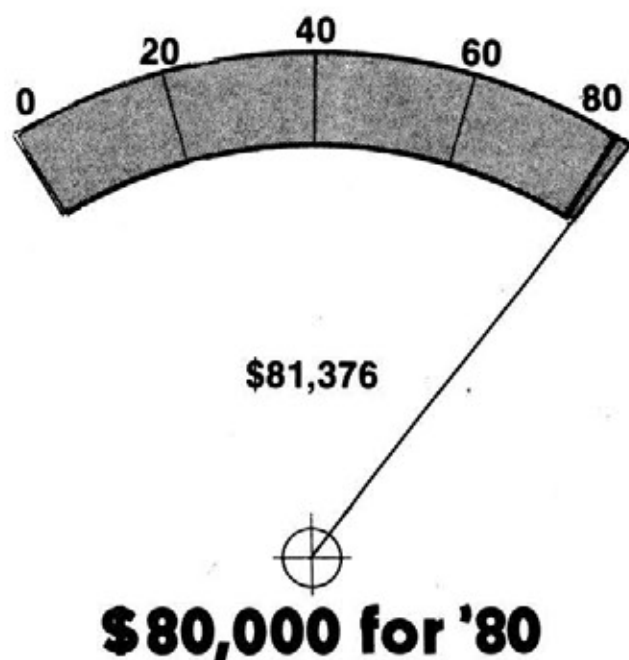
As we turn the calendar to 1980 the biggest challenges of the campaign lie ahead. We have just launched a drive to get on the ballot in thirty states.

In January and February Andrew Pulley will visit Cuba and Matilde Zimmermann will visit Nicaragua.

More literature is needed to arm our enthusiastic campaign supporters. For example, a high school student from San Diego wrote to explain why we must have some literature addressing the needs of young people. "There is a strong antiwar sentiment here . . . every other conversation is on Iran . . . they are in support of the students in the embassy. You can imagine me at lunchtime running from table to table, trying to bring our views into their minds."

We couldn't agree with her more.

Some campaign pledges still remain to come in. These funds are important. They will help our first big ballot drive in North Carolina and start our candidates on the road this spring.



Athletes protest boycott

Washington's double standard on the Olympics

By Harry Ring

"I do not wish to inject politics into the Olympics."

That statement by Carter sums up his hypocrisy. He wants to force athletes in the United States and other countries out of the Olympics for reasons that are as political as they are reactionary.

Expressing "moral" concern about Soviet "aggression" in Afghanistan, he is ramming through the boycott as part of a drive to convince the American people to accept the idea of U.S. military aggression—something they continue to stubbornly resist.

Carter's move on the Olympics is actually an expression of weakness on the part of the administration.

What the U.S. rulers are aiming for is to get in a position where they can undertake military aggression of the kind we went through in Vietnam.

But antiwar sentiment is deep in this country. That fact makes it extremely difficult for Washington to risk such new aggressions intended to put down revolutions in the world.

Carter hopes to whip up some jingoism with the boycott. But so far, it's not going too well.

U.S. Olympics officials are mad as hell about the way they're being strong-armed. Many athletes are even madder.

Participation in the competition has meant big sacrifices for many. They have often quit school or jobs for the necessary full-time training.

Anita DeFrantz, a bronze medalist

in the 1976 rowing competition, said she took a leave from her job to train for this year's events.

"Carter said 'we' are going to boycott the Olympics," she angrily declared. "I don't understand the 'we.' Where was he when I was out there freezing my butt off? I rowed all of last year, except when the river was frozen."

Steve Lundquist, nineteen, a swimmer, said, "You look forward to this all your life. Suddenly they just pull it all out from under you. . . I've trained for ten years and I've not gotten one red cent from the government."

Nancy Lieberman, a top basketball player, said, "I don't think we should pull out. . . it would be a shame if the athletes were used as a wedge."

Lieberman puts her finger on Carter's game. Using the athletes as a "wedge." And, like a lot of others, she is apparently not persuaded it's for any good cause.

And rightly so. The Carter administration, like the administrations that preceded it, has a totally hypocritical double standard when it comes to "moral" issues in sports.

For instance, back in 1936, the Olympics were slated to be held in Nazi Germany. Jews were already filling the concentration camps and gas chambers. Hitler "promised" token Jewish participation in the games, and the Roosevelt administration said, "fine." The games went on.

In 1968, the games were held in Mexico. Ten days before they opened,

Mexican troops opened a murderous attack on peaceful student demonstrators, killing 400.

Did Washington express any concern, suggest a boycott? Not on your life.

(The only political action it did take was the victimization of two Black medalists for giving the Black power salute when they received their awards.)

And, of course, it should be noted that Washington has stubbornly resisted withdrawing from competition with "white only" South African teams.

Why, then, is Carter so concerned about Soviet "immorality"?

The reason is really quite simple. When working people, Blacks, Jews, and students are the victims, the big-business government in Washington looks the other way.

But those people are not the target of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. There, the troops happen to be helping deal with a U.S.-backed counterrevolution led by landlords, dope traders, loan sharks, and other oppressors of the Afghan people. These reactionary forces are trying to reverse social gains being won by the brutally oppressed and exploited people of Afghanistan.

It comes down to a basic proposition. When troops are being used to help the rich put down the poor, then "we" have to keep "politics" out of the Olympics.

But when troops are helping the poor beat back the rich—then it's time for a boycott. A matter of "morality."



Tommie Smith (left) and John Carlos were suspended from the 1968 Olympics for giving the Black power salute while receiving their awards. There was no suggestion from Washington to boycott the games in response to the racist victimization of the two athletes.

Carter backs Afghan dope peddlers

By Fred Feldman

How do the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and their backers in Washington finance the war against the government of Afghanistan?

One big source of income is dope peddling.

Heroin from Afghanistan and Pakistan (and to a much lesser extent Iran) "has inundated Europe and is beginning to spill over to the United States," reported Nicholas Gage in the January 11 *New York Times*.

An example of the "spillover" was the \$40 million shipment of heroin that police seized at New York's Kennedy Airport on January 16. The source of the heroin seems to have been the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area.

The dope traders are the very same "Afghan rebels" who are being painted up as "freedom fighters" in the U.S. capitalist media.

These pushers—often landlords, usurers, and bandits as well—suffered a big setback when the Mohammed Daoud regime was overthrown in 1978.

The new regime's land reform measures and its efforts to halt the drug trade threatened to put them out of business.

"Afghan police are waging a vigorous attack on narcotics smuggling," reported Stuart Auerbach in the October 11 *Washington Post*, "partially because of the strict attitudes of their Soviet advisers and partially because corruption here has decreased."

Rather than see their profits go down the drain, and their poppy fields turned toward other production, the drug traffickers opened a guerrilla war against the new regime.

A report in the April 30, 1979, issue of *McLean's* magazine, a Canadian weekly, stated:

"Feudal landlords whose holdings are threatened with confiscation by the Afghan government are bringing the produce from their poppy crops into Pakistan, and use the proceeds to buy rifles, explosives, and other weapons. Pakistani arms merchants report . . . that their new customers come in daily

and business is booming."

Opium from the poppies is refined into heroin and shipped to Europe and the United States.

"Although opium is illegal in Afghanistan," reported Gage, "it is the principal crop in the regions whose inhabitants are in revolt against the Soviet-supported government in Kabul." Gage notes that it is also a prime crop in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, where the bases and supply camps of the counterrevolutionaries are located.

Last year 1,100 tons of opium were produced in this region.

This would not be the first time that the U.S. government used the heroin trade to finance covert operations against an anti-imperialist struggle.

Heroin paid many of the bills for mercenary armies the CIA organized among the Meo people in Laos during the Indochina War. Their job was to battle revolutionary Pathet Lao forces.

Opium produced by sections of the Meo nationality was processed into heroin in factories in northwestern Laos—formerly "one of the largest heroin producing centers in the world," according to Alfred W. McCoy in *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.

American advisers such as Edgar Buell took a direct hand in stepping up opium production.

The CIA-controlled Air America, using U.S. pilots, flew the heroin abroad.

Much of this heroin was slated for use by American GIs stationed in Vietnam.

More than 50,000 American GIs paid for the war with their lives. But thousands of others were crippled by drug addiction to pay for the CIA's "secret war" against the revolution in Laos.

Gage reports that heroin from the Middle East has largely replaced the flow of heroin from the "Golden Triangle"—the heroin-producing areas

in Laos, Burma, and Thailand. But he doesn't say why.

In the years since it came to power in December 1975, the Pathet Lao has fought a bitter civil war aimed at breaking the grip of the opium growers and heroin traders over parts of northern Laos. (Buell is still out there, operating out of refugee camps across the Mekong River in Thailand.) A sizable contingent of Vietnamese troops helped the government forces. As the Pathet Lao gained ground, heroin production went into decline.

Far from praising the Laotian government for beginning to deal firmly with the scourge of heroin, the Carter administration has been denouncing the Pathet Lao effort, using unproven charges of human rights violations as a pretext.

And as opium production in Laos plummets, Carter is funnelling arms to the dope-pushing reactionaries in Afghanistan.

Heroin from Afghanistan will be used in the United States to make addicts of more working people and youth, especially in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. The proceeds will go to arm the Afghan "freedom fighters," and to line the pockets of corrupt officials and businessmen involved in the trade from Pakistan to New York City.

Carter asks us to help the dope traders by helping them bring down the Afghan government. Maybe he'll soon be telling us that heroin addiction is really a patriotic duty—one more sacrifice we must make to fight those Communists in Afghanistan.

But all working people have a life-and-death stake in supporting their brothers and sisters in Afghanistan, and the Soviet soldiers who are helping them wage a fight that will be a step toward ending this criminal traffic.

Socialists on Afghan revolution

SWP leader Doug Jenness, speaking to a New York meeting January 18, answered the charge that the Soviet move into Afghanistan has brought the world closer to war.

"We believe the opposite," he said. "We believe that every defeat for imperialism in the colonial world—whether it is Vietnamese troops helping to topple Pol Pot in Kampuchea, Iranian masses mobilizing against a U.S. spy center in Iran, or Soviet intervention to block counter-revolution in Afghanistan—weakens imperialism."

"The U.S. rulers are less able to

launch war," Jenness continued. "This buys time for the American workers to organize themselves to abolish imperialism entirely."

More than 150 people attended the meeting, one of many that the SWP is holding throughout the country on the recent events in Afghanistan and Iran.

A spokesperson for the New York local of the SWP, which sponsored the January 18 meeting, said that the turnout indicated the breadth of interest in what socialists think about the Afghan revolution, the U.S.-sponsored right wing rebellion, and the Soviet countermove.

Celia Sanchez: leader of Cuban revolution

By David Frankel

Celia Sánchez Manduley, a leader of the Cuban revolution, died January 11 at the age of fifty-two.

The daughter of a doctor from the town of Pílon, in Cuba's Oriente Province, Sánchez was one of the finest representatives of a generation of revolutionaries who were ready to take any risk and make any sacrifice in the struggle to rid their country of the Batista tyranny and build a decent society in Cuba.

"Founder and leader of the July 26 Movement in the southern region of the old province of Oriente, she distributed *History Will Absolve Me* [Castro's 1953 courtroom speech denouncing the Batista regime], and organized and consolidated the Movement in Manzanillo, Sofía, Estrada Palma, Calicito, Campechuela, Ceiba Hueca, San Ramón, Media Luna, Niquero, Pílon, and other places," said an editorial in the January 12 issue of the Cuban daily *Granma*.

Sánchez worked together with Frank País in laying the July 26 Movement's vital underground network in the cities. This, together with the guerrilla struggle in the mountains and countryside, eventually destroyed the Batista dictatorship.

It was Sánchez who was in charge of the camouflaged trucks that waited for the rebels sailing to Cuba in the boat named *Granma* on November 30, 1956. The *Granma*, overloaded, antiquated,



CELIA SANCHEZ

and meeting heavy weather, arrived two days late and the result was a stinging defeat. But the fighters of the July 26 Movement soon demonstrated that the dictatorship's claims of victory were premature.

Raúl Castro described the impor-

tance of the urban underground in his November 30 speech commemorating the uprising in the city of Santiago de Cuba that was meant to coincide with the landing of the *Granma*.

"The struggle in the cities was part and parcel of our revolutionary struggle," Raúl noted. "If this chapter is not so well-known or if some comrade is temporarily forgotten, it is because we haven't yet been able to systematize our efforts . . . so as to be able to provide a complete, all-around picture of the role played by thousands of comrades who carried out countless revolutionary actions."

Raúl also stressed that leaders like País—and Sánchez—were "always aware of the fact that such [underground] work could not be left solely to a group of daring men willing to risk their lives but had to be expanded to include the masses, chiefly the workers, obtaining their support."

Talking about the early period of the guerrilla struggle, Fidel explained, "Celia, who was in Manzanillo, helped us greatly and sent us the first supplies, the first clothes, and the first money."

On March 19, 1957, Sánchez joined the Rebel Army in the mountains. As well as being one of the three women in the central leadership of the July 26 Movement (the other two were Vilma Espin and Haydée Santamaría), Sánchez was also the first woman to be

integrated into the ranks of the guerrillas in the mountains.

The *Granma* editorial on her death notes that "she became, together with Fidel, one of those who pressed forward the creation of the female 'Mariana Grajales' platoon and the incorporation of women into the armed insurrectional struggle."

At the time of her death, Sánchez was a member of the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party, secretary of the Council of State, and a member of the National Assembly of People's Power.

An indication of the continuing power of her example—and that of the Cuban revolution, which she helped to bring to victory—was the Nicaraguan delegation at her funeral headed by Humberto Ortega and Bayardo Arce, leaders of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Tens of thousands, headed by Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban revolution, turned out for Sánchez's funeral January 12. A eulogy was given by Armando Hart, a veteran of the July 26 Movement. As the statement on her death released by the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party declared:

"The homeland is in mourning. One of its most resolute and loyal daughters, a tireless fighter, a heroine of the Cuban Revolution, has fallen."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Backs April 26 march

Western states antinuclear meeting

By John Hawkins

OAKLAND, Calif.—Meeting at Laney College here on the weekend of January 18, more than 300 antinuclear activists planned an ambitious calendar of spring activities against nuclear power and weapons. The plans include local and regional demonstrations throughout the Western states for April 26, to coincide with the antinuclear March on Washington scheduled for the same day.

Activists from fourteen states and

thirty organizations gathered here for the Alternative to Nuclear: Western States Skills and Strategy Meeting.

The diverse subjects of the conference workshops testified to a growing antinuclear movement in the West today: Native American Land Rights and Uranium Mining and Milling, Transportation and Waste Storage, Nuclear Development in the Third World, Economics of the Arms Race, Conversion, and Safe Energy Alternatives.

A keenly discussed question was the

role of the labor movement in the fight to shut down nuclear power plants.

John Baker, from the Australian Council of Trade Unions, addressed the conference at the Friday evening plenary.

Baker pointed to the example of the Australian labor movement, which has played a leading role in the fight against the mining of uranium in that country. American antinuclear activists should learn from the Australian experience, Baker said, because the potential exists to do the same in the United States.

Another topic that generated lively discussion at several workshops was the proposal that the antinuclear movement advocate the use of coal to produce electricity as an alternative to deadly nuclear power.

In his speech to the conference Daniel Ellsberg pointed to an article in the *Los Angeles Times* stating that Carter administration officials were considering the use of atomic weapons in response to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Conference participants adopted by acclamation a protest letter to Carter which said in part: "Our answer to the question implied by the *L.A. Times* 'trial balloon' is unequivocal: nuclear weapons must never be used."

U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), who also addressed the gathering, noted that Carter is using the phoney pretext of an oil shortage to bolster his arguments favoring nuclear power facilities.

In the same way, Dellums said, Carter is using the pretext of Afghanistan to increase arms spending and push for beefing up Washington's nuclear arsenal.

Among the other proposals adopted by the conference were a call for protests on the anniversary of the near disaster at Three Mile Island, March 28-30; actions for a nuclear-free Pacific, March 2 and 3; and a Nuclear-Free Pacific Conference in Hawaii in May to bring together activists from the Pacific islands who are fighting the threat of nuclear power and weapons there.

Nicaragua tour on literacy drive

Sonia de Chamorro, fund-raising director for Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade, will be touring the United States in February under the auspices of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Her schedule is as follows:

Miami	February 4
Washington, D.C.	February 5-6
New York City	February 7
Boston	February 8
New Orleans	February 9-10
Detroit	February 11-12
San Francisco	February 13-14

Nicaragua's government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation

Front (FSLN), has set a goal of teaching 800,000 people to read and write during 1980. Nearly 200,000 students and workers will be mobilized to carry out this gigantic task.

The U.S. solidarity movement has pledged to join the international campaign to aid the literacy drive. A brochure (shown above) explaining the crusade is available from the National Network, as are other educational materials and films on the Nicaraguan revolution.

Chamorro's tour will be organized by the Network affiliate, along with the Nicaraguan consulate, in each city. For more information, contact the National Network at 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 223-2328. Tax-deductible contributions should be sent to HAND at the same address, earmarked for the literacy crusade.



NICARAGUA'S
LITERACY
CRUSADE
THE SECOND
LIBERATION WAR

Three Mile Island protest

A commemorative vigil and demonstration on the first anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident has been set for March 28-30.

The action was called by the March 28 Coalition, headquartered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, near the site of the near nuclear disaster almost one year ago.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Residents of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, protest Three Mile Island nuclear accident last year.

"We face another spring knowing that our children may be irradiated when they go out to play. We do not know whether our air will be safe to breathe, our water safe to drink, our land safe to farm," the March 28 Coalition declared in a leaflet announcing the protest.

"In the face of these dangers, Metropolitan Edison intends to reopen the Three Mile Island plant. We are resolved that the nuclear plant at Three Mile Island will never reopen . . . that all nuclear facilities, both civilian and military, be shut down."

The protest will include a service and commemorative vigil in Harrisburg March 28, with a demonstration near Three Mile Island on Saturday, March 29.

The March 28 Coalition also urged support for the national antinuclear demonstrations April 26, and it urged that those who do not live in the Harrisburg area hold March 28-30 protests in their own communities.

They have put out an armband for this occasion declaring "TMI—NEVER AGAIN." The armbands are one dollar each or sixty cents each for orders of fifty or more. They can be ordered from the March 28 Coalition, 1037 MacLay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103.

Labor, women join forces in Va.

January 13 march opens 1980 drive

By Suzanne Haig

RICHMOND—With confidence and militancy more than 5,000 trade unionists and members of women's and civil rights organizations marched and rallied here Sunday, January 13, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by this session of the Virginia legislature—due to adjourn March 8.

Virginia is one of fifteen states that have not ratified the proposed Constitutional amendment which bars discrimination on account of sex. Thirty-five states have ratified and three more are needed by June 30, 1982.

The demonstration, one of the biggest ever held demanding ERA ratification by a state legislature, was the largest and broadest labor-called mobilization for ERA to date. The labor contingents were joined by those from women's rights organizations, such as the National Organization for Women, as well as by the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Show of unity

Leaders of major civil rights organizations were on the platform, including the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference. More than a third of the marchers were Black. The day's events were a powerful show of unity by these key forces demanding ERA.

The spirited march was led by a contingent of shipyard workers from Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America in Newport News, Virginia, who chanted, "Virginia labor leads the way, ratify the ERA!"

Their victorious struggle for union recognition last year has become an inspiration for the entire southern labor movement in all its battles—including that for ERA passage.

The march and rally were organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN), a coalition of Virginia trade unions. Its coordinators, Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Education Association and Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2, United Food and Commercial Workers Union, each chaired sections of the rally.

Steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, and members of the UFCW made up the largest contingents in the march.

In addition there were contingents and union banners from: the United Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Government Employees; United Transportation Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile



Militant/Lou Howort

Newport News shipyard workers led march in Richmond. Behind them came steelworkers from other locals, autoworkers, teachers, NOW members, high school students, and others.

Workers Union; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; United Mine Workers; American Postal Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; Boilermakers; Communications Workers of America; New York Public Library Guild; and others.

Banners identified NOW contingents from the states of Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Connecticut.

CLUW members came from New York and New Jersey and marched under their own banners.

One especially spirited contingent was from Open High School in Richmond. The Sun Alliance, an anti-nuclear organization, was present with a large banner.

Most people who marched on this bitter cold day came from the Virginia labor movement, although at least twenty other states were represented. Both young and old participated in the march. About a third were men.

Political organizations that marched included the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Workers World Party.

Copies of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, were handed out.

Broad union support

The scope of labor union participation was particularly impressive, a

result of the five-month education and action campaign undertaken by union activists across the country following the August 12 LERN conference of 600 in Richmond which called the action.

Behind Local 8888 marched members of USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore. They were easily identified by their hardhats, each with USWA January 13 ERA stickers. In addition there were steelworkers from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Gary, and California. Local 1938 sent two women from U.S. Steel Minntac Iron Ore Mine in Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

Auto workers from Region 9 in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York wore green signs which read, "UAW Region 9 Women's Committee supports ERA." Auto workers also came from Illinois, Virginia, and Ohio.

Three women from UAW Local 148 at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Lakewood, California were sent by their union and brought greetings.

In the United Mine Workers contingent marched miners from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Virginia and members of the Tennessee Coal Employment Project, an organization that fights to get women into the mines. Miners wore their hard hats and chanted, "UMWA for the ERA."

United Electrical Workers wore their

union hats as did the New York City Hospital Workers from AFSCME Local 420.

Along with the printed signs were others made by individual marchers such as: "Neither rain nor sleet nor cold of day can stop ERA," from a member of American Postal Workers in Philadelphia; "Defend and Expand Affirmative Action;" "Chocolate workers say pass the ERA," from Hershey, Pennsylvania, Local 464 of the Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers; "ERA Yes, Nukes, No;" and from District 65 of the UAW, "We'll keep marching, 'til we win!"

Why we came

Some demonstrators had been at other ERA actions, civil rights, and union marches, but this was the first one for most. This was the case with Geneva Moss, a mail clerk and member of the American Postal Workers and the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Philadelphia, who came with her nineteen-year-old daughter, Jaretta.

"Women have the same rights as men do," she said, explaining why she was here. "We are ready to take our place. Women can do any job just as well as a man can, given the chance."

Her daughter added, "And we should get paid the same amount of money for the same work."

West coast joins with Richmond to demand passage of ERA

By Judy White

SAN DIEGO—More than 225 trade unionists and feminists rallied here January 13 to support the Equal Rights Amendment and demand its ratification in Virginia.

Lee Pearson, business agent of Local 685 of the International Association of Machinists, extended greetings to the crowd. "We need this protective law for all workers—machinists and non-machinists, organized and unorganized," he said.

Women in five locals of the IAM initiated the rally, which was held in the union's district headquarters. Heavy leafletting at plants where the IAM has locals in the days preceding the rally accounted for the high turn-out of Machinists.

Also present were contingents from the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Communications Workers of America, several locals of the teachers' union, Service Employees International Union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,

United Domestic Workers, United Farm Workers, National Organization for Women, Center for Women's Studies and Services, Young Socialist Alliance, National Women's Political Caucus, and others.

R.R. Richardson, secretary-treasurer of the San Diego-Imperial Labor Council, expressed the support of the Labor Council to the rally and urged those present to continue fighting until the ERA is added to the Constitution.

Estelle Ricketson, president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, said CLUW's aims are to promote passage of the ERA, to strengthen the role of women in their unions, and to obtain equal rights for women in hiring, promotion, classification, and pay.

Marcia Scott, a member of IAM Local 1125, who is fighting a racist and sexist firing, spoke on her case and the fight for ERA.

"This rally, along with others around the country," she said "will

make us heard all the way to Virginia. It will encourage more activities, more noise, to make those guys in the legislature over there realize that by voting against the Equal Rights Amendment they would be voting against the majority of the country..."

Themma Stacey of the ERA Task Force of NOW gave a history of women's struggle for equality in the United States. Pat Harte, secretary-treasurer of District 50 of the IAM, urged everybody to attend a follow-up meeting to be held at the union hall the following Saturday to plan future activities.

In San Francisco some 200 people came to a rally entitled "Bay Area labor salute to the ERA."

By Jill Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Led by Darwin Aycock, secretary-treasurer of the Arizona State AFL-CIO, 400 people

marched to the state capitol, January 14, to demand ratification of the ERA.

The demonstration was held to coincide with the opening session of the state legislature. Arizona is one of fifteen states that has not ratified the ERA.

The action was sponsored by the Arizona Coalition for the ERA. Representatives of women's organizations, unions, and other groups from around the state marched in contingents behind their organization's banner.

Among those present were representatives of the Central Arizona Labor Council, United Steel Workers Local 4102, Arizona Education Association, American Postal Workers Union, chapters of the National Organization for Women, Arizona Mobilization for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

This was the first time in Arizona that so many unions have participated in a march for the ERA.

for ERA

Many had had personal experiences which reinforced their support for ERA. Dotty Anderson, a crane operator in the pipe mill at Sparrows Point, for example, was elected as the first female shop steward in the local.

"When I first went to Bethlehem," she explained, "they tried to force me to quit. They wanted me to do the work of two men. Some of the jobs they gave me, no men ever did. They were done by machine. But I stuck it out."

"Women get menial jobs, low pay. We want to feel like humans. We're not second class."

Women commented on the support ERA was receiving from male trade unionists. Alma Darby, an eleven-year Baltimore Federation of Teachers member, said, "Anything that affects working people should be an issue of all labor. It's good for men to stand side by side with women on this."

Virginia trade unionists stressed the connection between ERA and the fight against the state's anti-labor, open-shop laws.

For USWA member Curtis Daniels ERA "means a fight for rights on the jobs, the same as the fight against the 'right-to-work,' and we from Local 8888 know about that very well!"

Norm King, a white shop steward from Boilermakers Local 684 at the Norshipco shipyards in Norfolk, Virginia, came with a bus of trade unionists from his 1,000-member local.

"The women are as hard-working as the men," he said. "They have to support their families. After we ex-

plained the ERA in the local, nobody was opposed to it. We explained how it would help everyone."

Some marchers commented on the connection between the fight for ERA and the fight against racism, which was a theme of many rally speakers.

The head of the civil rights committee of a USWA local said to steelworkers on a Pittsburgh bus, "The march today showed the power of people getting it together. But now everyone has to go to Greensboro," referring to the broadly-sponsored march against the Ku Klux Klan on February 2. [See article page 3]

The bus trips were long, but they didn't daunt the spirits of either the veteran fighters for ERA or those marching for the first time. One NOW activist from New Jersey said that they sang union and women's songs all the way down to Richmond since the area CLUW chapter had provided them with song sheets. Everyone liked the march and many asked "Where do we march next?" One New Jersey NOW member wanted to know, "When can New Jersey NOW go to Chicago to march for ERA?"

The unity and power of this march—the recognition that it represented a giant step forward—was repeatedly stressed by the rally speakers.

Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, told a cheering crowd, "I believe that if Martin Luther King, Jr. were alive he would be here today supporting ERA. Dr. King died because forces in this country are opposed to equal rights for women, for labor, and for Blacks and we have learned painfully that we cannot isolate discrimination based on race, color, or class. We don't think any of us can do without the rest of us."

Applause punctuated the presenta-

tion of NOW President Eleanor Smeal, who symbolized to the demonstrators the strength of the women's movement. "We here in Virginia are kicking off the 1980 ratification drive everywhere, and they are going on everywhere: Missouri, Illinois, South Carolina, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Florida. We will be everywhere but not only in the unratified states but also in the ratified states, because this is one unratified nation!"

"This [ERA] is an economic issue, and thank god that labor and the women's movement and the Black civil rights movement are united and have just begun to wake up again for human rights. The eighties will again bring back the marches for human rights because we're not going to let the right wing march us back to the 1800s."

Sonia Johnson, leader of Mormons for the ERA, who was recently excommunicated by the elders of that church because of her outspoken support for women's equality, received a heroine's welcome. She said, "The struggle is making women strong. We will win our rights and when we have won them we will have learned from the struggle what we could not have learned any other way. We will have learned for ourselves about power."

Many of the trade union speakers connected equal rights for women with union struggles. Frank Mont, director of the Civil Rights Department of the USWA, brought greetings from his union's international officers and executive board. "The steelworkers were created out of struggle to bring some dignity to the work place . . . and equality and justice. But to have equality and justice it must be available for everyone."

"There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this

is our country. It doesn't belong to them, it belongs to us and we must make it work. We must do it as one group of people because we are the have-nots, the workers of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is."

Since members of so many unions were visible at the rally, John Kennedy, president of District 28 of the United Mine Workers, took the opportunity to thank "the working people over this land that contributed to the people who were out on strike for a contract." Labor solidarity was a big factor in the 110-day miners' strike in late 1977 and 1978.

Other speakers included: Julian Carper, president of the Virginia State AFL-CIO; Addie Wyatt, executive vice-president of CLUW and vice-president of UFCW; Willard McGuire, president of the National Education Association; Ed Coppedge, president of USWA Local 8888; Jim Butler, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Milton Brickhouse, president of Virginia Citizens Action Program Council, UAW; Carol Pudliner, state coordinator of Virginia NOW; and others.

In addition to the rally in Richmond, solidarity actions were held in San Diego, San Francisco, and Phoenix, Arizona.

The sentiment for passage of the ERA in Virginia and two other states was best summed up by Leon Schachter, director of Region 4 and international vice-president of UFCW. "I marched two years ago [in Richmond]," he said. "Yes, I said then if they don't pass ERA, we'll be back in twice the number."

"Today we are back in twice the number. And if they don't pass it now, we'll be back with twice that many more."

Protesters meet, talk with socialist candidates

By Nancy Cole

RICHMOND, Va.—In front of a long, colorful banner, "Ratify the ERA! Organize the Unorganized! Vote Socialist Workers," Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann marched here January 13.

Scores of supporters of the Pulley/Zimmermann SWP presidential slate marched behind them and still scores more marched with their union contingents.

They wore SWP campaign buttons demanding the ERA be passed and they sold hundreds of copies of the *Militant* with an ERA statement by Pulley and Zimmermann featured on the back cover.

For many other marchers, Pulley and Zimmermann were no strangers either. As Pulley tells it, moments after he arrived—before he had made contact with Zimmermann and other campaign workers—six or seven Newport News Steelworkers walked up to him on the street, shook his hand, greeting him with variations of, "What's happening, Pulley?"

A Socialist Workers campaign hospitality suite offered protesters a chance to meet and talk with the socialist candidates.

Despite its location five blocks away from the rally site, the two-room hotel suite was packed for several hours. The long hallway outside was practically impassable with the overflow, as many demonstrators dropped by for a few minutes to meet the candidates.

Campaign staffer L. Paltrineri estimates that several hundred people passed through. "Many were members of the SWP, but nearly as many more were co-workers they brought over to talk with Pulley and Zimmermann," she reports.

Some heard about the campaign for the first time at the march and came over on their own, like the two Richmond college students, who thought the socialist candidates were "brave" to say the things that needed to be said.

Many had previously read about the 1980 SWP campaign in the *Militant* or



Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, marches with Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate, and campaign supporters on January 13.

heard one of the candidates at a local campaign event. They were delighted to meet Pulley or Zimmermann (with the crunch, it was in many cases limited to one or the other) and to discuss a variety of topics.

Héctor "Chico" Rivera, a steelworker at Baltimore's Sparrows Point, was interested in talking with Zimmermann about his native Cuba. He left when a teenager some twenty years ago, but he still has friends in Cuba who have told him how much better it is for the majority of Cubans since the revolution. He plans to visit there soon to find out for himself.

Zimmermann, who visited Cuba last summer, explained how she talks a lot about Cuba during her campaign tours. "People are curious," she said. "They want to know about what it's like there, is it true what they've heard about the health care programs, education, and so on."

Zimmermann said she will soon be visiting Nicaragua so that she can also give firsthand accounts of that revolu-

tion's progress to Americans.

"This is something the labor movement here should be taking up," she said to nods of agreement from Rivera, "getting out the facts on the situation in Nicaragua and raising money to help them rebuild their country."

One familiar face for Zimmermann from a tour stop on Minnesota's Iron Range was Kathi Lee, an iron ore miner. This was Lee's first national demonstration, and she was bursting with excitement about representing her local Steelworkers union in the march.

Janet Beaudry from Tennessee came to the demonstration with the Coal Employment Project, a group working to get jobs for women in the coal mines. For her the socialist campaign was new, but not so protest marches. She recalled joining one other national demonstration—in 1970 against the Vietnam war in Washington D.C.

She's been trying to get a job in the mines for six months now, having quit a construction office job where she was getting \$3.50 per hour, 50 cents less

than the man she replaced.

For nearly two years, Jean Jefferson has been coming to Socialist Workers events in Pittsburgh. But it was here that she decided she wanted to join the SWP.

It was her first demonstration ever, and by the time she dropped by the hospitality suite, she had already called her husband, a steelworker, back in Pittsburgh to tell him how great it had been.

She promised Zimmermann, and later Pulley, a dinner next time either was in Pittsburgh.

Kwabena Onyango from Sparrows Point spent a good while discussing the state of the unions with Zimmermann. Onyango has been active in the Black nationalist movement from the 1963 March on Washington through the Black Panther Party. This was his first women's rights or union-sponsored protest.

"The unions have to become fighters for the ERA, against Klan violence, and against nuclear power," said Zimmermann.

Noting that the march today was just a beginning, Onyango added, "Union leaders have to see people like me standing up and supporting the ERA. Then they'll feel they have to do something."

I asked Marie Anderson, who had just joined the discussion, what it had been like at the steel mill before the demonstration. (Two full buses came from the Point.) She estimated that 60 percent of the workers on the tin mill side of the plant were wearing stickers on their hardhats that said, "USWA for ERA. Labor March, Richmond, Va., Jan. 13."

"Almost all the women were wearing them, but also a lot of men—white workers, older workers, everyone."

The two Steelworkers then moved on to talk to Pulley.

"The whole day was great," commented Pulley afterwards. "And the hospitality suite was tremendous. Three or four people were coming up at once. I couldn't finish one conversation before beginning another."

SWP to set up school to study Marxism

By Gus Horowitz

The Socialist Workers Party National Committee, meeting January 5-9, concretized plans to set up an SWP Leadership School beginning March 1, 1980, and voted to launch a \$50,000 fund drive to finance it.

The school will have a student body consisting of seven SWP leaders who will attend the school full time for five months. (See accompanying remarks by Betsey Stone).

Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the SWP, has been assigned to head up the organization of the school and the first five-month session.

The establishment of the leadership school is part of a broader SWP effort stressing the need for all party members to develop and maintain a grounding in Marxist fundamentals. Classes and courses of study on all levels are being held.

The purpose of the leadership school, Barnes reported to the National Committee, is to "increase the capacities of flexible, principled revolutionary politicians who have given their lives to the movement and who intend to continue to do whatever is necessary to advance the movement. They will come out of the experience stronger and better equipped to carry out party responsibilities."

The pressure of activism and responsibility make it difficult for revolutionary leaders to devote the time and effort to study as they should. Thus the party, Barnes explained, must make a conscious effort to organize leadership education.

This means setting up a school for party leaders, giving them a period of time to study, during which they have no other responsibilities.

"Education is not the road to revolutionary leadership," Barnes said. "Leadership is the road to leadership. No one asks you how many years you've gone to school or how many books you've read before electing you to an executive committee or asking you to accept some other leadership responsibility."

"But once you accept leadership responsibility, the shoe is on the other foot. It is then the responsibility of the party to organize and deepen the education of the leadership—to make it a better leadership, better able to serve its function."

Barnes explained the school as a means to "help the most precious thing that exists—the revolutionary cadres. We must do everything possible to strengthen them, to make them able to

keep on assuming heavy responsibilities over the long run."

The need for revolutionists to continually renew and enhance their understanding of Marxism is highlighted today, a time when working people increasingly feel the impact of the economic and political crises of capitalism in their daily lives. Workers are thinking about and debating the problems they face. They are looking for answers, which the revolutionary socialist party must be able to provide.

The issues concerned involve "the biggest questions of world politics," Barnes said. "American imperialism has its tentacles in every powder keg of the world. Whenever anything happens anywhere in the world, it shakes up politics in the United States. Whatever happens becomes an immediate issue for the American workers. So the American working class must have a world policy, just as the American ruling class does."

"It's in this framework that we see the role of education," he said later. "We must have the ability to explain fundamental Marxist ideas and show how they fit in with the line of march we propose for American workers. Workers are thinking people. They will be won to a revolutionary party not only through action but through the conviction that the party knows how to explain what's happening and has answers to the problems they face."

The leadership school will center on study of the basic political writings of Marx and Engels.

"What we want to do," Barnes explained, "is discover and rediscover the Marxism that guides us, where it came from, how we are reliving in some ways the same experiences that made Marxists out of Marx and Engels in the first place."

How did Marxism develop as a political strategy, as the reflection of the interests of the working class side in the class struggle? How was it systematized and continually enriched? What is at its heart?

To answer these questions, Barnes said, "we should relive the making of Marxism. I think we should come to Marxism like Marx and Engels came to Marxism. We can't feel in the same way the condition of the working class in England or the revolt of the Silesian weavers. But when we really study their political works we'll discover that they were much more like us and like the people we're going to be recruiting than we might have thought."

Continued on page 23



Great revolutionists—Rosa Luxemburg, Fidel Castro, Leon Trotsky, Eugene V. Debs, V.I. Lenin, Karl Marx, and Malcolm X—personify the tradition the Socialist Workers Party teaches its members.

'Finding the time to study'

Specific proposals for establishing the SWP Leadership School were mapped out at the party convention in August 1979, in conjunction with a broader party education campaign decided upon at that time.

The proposal for the school emerged during discussions in the SWP in the past two years over the implications of the party's decision to center its activities among the workers in basic industry. The goal, which is well on the way to being achieved, is to transform the SWP into a party that is composed in its big majority of industrial workers.

The turn to industry has had ramifications on all aspects of party structure and functioning. Particular stress has been placed on the need for internal education and leadership development of working class, Black, Latino, and women cadres.

As part of the turn, therefore, the SWP has been developing a broad range of educational programs for all members.

In these remarks made last Au-

gust, Betsey Stone, a longtime leader of the SWP, outlined the basic idea of the leadership school.

There is hardly a member of our party who has not at one time or another said to herself or himself: "If only I had more time to read and study."

The problem of finding time to educate ourselves is not a new one. Nor is it unique to our party. It has been present in the revolutionary workers movement from the beginning.

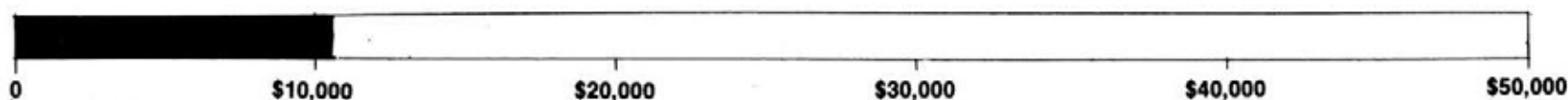
Revolutionaries are activists. We are people determined to change the world. We place our highest priorities on the everyday needs of participating in the class struggle and building the party.

Education tends therefore to stay on the back burner, unless through conscious planning and determined effort we map out educational programs for all party members.

That is why we are proposing that the party undertake an educational campaign emphasizing study of the fundamentals of Marxism. Everyone will be involved, from the newest member to the elected leaders.

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SWP Leadership School Fund



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

The Socialist Workers Party Leadership School will consist of five-month sessions during which SWP leaders, who normally carry an enormous and time-consuming work load, will be freed from that work and have a chance to study and enhance their understanding of basic Marxist ideas.

Since revolutionary action arises from conviction, and conviction from understanding, the SWP stresses the need for revolutionists to continually enrich their understanding of Marxism. The SWP Leadership School is being set up for

this purpose.

The school, set to begin March 1, is being financed by a \$50,000 fund drive, to run until March 31. Please fill out the coupon and contribute all you can.

George Novack, the Marxist scholar and longtime SWP leader, is chairing the drive. He has appealed for special donations from those who receive income tax refunds—"a way to turn money that the government had earmarked for the war budget into building the socialist movement that will put an end to war and poverty."

I want to contribute:

—\$1,000 —\$500 —\$200 —\$100
—\$50 —\$10 —other _____

Make checks payable to:

SWP Leadership School Fund

Mail to:

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Revolution in Nicaragua

Resolution adopted by Socialist Workers Party National Committee



Young Nicaraguans proudly display banner of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which led the victorious revolution in Nicaragua.

Militant/Anibal Yañez

Introduction

On July 19, 1979, the people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), finally succeeded in toppling the hated Somoza family dictatorship that had ruled over their country for more than forty years.

The Somozas had been among the most brutal dictators that have ever existed, and the regime was denounced the world over for its crimes. Even the Organization of American States blasted it in November 1978 for "flagrant, persistent abuses of human rights, including summary executions, torture, arbitrary detention, indiscriminate bombing of unarmed civilians, and obstructing the humanitarian efforts of the Red Cross."

The Somoza dictatorship had been installed during a U.S. military occupation of Nicaragua in the 1930s, and it was able to survive so long only because of the support it received from Washington. The Somoza family used its power to accumulate vast personal wealth and to assure that the resources of Nicaragua would be dominated by U.S. and other imperialist banks and monopolies.

Thus the struggle against Somoza had a democratic and anti-imperialist aspect to it from the beginning.

It is clear that a socialist dynamic is also present.

The working people and peasants of Nicaragua have had to pay a high price to free themselves from the Somoza tyranny: more than 50,000 killed and 100,000 wounded out of a population of only 2.5 million. Industry and agriculture, housing and commerce were all devastated.

A few statistics give the picture of the terrible economic situation inherited from Somoza: capital flight of \$2 billion; foreign debts of \$1.5 billion; material damage of \$500 million; unemployment at 50 percent; and inflation at almost 40 percent.

This panorama of destruction and economic dislocation has immense effects in an undeveloped country like Nicaragua, where class disparities are so stark. Even before the recent civil war 1971 statistics showed the bottom 50 percent of the population with a median income of only \$90 per year, while the top 5 percent averaged \$1,800. The poor farmers, with 43.2 percent of the farms, had only 2.2 percent of the farmland, while the big estates (1.9 percent of the farms) had 47.6 percent of the farmland.

Literacy was less than 50 percent. Infant mortality was 13 per-

cent. Forty-seven percent of homes had no sanitary facilities.

Unemployment (including "underemployment") was 36 percent in 1973.

Problems of such scope clearly require far-reaching social and economic solutions and a resolute leadership able to lead the struggle through to the end.

To its immense credit the FSLN has spurned the temporizing methods that have characterized the leaderships of so many failed revolutions in the past. With the Castro leadership of Cuba as its model, the FSLN has set out to mobilize and organize the masses of workers and poor peasants, to cement an alliance between them, and to use the levers of government to make inroads into the power of the old ruling classes.

The *workers and peasants government* that has thereby emerged in Nicaragua has proposed and carried out many measures that have won popular support, including an extensive land reform, a rent reduction of 50 percent, a public health program, and a nationwide literacy drive scheduled to begin in a few weeks.

But considerable obstacles lie ahead. The remaining capitalists and landlords have begun openly

challenging the working-class orientation mapped out by the FSLN. They withhold investments and production, while the imperialists withhold aid and prepare for the eventuality of striking back militarily at the Nicaraguan revolution. A showdown is looming. Either the socialist revolution will be completed or a Chile-type disaster will result.

In this context, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants depend not only on their own strength but also on the solidarity of working people all over the world.

In addition to material aid needed to rebuild Nicaragua, a campaign of political education is called for. Socialists have the duty to convince their co-workers that the revolution in Nicaragua deserves support and that any aggressive move by Washington against it must be countered.

With this dual obligation in mind the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting January 5-9, discussed and adopted a resolution analyzing the dynamics of the revolution in Nicaragua, its importance in world politics, and suggestions for worldwide solidarity activity by the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International. The full text of the resolution begins on the next page.

The primary purpose of the following theses is to clarify (1) the class character of the Nicaraguan government today, and (2) why the Nicaraguan revolution and the evolution of the Sandinista National Liberation Front are central to our strategic task of building the world party of socialist revolution necessary to lead the toilers in the overthrow of world capitalism.

1. Between late May and July 19, 1979, deepgoing popular insurrections in the main cities of Nicaragua—prepared by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and coordinated with an FSLN military offensive—toppled the United States-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. The victory was the culmination of two months of general strikes and armed uprisings in the cities by the workers, semiproletarian masses, youth, and sectors of the petty bourgeoisie; land occupations and other mobilizations by the poor peasants and agricultural laborers in the rural districts; and stepped-up guerrilla operations and a concerted military drive by the FSLN.

These were the motor forces of the climactic stage in the struggle against the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism. They gave the revolution a powerful anticapitalist impulse.

The final year of the revolutionary struggle was marked by widespread organization of the masses in neighborhood committees and self-defense units, as well as by increased organization in workplaces and the countryside. This occurred both on the initia-

tive of the FSLN and spontaneously in response to the worsening living conditions and brutal repression under Somoza. In addition, as the final struggle gathered momentum the ranks of the FSLN's military units were swelled by thousands of young workers, poor peasants, students, the unemployed, and radicalized petty-bourgeois forces. This included many Latin Americans from other countries who joined the fight against Somozaism and Yankee imperialism.

As one city after another was liberated from Somoza's National Guard under the combined blows of FSLN units and popular insurrections, Civil Defense Committees (CDC) and militias organized military defense and took over such vital tasks in the neighborhoods as food distribution, health care, sanitation, and the dispensation of justice to Somozaist torturers. Sandinista Workers Defense Committees (CDTS) arose in some factories and workplaces, the nuclei of what was to become the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). Other mass organizations—the women's group AMPRONAC (later to become the Association of Nicaraguan Women), the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the July 19 Sandinista Youth, the teachers union (ANDEN)—also got their start in the period before and during the insurrection.

Alongside this intervention of the toiling masses and development of proletarian forms of organization, the bourgeois forces opposed to Somoza underwent a process of disintegration. Most desperately sought a compromise with the dictatorship while some belatedly threw in their lot with the insurrection. This sharp shift in the relationship of class forces is a key factor in explaining the dynamics of the socialist revolution now unfolding in Nicaragua.

Triumph over Somoza

2. Following Somoza's flight on July 17, the disintegration of the National Guard accelerated. His stand-in Francisco Urcuyo had promised to transfer power to a five-person junta of the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN). This was supposed to pave the way for the integration of some National Guard units into the new army and the appointment of a bourgeois-dominated Council of State. The formation of this junta and its responsibilities had been announced July 9 in Costa Rica as part of the post-Somoza governmental program agreed to by the FSLN and some of the bourgeois opposition forces.

With United States support, however, Urcuyo attempted to hold on to state power, and demanded the FSLN lay down its arms. This provoked the final FSLN push on Managua and a popular mass uprising there in which Somoza's "bunker" was captured and tens of thousands of weapons were seized and distributed. The GRN program had stated that the new army would incorporate "soldiers and officers who demonstrated honest and patriotic conduct" and were not guilty of "corruption, repression, [and] crimes against the people." But the section of Somoza's National Guard that did not escape to Honduras scattered under the impact of the mass insurrection.

The revolutionary triumph over Somoza was thus a sweeping one, in which large sections of the previous state apparatus—in particular the entire repressive apparatus—were dismantled and replaced, resolving the situation of dual power that had developed in Nicaragua in the final weeks prior to Somoza's fall. As a result, the effort to establish a well-trained professional Sandinista army is being entirely built around a cadre of FSLN guerrillas and militia fighters.

The triumph in Managua, following that in other main cities, achieved with organized mass participation and by revolutionary means, established both

the FSLN's leadership authority among the masses and its decisive political decision-making power. The contrast during the drive to victory between the courage and dedication of the Sandinistas and the hesitations and maneuvers of the bourgeois opposition did not go unnoticed in the working-class neighborhoods or in the countryside. It had a profound impact on the consciousness of FSLN militants and leaders, and on the political course they have followed.

3. It soon became obvious that the new governing power—the way in which important decisions of state were actually being made and implemented—was qualitatively different from the bourgeois coalition government projected in the July 9 GRN program and the Fundamental Statute decreed July 20.

The five-person junta that replaced Somoza took the form of a coalition of three FSLN leaders with two figures from the bourgeois opposition. This was similar to the form taken by the junta's cabinet of ministers: several of the initial appointees were FSLN leaders (e.g., Interior, Agrarian Reform, and Social Welfare), while others—including the head of the Central Bank—were bourgeois figures, usually serving alongside FSLN vice-ministers.

But this is not the totality of the actual government. In fact, the key elements of the new state structure fall outside the framework promised in the July 9 program of the GRN.

The government itself includes the FSLN leadership, the Sandinista armed forces, as well as INRA (Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform) and to some extent the mass organizations led by the FSLN.

The GRN program stipulated the appointment of a Council of State. This body was to "share legislative powers" with the junta, draw up drafts of a new constitution and electoral law, appoint the judiciary, and have the power to veto, with a two-thirds vote,



Victorious FSLN troops enter Managua July 19, 1979.

El Pueblo

decisions taken by the junta.

By agreement prior to the Managua insurrection, the Council of State was to be composed of thirty-three representatives from the bourgeois opposition parties, the chambers of commerce and industry and other capitalist organs, the Catholic Church hierarchy, the FSLN, trade unions, and other groups. Its proposed composition guaranteed bourgeois domination. For its part the FSLN was to have had somewhere in the range of six members. The Nicaraguan capitalists and imperialism counted on the council to serve as a brake on the social and economic measures instituted following Somoza's downfall and to be the institution that exercises sovereignty. It was to draft a bourgeois constitution according to which a bourgeois judicial system, headed by a Supreme Court, would block "unconstitutional" inroads on property and other "normal" bourgeois prerogatives.

In the first weeks following July 19, it was widely assumed that the Council of State would be rapidly installed. A tentative convocation date of September 15 was even announced. But that date came and went, and amid growing agitation by bourgeois forces for the convocation of the Council of State, the junta announced October 22 that convocation of the council was being postponed until May 4, 1980. In the intervening months it was to be "restructured" to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations—the CDSs, CST, ATC, women's association, Sandinista youth, etc. These organizations, with FSLN backing, have launched a campaign demanding the Council of State be a council of toilers dominated by CDS representation and that of other mass organizations.

The postponement and proposed restructuring of the Council of State represents one of the major results on the governmental level so far of the dramatic shift in the relationship of class forces as the revolutionary process has deepened in Nicaragua.

Nothing has been done to begin drafting a bourgeois constitution to provide legitimacy to capitalist rule. Instead, in late August the junta decreed a "Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans" that not only guarantees basic political freedoms such as speech, press, and assembly, but also women's equality and the priority of the social and economic rights of the toilers over the property and prerogatives of the capitalists.

Furthermore, the entire judicial system was purged, and while a Supreme Court has been appointed, as described in the GRN program, its functions are limited to matters such as divorce cases.

In addition, some ministries initially headed by bourgeois figures had no fundamental decision-making authority. The most striking example of this

was the Ministry of Defense, nominally headed by ex-National Guard Col. Bernardino Larios (who led a coup attempt against Somoza in 1978 and later fled to Panama). Larios had no authority whatsoever over the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), which since its formation has been firmly under the command of the Sandinista Front. The commander-in-chief of the EPS, FSLN leader Humberto Ortega, was named not by Larios or even by the GRN junta, but rather by the FSLN Joint National Directorate. (The decision was later ratified by the junta.)

In late December, Larios was replaced by Humberto Ortega as part of a broad governmental reorganization. (Ortega remains commander-in-chief.) Not once during his brief term in office did Larios issue a statement, hold a news conference, or appear at a public event.

The reorganized Ministry of Defense will oversee all the Sandinista armed forces. The Sandinista People's Militias are to be greatly expanded, under the direction of newly named Vice-Minister of Defense Edén Pastora ("Commander Zero"). The Sandinista National Police, constructed from the bottom up out of young Sandinista fighters, fall under the Ministry of the Interior, headed by FSLN Comandante Tomás Borge.

The Ministry of Planning was initially headed by bourgeois technocrat Roberto Mayorga. He has now been displaced by FSLN Comandante Henry Ruiz, who explained upon taking the post that the planning ministry "is the key to the present situation, and the FSLN National Directorate has thought it necessary to assign a member of the Directorate to this post." Ruiz will oversee implementation of the 1980 Plan for Economic Reactivation, which represents the new government's initial steps toward economic planning.

In the field of agriculture, all major decisions and policy statements have been made and implemented by the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), headed by FSLN Comandante Jaime Wheelock. Modeled after Cuba's INRA, this agency was not mentioned in the GRN's July 9 program or the Fundamental Statute.

INRA, which has branches in every province of the country, was consolidated at the end of December under the revamped Ministry of Agricultural Development, which Wheelock was appointed to head (retaining the post of INRA director). The first minister of agricultural development, a landowner appointed in July, had been in a similar position to that of defense minister Larios.

The FSLN's National Directorate functions as a source and wielder of

governing power outside the terms of the GRN accord. This was politically codified on September 1, 1979, when, during a military parade and rally to spur construction of the EPS, the nine members of the National Directorate were proclaimed "Comandantes de la Revolución," that is, of the entire process and not simply of the army or the formal government. During this initial stage of the revolution, it is the Comandantes of the Revolution—not the bourgeoisie operating through the Council of State as they had planned—who have played the decisive role governing together with the Sandinista-dominated junta.

The rising importance of new mass organizations and especially of the CDSs (none of which were contemplated in the GRN program) is among

the most outstanding of the postliberation developments. It is on the expansion and consolidation of the CDSs, the unions of workers and peasants, the other mass organizations, and the Sandinista Army, that the authority of the FSLN is largely based. To varying degrees, all of these are already taking on decision-making and administrative functions at the workplace, farm, neighborhood, and municipal levels. By the end of 1979, province-wide coordination of the CDSs was under way and one national gathering of CDS representatives had already been held. Sandinista leaders have announced that a delegated CDS congress will be held early in 1980.

So the government that was consolidated soon after Somoza's fall is not that projected by the GRN program.

geois business-unionists closely linked to the U.S. AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Workers have held democratic assemblies to choose their leaders and decide which federation to affiliate with; this has often resulted in unions previously part of one of the old federations joining the CST.

• The agrarian reform has also included "interventions" (that is, takeovers short of outright nationalization) of some lands owned by members of the bourgeois anti-Somoza opposition.



Militant/Fred Halstead
FSLN launched extensive agrarian reform.

Since there is a top priority on raising crops for food and vital foreign exchange, this most often targets landlords who refuse to cultivate their land.

• There have been further nationalizations and interventions; again including properties of "anti-Somozaist" capitalists. These have been carried out on the basis of economic need or because of illegitimate or antilabor operations by the owners. All insurance companies were nationalized in mid-October. This complements the nationalizations of the banks by giving the government further control over the flow of capital and lays the foundation for future economic planning.

Workers & peasants gov't

5. The FSLN-led government, based on Nicaragua's proletarian, semiproletarian, peasant, and radicalized petty-bourgeois masses, has initiated deep-going inroads against capitalist property in agriculture, industry, and finance. It has launched an ambitious program of social and cultural betterment for the Nicaraguan toilers. It has begun to construct a new armed power through the EPS and Sandinista police. Its radical policies have helped the FSLN spur the development of proletarian organizations through the CDSs, the trade unions, and other mass organizations. It has continued to foster mass mobilizations. The latest—a November 7 demonstration to honor FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador—brought over 100,000 people into the streets of Managua. It was the largest outpouring since Somoza's fall.

The structures and direction of development established through all these measures indicate that this new regime has not only broken the armed might of the bourgeoisie. It has displaced the political power of the capitalists, taken decisive steps to block the establishment of a bourgeois government and refused to subordinate the interests of the exploited to the bourgeoisie's needs either nationally or internationally.

• The FSLN is campaigning to organize peasants and rural laborers into the ATC and workers into the CST. In addition, the Sandinistas are taking steps to prepare and extend workers control over production in the nationalized sectors.

• At the beginning of November, the first major imperialist property was nationalized—the mines. (Domestic holdings in the mining sector were also taken over.) This further strengthens the government control over the country's natural resources and lays the basis for improving the wretched and extremely dangerous conditions under which Nicaragua's miners were forced to work.

• Sharp reductions in housing rents were decreed on December 19. Rents of less than \$50 a month were cut by 50% and those of \$50 to \$100 a month were cut 60%. Rents over \$100 a month were also substantially reduced under the new law, which also stipulates that the Ministry of Housing can reduce rents to below 50% of their old rates and can take over slum dwellings that have inadequate sanitary conditions.

• Housing reconstruction aid in the devastated popular neighborhoods has been initiated by the government. State control has been applied in housing developments built or operating in violation of real estate and tax laws. The first major public works projects have been initiated in this sector.

• A big increase in pensions and other social benefits to the aged and indigent has been decreed.

• Price controls have been established on basic food items. The government has authorized the CDSs to operate as price committees to enforce these controls, and the CDSs in the big open-air markets of Managua have taken the lead in this task.

• An enormous nationwide drive has been launched to wipe out illiteracy, a problem that is prevalent throughout Nicaragua but especially widespread among the rural population. All students above the sixth-grade level are to be mobilized in this "crusade for literacy"; and the country's schools are to be shut down for four months so that these students and all teachers can fully participate. Material, technical, and personnel aid is coming from Cuba for this campaign, which is being explicitly modeled on the way that country wiped out illiteracy in the early 1960s. As that experience showed, such a literacy drive is an important aid to firmly winning the poor peasantry to the side of the revolution, and defending it against counterrevolution.

Social & economic steps

4. The accumulation of progressive social and economic measures in the first months of the revolution demonstrates that the Nicaraguan toilers, under FSLN leadership, have set off down a promising road oriented toward expropriation of the bourgeoisie:

• The new government immediately nationalized the entire Somoza and Somozaist assets in agriculture, real estate, banking, industry, commerce, transport, fishing fleets, shipyard and port equipment, and communications media property.

• It nationalized all domestic banking and imposed strict controls on foreign banks. This is a necessary first step toward channeling resources, directing them to expanding such needs as education, housing, and hospitals, and initiating measures of economic planning.

• It launched an extensive agrarian reform on Somozaist land, bringing under state control some 60 percent of the big landholdings currently under cultivation. In collaboration with the ATC, INRA is transforming these haciendas into state farms on which the agricultural laborers will participate in administrative tasks. Peasant cooperatives are being encouraged on the smaller nationalized holdings, and some land redistribution has taken place in response to the demands of peasants with tiny plots. Debt foreclosure on the farms of small proprietors has been abolished.

• The government took control over all export trade of agricultural cash commodities such as cotton, coffee, sugar, beef, and fish. A state monopoly (ENABAS) has been established for the purchase and sale of all grains and agricultural products. Similar state monopolies have been set up for the purchase and sale of all other major crops (coffee, cotton, sugar, etc.).

• While pledging to renegotiate and honor Nicaragua's legitimate foreign debt, the government immediately cancelled Somoza's arms debts to the Israeli and Argentine governments. It then announced it would study carefully all other debts contracted by the dictatorship to determine which ones were illegitimate—that is, had been arranged through corrupt dealings or had simply wound up in private Somozaist bank accounts abroad. Meanwhile, given the virtually empty treasury left by Somoza, the new government has declared a de facto moratorium on interest and repayment.

• It nationalized the essential means of land, sea, and air transport. The television system and several of the radio networks have been expropriated and are being used by the FSLN to present its views to the population. The Sandinista daily *Barricada* is produced in the plant that previously printed the Somozaist newspaper, *Novedades*.

• It launched programs to reorganize and upgrade education, health care, social security, and other social services.

• The government issued a radical

currency reform measure that—under the slogan "Let's take back from Somoza the money that belongs to the people"—stopped Somozaists or other businessmen abroad from exchanging their cordobas for dollars held inside Nicaragua. All 500 and 1000 cordoba notes were withdrawn and investigations were begun into many large holdings. This measure helped slow the devaluation of the cordoba, and combat capitalist economic sabotage. Deposits under 3,000 cordobas were returned within a few days of the measure; at the end of October, following registration of the bank notes, the government began redeeming the certificates of deposit issued to holders of the notes inside Nicaragua.

• It has adopted an outspoken anti-imperialist stance on vital world political questions such as Indochina, the Mideast, southern Africa, and Carter's war moves against Cuba, the Caribbean, and Central America. The outpouring of more than 30,000 in Managua to greet Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, one of the largest mass demonstrations since the revolutionary victory, was a big blow to the imperialist campaign to isolate Vietnam as an international pariah. U.S. imperialism was condemned for its aggression during the "Soviet brigade" crisis.

Following the October military coup in El Salvador, Moscow was quick to approve the new Washington-backed regime, signalling to the imperialists its willingness to help preserve capitalist stability in the area. The Nicaraguan government, along with the Cuban, refused to do so.

• The new government has continued its efforts to construct a centralized professional army to defend the revolutionary conquests against imperialism, the Somozaist forces and other class enemies both inside Nicaragua and beyond its borders.

• Having integrated most of the militia fighters into the EPS and Sandinista police, FSLN leaders have announced their intention to strengthen and reorganize a volunteer national militia on the basis of regular training in the workplace and in high schools and universities. Weapons are to be kept in the factories and controlled by the milicianos.

• After decades of tyrannical rule under which even the most elementary bourgeois-democratic liberties were ground into the dust, there has been an enormous expansion of democratic rights, including institutions of workers democracy, fostered by the new government. The CDSs and other popular bodies operate on the basis of democratic elections. The Bill of Rights guarantees not only basic freedoms such as speech, press, and assembly, but also the right to unionize and strike and to "organize political parties or groups, or to belong to them." The FSLN has strengthened the Sandinista-led CST trade-union federation in political competition with the old union federations led by the Stalinists, Christian Democrats and bour-

All this points to the conclusion that the Sandinista-led regime in Nicaragua is neither definitively bourgeois nor proletarian at this time. It is a *workers and peasants government*, of the kind described in the Transitional Program as "a government independent of the bourgeoisie" and at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International as a government that is "born out of the struggle of the masses, is supported by workers' bodies that are capable of fighting, bodies created by the most oppressed sections of the working masses."

By recognizing the new government in Nicaragua as a workers and peasants government, we signify:

a. its origin in an anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist movement with a radical political program;

b. its coming to power as the result of a popular mass struggle, culminating in a civil war and tumultuous urban insurrections;

c. its resoluteness in combating and disarming the counterrevolution;

d. its tendency to respond by practical measures to popular demands for action against the urban and rural exploiters and against imperialism;

e. The capacity of its leading force, the FSLN, with whatever hesitations

and political limitations, to undertake measures against bourgeois political and economic power and prerogatives. The exact stage in the development of these measures is not decisive in determining the class character of the regime; the decisive factor is the capacity and tendency of the leadership to move in this direction.

Combined with these factors is the FSLN's explicit identification of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua with the Cuban workers state, and with the anti-imperialist internationalism of the Castro leadership. Cuba's accomplishments under its social system are repeatedly held up as a model—in speeches, in *Barricada*, and over radio and television.

The Nicaraguan workers and peasants government, despite its many unique features, is similar to the regimes described by the Fourth International that arose and governed in Cuba from mid-1959 to late 1960 (when the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of the workers state was completed); and in Algeria from late 1963 to mid-1965 (when Boumedienne ousted Ben Bella and restored a stable capitalist regime). The appearance of governments of this type was foreseen in the "Theses on Tactics" adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and pointed

to by Trotsky in the Transitional Program as a possible forerunner of the establishment of a workers state.

While the Nicaraguan workers and peasants government is politically independent of the bourgeoisie, the latter's economic and social power have so far only been weakened. Remnants of the old state structure remain intact. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois figures hold governmental posts. Capitalist ownership and control over major sectors of industry, commerce, and agriculture have not been broken, which means the class character of the state remains bourgeois.

If this contradiction between workers and peasants government and bourgeois state is not resolved by a thoroughgoing expropriation of the big imperialist and domestic bourgeoisie and repudiation of the foreign debt, the capitalists—backed up by Washington, international finance organizations, and capitalist regimes in Central and South America—will use their economic positions and growing economic hardships to erode the power of the new government, sabotage economic reconstruction, foster division among the toilers, reconstruct their own political and military power, and reverse the revolutionary process initiated by the Nicaraguan masses led by the FSLN.

Cuba and Nicaragua

6. Although the revolutionary process now under way in Nicaragua bears many resemblances to those which occurred under the workers and peasants governments established in Cuba and Algeria, each of these cases has its own particular characteristics.

In Nicaragua, the establishment of a workers and peasants government after the fall of the dictatorship was not preceded by a period of rule by an unstable bourgeois coalition regime. In Cuba and Algeria, on the other hand, the political power and influence of bourgeois governmental figures at the outset of the revolution were greater than in Nicaragua. As a result, in Cuba and Algeria these bourgeois figures felt more confident in openly resisting or balking at purges of the old state apparatus, in opposing the acceleration of mass mobilizations and the accumulation of radical measures aimed at carrying out the programs of the Cuban July 26 Movement and the Algerian FLN. Thus the transition from a bourgeois coalition government to a workers and peasants government in both Cuba and Algeria was marked by changes in the composition of the government as well as by radical measures and mass mobilizations in support of them. In Cuba Osvaldo Dorticos replaced Manuel Urrutia as President. Che Guevara replaced Felipe Pazos as head of the National Bank, and Cuba's ambassador to Washington, Miró Cardona, defected. In Algeria Mohammed Khider, Ferhat Abbas, and other bourgeois leaders were successively ousted.

In Nicaragua, the initial impact of the deepening revolutionary situation was expressed, on the governmental level, in the decisions taken by the FSLN. In light of the class relationship of forces established by the massive urban insurrections, they decided to postpone and restructure the class composition of the Council of State. They created a governmental setup in which all decisive decision-making power from the outset clearly rested in the FSLN's hands, although bourgeois figures participated. This was different from the very first stages of either the Cuban or Algerian postliberation regimes.

In both the latter countries however, as in Nicaragua, bourgeois figures were still in major government posts at the time that the workers and peasants governments came into being. In Cuba, some were not purged until the early 1960s; in Algeria some were never purged.

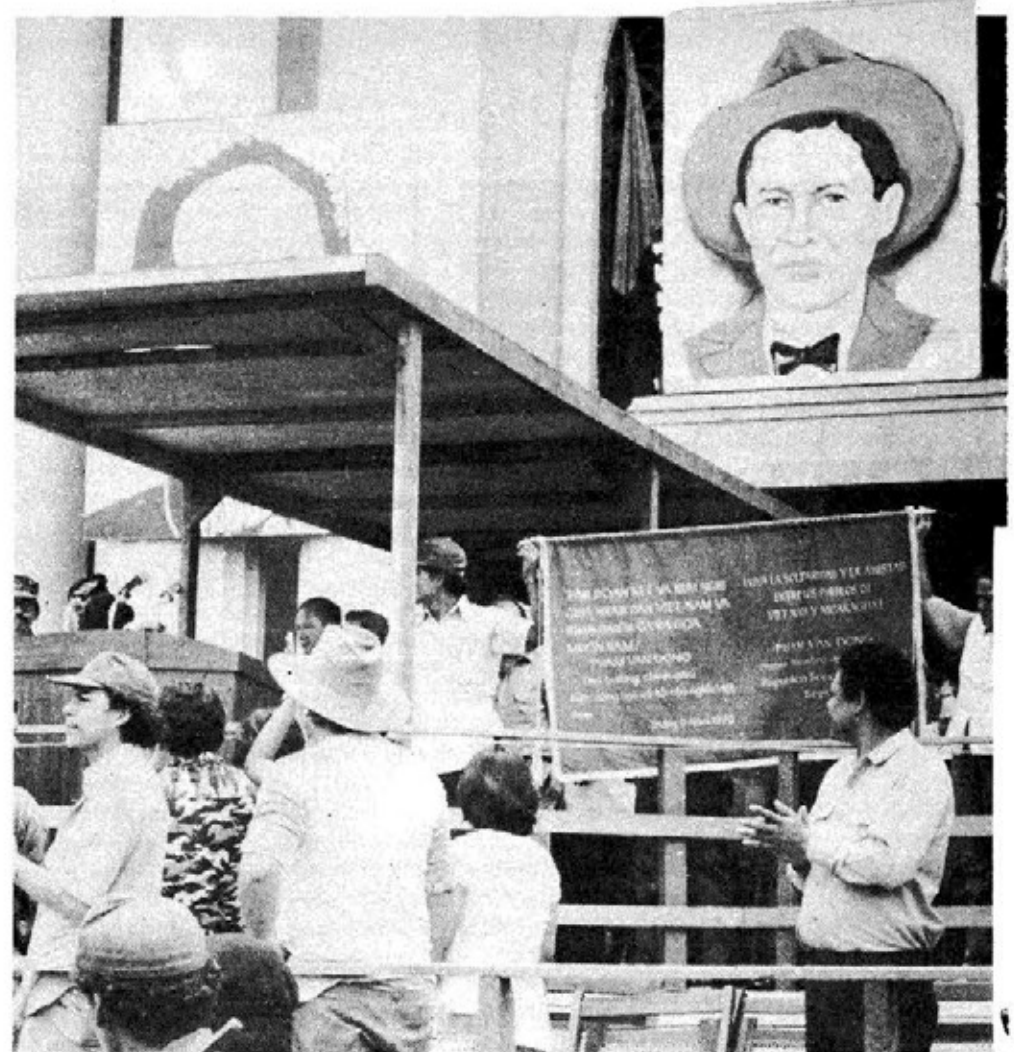
The acceleration of mass mobilizations and the steady accumulation of anticapitalist measures has certainly met with resistance from the greatly weakened bourgeoisie in Nicaragua. But most Nicaraguan capitalists still fear that an open provocation or head-on confrontation at this time would redound to their detriment. Within the government, bourgeois figures try to use *de facto* veto—as the relationship of class forces allows—over the most radical measures. At some stage this will pass over into denunciatory resignations or recalcitrant obstructionism which will force the FSLN to remove them.

The more consistently radical course of the new Nicaraguan government from its first day (compared to the bourgeois coalition regimes in either Cuba or Algeria) reflects its different nature. Bourgeois figures in those governments carried out antilabor measures and openly attempted to block progressive ones. The bourgeois Supreme Court, basing itself on the 1940 constitution, resisted the Castro leadership's land reform. There were attempts from inside the government to reestablish a bourgeois army. Such moves by the bourgeoisie spurred the class confrontations in Cuba that led to the workers and peasants government.

The greater speed of events in Nicaragua is accounted for primarily by the broadly insurrectional character of the victory there. It accelerated the development of mass organizations of the urban and rural toilers on a scale unmatched in Cuba. Because of the dramatic shift in the relationship of class forces created by this massive upsurge, the FSLN took the opportunity, which it had not previously expected, to conduct a preemptive purge of capitalist political power and set off along a course that radically diverged from its earlier agreements with bourgeois forces in the anti-Somoza opposition.

In Algeria, in a number of big ways, the revolutionary process was much less advanced during the workers and farmers government there than in Nicaragua today. For example, mineral, banking, and insurance sectors remained in private hands and the FLN government did not implement radical currency or trade controls of the type already imposed by the FSLN-led government in Nicaragua.

In Cuba, the conflict between the workers and peasants government consolidated by late 1959 and the bour-



Murals of Augusto César Sandino and Che Guevara (above) decorate walls at Managua rally, September 1979. At right, November 7, 1979, tribute to Carlos Fonseca Amador, central founder of FSLN.

geois state was resolved by August-October 1960 with the establishment of a state foreign-trade monopoly, further agrarian expropriations, and the nationalization of virtually all U.S. and Cuban industry. Despite the absence of a Leninist party, the anticapitalist measures carried out by the revolutionary Castro leadership, relying on mass workers mobilizations, could not have been rolled back short of a full-scale civil war backed to the hilt by the massive intervention of Yankee imperialism. A workers state had thereby been established.

In Algeria, on the other hand, the revolutionary process initiated in 1963 with the emergence of a workers and peasants government under Ahmed Ben Bella was cut short. Unlike the Castro leadership, Ben Bella responded to pressure from the right and accommodated to the demands of French imperialism. The regime turned away from mass mobilizations and from creating a militia and attempted to slow the tempo of change. The foundations of the workers and peasants government began rotting away. When army commander Houari Boumedienne took advantage of the vacillating leadership and declining mobilizations to stage a coup in June 1965, the Algerian government changed direction and reversed many of the earlier progressive measures. A capitalist government was put in the saddle. The capitalist state was preserved and subsequently reinforced.

In Nicaragua, the outcome of this fundamental contradiction between the class character of the workers and peasants government and the capitalist state still hangs in the balance. The designation of Nicaragua today as a workers and peasants government in no way implies that a workers state

will automatically be the outcome of the process under way. The big class conflicts that will settle that question still lie ahead. As the workers and peasants press forward to win their demands, the imperialists and Nicaraguan bourgeoisie will strike blows. They will have to be met with counterblows. Each new encroachment against capitalist property and prerogatives will meet stiffening resistance by the reaction. Open breaks will occur within the government and all other Nicaraguan institutions.

A workers and peasants government is by its very nature an unstable and transitory formation: It must either move forward to the establishment of a workers state, or—failing to decisively break the economic power of the bourgeoisie—fall back and open the way to a reassertion of capitalist political power and reinforcement of the bourgeois state. How this unstable situation will be resolved in Nicaragua depends in large part on how well the FSLN responds to the initiatives of the masses and succeeds in educating, organizing, and mobilizing them. They will have to defeat the counterrevolutionary threats. And they must be prepared to face the eventuality of direct U.S. military intervention aimed at preventing the triumph of a second workers state in the Western Hemisphere.

7. The FSLN was formed at the beginning of the 1960s under the impact of the socialist revolution in Cuba. It was able to tap the popular tradition of radical anti-imperialist struggle symbolized by Augusto César Sandino's rebel peasant and worker army in the 1920s and early 1930s.

From its origins, the FSLN was shaped by its strong identification



Workers of FSLN trade union federation march November 7 in nationwide rally



with the experience and Marxist evolution of the Castro-Guevara team, and the Cuban revolution. While of similar social composition to the July 26 Movement, it started out with an advantage—the ability to learn from the example of the Cuban workers state and from the further political evolution, experiences, and false starts of the Castro leadership team. In addition, many FSLN cadres were recruited out of the worldwide youth radicalization of the 1960s and early 1970s and gave more serious consideration to Marxist ideas, including those of Lenin and Trotsky, than the early cadres of the July 26 Movement.

Under the impact of the defeats its guerrilla units suffered in the 1960s and the dramatic growth of the urban proletarian and semiproletarian population in the 1960s and the early 1970s, a discussion developed in the FSLN over an assessment of its guerrilla strategy. This led in 1975 to a division into three tendencies that later became three separate public factions. Their differences reflected debates over the relation of armed struggle and mass mobilizations, the respective roles of the urban and rural toilers, the relation between military and political struggle, and the purpose and acceptable limits of pacts with the opposition bourgeoisie.

In the final analysis, these differences boiled down to contending points of view around a decisive question: *How to topple Somoza and throw off imperialist domination of Nicaragua.* The

answer was to be given in practice before the decade was over.

The political content of these debates reflected the ripening objective conditions for the overthrow of Somoza and contributed to the overall political education and development of all three tendencies. Challenged to meet the responsibilities posed by accelerating revolutionary developments, the tendencies reached agreement on unity in action in June 1978 and reunified in December of that year. Their leadership bodies fused and old divisions in the ranks broke down, as the tasks posed by the rising class struggle resolved in life many previously disputed questions.

The FSLN leadership was profoundly affected by the largely unanticipated scope and power of the 1978-79 urban mobilizations and by the spread of popular committees and militias—sometimes at the initiative of the FSLN, often through spontaneous mass emulation. The revolutionary process gave a powerful thrust toward bypassing the bourgeois-coalition government that the FSLN had, on the eve of the insurrection, considered inevitable.

The actual course of the insurrection caused the FSLN to move in an increasingly anticapitalist direction. This course has demonstrated the FSLN's will and capacity to learn from and respond to the actions and aspirations of the workers and peasants. Relying on the organization and mobilization of the masses, the FSLN has led the process that has brought a workers and peasants government into being. This is consistent with its efforts to learn from the Cuban experience.

By learning from the example of the Cuban revolution and Castro leadership, the FSLN bypassed Stalinism and Social Democracy and has been able to carry out an intransigent and victorious struggle against Somoza and his imperialist backers, opening the door to the fight for the second workers state in the Americas.

The advances already registered under the leadership of the FSLN, like the July 26 Movement victory in Cuba twenty years ago, constitute a blow to world Stalinism. The central founder of the FSLN, Carlos Fonseca Amador, broke from the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense (PSN), the Nicaraguan Stalinist party, and the FSLN was built in opposition to the PSN. By bypassing the Stalinists *in action*, the FSLN further deflated the Stalinists' claim to be the only current ever to stand at the head of revolutionary mass upsurges. And by unyielding struggle at the head of the insurrectionary proletarian and plebeian masses, the Sandinistas provided in practice a living alternative to the Stalinist line of "two-stage" revolution in which the interests of the toilers are subordinated to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the FSLN-led revolution in Nicaragua has strengthened the revolutionary current within the workers movement internationally and has shifted the relationship of forces against the Stalinist camp.

Despite its expressed desire to establish workers and peasants power in Nicaragua, the FSLN leadership has thus far not organized a mass Leninist party that would best insure the positive resolution of the class contradiction between the government and state.

But the direction of the FSLN shows that it would be a grave error to think that any *a priori* limits exist on how far its leadership and cadres can develop and how fast they can act as the class struggle deepens in Nicaragua.

The FSLN has announced its intention to launch a vanguard party rooted in the masses. The construction of a revolutionary socialist proletarian party within which the political vanguard of the Nicaraguan working class can democratically debate and decide the important questions facing the revolution would be a major step in advancing and consolidating the gains of the toilers and expropriating the remaining bourgeoisie.

U.S. imperialism

8. Yankee imperialism failed in its efforts first to salvage Somoza and then, in the final weeks, to establish Somozaism without Somoza. Washington's attempts through the governments of Costa Rica, Venezuela, Panama, and other Latin American ruling classes to insure installation of a bourgeois-dominated government were no more successful than its proposal for a joint military intervention sponsored by the Organization of American States, or its attempt to base troop-carrying attack helicopters in northern Costa Rica on the eve of Somoza's fall. Dashing the hopes of the U.S. rulers, the government that was consolidated not only included the FSLN, but was one in which the Sandinistas held decisive political power.

The fall of Somoza and rapid consolidation of a workers and peasants government in Nicaragua has had a profound impact in Central America—most dramatically in El Salvador—and the Caribbean. This was a giant blow to imperialism's efforts to isolate the Cuban revolution and bolster capitalist rule south of its borders. Today Washington faces increasing isolation in Central and South America and in the Caribbean.

Washington's incapacity so far to directly intervene militarily in Nicaragua fundamentally reflects two factors: (1) the deep solidarity of the Latin American toilers with the Nicaraguan struggle and consequent political cost for any government too openly identified with U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary policies; and (2) the constraints on the direct use of U.S. military might as a result of the post-Vietnam antiwar attitudes and suspicion of U.S. foreign policy goals among American workers.

Despite these initial reversals, however, it is precluded that Washington will passively look on while "another Cuba" is established in its own backyard. It is acutely aware that the deepening of the revolution in Nicaragua has already had profound ramifications in Grenada and El Salvador, and will have further repercussions throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

Imperialism's goal is to contain, stall, disrupt, and, at the right moment, crush the Nicaraguan revolution. Along with the economic cudgels wielded by world imperialism, its two strongest weapons in achieving these goals are: (1) the desire of the Kremlin bureaucracy to avoid any disruption of its diplomatic relations with Washington, the fruit of its overall class collaborationist-policy of peaceful co-existence with imperialism; and (2) Washington's own massive military power.

The U.S. rulers initially adopted an openly aggressive stance toward the revolution. They warned the new government against radical measures and against any close association with Cuba. In this way, the imperialists sought to strengthen the hand of what they had hoped would be a politically viable bourgeois wing in the government. When it became clear that the FSLN was in political control of the government, beginning in late August, big business media, especially in the United States, made a noticeable shift in its treatment of the Nicaraguan events. This reflected imperialism's tactical judgment that use of open force, or the overt threat of open force, could politically backfire in the short run.

News from Nicaragua virtually dropped from the papers and news broadcasts. And editors toned down their earlier dire warnings about the dangers of an FSLN-led government.

Imperialism's tactics up until now have revolved around maintaining an outward appearance of fairness and friendliness toward the new govern-

ment, while exploiting the economic devastation to arrest and prepare to reverse the revolutionary process. Somoza inflicted massive destruction on the country during his final year in power. More than 35,000 people were killed in the last year alone, and 100,000 wounded. Damage to schools, hospitals, and social services amounted to \$80 million. Agricultural production was severely disrupted and 40 percent of the population goes without adequate food. More than half the active population is unemployed, and a quarter of industrial plants were damaged by Somoza's bombs.

All this was superimposed on the growing misery caused by the 1972 earthquake damage (Somoza stole millions of dollars in international reconstruction aid to expand his personal financial empire), by other consequences of the dictator's grand-scale corruption, and by the blows of the world capitalist economic crisis. These economic problems will be exacerbated as an inevitable food crop shortage develops during the early months of 1980.

Taking advantage of this social and economic dislocation, Washington is seeking to limit the flow of aid into Nicaragua to intensify the pressures bearing down on the FSLN-led government and on the morale of the Nicaraguan masses. The Carter administration promises credits, both loans and aid. But aside from some initially limited food aid, they have not given a single penny. At the same time, a certain amount of the aid from its imperialist allies is funneled not to the government but to projects directly strengthening imperialist links with the private sector, thus reinforcing the remaining points of support for the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. The policy as a whole revolves around buying time for the Nicaraguan capitalists. Washington is counting on the coming economic pressures to alienate the petty bourgeoisie and parts of the toilers and hopes this will gradually demobilize the masses and divide the FSLN itself.

The imperialists are organizing these pressures on Nicaragua through their international financial institutions; their domination of trade and distribution in the world capitalist market; the Latin American bourgeoisies, who desperately fear a new Cuba; and the international apparatus of the Social Democracy, which acts as a political tool of world capitalism, especially for the Western European powers.

By avoiding a public propaganda campaign against the Sandinista revolution, Washington at the same time aims to erode international solidarity with Nicaragua. It wants to project the image that adequate aid is being sent and that there is no danger of imperialist-orchestrated military intervention. It even hopes to foster the knee-jerk sectarian reaction among some radicals that if Washington isn't openly yelping, then the Nicaraguan government must be betraying the masses. Unfortunately, the petty-bourgeois left has largely taken the bait in the United States, the country whose government poses the greatest threat to Nicaragua. Those sectarians that are not already advocating the overthrow of the new government and denouncing the FSLN, are mimicking the low-key coverage of the bourgeois press and abstaining from solidarity efforts.

Meanwhile, Nicaragua's aid needs are *not* close to being met. And there is a real danger of military intervention connected to the coming conflicts with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie or explosions over the extension of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The U.S. and Honduran governments are aiding and intimately collaborating with the remnants of the Somocista National Guard. Moreover,

Washington has launched an aggressive military buildup in the Caribbean and renewed calls for a Latin American "regional military peacekeeping force." By mid-November 1979, Somo-cista National Guard units, some integrated into the Honduran army, began incursions into Nicaragua to engage the FSLN in battle. The Honduran air force began illegal overflights of Nicaragua. Nicaraguan diplomats faced

intense harassment—including arrests and beatings—in the Honduran capital, to such a degree that all personnel but one chargé d'affaires were withdrawn from the Tegucigalpa embassy by the Nicaraguan junta. Washington's silence in the face of the attacks on Managua's emissaries in Honduras stands in sharp contrast to its hue and cry over the events in Tehran in the same period.

Carter's threats

9. Washington launched a new series of threats against Cuba in September on the pretext that a Soviet "combat brigade" was stationed there. This was linked both with their attempts to discredit Cuba's leadership of the non-aligned conference and with the squeeze on Nicaragua. The Cuban government has responded with enthusiastic solidarity and material assistance to Nicaragua. It has issued an embarrassing challenge to the U.S. government for an emulation competition to see who can provide the most aid to reconstruct Nicaragua. Moreover, Washington knows that Cuba is aiding the new government on the island of Grenada and liberation groups throughout Central America. In a September 30 interview presented for nationwide broadcast over CBS television's "60 Minutes" show in the United States, Castro was questioned about Cuban aid to the opponents of the dictatorship in El Salvador. Castro said: "I neither confirm it nor deny it. I proclaim it as a right; furthermore, as a duty."

Above all, the U.S. rulers know that Cuban aid to Nicaragua helps counteract imperialist pressure and thereby strengthens the ability of the FSLN-led government to reconstruct Nicaragua along socialist lines. They know that the FSLN looks to the Cuban workers state as a model for social and economic development.

Furthermore, in light of Cuba's role in Africa, the imperialists are convinced that Cuba will come to the aid of Nicaragua in the event of a direct U.S. or U.S.-engineered attack, posing a confrontation of international proportions.

Carter's moves in the Caribbean are also a warning to the Soviet Union. Washington is telling the Kremlin that it won't tolerate any substantial Soviet aid to Nicaragua. And it is pressuring Moscow to put the squeeze on Cuba to abandon its internationalist policies,

including its aid to Nicaragua.

Cuba has made clear that it won't be intimidated, however. It responded to Carter's moves by asserting that "Cuba's dignity and sovereignty, its right to defend itself by any means it regards as appropriate, as well as its internationalist policy, will remain unshakeable." Castro pointedly included "our sister socialist nations" in his call for an emulation contest to aid Nicaragua.

In contrast to the anti-imperialist policies of the Castro leadership, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin seeks to gain trade and diplomatic concessions from imperialism in return for using its power and influence to sabotage revolutionary struggles. So far, Moscow has heeded Washington's warning to withhold major assistance from Nicaragua. And following Moscow's lead, Stalinist parties around the world have given little coverage to the Nicaraguan revolution in their press and have not used their full influence to mount solidarity campaigns.

The aggressive maneuvers by the Carter administration over the past several months, together with Moscow's refusal to provide adequate aid to Nicaragua and its demonstrative support to the new military regime in El Salvador, show that defending Cuba against imperialist pressure and fighting to lift the economic blockade are intertwined with defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

10. As yet, the Sandinistas still lack the mass democratic-centralist proletarian party that would best enable them to meet the challenges and opportunities they face. Moreover, the FSLN faces huge obstacles: economic dislocation, which will produce great hardships—and class conflicts—in the early months of the 1980s; a shortage of political cadres; the inexperience of the new mass organizations; cultural deprivation imposed by imperialist subjugation; and maneuvers by imperialism and the indigenous capitalists.

Revolutionary course

Yet the FSLN's course up to now, together with the growing militancy and political class consciousness of the workers, gives no cause for pessimism.

Faced with the threat of imperialist intervention and counterrevolutionary subversion, the Sandinistas have moved rapidly to build a professional revolutionary army, as well as a new police force under FSLN control. It has also announced plans to construct a large workplace-based militia, and draw the CDSs into the fight against rightist terror.

But direct military threats are not the only danger to the revolution. The economy's fundamental economic laws foster capital accumulation and expanding capitalist economic power on the basis of the large remaining blocs of private property in the means of production.

The economic chaos caused by Somoza is the biggest factor operating to the benefit of the exploiters inside and outside Nicaragua. Despite the measures that the government has already taken in health, education, and other areas of social welfare, an austerity situation has been imposed on the country.

As the government has correctly taken steps to revive a minimum of industrial and agricultural production, in the private as well as the public sector, the economic power of the bourgeoisie and the inevitable dangers associated with that power have become more obvious. The capitalists insist on credit and currency concessions, alleviation of trade controls, and assurances that wage demands resulting from the growing unionization of workers will not undercut profitability. A confrontation is looming over these issues.

The bourgeoisie retain their Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which are supported by their counterparts elsewhere in Central America and by international financial institutions. While the bourgeois political parties—the Social Democrats, Social Christians, Democratic Conservatives, and others—presently have a very narrow popular appeal, they nonetheless serve as a vehicle for organizing propaganda campaigns against the government and mass organizations. The Catholic Church hierarchy retains some credibility among the Nicaraguan masses. Sections of it are another potential support for rebuilding bourgeois political power.

The most important bourgeois propaganda instrument in this regard is the country's largest daily, *La Prensa*, though even this is limited by the necessity, given conditions in Nicaragua, for *La Prensa* to open its pages every day to FSLN leaders, laying out the Sandinista perspective or responding to criticisms of policies of the government or FSLN.

The presence of bourgeois figures in the junta and cabinet is not a mere decoration. It is an expression of the fact that the contradiction between the class character of the workers and peasants government and the bourgeois state has yet to be resolved. As the government is buffeted by conflicting class pressures, by the initiatives and counterinitiatives of the toilers and the exploiters, movement toward or away from establishment of a workers state will find its reflection in further alterations in personnel in the junta, the ministries, and the central bank.

It would be a blunder to conclude from this, however, that progress toward a progressive resolution of this contradiction can be furthered by agitation around the slogan, "Bourgeois ministers out of the government!" Such a schema ignores the real location of military and political power, the deep-going character of the break in continuity with the old regime, the progression of radical measures by the new workers and peasants government, and the real process through which the masses will advance their consciousness to drive the revolution forward. It would be infantile leftism to deliberately provoke a premature confrontation with the bourgeoisie over the composition of the junta and cabinet. The decisive conflicts will grow out of the intensification of the class struggle, which will be reflected in the government; as the bourgeois forces in the government make themselves known by their deeds, it will then become timely to fight for their ouster.

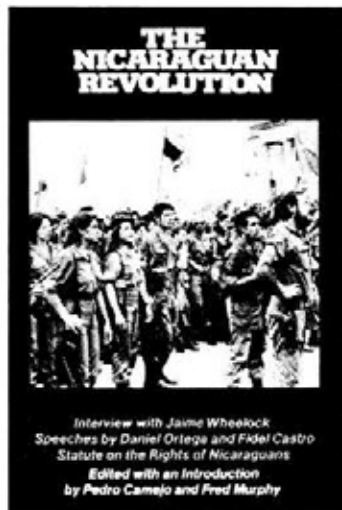
The Nicaraguan capitalists face the growing power of the Sandinista army and police, the CDSs, the CST, the ATC, the women's and youth organizations. The FSLN has sought ways to organize their power, including taking more governmental prerogatives. It encourages the democratic organization of these committees on a neighborhood and district level, and has projected the next stage as consolidation on a municipal level. National gatherings of CDS and ATC activists have already been held, and a provisional National Council of the CDSs has been set up. Congresses of CDS and CST delegates are scheduled to be held in early 1980.

The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, on the other hand, is virulently opposed to attributing any governmental authority to these organizations, insisting that they are merely FSLN bodies. This dispute has become a public debate.

The coordination and centralization of these mass organizations on a municipal, regional, and national level—together with the extension of workers control over all areas of production and economic activity, both privately owned and nationalized—would further weaken the social and economic power of the capitalists and sharpen the class confrontation. Such steps would prepare the way for the establishment of a workers state based on these mass organizations and generalized workers control evolving toward workers management as democratic participation by the toilers in national economic and social planning is established.

Prospects for development toward institutionalized workers democracy along these lines show the sectarian error of placing the demand on the Nicaraguan government to organize the election of a constituent assembly.

Voices of Revolution



Interview with Jaime Wheelock

Speeches by Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro

Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans

Edited with an Introduction by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy

Books and Pamphlets

The Nicaraguan Revolution
Interview with Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock, speeches by Fidel Castro and FSLN leader Daniel Ortega, and text of Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans. Edited and with an

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Those in the radical movement who advance this slogan seek to promote the false idea that the government is a bourgeois coalition regime, or that the FSLN is depriving the masses of their democratic rights in order to reconsolidate capitalist power. However, it is these sectarians themselves who actually counterpose an unfounded schema to the process by which the Nicaraguan toilers have already begun to assert their own power against that of the class enemy. It's no accident that variations on the same theme are one of the complaints hurled by the bourgeoisie against the Sandinistas.

The FSLN's stated intention to develop the mass organizations as the basis for popular power in Nicaragua opens up the most positive framework, as *Barricada* has explained, for the masses to create "their own means of resolving their political, social, and economic problems," "to defend themselves against their enemies, and to consolidate the revolution." It is this dynamic of the revolution that the capitalists will oppose most strongly, demanding that the junta take steps to regulate and hold back the extension of the power of the mass organizations.

11. The success of the FSLN, and the revolutionary workers who join them, in building a mass-based vanguard party will be an extremely important factor in increasing the chances that the workers and peasants government will culminate in the establishment of a workers state that can effectively fight to defend and extend the revolution. No single element is more important to the consolidation of the gains of the revolution than forging a party of the Nicaraguan working class that takes the political leadership in building a centralized system of democratic workers and peasants councils to assume governmental power.

Combating capitalist sabotage and reconstructing Nicaragua will require an ever-wider exchange of viewpoints within the camp of the toilers over how best to move forward to solve their problems. The greatest possible democracy and the cultivation of an atmosphere encouraging the free expression of ideas can only strengthen the revolution and the commitment of the masses to it. It is the only means to tap the full talents of the workers and peasants, who must be drawn into the revolutionary movement in increasing numbers and become the overwhelming bulk of its cadres and leaders.

It is natural that different currents of thought will emerge, even among the most advanced workers collaborating to build their vanguard party. Various tendencies or parties will arise, reflecting the uneven development of class consciousness among the workers. The Sandinistas know from their own experience that tendencies and political differences, even sharp ones, can develop among revolutionists.

Impatience with the serious political errors and often provocative behavior of some sectarian organizations, however, led the FSLN in September and October to publicly lump these groups together with the Somocistas. During the campaign against right-wing terror launched under the slogan "Control Somocismo—defend the revolution," the "ultralefts" were mentioned in speeches, on the radio, and in *Barricada* as being among the counterrevolutionary forces that had to be smashed. Detentions and other administrative measures were taken against members of some of these organizations, without presentation of proof of any likely or actual crimes that would justify such measures.

By November a modification in the FSLN's approach to the sectarian-led organizations was becoming evident. FSLN leaders announced that evidence now showed that bank robberies previously attributed to MILPAS* had been committed by Somocistas posing as radicals. Speeches by some FSLN leaders, while containing contradictory statements, included offers to open a "dialogue" with the sectarian groups. In addition, all of those detained were released.

Nonetheless, there has still been no definitive public political clarification on this important matter by FSLN leaders.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists in Nicaragua, who had always attacked the FSLN itself for being "ultraleft," will continue to push in the direction of stifling workers democracy. Their attacks are in reality aimed at the toiling masses and at all revolutionists—above all the FSLN—since their objective is to arrest the revolution at the "bourgeois democratic stage." Any policy of repression within the workers movement would play into their hands.

Equating Somozaism and counterrevolution with those under the influence of petty-bourgeois pressures and ideas could also lead to an underestimation of the dangers posed by the real class enemy—both among the capitalists who backed Somoza, those who opposed him for whatever reason, and their powerful allies centered in the United States. As the class polarization deepens, it will be the forces of the bourgeoisie that spearhead the counter-revolution.

The revolutionary leadership must be able to distinguish between those in the radical movement who operate within the framework of the revolution and those who—and there will be some—desert to the camp of the class

*The Frente Obrero (Workers Front), the trade-union arm of a centrist group with Maoist origins that earlier had split from the FSLN, was the main target of the antiultraleft campaign. It had an armed wing during the insurrection called the Milicias Populares Antisomocistas (MILPAS—Anti-Somoza People's Militias).

enemy and carry out crimes against the revolution.

The problems the Nicaraguan revolution faces and must immediately cope with are real and cannot be waved aside. It is sometimes necessary to make tactical concessions to the capitalists to avert economic reverses and premature confrontations.

The sectarian groups are wrong in their tendency to view such necessary concessions as incorrect in principle or betrayals of the revolution. They are a vital necessity in Nicaragua. At the same time, however, these organizations can sometimes reflect in a distorted way moods of sections of the masses. In order to effectively lead the masses, the revolutionary vanguard should openly explain its considerations to the workers and peasants when it believes concessions are necessary.

An important part of this process of interaction between the masses and their vanguard is politically confronting the ultraleft sectarians and explaining what is wrong with their infantile proposals. Repression cuts

across this political clarification, and makes it more difficult to win these cadres to a genuinely revolutionary course.

Furthermore, the workers and peasants will take initiatives that go beyond the leadership's immediate plans. This is one of the keys to all revolutionary uprisings and victories. The leadership's capacity to respond positively to such initiatives to drive the process forward will be a prime element in the consummation of the objectives of the revolution.

The FSLN's contradictory moves this fall toward repression of its opponents on the left stand as an exception to their generally revolutionary course toward the development of mass popular organizations and respect for democratic rights. If this overall tendency prevails, the direction of the Nicaraguan revolution in this important respect will represent a significant advance over revolutionary Cuba. It could also stimulate motion toward the development of democratic forms of proletarian power based on workers and peasants councils in Cuba.

Toward a workers state

12. Given the desperate economic situation in Nicaragua, a pressing objective of the government has been to restore a minimal level of production in the privately owned industries and on the big and medium-sized farms still in the hands of their owners. It has appealed for aid from all countries to obtain credits and food.

As the example of Cuba has proven, however, the needs of the masses cannot be met if private ownership is maintained in the basic means of production. The laws of capitalist accumulation will distort the country's economy, subordinating real economic development and social betterment to the quest for profits and to imperialist exploitation. This would be the inevitable outcome of the maintenance of a "mixed economy" such as that described in the July 9 GRN program.

Thus the reconstruction of Nicaragua in the interests of the workers and poor peasants makes it necessary to extend workers control of production; shift the tax burden to the exploiters; repulse attempts by the imperialist financial institutions to use foreign debt as a means of pressure; nationalize the remaining privately owned large landholdings, industries, and big firms; develop the CDSs and unions, and widen the scope of their authority; expropriate the imperialist banks and enterprises; establish a monopoly on foreign trade; and thus lay the foundation for real economic and social planning.

It is along this road that the system of capitalist accumulation and labor exploitation can be destroyed. Once the qualitative turning point has been passed, and a workers state established, capitalist property relations could be restored only through all-out civil war, requiring ruthless and massive military intervention by imperialism.

These measures, of course, would mark the final showdown with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and its backers in Washington and on Wall Street. The FSLN has correctly acted on the recognition that steps in this direction go hand in hand with, and must be preceded by raising the consciousness and organization of the toilers. The class struggle must be taken into the countryside. The CDSs, CST, ATC, Sandinista army, and the new youth and women's organizations must all be expanded and strengthened. The new militias must be established and trained. The new party must be built. All this requires time, and premature confrontations can set back rather than advance the process.

While it would be adventurist to try to force the rhythm of the class struggle, it is also true that the pace of

polarization and confrontation cannot be controlled by preconceived plans. The tempo will be dictated by the blows and counterblows between the masses and the FSLN on one side, and the exploiters on the other. With each new encroachment against the property and prerogatives of the landlords and business interests, the likelihood grows that some section of the bourgeoisie will throw down the gauntlet. In addition to radical measures by the government, the workers and peasants—suffering under economic burdens, capitalist sabotage, and social dislocation—will themselves take initiatives on the land, in their factories, and in the barrios. This is the historic record of the Russian, Cuban, and every other socialist revolution; there is an accelerating dialectical interplay between the leadership and the initiatives and responses by the masses, often unforeseen by the leadership.

In revolutionary situations above all, history confirms Frederick Engels' observation that when controlled forces are put in motion, uncontrolled forces are inevitably put in motion as well. No amount of political preparation can annul this consequence of the class struggle. Instead, the aim of such preparation must be to increase the self-confidence and readiness of the masses to respond to new turns by defending their conquests and propelling their struggle forward. That is where their consciousness, organization, and mobilization will prove decisive. It is correct to make concessions to the class enemy when the relationship of forces leaves no alternative. But the masses must be told the class truth about such concessions, so that they can be better prepared to ward off the concomitant dangers.

All this highlights the need for a revolutionary-Marxist proletarian party to unify and lead the workers and their allies in accomplishing these tasks and defeating their class enemy. Forging the initial cadres of such a party out of the leadership and ranks of the FSLN would not only facilitate the socialist reconstruction of Nicaragua, but would mark an advance for the entire international workers movement in the fight to resolve the historic crisis of proletarian leadership.

13. The revolution in Nicaragua and the political evolution of the FSLN present an enormous opportunity and responsibility for the Fourth International. These developments pose new tests for us as we strive to measure up to our historic task of solving the leadership crisis of the world working class and constructing an international party of socialist revolution. The cadres of the world Trotskyist move-



Militant/Gary Bridges

Nicaraguan workers repair street in Managua

ment are the irreplaceable nucleus of that world proletarian party. We carry forward the Leninist program and transitional method indispensable to the victory of the toilers over the economic and social catastrophe and nuclear annihilation that will otherwise be brought down on humanity by imperialism.

Due to the crimes and obstructions of the Social-Democracy and Stalinism, however, the construction of a mass revolutionary workers international is a task that is still only at its beginning stage. The development of revolutionary currents that bypass Stalinism such as those in Cuba, and now in Nicaragua, are thus of the greatest importance to the Fourth International and to the further development of our prospects and our revolutionary program.

As Trotsky explained, in the death agony of capitalism revolutionists of action will continually emerge out of the class battles provoked by the exploiters' ruthless drive for profits. These fighters will arise not only out of the anti-imperialist struggle, but within the labor movement and other organizations of the oppressed in the imperialist countries. History will judge the Fourth International by our capacity to link up with these currents, integrate ourselves in them, learn from them, and help steel them politically in the program of Leninism, and in that process build the world proletarian party that can take on the imperialists in battle and defeat them.

Along this strategic line of march, we recognize in the leadership of the FSLN fellow revolutionists who have already demonstrated their internationalism, their desire to move forward to a socialist Nicaragua, and their intention to build a vanguard party. On that basis, the Fourth International seeks political collaboration with them on all the big questions facing the workers of Nicaragua and of the entire world.

This course runs directly counter to that taken by several organizations that consider themselves Trotskyist—by the Bolshevik Faction, by the Socialist Workers Organization of Costa Rica (OST) and its Nicaraguan sister organization, Revolutionary Socialist Group (GRS), and by the Revolutionary Marxist League (LMR) in Nicaragua. Boiled down to its essentials, the political line of all three of the above has been opposition to the new Nicaraguan government as a bourgeois government and the construction of political parties in opposition to that projected by the FSLN.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade (BSB), established under the direction of the Bolshevik Faction, carried this sectarian line to the point of criminal adventure—sending to Nicaragua and maintaining there an armed unit outside the discipline of the new revolutionary army or the people's militia. The BSB falsely portrayed itself as an FSLN unit in order to win popular sympathy. As a result, the FSLN leadership—after attempting to persuade the BSB to take its place among the forces striving to advance the revolution and respecting revolutionary legality—expelled the Brigade's non-Nicaraguan members.

Having been called to order by leading bodies of the Fourth International for its utterly undisciplined and disloyal course, which was not conceived to advance the interests of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, the Bolshevik Faction organized a split on the eve of the International's World Congress. It has been joined in this walk-out by the leadership of the Nicaraguan LMR and the Costa Rican OST, and is now attempting to organize a rump "world conference" with other sectarian groups internationally that call themselves Trotskyist and who share a sectarian disdain for and lack of comprehension of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Fourth International condemns and repudiates the activities of the Simón Bolívar Brigade and rejects the political views on the Nicaraguan Revolution of the Bolshevik Faction, the LMR, and the OST. The Fourth International has no organized forces in Nicaragua—the activities of the latter groups have been organized outside the guidance of, or collaboration with, the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International. As mentioned earlier, these groups have now split from the Fourth International. The policies of these groups are diametrically opposed to those of the Fourth International and can only harm the opportunities to win a hearing for Trotskyist ideas in Nicaragua and advance our international party-building perspective.

Partisans of the Fourth International present their ideas as loyal and hard-working militants in the framework of the organization that led the overthrow of Somoza and is today guiding the revolution forward.

By advancing our program and perspectives, the Fourth International places itself firmly on the side of the FSLN's battle to promote and achieve the victory of the socialist revolution in

Nicaragua. Our main contributions in this regard are:

- Active participation inside and outside Nicaragua in efforts to reconstruct the country and defend the revolution from all its enemies, above all U.S. imperialism;
- Advancing the development of the unions, of mass organizations and of democratic workers and peasants councils to bring the masses into

decision-making and strengthen the revolution; and

- Loyal participation in the FSLN's efforts to construct a revolutionary proletarian party, putting forward the fundamental program of Leninism in order to advance toward the mass world party of socialist revolution whose construction will be decisive in the defeat of exploitation and oppression on an international scale.

Aid to Nicaragua

14. Outside Nicaragua, the Fourth International and its sections will mobilize all their forces to build broad, united solidarity and aid campaigns with the Nicaraguan revolution and help defend it against the threat of imperialist-orchestrated counterrevolution. Part of this will be a campaign against the blockade and other hostile acts against revolutionary Cuba. We will energetically work with others to involve the labor movement, farmers organizations, organizations of oppressed national minorities, women's groups, youth organizations, and others in a vast effort to publicize the truth about what's happening in Nicaragua and mobilize solidarity and aid with the Nicaraguan people.

This is an especially important responsibility for members of the Fourth International in Latin America, where the direct impact of the Nicaraguan revolution is the greatest, and in the United States, which not only installed and maintained the Somoza tyranny in power but today represents the most powerful enemy of the revolution. In placing ourselves in the front ranks of such a solidarity and aid campaign, the Fourth International will help revive the example of proletarian internationalism demonstrated by the worldwide movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

We will demand that the imperialist governments provide whatever economic, agricultural, and medical aid is asked for by the Nicaraguan government—channeled through the official government and mass organizations and with no strings attached. We will back up Commandante Daniel Ortega's proposal before the United Nations that Nicaragua's burdensome debt should be assumed "by the developed countries, by the economically powerful countries, and especially those that fed Somozaism with financing." That means demanding that the

imperialist governments and all imperialist financial institutions cancel all of Nicaragua's debts.

The Fourth International calls on the mass workers and farmers organizations throughout the world to make resources available to aid their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

We know that political and material solidarity can be decisive to the outcome of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua. The FSLN's steps to encourage the development of such an international campaign show that it too recognizes this fact.

The Fourth International also understands that the socialist revolution that has begun in Nicaragua is an important breakthrough in combatting the isolation of Cuba and hastening revolutionary prospects throughout Central and South America and in the Caribbean.

Finally, we know that the establishment of the second workers state in the Western Hemisphere would further weaken world imperialism, inspire and educate the oppressed and exploited around the world, and buy precious time for the workers in the advanced capitalist countries to take political power out of the hands of the warmakers and exploiters and open the road to a peaceful and prosperous socialist future for all humanity.

15. The outcome of the deepening confrontation of class forces in Nicaragua will profoundly affect the Cuban workers and peasants and the outlook of their leadership. The future of the two revolutions are now inextricably linked.

The establishment of a workers state in Nicaragua would make possible another huge step forward in the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership of the world proletariat. It would have an immediate, positive impact inside Cuba, and its weight would be felt throughout the Caribbean and Central America. It would spur the development of revolutionary forces, and strengthen them in their conflict with Stalinist and Social Democratic betrayers, and centrist vacillators.

As a result, the door would be opened further to a process that could lead the Castroist leadership, the FSLN, and other revolutionists linking up with the Fourth International in steps toward building a mass world party of socialist revolution.

The Fourth International must prepare for the showdown that is approaching in a matter of months. Decisive moves towards the establishment of a workers state in Nicaragua will entail a head on confrontation with the Central American bourgeoisies and the power of Yankee imperialism. The leadership of the Cuban revolution will face one of its biggest tests since the missile crisis of 1962. Every current claiming to be revolutionary will be tested to the end.

Today it is the heroic workers and peasants of Nicaragua who are on the front lines of the advancing world socialist revolution. We will be tested by our capacity to respond with courage and decisiveness, to throw our forces into the struggle without hesitation or delay, to mobilize and lead all those we influence. Only along that road can we advance the construction of the world party of socialist revolution.

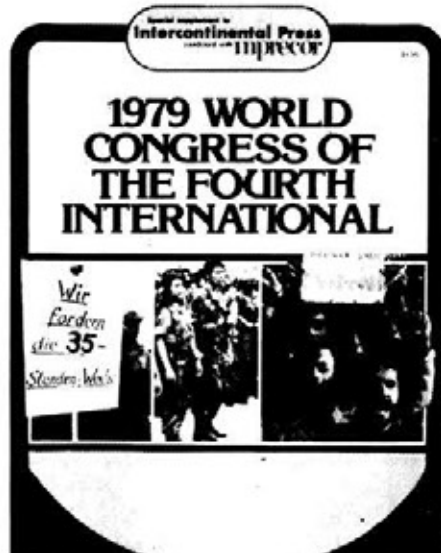
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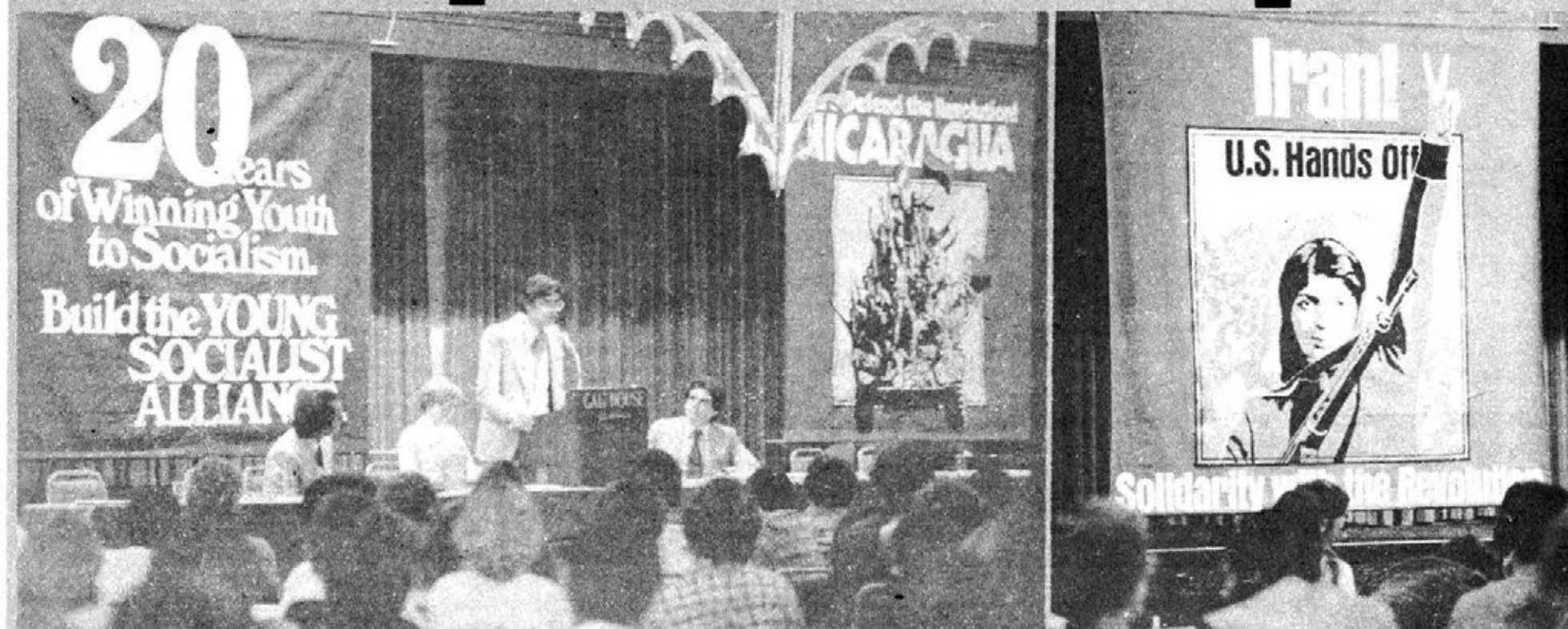
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Young socialists enter '80s with optimism and spirit



Convention assesses new turn to industry, launches Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann

By Nancy Cole

LOUISVILLE—As the new decade was opening, the Young Socialist Alliance met here for its nineteenth national convention.

The December 28-January 1 meeting celebrated twenty years of revolutionary activity for the socialist youth group. But more importantly for the people here, it marked the start of a new era: one in which the YSA is increasingly becoming an organization of young industrial workers.

Six months ago the YSA National Committee decided to get as many YSA members as possible into industry. Since then half of the group's 400 members have been hired as industrial workers and another one-fourth are actively looking.

The convention here, attended by more than 500 delegates and observers, offered the chance to assess this initial experience on the job and in the unions, and its impact on winning young workers—as well as students—to the YSA.

The YSA membership is actively and enthusiastically behind this new orientation. That was confirmed here by the auto, steel, rail, machinists, and Teamsters workshops; the lively reports of on-the-job discussions about Iran; and the excitement of a youth gathering where 75 percent of the delegates were unionists.

And the prospects for the 1980s are bright in the view of these young socialists. Beginning with an audacious drive to win support for the 1980 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, the YSA intends to reach out to and win young workers, students, and unemployed youth to the socialist banner.

One of the highlights of the meeting here was a rally featuring SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. More than \$8,400 was raised for the YSA.

Youth support

"Reporters I talk with are surprised that the socialist candidates have youth supporter groups," Zimmermann told the rally. "They believe their own propaganda about conservative young people."

"There is no one that Pulley and I would rather have supporting our campaign than the Young Socialist Alliance," Zimmermann declared.

After a discussion on the 1980 campaign, convention delegates here voted to launch Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.

YSA National Organizational Secretary Paul Mailhot explained in a report on the political situation that the YSA's decision to get into industry was based on the world economic crisis and on the first signs of combativity among American workers, particularly young workers. Experiences of SWP members in industry had confirmed the political opportunities that exist.

Imperialism in trouble

Around the world, Mailhot said, the imperialist system is in trouble and it is an encouraging time for socialists.

"As 1979 began, Vietnamese troops, along with Kampuchean rebels, scored a victory over the Pol Pot tyranny," Mailhot said. "Then the Iranian masses rose up to overthrow the CIA-installed shah dictatorship."

By midyear, "the people of Nicaragua, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), toppled the brutal Somoza regime. In Grenada, a tiny island in the Caribbean, the masses have toppled another U.S.-backed dictator. And in Afghanistan, a revolutionary process has been developing."

"The workers and peasants in the semicolonial world have shown a tremendous capacity to struggle. They've retired a lot of dictators in just one year," Mailhot said.

One of the convention's three major reports and the first on the agenda, was on the revolution in Nicaragua. The report was given by YSA National Executive Committee member Margaret Jayko.

The revolution in Nicaragua has special meaning for the YSA, Jayko said, "because the main shock troops, martyrs, and heroes were the youth and children."

Aid campaign

The poverty and destruction imposed on Nicaragua by the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship is an obstacle to

the FSLN's efforts. Jayko proposed the YSA throw itself into the material aid campaign as a key way to defend the revolutionary progress in Nicaragua and bring its example to young workers and students in this country.

"And by campaigning for and obtaining material aid and getting out the truth, we are laying the groundwork for organizing the most effective opposition to U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua," she said.

Specifically, Jayko urged participation in the February 17-23 week of nationally coordinated solidarity activities proposed by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

"The YSA was born and baptized in the defense of the Cuban revolution," she explained. "We wouldn't be around today if we had defaulted in the Cuba defense campaign."

The YSA's activity in defense of Cuba and the example the revolution

there provided won many people to the YSA, Jayko said, and the YSA's participation in the Nicaragua aid campaign will do the same.

She then described some of the progressive social measures the FSLN has carried out since the revolution—nationalization of banks, insurance companies, and foreign-held mines, confiscation of Somoza's extensive holdings, government control of export of major cash crops, etc.

Jayko went on to outline the YSA National Executive Committee's conclusion that Nicaragua is ruled by a workers and farmers government, "a government that uses its power in the interests of the toiling masses."

'A country with justice'

At a special presentation the first night of the convention here, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member Pedro Camejo provided a firsthand account of what a contrast the

Continued on next page

National officers elected

The Young Socialist Alliance convention elected **Margaret Jayko**, twenty-four, as its new national chairperson. Jayko joined the YSA in 1973 and was chairperson of the New York City YSA chapter before coming onto the national office staff in 1978. She is editor of the *Young Socialist*.

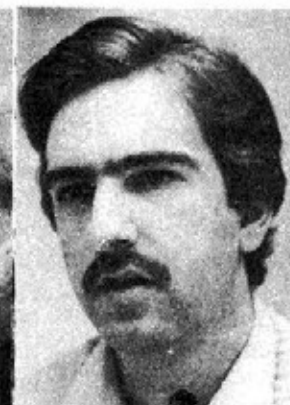
Paul Mailhot, twenty-five, was re-elected national organizational secretary. Mailhot joined the YSA in 1973 in Berkeley, California. In

1975, he served as one of the national coordinators of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. NSCAR's main activities were in defense of busing to desegregate Boston's public schools.

Kara Obradović, twenty-five, was elected national secretary. She was a leader of the Black Student Union at Merritt College in Oakland, California, when she joined the YSA in 1976.



JAYKO



MAILHOT



OBRADOVIĆ

...YSA

Continued from preceding page

FSLN-led government is with the U.S. government. Camejo has been reporting from Nicaragua as part of a team for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

"It is wonderful living in a country where there is justice," Camejo said. "Cops are not used against strikers. The TV tells the truth."

During discussion of Jayko's report, delegates detailed the solidarity activity they have been a part of in the plants and on campus.

Bob Warren from the Ann Arbor, Michigan, YSA chapter told how a solidarity group there had evolved from a Latin American human rights group. He listed a number of activities the group has carried out, from showing movies to writing articles for the University of Michigan newspaper.

He described how inspired a dozen committee members had been by attending the November national solidarity conference in Detroit where several Sandinistas spoke.

Another delegate explained that when socialist auto workers had wanted to use a bar near the plant where they work to hold a campaign event for Andrew Pulley, they approached the owner, a Latino.

"At first he seemed pretty cynical about politics until we began talking about Nicaragua, Cuba, and Iran as proof of what is possible in the world," she said. "Soon he was so enthusiastic, he was giving us ideas of how to publicize the meeting in the plant and throughout town."

San Francisco delegate Shirley Peña, a member of the Machinists union, described solidarity work they have been doing there with Casa Nicaragua. "We want to have every single YSAer involved in the February solidarity week," she concluded, "whether it's talking to a National Organization for Women chapter or selling our press."

'Huge stake'

"The YSA has a huge stake in defending at all costs this revolution," Peña said. "It's going to have a big impact on us and how we grow as an organization."

The report on the Nicaraguan revolution was passed unanimously.

The YSA's internationalism was also highlighted by greetings to the convention from Trotskyist groups around the world.

Representatives attended the convention from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (the world Trotskyist organization), as well as from Denmark, France, and New Zealand.

Greetings were received from Australia, Dominican Republic, Holland, India, Iran, Japan, Puerto Rico, and from

a Soviet dissident living in exile in this country.

It was announced that Trotskyist youth groups now exist in Australia, Belgium, France, Hong Kong, Iran, Japan, Martinique, New Zealand, Spain, and the United States.

"The U.S. government wants to destroy what they lamentingly call the Vietnam syndrome that deeply affects American workers," said Mailhot in his report on the political situation. "Carter is on a concerted drive to reverse this antiwar sentiment."

But the biggest effort thus far around Iran has fallen somewhat flat, Mailhot said. "They whipped up chauvinistic sentiments around the hostages, but they also whipped up a wide-ranging discussion of why and how the shah was admitted to the U.S., what his crimes were, and whether or not he should be sent back to Iran."

This was confirmed by reports of the discussions YSA members have had and continue to have on the job.

"The Iranian crisis was the YSA's first big test in the plants," Mailhot said. "We also took our forces to the campuses to intervene in the debate going on there." The YSA helped organize forums and teach-ins, many of which attracted sizeable audiences, like the open-air campus rally of 1,500 in Phoenix, Arizona.

"Young people are interested in action," Mailhot continued. "That's why many of them don't get involved in their unions. They become impatient with the lack of response on the part of bureaucrats to the attacks against workers."

YSA activists

YSA members will attract young workers to socialist politics by talking socialism on the job and by being seen as activists, Mailhot said: "Anti-Klan activists, the ones who are going to the Equal Rights Amendment march, the ones who wear the antinuclear buttons and the Vote for Pulley and Zimmermann buttons."

"By being seen as the workers on the job who think unions and union members should get involved in the aid campaign for Nicaragua. In this way, we will become an attractive organization to those young people who want to do something."

"One thing we found out during the miners' strike was that it was the young coal miners who were the shock troops of the strike," said Morgantown delegate Melissa Merchant, who works in a West Virginia coal mine where the average age is twenty-two.

"We have found that the people most interested in our ideas are thirty years old, Vietnam vets, and so on. The real young ones don't say too much, don't jump into political discussions. But they're the ones that want to do something. They don't flock to union meetings for the most part, but when they

and southern Indiana, carried a sizeable story. It emphasized the YSA's support for the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions.

The Louisville *Defender*, a Black paper, reprinted on its January 3 front page the full text of a statement by Pulley and YSA leader Cathy Sedwick demanding an end to U.S. threats against Iran and Afghanistan.

"Louisville reflects the changes that are taking place in the South," said Margaret Kelly in opening the rally during the convention that celebrated twenty years of the YSA.

Kelly, who is chairperson of the Louisville YSA chapter, went on to tell about the free speech fight YSA and SWP members had carried out. She noted that the KKK and other racists had been carrying out violent actions in Louisville for some time.

When the SWP announced in 1978 that General Electric worker



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do it's to raise hell."

Boilermaker Mary Nell Bockman from the Tacoma YSA chapter said, "What we're talking about is turning the YSA outward. We've had a lot of experience on campus—the YSA is well known there and taken seriously by everybody. It's different for us in industry. We have to develop a history of consistent activity."

YSA members who work at the non-union Avondale shipyard in New Orleans described the changes that have occurred in the South. The shipyard has a work force of 10,000, mostly Black and mostly young.

"There's a lack of union tradition, but there's plenty of resentment of the company and a feeling that something must be done," a delegate who works at Avondale said.

Campus work

The new orientation to industry in no way "cuts us off from students," said delegate Laura Hall, a student at Columbia University in New York City. In fact, she went on, "it has been a tremendous help to our campus work." It shows students that members of the YSA are "serious activists, and that the working class as a revolutionary force is not an abstract concept for us."

"We have had classes on campus on Cuba, Iran, and the labor party given by industrial members of the YSA. Without fail, students came up to us later and said how good it was to hear what workers really felt about Iran or nuclear power. You could see that they were impressed that we were active in the unions."

Since the turn to industry six months ago, explained Jim Cunradi, eleven people have joined the San Diego YSA chapter—five of them college students. "They were all recruited, not just on political and programmatic agreement, but by the YSA's industrial working-class orientation. These new YSA members, myself included, are the first of many more who realize that student struggles and the struggles of all youth can only be won by the active involvement of labor."

Ties with SWP

Many observers at the convention here are members of the Socialist Workers Party. This is one sign of the close ties between the two organizations, which began with the YSA's founding twenty years ago primarily by members of the SWP.

Delegates suggested ways of strengthening those ties by increasing collaboration between the two groups: establishing joint industry fractions (or committees); working together on election campaign activities, including running YSA members for public office on the SWP ticket; and jointly discussing recruitment to the socialist movement.

Maceo Dixon delivered greetings to the convention on behalf of the SWP political committee.

"It is going to be the youth who will lead and inspire revolutions around the world and in the heart of imperialism right here in North America," Dixon said.

"What everyone except the SWP and YSA is afraid of is that young workers, young women, young Blacks, and students will spearhead the movement to put the blame for the evils of this society squarely where it belongs—on the oppressor and exploiting class."

"And more, they're deathly afraid that, as in Nicaragua, young people will lead the revolution that will replace this decayed, degenerate capitalist system."

"Both the YSA and SWP must find the road to young workers," Dixon said. "And the YSA will lead this for both organizations."

"Historically the largest number of

'Here to talk politics, support their candidate'

LOUISVILLE—"On the surface it looks like any other meeting of young people," began the newscaster for the local NBC TV affiliate here, "but this is a national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance."

"They're here to talk politics and support their presidential candidate."

From there the camera panned to an interview with Socialist Workers Party candidate Andrew Pulley and then on to vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann, who explained that Chrysler workers "should have a shot at deciding" how the auto corporation is run.

It was indicative of the serious attention given the YSA convention.

All three TV stations carried news of the SWP candidates and the YSA convention. The Louisville *Courier Journal*, a paper with wide circulation throughout Kentucky

Jim Burfeind would run for Congress, he became the victim of right-wing threats and harassment on the job. A gas grenade was thrown into his campaign headquarters during a public meeting.

Louisville socialists then went on a campaign against right-wing terror and they won significant support from unionists and civil rights activists.

The success of this defense effort was shown here by the limp protest of assorted right-wingers. The first day of the YSA convention, twenty people—some of them known Klanners and Nazis—marched outside the Galt House, site of the convention, with signs such as, "Is the Galt House Red?"

The second day, a different, even more motley bunch of six picketed for an even shorter time. They carried two American flags and chanted, "Love it or leave it."

—N.C.

people to join the SWP have come from the YSA," Dixon said. "The SWP Political Committee believes that the revolutionary youth group will be here up to and through the socialist revolution."

"And because of the rebelliousness of youth today, the YSA is likely to recruit faster than the SWP."

The YSA convention discussions will help the SWP, Dixon continued. "We're convinced that the party has to pay more attention to and help build the YSA."

"Our future lies with the YSA."

In her report on building the YSA and the 1980 SWP election campaign, YSA National Executive Committee member Kara Obradović outlined the campaigns the YSA will participate in over the spring.

At the top of the list is support activities for the SWP 1980 campaign. In proposing that the YSA launch

Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann, Obradović explained that "young people are frustrated with U.S. capitalism and its complete unseriousness in providing any reasonable answers to their questions and concerns."

Socialist solutions

Everywhere Pulley and Zimmermann went in their first months of campaigning, she said, they attracted attention. "The headlines about our campaign were on Iran, Chrysler, the labor party, and other key issues. And everywhere we took the campaign we found young people who are beginning to think the same things we do."

The national campaign office has received hundreds of letters asking for more information, contributing some money, or offering to help campaign for Pulley and Zimmermann. Thirty-

seven people wrote asking how to join the SWP and YSA.

"Young people play an activist role in American politics. As we win young workers to the ideas raised in the campaign, they are going to be the first to turn those ideas into action."

"We want our campaign to be a pole of attraction for our ideas, and we want to put a special focus on youth. We want to convince young people that the most productive use of their spare time is to build the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party."

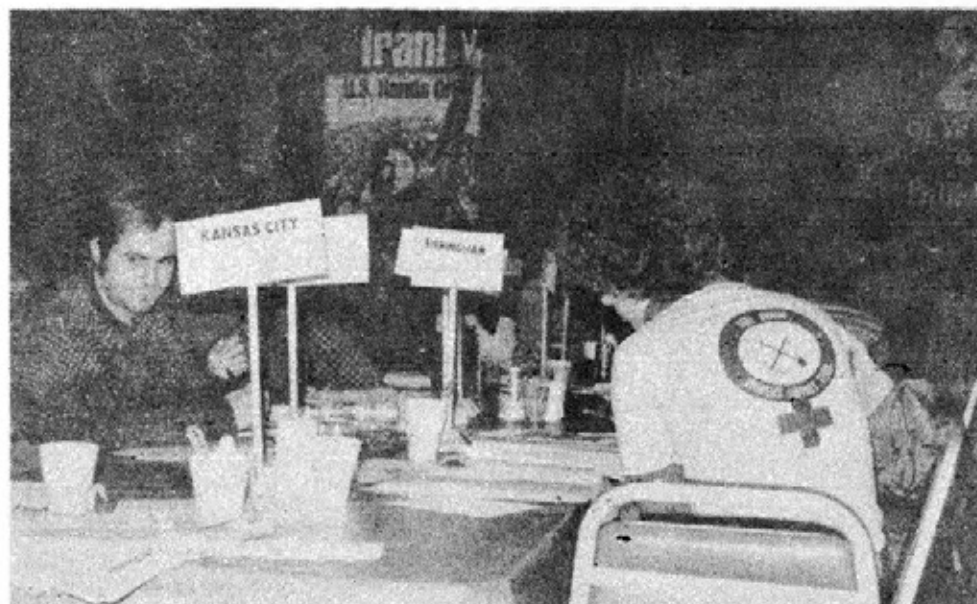
The first task for Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann will be joining the petitioning drive to get the 1980 ticket on the ballot in thirty states.

Obradović also proposed that as part of the audacious campaign to win young workers to socialism that the YSA carry out a sales campaign this

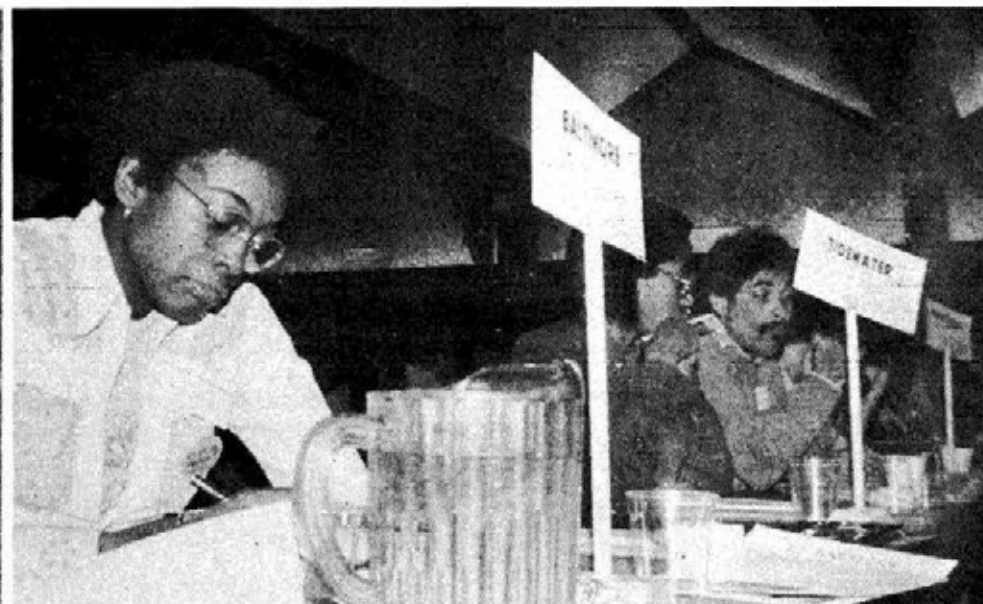
spring for its monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. The goal will be to sell 3,500 copies each month during February, March, and April.

YSA members will have plenty of opportunities in the next several months to carry the YSA's activist program into the plants, mines, and mills. A listing of activities included the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, Virginia; the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina; the February 17-23 week of solidarity with Nicaragua; and a national antinuclear protest on April 26.

The YSA will begin right away organizing support for these actions and for the 1980 SWP campaign. "In this way," Obradović concluded, "we're going to make 1980 the year of the YSA!"



Militant/Nancy Cole



Militant/Susan Ellis

Seventy-five percent of YSA delegates were unionists

Opening of Trotsky archives at Harvard

By Naomi Allen

BOSTON—The Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party sponsored a reception here January 12 for researchers from Monad Press in New York and the Institut Léon Trotsky in Paris. The researchers had come to Boston for the long-awaited opening of the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard University Library.

Duncan Williams, coordinator of the Monad Press team, spoke briefly to the eighty-five participants about the archives, how they were collected, and what they contain.

The 17,500 letters and other items unveiled on January 2, 1980, represent most of the correspondence Trotsky conducted between 1929, when Stalin deported the leader of the Left Opposition to Turkey hoping that exile would silence him, and 1940, when a Stalinist assassin corrected his master's mistake. Because these letters deal with the problems of the Left Opposition groups in various countries and of the Fourth International, Trotsky insisted on keeping them sealed for forty years to protect his associates from Stalinist and fascist persecution.

So when Harvard University Library opened the papers of the Bolshevik leader and founder of the Red Army for inspection, the event was the focus of considerable attention by political activists, scholars, publishers, and news media alike. One observer was heard to mutter that the small reading room held twenty-five people working on Trotsky and four on the rest of Western civilization.

The remainder of the archive at Harvard, which is perhaps twice as big, contains the articles Trotsky wrote for publication, many letters of a non-confidential nature, and his archives up through 1928. That part of the collection, which has been open to scholars for years, provides a full picture of Trotsky's political views as they developed over time. Much of it has already been published and is

available in English.*

The newly opened section of the archive contains no political surprises. Trotsky was not the sort of leader to hold two positions on political questions: one public position and another private, which was different and which he kept secret.

Many of the letters that have been resurrected here deal with technical problems—for example, Trotsky's long and frustrating efforts to get a French publisher to issue a satisfactory translation of his *History of the Russian Revolution*. (He complained that the translator seemed to feel that his job was to "ameliorate" the book, not to translate it).

But most of the letters examined by one reader in the course of a week took up problems of party-building in a detailed way and dwelled on important political and theoretical questions that confronted the youthful and inexperienced cadres of the revolutionary movement.

In one letter, for example, Trotsky asked why his French co-thinkers did not speak out strongly against xenophobia, or hatred of foreigners. French national pride, he wrote, was a product of the Great Revolution of 1789, and the workers had adopted it along with the more progressive legacies of the revolution. The left organizations, including the Communist Party, reflected this shortcoming. As a result, foreign workers, the most exploited and oppressed layer of French society, felt the disdain of even the most advanced, class-conscious workers. If they hoped to become a serious revolutionary force, the French Trotskyists had to purge themselves of all remnants of national pride, including chasing from their ranks any elements

that couldn't make such an adjustment.

In another letter, Trotsky urged flexibility on organizational questions and intransigence on political principles—not the opposite, as had been the practice in the Left Opposition in France.

The newly available letters, minutes, and other pieces will be useful because they will help piece together the history of the Fourth International and its sections. They provide information about events and individuals in the world Trotskyist movement that have been obscure until now, shedding light on why certain things happened or didn't happen and in some cases clarifying references that have mystified historians for decades.

In addition to most of the Boston-area press, the *New York Times*, *Time* magazine, the *Associated Press*, and *Reuters* have covered the opening of the archives. Boston television channels 2, 4, and 5 presented interviews with library officials.

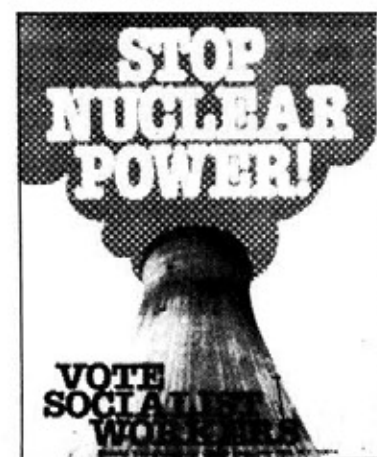
On the afternoon of January 7, Harvard held a reception at Houghton Library that drew 130 people to celebrate the opening. It was addressed by Jean van Heijenoort, a former secretary to Trotsky who became one of the library's cataloguers of the Trotsky papers. Van Heijenoort accompanied the papers throughout their long odyssey, joining Trotsky in Turkey and later in France, Norway, and Mexico. Van Heijenoort also escorted the papers to Harvard and helped with the initial arrangements. He described the travels of the archives from one country to another and explained why they had gaps: a fire in 1931; some sensitive papers hidden in 1933 and never recovered; a theft in 1936.

Trotsky never used his archives, van Heijenoort said. His work was in the present and in the future.

The one exception was Trotsky's collaboration with the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials in 1937: he made heavy use of his files to refute the charges of sabotage, espionage,

and other anti-Soviet activity that Stalin brought against him during the 1936-37 trials. After hearing testimony, examining Trotsky's papers, and deliberating, the Commission, headed by American philosopher John Dewey, found him not guilty.

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British steelworkers strike gains support

By Stu Singer

The first strike by steelworkers in Great Britain since the 1926 general strike is gaining strength.

Three unions, representing 118,000 workers, have completely shut down operations of the government-owned British Steel Corporation (BSC). The three are the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC), the General and Municipal Workers Union and the National Union of Blastfurnacemen.

Dock and railroad workers and truck drivers throughout England are supporting the strike. Swedish dockworkers are refusing to load steel cargoes for Britain.

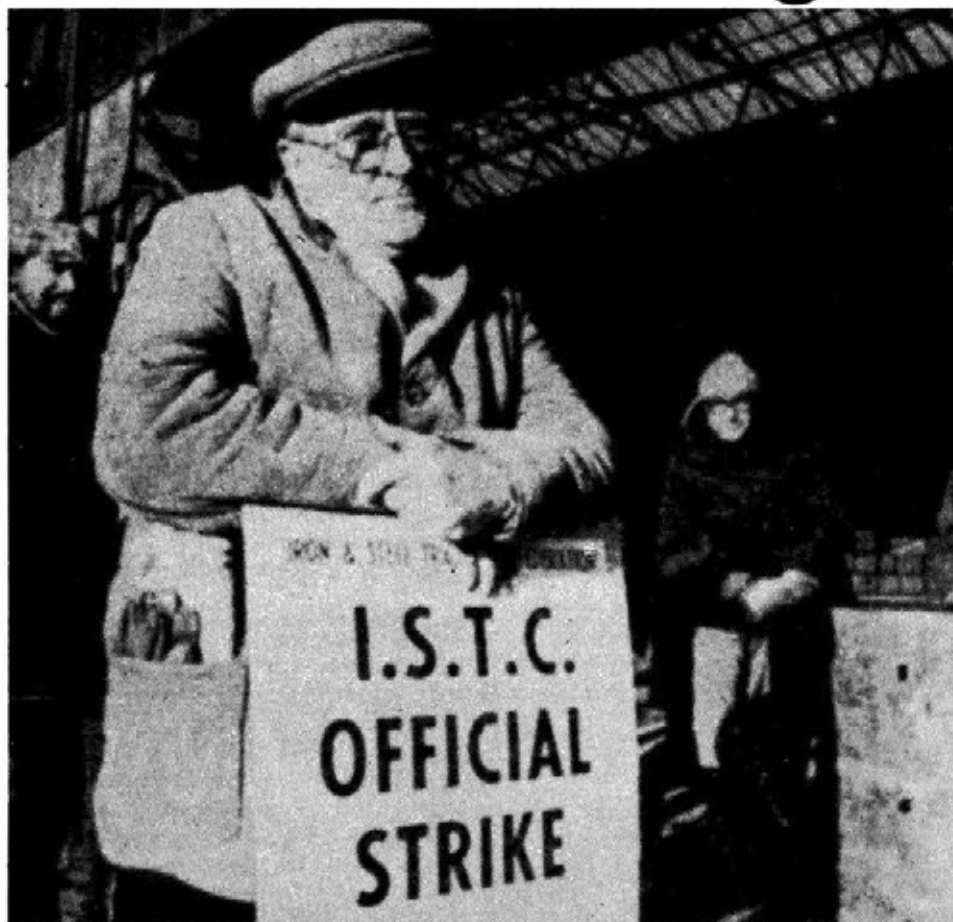
Just prior to the strike, BSC announced it would eliminate 52,000 jobs, cutting about one third its steel-making capacity.

The strike against BSC, which produces 85 percent of the steel in Britain, started January 2. Negotiations have been going on at the same time with the privately owned steel companies, whose contracts expire January 27. Fifteen thousand more workers may go on strike then.

The main issue in the strike is wages. The union is demanding a 20 percent increase to keep up with the 17.5 percent rate of inflation.

The steel company's original offer was 2 percent plus bonuses to be set in each plant based on speed up ("productivity gains"). The company also wanted to eliminate the guaranteed work week provision where workers receive 80 percent of regular pay when they are not called in to work a full week. Since the strike began, the company has dropped this take-back effort and has increased the pay offer to 8 percent plus a "productivity bonus."

The strike has become a direct challenge to the Conservative Party (Tory)



ISTC union pickets outside British Steel Corporation mill

government headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Many workers are raising demands for a new election in hope of getting a Labor Party government in office.

The threatened plant closings are in the minds of all the strikers but are not included in the official union demands in the strike.

According to the January 17 issue of *Socialist Challenge*:

"The Wales TUC [Trades Union Congress, similar to AFL-CIO] has called for a one-day general strike on Monday 28 January. The strike, led by miners, rail and steel workers will go ahead unless the British Steel Corporation cancels plans to increase purchases of coking coal from abroad."

This action to protect coal miners jobs is seen as a step toward fighting

against the steel closings also.

Socialist Challenge is a British Trotskyist weekly. It has been providing extensive coverage of the steel strike which gives a real feeling for what is happening. A few examples follow:

The January 10 *Socialist Challenge* quotes Brian Molyneux, secretary Stocksbridge smelting shop, ISTC, who said:

"If we didn't strike, the trade union movement would be knackered [killed off]. This isn't just directed at the steel industry. The Tories have picked us out as a weak union, but they've made a mistake."

An interview by Paul Highfield appeared in the January 17 issue:

"Now living in Cardiff, Joe Phillips is 69 and an ex-miner, who started down the pits in 1925 at the age of 14.

"The Tories are afraid of the miners' strength—that's one of the reasons why they want a vast expansion of nuclear power. The miners must give the lead in the fight against closures in Wales.

"But the rest of the trade union movement—the steelworkers, the dockers, railwayworkers—everybody must support them.

"The Tories today want a huge surplus of unemployed to defeat the trade union movement and to drive down wages."

This important strike has many parallels with the situation faced by steelworkers in the United States.

Solidarity is very important, especially from Steelworkers Union locals here.

For support messages, the address of the largest steelworkers union on strike is: Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, Headquarters, Swinton House, 324 Grays Inn Road, London WC1, Great Britain.

Crisis in auto production is part of capitalism

"... modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market."

—Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

By Frank Lovell

More than a century ago Marx and Engels, discoverers of the scientific laws of capitalist economy, explained how capital investment seeks to expand the worldwide market of its products. And why it must try everywhere and always to drive down wages in order to acquire higher rates of profit.

This law of capitalist production and distribution is illustrated today in the crisis of world capitalism, especially in the competitive position of U.S. capital and the dollar in the world market.

Steel and auto, closely related industries, are prime examples of adjustments now being made among the industrial nations by major national aggregates of capital. This in turn reveals the international character of capital investment, by no means limited to these two industries.

The crisis in steel production has been regulated for several years and trade agreements among all steel exporting countries, at the highest level of government, have been reached and periodically revised. The crisis in auto production is more recent, highlighted by federal aid to the failing Chrysler Corporation.

Invariably, the capitalist owners of industry try to popularize the false claim that "foreign competition" is the cause of their problems. The U.S. steel industry tells steelworkers that mills in this country are closing because Japanese steel, produced by "cheap" labor, is being "dumped" on the American market.

The steel industry has persuaded the officials of the Steelworkers union to join their political campaign for the congressional enactment of high tariff laws.

This boosts the price of steel, fuels inflation, raises the cost of living, and diverts public attention from the real causes of unemployment and high prices. American workers are told that the real

danger is Japan and the low wages of Japanese workers, not the capitalist mode of production which prevails in both countries.

'Free trade'

In the U.S. auto industry, until very recently, no such deception was attempted. American companies have competed successfully in the world auto market, and strongly favor a "free trade" policy. The big three—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—depend heavily on foreign sales for their survival. But a low-key "protectionism" is being cautiously sounded.

Workers in GM's Tarrytown assembly plant in New York received "a New Year's message," warning them that "imports are now taking upwards of 25% of our car market. . . ."

The plant manager fears that this will continue "if we don't do something about it." He urges "quality" work to convince the American public to "buy an American-made car; especially if it was built in Tarrytown."

Top management at GM encourages this propaganda for assembly-line workers. It may motivate some of them to work harder. Maybe it will help prepare them for the next stage when GM will point to lower wages abroad and in Chrysler plants at home, and tell its workers that competition dictates a wage cut.

Meanwhile, U.S. auto corporations, unlike the steel industry, are saying nothing publicly about government controls on imports. "An epidemic of protectionism around the world would be disastrous for everyone," says GM Chairman Thomas Murphy.

The auto industry is undergoing great change, the constant shifting of capital accelerates, the restless search for new markets continues. Mass unemployment, terrible hardship, the complete dislocation of their lives for millions of people follow in the wake of this.

Retrenchment

Now is the time of retrenchment in some areas, corporate mergers internationally, and the use of new labor-saving techniques worldwide.

GM is trying to sell off some property and plants in Argentina. Both GM and Ford have cut production in their German subsidiaries. They have in-

creased their Japanese production of parts and supplies for their U.S. cars. And Ford has announced plans to build a new plastics plant in West Berlin.

The best selling Chrysler products on the American market are cars produced in Japan.

American Motors and Renault of France have merged.

The German Volkswagen company is building more plants and expanding its production in this country. It plans to open a new factory in the Detroit area.

The Honda Motor Company has announced that it will build the first Japanese passenger-car assembly plant in the United States, at a site near Columbus, Ohio, where Honda builds motorcycles.

This tendency toward internationalization of auto production necessarily affects all countries, and is not confined to U.S. capitalist enterprise. Renault is buying into Volvo Car Corporation of Sweden. British Leyland Ltd. has recently signed an agreement with Honda to build a new Japanese car.

Alfa Romeo S.p.A., one of Italy's leading auto companies, is reportedly seeking a merger with other companies here or in Europe.

These are all moves by the investors of capital to adjust to the new needs of the auto industry, relocate in new market areas, establish easy international exchange of standard parts and equipment, employ labor at the lowest cost possible, increase the rate of productivity, reduce the total labor force, and gain higher profits.

No help from employers

Protective agreements and mutual regulations among the capitalists of all countries should alert workers everywhere that they can expect no help from their particular employers. Their only defense is the continuous fight for higher wages, shorter hours, and full employment.

Voluntary wage cuts and other gifts to help their financially sick employers, as at Chrysler's U.S. plants, only undermine the wages and living standards of all working people.

In the struggle to defend their most elementary rights, workers will discover that they must reorganize society on a more rational basis, producing for the needs of people instead of curtailing production as dictated by capitalist profit motives.

Iran, Afghanistan shake capitalist confidence

What's behind the new gold rush?

By Dick Roberts

For a moment on January 21, the price of gold was quoted at \$875 an ounce in New York. A month ago it was \$475 an ounce, and a year ago it was a "mere" \$220 an ounce.

Prices are gyrating wildly as we go to press, but give or take a few dollars, the shiny commodity has nearly quadrupled in price in a year. Half the rise took place in only the past month.

The reason for the leap is summed up in the names of two countries: Iran and Afghanistan. Because the price of gold is inextricably linked to the stability of world imperialism.

In Iran the deepening mass hatred for the backers of the shah has tied Washington's hands for more than seventy days in obtaining the release of the hostages held in Tehran. In Afghanistan Soviet troops are pushing back CIA-organized rightist guerrillas without any direct military opposition by imperialist armies.

These anti-imperialist blows are emboldening the workers and peasants throughout an arena of vital strategic importance to world imperialism. The nations of the Middle and Far Eastern "Crescent" contain the richest known reserves of petroleum and they border on crucial naval trade routes.

Light can be shed on the causes of the present "gold rush" by glancing back at the previous rush into gold, which took place four months ago in October 1979.

That panic was paralleled by a sharp decline of the dollar and it ultimately touched off one of the sharpest stock price drops on Wall Street in history.

For a few days last October it looked to many capitalist investors around the world as though the Carter administration either could not or would not intervene to bolster the dollar.

Capitalists feared that contrary to Carter's word, the Democratic adminis-

tration would resort to big deficits in 1980 in order to pump money into the economy in the face of deepening recession. Carter, it was argued, could not tolerate massive unemployment in an election year.

Deficit spending, in turn, would inflate the dollar even more, no matter what the consequences on world money markets.

The result was an unprecedented dumping of dollars as capitalists poured billions into gold, other precious metals, and even such non-monetary commodities as copper.

But when the dust settled on the October panic the dollar had not collapsed. It stabilized and even began to rise, rather sharply, in fact, against the Japanese yen. Stock prices began climbing again in New York. Today stock prices are higher than they were last September, before the previous gold rush began.

In the period since last October the world economic crisis has deepened. The hoarding of gold and speculation in other commodities—rather than investment in increased production—is the capitalists' response.

But two contradictory realities seem to have taken a grip on the banking centers of world imperialism: One, *the dollar cannot be displaced* as the central paper currency of the global capitalist system.

It accounts for around 80 percent of paper currencies. Any total flight from the dollar would bring world trade and production to a screeching halt and plunge the capitalist system into a depression as bad or worse than the 1930s.

Two, *permanent inflation cannot be ended in the United States*. This is not because "weak presidents" pump prime the economy in a scramble for votes. It is because of the massive war spending in the United States—the main cause of federal deficits. And

Washington is determined that war spending must increase even more as the tide of semicolonial revolution rises against world imperialism.

Recognition of these two contradictory realities has forced the other imperialist powers to join Washington in defending the dollar. This is done by central banks intervening in money markets to purchase dollars (with their own currencies) when the dollar starts to fall.

The result of this is to increasingly pump inflated dollars into the reserves of foreign nations and consequently to inflate the foreign economies as well. It can limit for a given period of time the speculation against the dollar but it does so only by *spreading inflation internationally*.

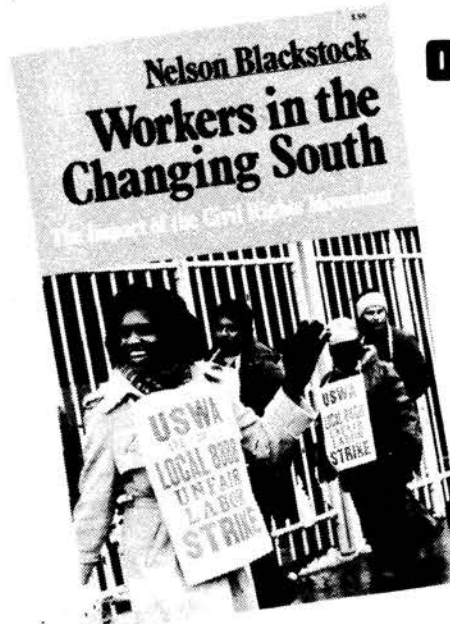
What is happening, in effect, is that

foreign powers in addition to the U.S. government are financing Washington's war spending. They do this by buying up U.S. Treasury bonds in order to support the dollar. The end result is that the inflation caused by U.S. war spending is becoming international.

Against this background gold seems like a sure-fire bet. As all paper currencies inflate, the price of gold will rise willy-nilly.

These views seem especially to be shared by a layer of investors in the Middle East itself. They have the added fear that the shah's dilemma could become their own—and when they move abroad they want assets that cannot be either nationalized or frozen.

A new Pathfinder pamphlet on class battles in the South



Nelson Blackstock, a native southerner, takes a look at the changing South. The fight against Jim Crow segregation. The gains won by the civil rights movement. The growing radicalization of southern workers today.

30 pp., \$.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

...school

Continued from page 10

"All educational institutions are class institutions," Barnes said. The SWP Leadership School will be one too. In contrast to academia, though, it will teach Marxism from the point of view of participants in working class struggles.

The only way to really learn Marxism, or to relearn it, Barnes said, is by

participation in the class struggle. That was how Marx and Engels themselves discovered Marxism, "that's what took them from being radicals to being Marxists, the first Marxists."

The students selected for the first session of the leadership school are all members of the SWP National Committee, either on full-time party assignment or working in industry, leading the party's work in areas such as auto or steel. All have had years of experience in various aspects of the class

struggle.

The SWP National Committee voted enthusiastically to launch a \$50,000 fund drive, running from now until March 31, to pay the costs of renting facilities; furnishing materials, including a library; and paying the living expenses of the first student body. The fund drive is already off to a good start with \$10,800 raised last spring by the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund, raised in tribute to the longtime SWP leader, who died in March 1979.

The additional funds needed must all come from voluntary donations. "The Socialist Workers Party Leadership School won't be receiving grants from IBM, Exxon, or the Ford Foundation," said Marcia Gallo, who is treasurer of the fund drive. "And the students can't afford tuition. On the contrary, some are full-time party workers and others will have to give up jobs to attend. So we are appealing to friends and members of the SWP to make this school possible."

...study

Continued from page 10

The capstone of the party's general educational campaign will be the opening of a Socialist Workers Party Leadership School, where party leaders can study full time for five to six months at a stretch.

For many experienced leaders who are shouldering big, time-consuming responsibilities this will be a unique chance to enhance their Marxist education. But time *must* be allotted to all for study, because the party believes that continual renewal of one's understanding of Marxism is indispensable for coping with the tasks ahead.

SWP founder James P. Cannon used to explain that there were two main ways the leadership of a party like ours might find the time to study. One was in prison. The other was by taking extraordinary steps to set up a leadership school.

Many revolutionaries have turned prison into a place to study: Trotsky, Eugene Debs, Malcolm X, and Fidel Castro, for example.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

Looking back on this Malcolm said: "The ability to read awoke in me some long dormant craving to be mentally alive. I certainly wasn't seeking any degree, the way a college confers a status symbol on its students. My homemade education gave me, with every additional book I read, a little bit more sensitivity to the deafness, dumbness, and blindness that was affecting the Black race in America. . . . Prison enabled me to study far more intensively than I would have if I had attended some college."

Many comrades of our party and world movement have also studied in prison. Andrew Pulley, our presidential candidate, for example, used his time in the army stockade to investigate socialist ideas.

The first collective experience of full-time study for leaders of the Socialist Workers Party took place in 1944 at the federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, where twelve leaders of the party

spent thirteen months after being convicted under the Smith Act for their antiwar ideas. They studied subjects ranging from philosophy and history to economics and languages. The comrades involved referred to this as "Sandstone University."

Recognizing the importance of what they were doing, the students at Sandstone came up with the idea of establishing a more permanent party leadership school—on the outside, of course. A school, called the Trotsky School, was established in 1945 and existed for seventeen years.

During the early years of the Trotsky School it was attended by leaders of the party, including many who were prominent activists in their unions. Later, in the 1950s and 1960s, the education received at the school enabled many participants to preserve a revolutionary working class outlook through the difficult time of the witch hunt.

Today as we prepare to found a new SWP leadership school, the situation is very different from the 1950s. A new period of working-class awakening is opening up. If we are to meet the tests

of the coming class battles, our party must be armed with the knowledge accumulated by the Marxist movement through the years. Our whole membership must assimilate in its blood and bones the prospect of socialism, not as utopian fantasy, but as the next necessary stage through which human society will pass if it is to survive.

It may seem difficult to release leading comrades from their responsibilities so they can attend the leadership school. It won't be easy, but we are confident that new comrades will be inspired to come forward and shoulder bigger responsibilities.

We will also need to raise substantial funds to set up the school: \$50,000 is required.

We are confident that the party will meet these challenges and that members and friends will be enthused as they realize what the creation of this school will mean for the advancement of the party of revolutionary socialism in the United States.

It is with this spirit and approach that we launch an SWP education campaign and establish the SWP Leadership School.

GOV'T ANNOUNCES WEAK-KNEED DRIVE ON JOB CANCER

The Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration announced new rules January 16 governing the job use of cancer-causing chemicals.

The rules were first proposed by OSHA in 1977 and have since been substantially watered down.

The agency "hopes" that the new rules will permit them to deal with ten potentially dangerous chemicals a year instead of the present two. There are hundreds of cancer-causing chemicals now in use.

OSHA administrator Dr. Eula Bingham advised that the new policy will not guarantee a risk-free environment. "In issuing regulations," she explained, "we always look at what is technologically and economically feasible."

For sure.

It's likely, she added, that chemicals will be banned only when safer substitutes have been found.

The American Industrial Health Council said it would sue to keep the new regulations from taking effect.

A government study issued last year estimated that twenty percent of cancer cases are job-related. Other studies put the figure even higher.

LATINOS GETTING THE SHORT END OF U.S. STICK

There are now 12 million people of Hispanic origin living in the United States, according to government figures. An estimated 85 percent of them live in urban areas.

They are younger than others living here, with 42 percent under the age of eighteen, compared to 29 percent for the rest of the population.

In the past decade, says the Census Bureau, the Latino population grew by 25 percent as against 12 percent for Blacks and 7 percent for the general population.

Latinos have been the most deprived of the right to a decent education.

According to a 1978 Labor Department study, more than 51 percent of Latinos on the job lacked a high school diploma. The U.S. Commission on

International Harvester strikers fight forced overtime

By John Studer

CHICAGO—More than 35,000 farm equipment workers are entering their third month on the picket lines in their strike against International Harvester.

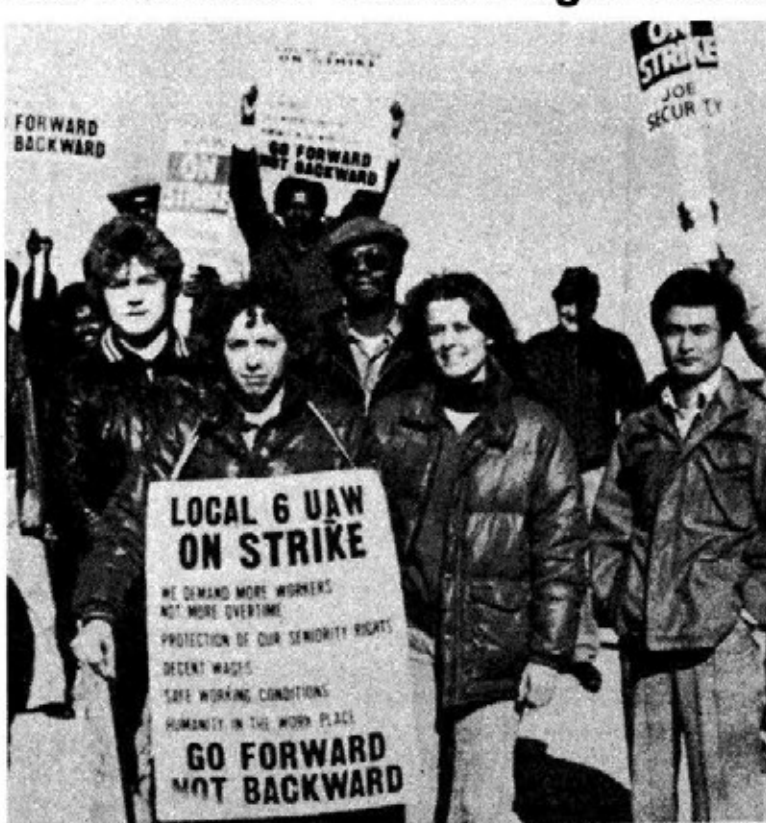
With negotiations at a standstill, the strikers at two of the plants are standing fast in their opposition to forced overtime, the central strike issue.

On January 19, three unionists from International Harvester plants addressed the Chicago Militant Labor Forum to get the word out on their strike and ask for solidarity.

Ted Stacey, a steward from Auto Workers Local 152 at Harvester in Hinsdale, related the history of the agricultural implements industry. He told the forum that "Cyrus McCormick, the inventor of the McCormick Reaper in the 1800s, was the founder of the company that has become International Harvester. And their labor policies have not changed much in the last 100 years."

He noted that the McCormick family also founded the *Chicago Tribune*, the major daily, and this might explain the media blackout on the strike.

Al Orr, a skilled-trades worker in UAW Local 145 at the Aurora Caterpillar factory, outside Chicago, said



International Harvester pickets at Melrose, Illinois

the contract they received after two months on the picket line was essentially a stalemate. They were able to stop the company's take-away demands, such as the attempt to weaken the union by eliminating all chief stewards to no more than six hours time off a month for union business. But they did

not make any headway on the central issue of forced overtime.

He told the forum that "many workers felt we didn't get enough for the two months that we were on strike." Three thousand out of the 5,200 local members attended the December 17

ratification meeting. During the first fifteen minutes of the meeting, as the tentative contract was outlined, 1,500 walked out. In the skilled-trades division, the new contract passed by only two votes.

Chuck Marino, a member of the education committee of Local 6 on strike against Harvester in Melrose Park, said, "The last stronghold for the forty-hour week is the UAW. We've got to stop these companies from making superprofits and ruining our lives by working us fifty and sixty hours a week!"

Marino described efforts to breach the news blackout and enlist strike solidarity:

"We've held two rallies at the downtown IH headquarters. And the second one drew close to 1,000 strikers and supporters. It helped us get our story in the press. . . .

"We're planning two more rallies next month and we hope we can spread the word about our strike and get more solidarity. A victory in our strike would be a big step for getting things going for a shorter work week for everybody and provide jobs for the unemployed."

Solidarity funds can be sent to: Region 4 Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

Civil Rights says that of every ten Chicano students who start school, four are pushed out before graduating high school and only two make it into college.

In 1977, the average Latino family earned \$11,421 compared to \$16,284 for others. More than 20 percent of Latinos live below the official poverty level.

And that's just the ones they count.

OLIN-WINCHESTER STRIKE ENDS

A hard-fought six-month strike at the Olin Corporation's Winchester plant in New

Haven, Connecticut, ended January 20.

A new contract was ratified covering the 1,350 workers, who are members of the International Association of Machinists.

The three-year agreement provides wage increases of about 45 cents an hour in each of three years.

According to the January 21 *New York Times*, local union president John Palmieri said the company retained the right to control work levels, but conceded more job security provisions and speedier arbitration procedures.

He said Olin agreed to fire some 300 scabs it hired during the strike.

PHILA. DEFENDANTS BARRED FROM TRIAL

Nine members of the Philadelphia group called Move, charged with the death of a cop, are being tried without the right to be in the courtroom or to follow the proceedings.

The trial stems from a 1978 police shootout. The cops made a murderous assault on a Move center in the Black community. A cop died in the hail of gunfire. Move members who surrendered were savagely beaten.

The judge ousted the defendants from the courtroom for alleged disruption. He denied them the right to an audio-visual setup to follow the proceedings from their cells and then even denied them written transcripts.

CHICANO MOVEMENT PAPERS SAY NO TO CARTER ON IRAN

Among oppressed nationalities in this country—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, American Indians—there is an encouraging amount of identification with the Iranian revolution and the aspirations of the Iranian people.

Many prominent Blacks were among the first to protest Carter's attacks against Iran and Iranian students here.

Chicano student groups helped to organize many of the demonstrations against U.S. policy in Iran. And several Chicano newspapers have commented on the common interests of Chicanos and Iranians.

La Cucaracha, a Chicano community paper published in Pueblo, Colorado, editorialized December 4, "Chicanos and other poor people in this country particularly, must not allow ourselves to be confused and manipulated by Carter and his government of the rich, over the situation in Iran."

La Cucaracha called for the shah to be sent back to stand trial and concluded, "The Iranian people are not our enemy. They have a right to self-determination as do all oppressed people."

In its December 18 issue, *La Cucaracha* commented on the two Chicano hostages in the U.S. Embassy, William Gallegos and Jimmy López. It was a nationally televised interview with Gallegos that refuted Carter's lies on treatment of the hostages. Gallegos also opposed harboring of the shah.

La Cucaracha denounced any attempt to subject Gallegos to disciplinary action for the interview.

The paper also stated its

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

COLORADO DENVER

AFGHANISTAN: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR U.S. WORKING PEOPLE? Speakers: Alan Gummerson, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists; others. Sun., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA MIAMI

HOW TO DEFEAT THE KU KLUX

KLAN. Speakers: Caryn Swan, Young Socialist Alliance; representative of Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 8171 NE. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA AND THE TASKS OF YOUTH. Speakers: members of Miami Young Socialist Alliance returning from 19th national convention of YSA. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 8171 NE. 2nd Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Reception for Libby Moser, SWP candidate for mayor of St. Paul. Speakers: Libby Moser and Harry DeBoer, leader of 1934 Mpls. Teamster strike. Sat., Feb. 2, 4-7 p.m. buffet and refreshments, 7-8 p.m.

program. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Aup: SWP 1980 Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

U.S. HANDS OFF AFGHANISTAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Fred Feldman, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

OHIO CLEVELAND

LABOR AND THE FIGHT FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Linda Joyce, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 4333; others. Sun., Jan. 27, 4 p.m. Cleveland State University, University Center, Room 364. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS TODAY. Speakers: Marty Landsberg, professor of economics, Lewis & Clark College and Northwest coordinator of the Union of Radical Political Economists. Sat., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS HOUSTON

THE OIL COMPANIES VS AMERICAN WORKERS. A panel discussion on the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers strike. Speakers: Randy Erb, member OCAW Local 4-227; member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 806 Elgin. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

Minnesotans urge King holiday



Demonstrators demanded Rev. King's birthday be national holiday.

By Greg Cornell

ST. PAUL, Minn.—More than 1,000 demonstrators massed at the state capitol here January 15 to demand that Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

The protesters, almost all Black, marched in thirty-degree weather, raising fists and singing, "We Shall Overcome."

About 2,000 students in Minneapolis and St. Paul, most of them Black, also stayed home from school to show their support for the demand that January 15 be a national holiday.

The actions were called by

Minneapolis and St. Paul Black ministers and the Black Unity and Futurism Conference.

Rev. James Battle, a Black St. Paul minister, told the media that Congress should make King's birthday a legal holiday. Congress members take the position that it would mean federal workers would get the day off, costing the government additional money.

"We're spending thousands of tax dollars to protect the shah," Battle said, "and yet we are told we don't have the money to pay for a holiday. We don't understand that."

opinion that if the two Chicanos had been released along with the Blacks, this would have given much-needed world publicity and recognition to the special oppression of Chicanos in the Southwest.

A Texas Chicano paper, *El Cuhamil*, explained that the persecution "begins with the Iranians and tomorrow will continue against other nationalities."

And *El Tecolote* from the California Bay Area, gave favorable coverage in its December issue to a San Francisco demonstration to send the shah back to Iran.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND

The January 19 Charleston, South Carolina *Chronicle*, a leading Southern Black weekly, reprinted the *Militant's* article on Navy racism and the KKK. Written from Newport

News, Virginia, by Omari Musa and Kibwe-Diarra Mossi, the article was based on an interview with two Black sailors.

INDICT ALA. KLANNERS FOR ASSAULT ON TWO BLACK MINISTERS

Two Alabama Ku Klux Klanners were indicted by a federal grand jury January 10 on charges of intimidating and injuring two Black ministers who had been drinking coffee in a Muscle Shoals restaurant the KKKers apparently considered "all-white."

The victims of the October 29, 1979, attack were Rev. Roger Pride and Rev. Otis Neloms.

The ministers were attacked in a parking lot after leaving the restaurant. One required hospital treatment.

If convicted, the KKKers face a maximum of ten years in jail and \$10,000 fine.

New facts on FBI job on Seberg

The FBI hounded and smeared actress Jean Seberg for four years, culminating with the poison-pen campaign that drove her to suicide last year.

At one point her name was on a list of those the FBI would round up if the president were to declare a "national emergency."

Files obtained by the *Los Angeles Times* establish that in 1969, the FBI decided on a "discreet investigation" of Seberg, a financial supporter of the Black Panther Party which the FBI and other police agencies were working systematically to destroy.

The culmination of the FBI campaign was the

planting of rumors in the media that Seberg was pregnant by a Black Panther leader. It was this that eventually drove her to suicide.

The FBI kept tabs of her bank account, kept track of her travels and logged her phone calls to the Panther headquarters which were wiretapped.

The FBI funneled "information" on Seberg to the CIA, White House aides, FBI "legal attaches" in embassies abroad, to military intelligence units, and the Secret Service.

The reports included such foul descriptions of her as, "the alleged promiscuous and sex-perverted white actress."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Nuclear safety—The government is considering providing each household a ten-day packet of antiradiation pills, which reportedly help prevent thyroid cancer. In the event of a nuclear plant disaster, it is said, they would save as many as 23,000 lives. The pill packet would be attached to the utility meter in each home. To remind you that if they don't work, you can always turn on the gas?

A contradiction in terms—A group of liberals plan to press for legislation to set federal standards of behavior for big business. A spokesperson for the Chamber of Commerce responded, "I don't think this will be perceived seriously."

A good war could help—Service Corporation International is cleaning up with its chains of mortuaries, cemeteries, and crematories. But business analysts say it needs more diversification, like a recently acquired chain of flower shops. After all, one critic noted, "you're locked into what happens to the death rate. . . . There's just so many people who are going to die. . . ."

Catchy program—Bob Carey of Ely, Minnesota, is running for president on the Independent Fishermen Party ticket. He favors giving everyone an extra day off a week to go fishing. He says this would combat inflation and unemployment because fish hatcheries would have to hire more people to stock the lakes.

Really?—A New York City survey established that 89.9 percent of the people are against efforts to "conserve" gas by hiking the tax.

Revolutionary ferment—A new, creative revolution is brewing, advises Roy Grace, new "executive creative director" at Doyle Dane Bernbach, one of the larger Madison Avenue creators. Grace is well equipped to lead the creative revolution, being, as he puts it, "an idealist . . . a romantic." He has already created the "spicy meatball" commercial for Alka Seltzer and the current Tickle deodorant biggie.

Worried?—Saks Fifth Avenue is offering a "Cheat-a-Shrink" necklace pacifier. With your monogram.

Union Talk

Oil strike diary

This week's column is by Jana Pellusch, a member of Local 4-227 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) which is on strike against the Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) Refinery in Houston.

This column is part of the strike diary she has been writing since the OCAW walkout began January 8. The first part appeared in the *'Militant'* last week.

January 18

On the eleventh day of the strike six members of the grievance committee for the ARCO group in OCAW Local 4-227 send a message to be read at an anti-Ku Klux Klan rally planned for the next day in San Antonio. It reads: "We deplore the recent acts of terror by the KKK. This racist organization is by its very nature anti-labor and anti-union. As unionists and members of the grievance committee for the Atlantic Richfield Group in OCAW Local 4-227 we understand the need for unity among white, Black and Brown, and working for a common goal. In our case this goal is obtaining wage and benefit increases that will permit our membership to win back that part of our income which we have lost through inflation over the past year. We will not allow the oil industry to use race, sex or any other means to divide us in our fight. We send greetings to your rally and hope it is a successful one."

January 20

More than fifty workers at the Gatex Terminal, a loading dock covered by an OCAW contract not yet expired, are working with the union to get their jobs back. They were fired for honoring a picket line set up at Gatex by striking OCAW members from the Amoco Refinery in Texas City.

claimed by the oil industry. "If they did not need us in there, they wouldn't have hired us in the first place."

His statement is followed by a clip of a broadly smiling Dean Baxter, P.R. man for the ARCO Refinery, who says: "The individuals who are running these plants now are the ones who designed and engineered them. They taught our regular work force how to run them. So now we have the teachers being the operators."

This brings hoots and laughter from the viewers. Both operators and maintenance workers know from experience that it is your co-worker on the unit or in your craft you have to rely on to learn your job.

The same news program reports on the explosion at a Phillips Petroleum Refinery in Borger in far north Texas. A gasoline cracking unit, number twenty-two, has exploded, demolishing part of the refinery, injuring over forty persons and causing the evacuation of 200 nearby residents.

At the same plant last October two people were killed as they repaired a gas line on that same unit twenty-two. Last October OSHA fined the company a paltry \$15,000. The plant is not organized by OCAW.



Militant/Jana Pellusch

U.S. out of Guantánamo

Since the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, Washington has been playing a devious game. Formally professing non-intervention and even "friendship" for Nicaragua, it is at the same time making plain to the Sandinista leadership that it will use maximum pressure to contain the revolution within "safe"—that is, capitalist—limits. But as the Nicaraguan revolution deepens, the threat of U.S. aggression will increase correspondingly.

It was the same way with Cuba.

When the Cuban revolution came to power January 1, 1959, its leadership made clear that it aimed for full independence. That could only mean an end to the decades of plundering of the island by Wall Street.

Initially, Washington responded to the Cuban revolution by professing friendship and exercising economic and political pressure on behalf of threatened U.S. business interests there.

By mid-1960 it was clear, however, that the Fidelista leadership in Havana would not knuckle under. The Eisenhower administration took off the kid gloves. It ended the import of Cuban sugar and imposed a travel ban and economic blockade in a ruthless drive to topple the new government.

That didn't work either. So in April 1961, the Kennedy administration organized an invasion of Cuba by counterrevolutionary exiles hired by the CIA.

The Cuban people smashed that invasion in a matter of days.

Since that time tiny Cuba has held Washington at bay, making economic and social progress in face of the continuing U.S. blockade.

But despite the frustration of its efforts, Wall Street has never put aside its determination to destroy the Cuban revolution.

A key symbol of Washington's hostility has been its refusal to yield its illegally held naval base at Cuba's Guantánamo Bay. The U.S. Marine landing exercise there last October was a grim reminder of the menace this base represents to Cuba's peace and security.

From the outset, the *Militant* has demanded that Washington get out of Guantánamo. We raised this demand in a front-page editorial in our issue of February 1, 1960. This was at the time when the Eisenhower administration was still speaking—with a forked tongue—about its "friendship" for Cuba.

The following is the text of that editorial.

* * *

At his press conference Jan. 26 Pres. Eisenhower emphasized the official "no reprisal" policy of his administration toward the Castro government.

"The American people," said Eisenhower, "still have the greatest affection and the greatest interest in the Cuban people. We are not going to be party to reprisals or anything of that kind. At this



Guantánamo naval base

moment, it is not our time to do it, and certainly we are not going to intervene in their internal affairs."

The Cuban people, however, continue to indicate profound distrust. The distrust is justified, in our opinion. The State Department has made it a major concern to represent the interests of American capitalists and landholders who object to the social and economic reforms undertaken since the revolution swept Castro to power.

No doubt the Cuban people will listen to Eisenhower's friendly words with interest. But they will be inclined, we imagine, to demand that he match them with deeds.

If Eisenhower really has the interests of the Cuban people at heart and is "certainly" not going to intervene in their internal affairs, he might well demonstrate this by returning the Guantánamo naval base to Cuba.

This base was obtained when the U.S. intervened in Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain. From 1899 to 1902, the U.S. imposed its military rule on the island. When the Cuban constitution was drawn up, the U.S., with a bayonet at Cuba's throat, forced the new government to "lease" naval stations.

Two strategic harbors, bearing on the approaches to Panama, were taken. Of these, the U.S. still clings to Guantánamo.

In the days of the intercontinental rocket missile, the base long ago lost whatever military value it once had in imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Even the Navy recognizes this. Some of its aircraft carriers are too big to go through it.

Thus Guantánamo can serve no purpose but to facilitate the landing of marines and armed intervention.

Isn't it high time that the government of our country pulled its military forces out of Cuba?

Let's give Guantánamo back to its rightful owners!

Right to sell

New Orleans socialists won a victory for free speech here when Jefferson Parish authorities conceded the right to sell the *Militant* outside Avondale Shipyards.

In August, deputies of the Jefferson Parish sheriff's department threatened *Militant* sales people with arrest unless they obtained a series of occupational licenses. Prior to this threat, sales had been brisk outside the yard. The police threats coincided with the firing of about a dozen United Steelworkers union organizers by Avondale Shipyards, the largest private employer in this "right to work" state, and a notorious union-busting outfit.

Then, in a move clearly aimed at further intimidating Avondale workers, Jefferson Parish cops began parking outside the yard whenever Socialist Workers 1980 Campaign supporters came by to leaflet. The cops even went inside the gates periodically to confer with company guards and officials about the socialists' activities. In one case, a patrol car followed a team of campaigners for several miles after they left the yard!

When socialists attempted to find out the details of the

licenses allegedly required, they were given the run-around by parish officials. No one would take responsibility for either overruling or supporting the sheriff's threats. Each said they could only give their personal interpretation of the law, that they lacked the authority to give an official answer. One claimed that each salesperson would have to pay \$5.00 and be fingerprinted and photographed before being able to sell. Another told the campaigners that permission to sell the *Militant* on public property would have to be obtained from Avondale Shipyards!

Then the socialists retained Jack Peebles, a prominent civil liberties attorney here. In response to Peebles's inquiries, officials tried to blur the clear free speech questions involved, claiming that sales people would be obstructing traffic along the highway. But when they realized the socialists were not going to back down from fighting for their rights, the authorities okayed alternative sales locations and agreed that the *Militant* could again be sold outside the shipyard.

Karen Newton
New Orleans, Louisiana

Defends Iran stand

In the January 18 issue of the *Militant*, three readers expressed their extreme disgust with the extensive coverage on Iran which the *Militant* has featured.

Fran Hosken throws up the issue of women in Iran and decries the move under Khomeini toward the Middle Ages. The bourgeois press has also carried sensationalistic accounts concerning the treatment of women under Khomeini's "iron fist" and even mourned the execution of hundreds of homosexuals! A quick reflection of Western Civilization's (and the Christian Church's) treatment of women and gays makes this lugubrious display of concern all the more outrageous.

Where was the bourgeois media and Hosken when these antiwoman attacks that offend their righteous morality so dearly were carried out under the "Light of the Aryans" behind the smoke-screen of "modernization" and the "white revolution?"

Princess Ashraf pushed this royal charade to a new peak of cynical hypocrisy when she presented Kurt Waldheim with a check for two million dollars as a contribution to the International Women's Year. I can't help but wonder if that money came from the profits of the Princess' heroin dealings?

Tom Menkin joins in this one-sided class morality orgy by lumping Khomeini together with Hitler and Stalin. He suggests that the taking of an embassy should be "taboo" and he withdraws to the confusion of liberalism by recommending that we condemn Khomeini equally as we all condemned the crimes of the CIA. The question begs itself: Which side are you on? Despite a quote from Engels

which can be applied to any capitalist country, Menkin's comments lead him to crawl into bed with imperialism and snuggle up with its racist lynch-mob atmosphere which it has attempted to whip American workers into by force-feeding us a daily diet of lies and the usual State Department drivel in the local newspapers.

The Iranian people have appealed to us over and over again. They know American workers are not responsible for their problems. The old adage remains intact: the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Craig McKissic
Newport News, Virginia

N. Carolina ballot drive

The January 18 *Militant* article about the North Carolina petition drive states "This will be the first time that a socialist party has been on the ballot in North Carolina." This is incorrect. In 1932 the Socialist Party was on the ballot in North Carolina. Norman Thomas received 5,591 votes there. During the petition drive in 1932, the Attorney General threatened to prosecute anyone who signed the petition and yet was not a dues-paying member of the Socialist Party. But the 1932 drive succeeded anyway.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, California

Suspicion about crisis

I'd like to share with the readers of the *Militant* a letter that appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* a few days ago. It shows the degree of suspicion underneath the confusion the general public

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has about the motives of the government.

This was brought home to me in a couple of the arguments I've had with co-workers. Although they oppose sending the shah back, they think that Kissinger and David Rockefeller should be sent to stand trial.

The letter to the *Chronicle* reads:

"There's no doubt about it. If the hostages in Iran are not released, gasoline prices will have to be raised to \$2.50 a gallon. If, on the other hand, the hostages are released, then gasoline will have to be raised to \$2.50 a gallon."

Milton Chee
San Francisco, California

Some Ideas

We get together here sometimes for meetings. One time the discussion turned to politics, foreign policy, foreign aid, etc. and why it is that the U.S. has backed the wrong horse in foreign policy so many times.

Foreign aid should be administered by Americans, government officers, and Peace Corp volunteers—the idea being that we'd reach those most in need rather than a few individuals or those not as much in need.

Also, maybe something can be done to shorten the workweek thus providing more jobs, more public service jobs.
J. Meger
Albuquerque, New Mexico

On Chrysler contract

Workers at the Twin Cities Ford Assembly Plant are following the progress of the newly revised substandard Chrysler contract with great interest.

The other day five people at my lunch table defended the Canadian Chrysler workers who had turned down the wage cuts of the new contract. One said, "The Chrysler workers shouldn't have to settle for less."

Later a young worker up the line from me was exclaiming about the rotten provisions of the proposed contract. "If the Chrysler workers buy that, you can bet your sweet ass that next year Ford will be crying 'poor' too."

He's right. Ford workers are beginning to understand that the attacks on the Chrysler workers will be generalized to the auto industry as a whole. They are justifiably upset when they see the union leadership trying to foist these setbacks on the Chrysler workers under the guise of "doing our share."

Mimi Pichey
St. Paul, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Learning About Socialism

Afghanistan and self-determination

"Poor little Afghanistan!" is the cry of the U.S. government and its allies around the world. To hear them tell it, Afghanistan is being crushed by Soviet troops and tanks. Its right to self-determination is being violated.

When Carter moans about self-determination, working people have reason to become suspicious. Carter made no complaints when French troops invaded the Central African Republic in mid-1979. In order to head off a popular rebellion, the French troops carried out a coup that replaced one reactionary dictator with another.

French troops still occupy the Central African Republic. But there are no threats from Carter to cut off trade with France or boycott the Cannes Film Festival.

Carter's posturing about self-determination is hypocritical. The capitalist rulers of this country derive much of their wealth and power from depriving people all over the world of their right to self-determination. And they haven't any intention of letting the working people of Afghanistan decide their own fate.

The working people of Afghanistan have been fighting for self-determination for a century—but not against the Soviet Union. Their struggle was directed first against British imperialism, which established control in the 1870s, and later against U.S. imperialism as well.

Imperialist domination preserved the backward social and economic conditions of Afghanistan, and even worsened the grinding poverty of the masses. The imperialists saw any struggle to end these conditions as a threat to the traditional ruling classes, which supported U.S. and British dominance, and to investments throughout Southwest Asia and the Middle East.

The fact is that there are two Afghanistans just as there are two Americas. There is the Afghanistan of workers, farmers, the unemployed, youth, and women. And there is the Afghanistan of the landlords, capitalists, heroin merchants, and money lenders. These two Afghanistans have been in conflict for a long time, and that conflict erupted in civil war after 1978.

In April 1978 the people of Afghanistan surged into the streets in huge numbers, demanding an end to the old regime. They won support in the army, and a military coup brought in a new government that set out to make progressive changes.

It began a campaign to eliminate illiteracy, establishing schools for the first time in parts of the countryside. It distributed land to poor peasants.

These first steps drew a violent reaction from beneficiaries of the old order—the landlords, capitalists, and heroin traders who found it profitable to keep the masses in squalor and ignorance.

They still had a lot of power, and they used this to organize a civil war—winning the backing of similar forces in Pakistan and Iran. And as they had always done in the

past, they counted on Washington and London for backing. The imperialists, fearing that social changes would rip Afghanistan out of their orbit, gave all the help they could muster. Through allies like Pakistani dictator Zia ul-Haq, they organized, armed, and trained the reactionaries. The imperialists cut back on aid and trade with Afghanistan in an effort to weaken the economy and destabilize the legal government.

It is worth keeping this background in mind when listening to the imperialist talk of self-determination.

Supporters of the Afghan revolution badly needed allies, for Afghanistan is a poor, economically weak, and militarily vulnerable country. It was natural for them to look to the Soviet Union. And Moscow had reason to help the Afghans block the establishment of an ultrarightist regime allied to imperialism on its southern border.

From the beginning of the revolution in April 1978, the Soviet Union provided substantial economic and military aid (including many advisers) to the government. Without such aid, the struggle for social progress in Afghanistan would have been doomed to defeat.

But the new government proved too weak to protect much of the countryside from right-wing rebels. It made frequent appeals to the USSR for more military help. Many workers and peasants became demobilized, fearing a right-wing victory was inevitable.

Moscow, deciding it could not allow the counterrevolution to win, sent thousands of troops to block an imperialist-backed drive for power.

While carrying out this progressive act, the Soviet rulers stage-managed a coup to remove President Hafizullah Amin and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. Focusing on the undemocratic method of changing the government, some well-intentioned radicals were confused and failed to see the progressive role of Soviet troops in fighting the counterrevolution.

But the Afghan government continues to defend the progressive reforms and has been able, with Soviet help, to push back the pro-imperialist landlords' rebellion. For the Afghan workers and peasants, this far outweighs in importance the bureaucratic methods used to get rid of Amin.

Carter and the capitalist media want it to appear that all Afghans speak with one reactionary voice, just as they want to make it seem that all Americans speak with one reactionary voice. That is the trick they use to put over the claim that the reactionary guerrillas are defending Afghanistan's right of self-determination.

Far from harming the interests of the Afghan people, however, the Soviet intervention has so far helped the great majority of Afghans. It created more favorable conditions for them to continue their battle for independence of imperialism, and for a life without exploitation and oppression.

—Fred Feldman

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THE MILITANT

200,000 protest in El Salvador; gov't opens fire

By R. Sylvain

SAN SALVADOR, January 22—More than 200,000 people marched through the streets of San Salvador today to protest government repression and to support workers demands. The immense crowd stretched for several miles. It was one of the largest demonstrations in El Salvador's history, and had been called by a newly formed united front of revolutionary and democratic organizations, with the backing of all the main trade union federations.

When the head of the march neared the cathedral, police and ultrarightist snipers who had been posted on the roofs of the National Palace and the Bank of El Salvador opened fire on the front ranks of the demonstration, leaving scores dead and wounded.

Demonstrators in the rear of the

march tried to maintain ranks, but they too were attacked by police gunfire.

In the hours that followed, police units patrolled the streets; people still on the street were shot.

The radio has broadcast very little news so far, but it reported that more than eighty people had already been taken to hospitals with gunshot wounds.

A communiqué just issued by the government news agency placed responsibility for the clash on the demonstrators.

This is an enormous lie. As one of the journalists present at the head of the demonstration at the time of the shooting, I can testify that it was the police who opened fire on the front ranks of the demonstration, composed of the Nationalist Democratic Union

(UDN). [The UDN, a Communist Party-backed group, was one of the four main sponsors of the march, along with the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the United Front for People's Action (FAPU), and the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28).]

The situation is exceedingly tense.

With the dictatorship lashing out as it goes deeper into crisis, the need becomes ever more urgent for a massive international solidarity movement to prevent any intervention by Washington and the other imperialist powers.

NEW YORK, January 23—Three days of mourning have been called in El Salvador for the victims of the January 22 massacre. News reaching the *Militant* via Managua today is that public transportation and commerce

had been brought to a halt in the capital city, San Salvador, as the appeal, issued by the four groups that called the January 22 demonstration, took effect.

As of today, at least sixteen are known dead and ninety wounded in the police attack.

María Elena García Villa, president of the Salvador Commission on Human Rights, confirmed that it was the government authorities who opened fire on the demonstration—"without any kind of provocation"—and she urged international protests against the repression.

Adán Chicá, general secretary of the United Federation of Salvadoran Workers (CUTS), also held the governing junta responsible for the massacre and appealed for international solidarity.

Oil strikers gaining solidarity

By Stu Singer

The Teamsters union has come out officially in support of the nationwide strike by 60,000 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) members. The strike began January 8.

The giant oil companies stopped negotiating with OCAW January 11. But the companies are keeping busy counting their money, raising prices, and using management scabs to run the plants.

Shell Oil estimated its 1979 profits at more than \$1 billion. Standard Oil of Indiana announced a figure of \$1.51 billion.

Shell, Exxon, and Gulf have all announced price hikes since the strike began. Shell has raised wholesale gas prices ten cents a gallon; Exxon eight cents; and Gulf three cents.

As OCAW has pointed out repeatedly, wages represent less than one cent a gallon in the price of gasoline.

On January 11, the management of Shell Deer Park (Houston) Complex, sent letters to OCAW members urging them to scab on the strike.

"... your job is here and available to you. You have a legally protected right to return to work."

Shell claims its 9 percent wage offer to OCAW is "a substantial offer by any measurement."

Shell went on to explain: "You need to know that we are opposed, as a matter of principle, to providing free (fully-paid) health care benefits."

In Texas, where 20,000 OCAW members are on strike, district court judges felt tugs on their leashes and issued two injunctions against picketing recently.

In Texas City, Texas, 150 OCAW members picketed city hall after local cops arrested forty-eight picketers at the plant gate.

OCAW strikers work at refineries representing 70 percent of the U.S. refining capacity. The other 30 percent is in plants organized by other unions, including the Teamsters, or where there is no union at all. All the refineries are covered under the U.S. National Oil Bargaining Settlement. This is based primarily on what OCAW wins.

The union contracts expire at different times.

Members of the independent Oil and Chemical Workers Union at the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Exxon refinery, contributed \$13,000 to the OCAW defense fund.

At the Exxon Bayway Complex in Linden, New Jersey, the workers are organized in Local 877 of the Teamsters. Their contract expires February 7.



OCAW pickets at ARCO refinery, Houston

Militant/Jana Pellusch

At the January 16 union meeting, they voted unanimously to contribute \$1,000 to the strike fund of OCAW in New Jersey.

On January 18 a telegram was sent by Teamsters International President

Frank Fitzsimmons to Robert Goss, president of OCAW. It says in part:

"This is to confirm that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America will assist and support your strike for a just economic settlement. . . . We sincerely hope that through trade union solidarity and cooperation, your strike will shortly bring the oil industry bargainers to agree to give your members their fair share of the exorbitant profits that the oil industry is currently enjoying."

At the Amoco refinery in Whiting, Indiana, OCAW strikers are distributing copies of Fitzsimmons's telegram to truck drivers going into the plant.

At the Tosco refinery near Martinez, California, currently operated by management scabs, there was a major oil spill on January 12. Fifteen to 25,000 gallons of oil escaped, spreading through a marshland. "Heavy weekend rains and an open valve" were blamed for the accident. While the scab operators are not to blame for the rain, the open valve is another matter.

This week we continue the strike diary by OCAW member Jana Pellusch in Houston. It appears on page 25 in the "Union Talk" column.

Firefighters denounce scab safety threat

By Mitch Rosenberg

GARY, Ind.—A news conference was held here January 23 by representatives of two striking oil union locals and three locals of the Firefighters Union. The unionists denounced the threat to public safety caused by the scab operation of struck oil refineries.

Officers of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Locals 7-210 at the ECI refinery and 7-1 at Amoco in Whiting, Indiana, spoke along with leaders of Firefighters Locals 365 in East Chicago, 556 in Hammond and 969 in Whiting.

The firefighters explained they do

not have sufficient forces to deal with the dangers of these refineries under normal conditions. The situation is much more serious with the overworked, inexperienced scabs who are now running them.

During normal operations each refinery has a volunteer group of workers and management who are especially trained to put out fires and deal with other emergencies. The majority of these teams are now walking the picket lines. At Amoco, for example, 400 management scabs are trying to do the work of the usual 1400 refinery workers.

Firefighters Local 556 Vice-Presi-

dent Roger Detteline compared the refineries with the proposed Bailey nuclear plant being built near Gary. Like Bailey, there is no evacuation plan in case of an explosion or fire.

In Whiting, schools and houses are located within half a block of the sprawling plant.

It was reported that there have been at least four small fires at Amoco since the strike began.

Dean Bainbridge, secretary-treasurer of OCAW Local 7-210 at ECI, said that state and local government officials are ignoring reports about the danger. "So now we're going to the people. The companies are taking a calculated risk."