

# THE MILITANT

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

## Protest the draft! Post office rallies set for July 21



Militant/Lou Howort

**NEW YORK, June 28**—More than 400 march to demand no draft, end U.S. intervention in El Salvador. For news on Salvadoran general strike, see page 5.

**By Harry Ring**

Carter's July 2 proclamation reinstating draft registration was assailed by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee.

The Black steelworker declared that registration "is a reactionary move to further militarize the country, to take us closer to new Vietnam-style wars."

Pulley, who had opposed the Vietnam war as an active-duty GI, vowed that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance would dedicate their full energies to fighting the measure. He pointed to slated protests at post offices, where registration will take place, as the immediate focus for all antidraft forces.

Pulley predicted that having gained reinstatement of registration, the Democrats and Republicans would next try to bring back the draft itself.

With such moves, he added, the rulers of this country hope to be able "to once again send GIs abroad to fight and die for Exxon and the other big-business profiteers."

They have tried to obscure this, Pulley said, with arguments that U.S. military might is needed to deter an alleged threat of Soviet aggression, demagogically pointing to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. And, he added, they have worked hard to whip up pro-war sentiment around the Iran hostage issue.

"All of this is a smokescreen," Pulley

asserted. "The real reason they want a big conscript army is to try to crush revolutionary developments in such countries as Iran, Nicaragua, and now El Salvador."

But they have a big problem, the socialist nominee observed. Large numbers of the young people needed to fight such wars are not ready to go. They just don't believe that the profits of the oil barons and other companies are worth dying for.

"They may not be certain of all the ins and outs of the situation in Afghanistan," Pulley said. "But they know for sure they're not ready to go for Texaco."

The antidraft forces, he said, must now mobilize that sentiment, while

educating as broadly as possible on the real war aims of Washington.

The initial registration will take place over a two-week period beginning July 21. During that time all men nineteen and twenty years old are required to register at local post offices.

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), a coalition of more than fifty national organizations, has called for demonstrations at the post offices the opening day of registration.

"These can and must be built very big," Pulley said. "The media will be focused on the post offices, and it will be a wonderful way of getting the antidraft message to all the people in

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**Supreme  
Court vs.  
abortion:  
ruling-class  
'justice'**

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Introducing  
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INSIDE

**Nicaragua's  
Fight for  
Freedom  
Reminiscences of  
an FSLN leader**



Carlos Fonseca Amador, founder of Sandinista National Liberation Front, is recalled in article by Tomás Borge.



## Ruling-class 'justice': Supreme Court vs. abortion rights

The June 30 U.S. Supreme Court decision denying federal Medicaid funds for abortion is a cruel example of capitalist-class justice. By its decision the court condemns untold numbers of unemployed and poor women, especially young women, Blacks and Latinas, to a choice between unwanted pregnancy or the threat of being maimed or killed in back-alley operations.

The court's five to four vote upheld the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment, which bans federal funding for all abortions except to save the woman's life or in cases of "promptly reported" rape and incest. It overturned a January decision by Federal Judge John Dooling, who had struck down the Hyde Amendment as violating the constitutional rights of poor women by denying them equal access to abortion.

The effect will be swift and cruel. Medicaid payment for abortions, temporarily resumed under Dooling's order, will cease. Just when—because of mass layoffs, plant shutdowns, and soaring prices, especially for medical care—more and more working-class women need government aid to end unwanted pregnancies.

The Supreme Court ruling runs counter to the deep majority sentiment in this country that women have a right to safe and legal abortions. It was immediately condemned by women's and civil rights leaders.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, said the ruling "gives government the right to decide if and when people will have or not have children."

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks pointed to the anti-abortionists' links to other right-wing and racist causes. He said, "One of the things that sickens me about this country is that you have people who believe in the right to life—that with every conception that is made in this world, the child must be born."

"But many of those same people do not believe in the right to live. They would see those children not get milk or bread. They would cut off welfare and aid to families with dependent children."

The decision asserts "abortion is inherently different from other medical procedures, because no other procedure involves the purposeful termination of a potential life." That is how the court justifies denying women abortions under Medicaid even though other medical care, including for child birth, is paid for. The court joins the Carter administration and "right to life" bigots in arguing that government has a "legitimate interest in protecting the potential life of the fetus."

This decision thus takes a step in the direction of undermining the right to safe, legal abortion for all women. It has emboldened the fetus fetishists who have announced a step-up in their campaign to win an amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawing abortion.

Coming on the heels of the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment by Democrats and Republicans in the Illinois legislature, the court ruling expresses the determination of the capitalist rulers to roll back the gains women have won in the past decade.

Abortion rights is a cornerstone in the fight for women's equality. Fear of unwanted pregnancy and forced motherhood are shackles that have kept women down for centuries. Equal pay, equal opportunities, even the basic right to hold a job are hollow words unless women have the right to decide for themselves when and whether to bear children.

The ruling openly reinforces class inequality. The poverty that restricts a poor woman's "ability to enjoy the full range of constitutionally protected freedom of choice [is] the product not of governmental restriction on access to abortions but rather of her indigency," the learned justices declared.

As Carter more succinctly put it not long ago, "Many things in life are not fair." Rich and poor enjoy completely equal rights—to pay for abortion. If poor women can't afford it, too bad. Maybe they'll stay at home where they belong and have children, keep out of the factories, and stop causing so much trouble for the capitalist rulers.

The denial of abortion funding is both a blow to women's rights and a further assault on the living standards and democratic liberties of all working people. It aims to demoralize the working class, lower our expectations, and soften us up for even greater sacrifices to be demanded in the future.

It is a blow aimed at the women's movement itself which is in the way of the capitalist offensive.

Rather than bowing to this vindictive ruling, however, defenders of women's equality should take it as a call to redouble the fight for abortion rights—with a more clear-sighted view of the stakes and what it will take to win.

Women's rights will be defended in the only way these or other gains for working people have ever been won—through massive, independent struggle against the policies of the government and the two capitalist parties that run it.

Electing more Democratic and Republican politicians who pretend to be "friends of women's rights" is worse than futile. It ties women's fight to the very parties that are carrying out the rulers' assault.

The lines will be drawn as anti-abortion forces move to knock down remaining state government funding for abortion, and as the Hyde Amendment comes up for re-adoption in the next federal budget.

The National Organization for Women, other women's rights groups, and the labor movement should join forces in a drive to defend state abortion funds and to repeal the Hyde Amendment. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which has a long-standing record of support to abortion rights and opposition to the Hyde Amendment, can play a key role in winning labor support.

Just as the unions have begun to come to the forefront in the struggle for ERA, as was shown this spring in Illinois, they should put their tremendous power into defense of abortion rights.

Let the voice of the majority be heard!

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### UAW's 'changing of the guard'

The auto workers convention elected some new officers. Frank Lovell writes about the new faces and the old policies. **Page 23.**

### Missouri labor backs ballot fight

State government effort to bar socialists from November ballot has run into stiff opposition from unionists. **Page 7.**



### Socialist versus KKK

California Socialist Workers Party launches congressional campaign, running Mark Friedman against Democratic nominee, a Klan leader. **Page 28.**



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# Harrisburg venting resumes despite radiation alarm

By Nancy Cole

Four minutes after Metropolitan Edison began releasing krypton gas from the damaged Three Mile Island nuclear plant June 28, radiation alarms



Militant/Nancy Cole

sounded, forcing a halt to the venting.

Hundreds, if not thousands, of residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area had already evacuated their homes, dismissing Gov. Richard Thornburgh's pleas to carry on business as usual.

For months, Met Ed, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and government officials at all levels had assured the neighbors of Three Mile Island that the venting posed absolutely no health hazard. Equipment for the decontamination procedure was virtually foolproof, they contended.

Yet as news of the radiation alarm reached the public, officials attributed it to a "malfunction," a "false signal," an "oversensitive monitoring device."

What really happened to spark the alarm remains unknown, adding another chapter to the history of lies and cover-ups that have accompanied every event since the nuclear accident began on March 28, 1979, in TMI's Unit 2.

To Harold Denton, head of nuclear reactor regulation for the NRC, it was just "another glitch" in the effort to clean up the nuclear accident.

Other "glitches" have included an unexpectedly jammed door that prevented the first inspection team from even entering the containment dome in May.

The day before the venting began, 10,000 gallons of radioactive water spilled in the Unit 1 building, which has also been shut down since the accident began.

By the afternoon of June 29, the "oversensitive" monitoring equipment had been "reprogrammed" and the venting resumed.

The monitoring devices that were

connected to the alarm measure particulates—specks of dust inside the reactor containing long-lasting radioactive contaminants, such as cesium 134, cesium 137, strontium 90, and cobalt 60.

Unlike krypton, which the NRC and Met Ed claimed was harmless because it emitted beta rays, the particulates emit the extremely dangerous gamma rays.

Just ten days before the venting began, a non-government study was released asserting that the NRC and other agencies had failed to consider the possible health effects of some seventy other radioactive substances inside the TMI reactor building. *Many of these, the study said, would be released in particles.*

The study, prepared by the Institute of Energy and Environmental Research in West Germany at the request of a coalition of antinuclear groups in the Harrisburg area, was based on Met Ed's own data.

Conceding that it was only a preliminary study, West German scientist Bernd Franke charged at a news conference in Washington June 18 that the NRC had approved the immediate venting plan because it was the cheapest way for Met Ed to dispose of the krypton.

Franke said the venting could result in radiation exposures fifty times greater than those estimated by the NRC and could lead to four additional cancer deaths.

Met Ed Vice-president Robert Arnold charged the report was "obstructionist, entirely uncalled for, and does the people around the Harrisburg area a great disservice." He then admitted he had not read it.

The NRC meanwhile unanimously approved the venting plan and waived the required thirty days' public notice. It ruled that if a public hearing on the plan was requested, it could be held after the venting was over!

The NRC denied a request to reconsider this decision from the Middletown People Against Nuclear Energy and the Newberry Township Three Mile Island Steering Committee.

PANE and Steven Sholly of Mechanicsburg then went to court, arguing that the waiver of the thirty-day waiting period was illegal. A three-judge federal appeals panel turned them down on June 26.

## Socialists: 'End the lies and secrecy!'

"Once again, Metropolitan Edison, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and Democratic and Republican politicians are sacrificing the health of central Pennsylvanians to save face and money," declared Pennsylvania's Socialist Workers Party candidates after radiation alarms only temporarily suspended the venting of krypton gas June 28.

Linda Mohrbacher, a laid-off steelworker from Pittsburgh running for U.S. senator, and Tory Dunn, a rail worker from Philadelphia running for state treasurer, have both toured the Harrisburg area this year to talk with residents there about their concerns.

"We call for the immediate shut-down of all nuclear power plants and the use of coal as the immediate alternative," the socialists continued. "The residents of Harrisburg should have the full truth and complete control over the decontamination process and a guarantee that the plant will never reopen."

"The continuing Three Mile Island accident reinforces the need not only to end nuclear power but also to nationalize the entire energy industry. Every aspect of the industry should be opened up to public scrutiny, and the secrets and cover-ups ended."

"Management of the nationalized energy industry should be put into the hands of an elected board to be closely watched by unions and consumer groups."

"And the workers themselves in the mines, refineries, and plants should exercise control over production to see to it that there are no more contrived shortages and that working conditions are safe and healthy."

## Unionists form antinuclear committee

By Nancy Cole

TOLEDO—One hundred and thirty-five people from twenty unions gathered here June 29 for a meeting called by the Labor Task Force of the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

Welcoming remarks were made by Edward Kalinoski, president of Amalgamated Food and Allied Workers District Union 626. Speakers included official representatives of the United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, and International Chemical Workers unions.

Individuals and local officials participated from United Steelworkers, United Transportation Union, International Association of Machinists, United Electrical Workers, and other unions.

Sixteen states were represented, and two unionists from Windsor, Canada, also attended.

Educational panels were interspersed with discussion on structure

and future plans for the antinuclear group.

The Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, which organized the April 26 antinuclear march on Washington, recently dissolved. So the meeting here voted to form the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment and elected Jerry Gordon as national coordinator.

One session was devoted to discussion of a national labor conference on safe energy and full employment for some time in the fall.

The next meeting of the committee, which will likely make final plans for such a conference, was set for August 17 in Pittsburgh.

The opening panel titled, "Towards a Safe Energy Future," included Charles Grimm, international field representative for UMW District 6; Michelle Tingling, chair of Minorities Organized for Renewable Energy (MORE);

and Alden Meyer, Environmental Action Foundation.

"Energy, Jobs, and the Recession" panelists included Russell Gossman, UAW Environment and Conservation Department; Joe Frantz, environmental committee of USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana; and Richard Grossman, Environmentalists for Full Employment.

The meeting decided to establish a national office. Antinuclear trade unionists on the local level, according to the approved structure proposal, "are encouraged to work for the formation of safe energy committees in the local union and other union bodies, and to participate actively in community antinuclear coalitions. These coalitions should be urged to establish labor task forces."

For more information, contact the committee at 1536 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-7190.

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# Groups set protests against registration

By Suzanne Haig

Picket lines, rallies, and forums are being called across the country to protest draft registration for nineteen and twenty-year-old youth reportedly scheduled to begin at post offices on July 21.

A June 25 meeting of 150 activists in Washington D.C. voted to hold a rally and march from the main post office to Lafayette Park across from the White

House. It will be held July 19, the Saturday before registration.

The meeting was called by the Washington Area Coalition against Registration and the Draft (WaCARD) and sponsored by D.C. City Councilwoman Hilda Mason, Women Strike for Peace, Washington Peace Center, Young Socialist Alliance, Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, and others.

Educational activities will be held during the registration period on various topics, including the U.S. role in El Salvador and Central America.

The meeting also decided to organize leafleting for the entire registration period to inform those registering how to get involved in the antidraft movement; to distribute an open letter to postal workers explaining the action on July 19 and asking for support (the letter will be signed by postal workers active in WaCARD); to issue a statement protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador and to participate in a July 12 action sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the El Salvadorean People.

The WaCARD meeting also heard talks on reaching out to labor by Vince Benson of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; on the needs of postal workers during draft registration, by Gerhard Grieb, a postal worker; and on the brutal repression in El Salvador and the U.S. role there, by Phil Wheaton.

The Twin Cities Stop the Draft Committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul will hold a community antidraft meeting July 20 featuring speakers from the labor, Black, Latino, and student movements and picket lines on July 21 at as many area post offices as possible.

The CARD chapter in Morgantown, West Virginia, has organized three major activities against draft registra-



Militant/Lou Howort

National antidraft rally in Washington March 22. Spring protests indicated great potential for building mass movement to end registration, stop the draft.

## London march vs. missiles

Organized by the British Labor Party, thousands of people marched in a London downpour to protest a decision by the Conservative Party government to install 160 U.S. nuclear-tipped Cruise missiles at bases within sixty miles of London.

A June 25 *Washington Post* dispatch reported, "Nearly 20,000 people from all over Britain turned out for the largest anti-nuclear arms demonstration in Britain since the ban-the-bomb marches of the 1950s and 1960s and the first peace rally sponsored by a major political party since Suez in 1956."

The demonstration came after a recent national Labor Party conference where a big majority of the delegates repudiated a leadership stand in favor of nuclear weapons deployment in the country.

*Socialist Challenge*, voice of the International Marxist Group, reported that "one of the most striking features of the demonstration was the high proportion of young people who turned out."

## ...build massive Post Office rallies July 21!

Continued from front page

this country who have every reason to oppose registration and the draft—youth, Black people, women, the unemployed, Latinos, trade unionists."

"We must not forget," Pulley said, "that these post office demonstrations are only the opening battle. We have to build a movement that can continue the fight and make it difficult, if not impossible, to actually reintroduce the draft."

"And there are broad forces to draw on," he continued. "The most immediate victims are those nineteen and twenty. But we are all victims. There are the millions who will have to register when they turn eighteen. There are the families and friends of all those threatened by the draft."

"And there are all the working people who will be called on to sacrifice for a further militarization of this country."

Pulley pointed to antidraft positions already taken by top officials of the Machinists, Service Employees, San Francisco Labor Council, and other union bodies as examples of the potential for labor involvement in the fight. "And what's being said at the top is only a pale reflection of the tremendous opposition to war and the draft by the ranks of the unions, especially the young workers," Pulley said.

"It's important that we get off on the right foot with the post office actions," he added. "All the people we meet there, and especially the postal workers, should be appealed to to join the antidraft, antiwar protests."

"And," Pulley emphasized, "we have to make clear to those who come to register who this movement is and what it wants to accomplish."

"They should know we are a movement of people who feel compelled to register, even though totally against it,

as well as those who refuse to register.

"We should show the young people going in to register that they can do so and still register their protest. All they have to do is come out and join our picket lines, get in on our activities."

"We need a united movement. Those who register under protest and those who don't register must support each other. It's the only way we can build the kind of a massive, powerful movement that can defeat the militarists."

In building such a broad movement, Pulley said, it is especially important to discuss these issues out with co-workers in the factories, mines, and other workplaces and to bring the issue before the unions.

The Carter administration, he continued, is intent on inciting hatred of working people in other lands.

"Our job," Pulley said, "is the very opposite. We must extend a firm hand of solidarity to working people every-

where. Particularly those who are the immediate target of U.S. imperialism—the revolutionary fighters from El Salvador to Iran.

"Every blow they strike for their own liberation," Pulley declared, "is a blow for our liberation too."

"We can and must make our voices heard," he said, "No registration, no draft, no war!"

Reports on these protest actions came from Andrea Lubrano, David Riehle, Sheila Ostro, and Betsy Cummings.

## NOW parleys oppose draft

Two conferences of the National Organization for Women have recently taken strong antidraft positions.

At the Mid-Atlantic Regional NOW Conference, June 14-15, more than 250 women and men passed a resolution stating "that should the currently proposed registration/draft be reinstated for any segment of the population, NOW will continue to oppose the registration/draft, working actively for its repeal;" and "that in our battle for the ERA, the Mid-Atlantic Region of NOW unequivocally states that forceful conscription into the military is not a right, and therefore we do not support its extension to women; and furthermore we propose that the exemption women currently have from the draft be extended to men."

At the California State NOW Conference June 14-15, 300 women and men passed a resolution that included endorsement of fall antidraft activities called by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft and Mobilization Against the Draft.

## NO DRAFT!

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are campaigning against Washington's plans to send American youth to fight and die in new Vietnams. Join us!

- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, "How to Stop the Draft"—4¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the campaign poster "No Draft"—3¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the YSPZ antidraft button

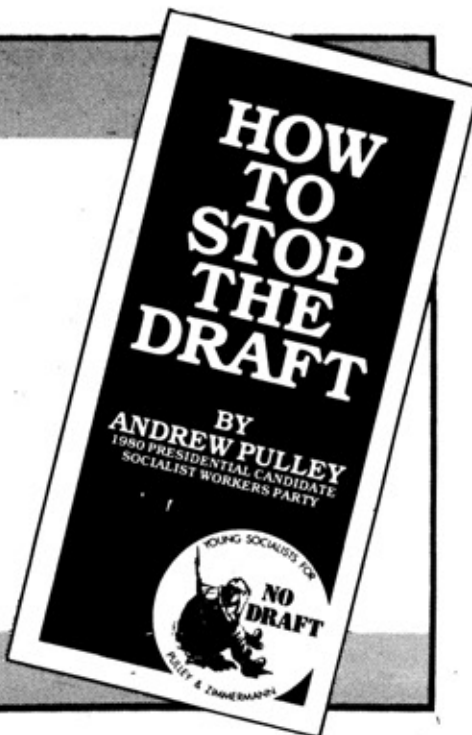
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## Junta responds with bloody attack

# Salvadoran general strike protests repression

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—A two-day general strike shut down more than 90 percent of industry, commerce, transportation, and government offices in El Salvador June 24-25.

Less than twelve hours after this resounding repudiation of the U.S.-backed military-civilian junta, Salvadoran armed forces responded with a bloody attack on a working-class neighborhood and the National University campus in San Salvador.

The strike, called June 18 by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM), was supported by some 60,000 workers organized in CRM-led trade unions, 18,000 public school teachers, and 80,000 government employees. Small businessmen, such as bus and truck owners and proprietors of gasoline stations and food stores, also participated in the strike. All daily newspapers were shut down, and San Salvador's huge Central Market remained closed.

The work stoppage was called to protest government repression and strengthen the CRM's organizational base among the masses.

The strike's demands were for a halt to military repression in the cities and countryside, an end to the state of siege, an end to U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador, respect for the right to strike, and the authorization of a visit by the International Red Cross, or another international humanitarian agency, to verify the extent of human rights violations in the country.

The strike also demanded the release of two members of the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL) recently captured by the military: ex-Minister of Education Salvador Samayoa, and José Antonio Morales Carbonell, who is a son of ruling junta member and Christian Democratic Party leader José Antonio Morales Ehrlich.

### 'People's committees'

The CRM also called for using the period of the strike to organize "people's committees" and self-defense militias in the urban neighborhoods. Such meetings took place in many barrios. Food, water, and medical supplies are reportedly being stocked in many areas in preparation for the insurrection against the dictatorship that now seems to be fast approaching.

The regime mobilized thousands of troops and put tanks and armored vehicles in the streets during the strike. Truckloads of armed men in civilian clothes from the right-wing paramilitary group ORDEN were also highly visible.

There were few armed clashes, however, since the CRM convincingly showed its discipline and organization by keeping its supporters off the main thoroughfares and preventing unequal confrontations.

Members of the military/Christian Democratic junta made televised appeals against participation in the strike on both June 24 and 25. The utter failure of these calls further exposed the absence of popular support for the U.S.-backed junta.

In his June 25 broadcast, junta strongman Col. Jaime Abdúl Gutiérrez adopted a more threatening tone. Charging that "El Salvador has been chosen as the bridgehead for an international conspiracy," Gutiérrez said the junta was ready "to fight fire with fire."

"If it's war they want, war they will have," Gutiérrez declared.

### Attacks barrio, campus

Gutiérrez made good on his threat the very next day.

In a brutal reprisal for the successful forty-eight-hour strike, the Salvadoran armed forces occupied the National University with tanks and heavily armed troops on June 26 and launched

helicopter and ground assaults against a densely populated poor and working-class neighborhood in San Salvador.

Initial reports reaching Managua indicated that at least twenty-five persons were killed and hundreds wounded or captured when combined forces of the army, National Guard, national police, treasury police, and air force attacked the La Fosa neighborhood east of the university and then invaded the campus.

The attack came as CRM leaders were holding a news conference at the university to present their assessment of the strike.

Some 300 students, CRM activists, and journalists were forced to seek refuge in the basement of the building where the news conference was taking place. Red Cross officials were later able to evacuate the journalists, but the fate of CRM leaders who were at the university was not initially known. They did, however, manage to escape.

As the attack began, Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR) leader Julio Flores spoke to an Agencia Nueva Nicaragua reporter and called on "all progressive, democratic, and popular organizations to immediately demand that the government junta withdraw the military operation."

### Worst since Somoza

According to a report from San Salvador in the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario* June 27, "Foreign correspondents who were evacuated from the National University after the attack said that the action was comparable only to the attacks that the genocidal National Guard of dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle carried out against the eastern neighborhoods of Managua during the insurrection of last June and July. . . .

"Air force helicopters aimed their machine guns against the poor neighborhood of La Fosa, east of the university, while air force planes launched their deadly fire. . . .

"Red Cross and Green Cross ambulances arrived at both locations to pick up wounded, but many of the dead and wounded had already been carried off to unknown destinations in military trucks. The army attacked with armored cars, tanks, bazookas, and deadly G-3 rifles. . . .

"Many students who put their hands

over their heads were shot down, while others were thrown face-down and threatened with the fearsome G-3s. A general search was initiated throughout the university. . . .

Some resistance was offered by self-defense units of the CRM, but these were unable to withstand the massive firepower of the Salvadoran military. "The army acted as if it were fighting another heavily armed force," the *El Nuevo Diario* report said.

### Río Sumpul massacre

The assault in San Salvador was the latest incident in the bloody war against El Salvador's workers and peasants that had already been under way for months. The Salvadoran military, armed and advised by the Pentagon, has been systematically sowing terror in the countryside in an effort to break the massive support there for the revolutionary organizations.

The most horrible example that has come to light so far was the June 14 Río Sumpul massacre, which was denounced by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Honduras. Priests from the Honduran border town of Santa Rosa de Copán reported that on June 14 hundreds of Salvadoran peasants fleeing an army and National Guard attack tried to cross the Río Sumpul, which separates the two countries. They were driven back by units of the Honduran army and then mercilessly gunned down by Salvadoran National Guard Helicopters, army troops, and ORDEN members with machine guns.

According to a summary of the bishops' document that appeared here in the June 24 *Barricada*, the slaughter "left a toll of at least 600 bodies, which were not buried, but were left for several days to be preyed on by dogs and vultures. Others were lost in the river's waters, the document said.

"The religious figures also said that a Honduran fisherman later found the bodies of five small children in his net."

Refugees from the terror in El Salvador have begun to make their way through Honduras to Nicaragua, the only nearby country willing to accept them.

The Nicaraguan government has called on the United Nations and International Red Cross to provide aid to the refugees, owing to its own diffi-

cult economic situation. As many as 200,000 refugees are expected here if full-scale war breaks out in El Salvador.

### U.S. hands off!

As the junta becomes increasingly isolated and the revolutionary forces gain in unity, there are reports that Washington has stepped up its efforts to gain the backing of Latin American regimes for outside military intervention in El Salvador.

Jorge Chiriboga Guerrero, a leftist member of Ecuador's parliament, told *Prensa Latina* June 26 that the armies of the Andean Pact countries (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador) are already involved in the Pentagon's plans for a "peacekeeping mission." U.S. intervention "would provoke a new Vietnam, Chiriboga Guerrero remarked, after pointing out that the Ecuadorian people, as well as other peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, would act to prevent such a U.S. plan from taking shape" (*Barricada*, June 26).

Responding to questions from listeners on Radio Sandino's weekly "Direct Line" program here on June 26, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto referred to unofficial reports that Washington was seeking support for a meeting of the Organization of American States at which the OAS would be asked to send an "inter-American peace-keeping force" to El Salvador.

D'Escoto said some governments that had opposed a similar U.S. proposal for intervention in Nicaragua a year ago were reportedly now ready to back intervention in El Salvador.

"I hope . . . President Carter would not feel tempted to do that, much less order a direct intervention in El Salvador," D'Escoto said. "For us, that would be like aggression against our own person, since we are an integral part of Central America. If that should occur, it would produce an explosion in the Central American political struggle."

The warnings by Chiriboga and D'Escoto should serve as alarm signals to all supporters of the Salvadoran people's struggle against military tyranny and imperialist domination. Efforts should be redoubled to demand "U.S. hands off El Salvador!"

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

## 'No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!'



More than 400 people marched from New York Armed Forces Recruiting Center to United Nations June 28 to demand: 'No draft, no war, no intervention in El Salvador!' Action was sponsored by nearly thirty Latin American solidarity, antidraft, and socialist groups.

Militant photos by Lou Howort



## Chicago rally called to save steel jobs

By Jon Hillson

MERRILLVILLE, Ind.—“Gather your forces,” United Steelworkers District 31 Director James Balanoff told delegates to the district’s annual conference June 28.

The reason? To turn out steelworkers to swell the Save Our Jobs picket line called by USWA Local 65 against the two-week shutdown of U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago.

The shutdown began June 28.

Local 65 President Alice Peuralla introduced an emergency resolution to the District 31 conference for its backing of the July 8 protest at U.S. Steel headquarters and at the federal building in Chicago’s loop.

The delegates passed the resolution unanimously, amid loud applause.

U.S. Steel has already laid

off 3,000 workers at South Works. The shutdown, which puts 3,000 more on the unemployment lines is, Peuralla said, “a threat to our existence.”

Balanoff reported that 21,000 Chicago-Gary steelworkers, nearly a fifth of the district’s membership, are now on layoff, “with thousands more on four-day weeks.”

The Steelworkers protest will demand an end to all shutdowns and the reopening of closed plants, as well as “a federal public works program for jobs,” Peuralla said.

Protesters will meet at Local 65’s union hall at 9350 South Chicago Avenue for a 10 a.m. rally on July 8. Buses will then take steelworkers and their supporters to company headquarters and the federal building at 208 South LaSalle Street for the noon picketing.

## Detroit city workers strike against ‘uncola’

DETROIT, July 2—Nine thousand Detroit city workers went on strike yesterday.

The strike was called by District Council 25 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. It represents garbage collectors, bus mechanics, hospital workers, and others.

City workers organized by other unions, such as the bus drivers, are honoring the AFSCME picket lines.

The union has called for a 7 percent a year wage hike plus an open-ended cost-of-living allowance. Detroit city workers have a COLA in their current contract with a twenty cents an hour maximum. This is popularly known as the “uncola.”

The city has refused to offer any increase in base pay and only minimal changes in the COLA formula.

Democratic Mayor Coleman Young claims the city is broke. He accused city workers of holding the upcoming Republi-



City workers picket in Detroit

can convention in Detroit “hostage.”

AFSCME has held to its vow of “no contract, no work.”

The Detroit Militant Forum is sponsoring a panel discussion, “Detroit on strike: city workers fight back.” It will be held Sunday, July 13, at 7 p.m. at 6404 Woodward. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

## Leaders warn of more Miamis as NAACP convention opens

By Osborne Hart

MIAMI BEACH—The NAACP opened its seventy-first national convention here June 30, with leaders of the civil rights organization warning Carter that there will be more Miamis if the economic problems of Blacks are not solved.

In his opening address to the gathering, NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said, “The same conditions which existed prior to the riots here exist in New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, and Houston.”

“I come to warn America today that the greatest danger to us as a nation is not the Iranians holding some fifty Americans hostage, but our nation holding 24.5 million Americans hostage to poverty, economic degradation and exploitation, and hopelessness.”

Hooks said the NAACP implored leaders of the government to redress the grievances of Miami’s Blacks. “We called

for an end to police brutality. We called for better job opportunities and better housing. And we have called for better education in the public schools. But these pleas fell on deaf ears.”

After the rebellion, the NAACP set up a task force in Miami’s Liberty City to gather the facts and make recommendations on what federal aid is needed for the Black community.

The response from Carter has been an allocation of \$71 million. The greatest portion will go to businesses and very little will be used for jobs and housing.

Hooks said that while the NAACP welcomes the aid, it is not enough to meet the needs of the Black community.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was a featured speaker before the NAACP ad hoc labor committee. Kirkland denounced the federal budget cuts and their effect on the Black community. “Rather

than cutting the budget, Congress should be enacting programs that will put jobless workers back to work,” he said.

“Instead of reducing the number of public-service jobs, those jobs should be doubled, and the unemployed put back on the payrolls.”

“Rather than cutting back on extended unemployment benefits, an emergency public works program should be initiated that begins to repair and rebuild public facilities.”

“And other programs should be started to find jobs for our youth.”

During the week-long convention, NAACP delegates will hold workshops and consider resolutions on police brutality, jobs, affirmative action, southern Africa, and other issues.

With the initial date for draft registration approaching, Benjamin Hooks reiterated the NAACP’s opposition to draft registration, a stand adopted at last year’s convention in Louisville, Kentucky.

## Jomo Davis acquitted at last

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—After three prosecutions for the same offense, Jomo (Cleveland Davis) Omowale was acquitted of charges that he killed two cops and a civilian.

The June 28 verdict here came after two previous juries had voted six-six and eight-four for acquittal.

Jomo Davis had been a leader in the Attica prison rebellion. The shootings, which brought the present trials, occurred here in 1978 when police accosted Davis and Mariano Gonzalez, another former Attica inmate, on the street.

The cops began a scuffle, and shooting followed. Gonzalez and two cops died.

Davis was charged with the killings. He insisted he was innocent and that the shots that killed the cops had been fired by another man, an Hispanic, who fled the scene.

At the trial, the judge barred

defense evidence of a police broadcast which indicated that the person who did the shooting was an Hispanic, about 5’6” in height.

Davis is Black and 6’2”.

The judge also forbade evidence that the cops pistol whipped Davis in an ambu-



JOMO DAVIS

lance after his arrest, breaking his skull in six places, leaving him barely alive, and seriously impairing his vision.

The defense charged that the authorities decided to prosecute Davis for the police shootings to cover up for the terrible brutality inflicted on him, and to assure that someone would “pay” for the death of the cops.

Throughout these two years and three trials, Davis was imprisoned without bail.

Meanwhile, Davis faces extradition to Virginia on a charge of parole violation. He had been living in Albany, on parole, and had assertedly gone to Brooklyn without formal permission the day the shooting occurred. His lawyer said he might have to do another year for this in Virginia.

The Brooklyn prosecutor said, “The American system of justice” has been upheld.

## New York City unionists discuss labor party

By Michael Smith

NEW YORK—Six trade unionists spoke at a panel discussion on “How to Fight City Hall . . . and Win” at the District 65 union headquarters June 26.

The audience of about seventy-five people was mostly city workers.

Speakers described the devastation wrought on New York working people by the layoffs, cutbacks in public services, and inflation of the last five years.

“New York was a testing ground for the big corporations,” said Kevin Lynch, public affairs director of the 35,000-member District 65, which is now affiliated with the United Auto Workers. Lynch edits the union’s newspaper, *The Distributive Worker*.

“One of the things we have to do to truly fight city hall and win,” said Bill Henning, a staffer from Communications Workers Local 1180, “is to break from the parties of the bosses. We have to get a party based on the trade unions.”

Henning referred to the talk by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union official Anthony Mazzocchi at a meet-

ing in New Jersey April 13. Mazzocchi, who had been the OCAW legislative director, pointed to the failure to get any pro-labor legislation passed in congress for ten years. He urged the formation of a labor party now, stating that the union ranks are ahead of the leadership on this question.

Ray Markey, an executive board member of the New York Public Library Guild, Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, also spoke on the panel.

He said, “I think that nowhere in the country is there a better objective situation than in New York City to actually run labor candidates under our own banners. We can get together with the Black and minority movements and the women’s movement, straight on ahead against Mayor Koch and the Democratic Party and the rest of those budget-cutters.”

Looking ahead to the 1981 municipal election, Markey said, “There’s talk that Mayor Koch is going to be running on the Republican, Democratic and Conservative Party lines. I have never come across any politician that’s

hated as much as he is, and President Carter is not exactly popular.”

In discussion at the meeting, some people criticized the labor party proposal, questioning the role of labor officials such as AFSCME District Council head Victor Gotbaum or United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Both Gotbaum and Shanker are associated by many city workers with the capitulation of the unions to the New York City austerity drive.

Markey responded to this by urging, “Don’t be afraid of the bureaucrats. Fight them.”

Other speakers at the meeting were Emogene Walker, president of the New York City chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Dwight Loines, president of the Legal Services Staff Association; and Marian Porro, president of AFSCME Local 1930.

This meeting had been organized while negotiations were taking place on the contracts for 220,000 city workers. But city union leaders announced a settlement June 19 providing 8 percent raises in each of two years.

Speakers at the June 26 meeting were critical of the settlement, but predicted it would be ratified by the membership, who see no alternative.

City transit workers, who struck for eleven days in April, went back to work with a very small improvement over their initial wage offer and are now losing \$70 each pay check to pay off fines levied against them as a result of their strike.

AFSCME Local 1930 President Marian Porro reported that her local had passed a resolution favoring a labor party. She also spoke of the importance of the labor party idea for women. “Just like women have to be up there in leadership roles in the unions, when the labor party comes, women will have to be up there in leadership roles too. Women have to be active and this is the only way that our concerns and our needs will be answered.”

Markey articulated the desire of many in the room when he said about building a labor party, “We have the power to do it. We have the organization to do it. And what we should do is just do it.”



# Missouri labor backs socialist ballot fight

By Jim Johnson

ST. LOUIS—The Socialist Workers Party's fight to gain a position on the November ballot in Missouri has gained new support from prominent trade-union leaders in the state.

"While we do not agree with all the political views of the Socialist Workers Party," the labor officials said, "we do welcome the opportunity for Missourians to vote—if they choose—for the Socialist Workers Party candidates."

The June 26 statement urging certification of the SWP for ballot status was issued in reaction to a June 20 preliminary report by the Missouri secretary of state saying that the SWP had failed to meet the petition requirement for ballot status.

On May 14 the party had turned in 26,000 signatures—well over the 18,000 required by state law. But Secretary of

State James Kirkpatrick claimed that the number of valid signatures was only about 14,000.

What particularly incensed the labor officials was Kirkpatrick's declaration that the SWP would be denied the right to review the work sheets used by election officials to invalidate signatures. To deny the SWP this right, the union leaders said, "is to admit perhaps that state officials have something to hide."

SWP officials have pointed out that in past years when the party was ruled off the ballot it has been able to expose the arbitrary and undemocratic invalidation of signatures. In 1974, for example, SWP candidate Barbara Mutnick's own signature was invalidated.

The labor statement was released to the press by Clifford Wilson, past

president of the St. Louis Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Bonnie Daniels, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 282 and a member of the St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Gus Lumpe, editor of the *Missouri Teamster*.

Other labor support for the SWP's ballot rights has been voiced by Harold Gibbons, international vice-president of the Teamsters; Robert Tibbs, business manager for Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 5-6 in St. Louis; and Earl Graham, vice-president of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 30 in Kansas City.

Also backing the party's ballot fight were Linda Woody, Missouri coordinator of the National Organization for Women; Chris Kuehl of Amnesty Inter-

national in Kansas City; and Kenneth Zinn of the St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft.

Martin Anderson, SWP candidate for governor, said in St. Louis June 26 that while pressing its legal fight the party would resume petitioning "with the objective of talking to thousands more working people about the socialist campaign."

He emphasized that a victory by the SWP in achieving ballot status would set an important precedent for future moves for independent political action on the part of Missouri labor.

"The time has come," he said, "for the labor movement to use its power in the political arena, to organize its own party, based on the unions, to fight for the interests of the vast majority. This is the central plank of the SWP platform."

The SWP's ballot fight has gained increasing attention in the news media around the state, including editorial support from the *Kansas City Times* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. A debate between Kirkpatrick and Anderson appeared in the letters to the editor section of the *Post-Dispatch*.

As a result of the mounting support for the SWP ballot fight, Secretary of State Kirkpatrick later backed down from his earlier stand and agreed that the party would be allowed to check the validation work sheets of election officials after the final review on July 9.

Chuck Petrin, SWP chairperson in St. Louis, hailed the victory and announced that party representatives would review the entire validation process on July 10. "We'll be checking the petitions very carefully," he said. "We'll see to it that every signature is properly counted."

He also announced further publicity efforts in the party's resumption of petitioning, which began in St. Louis June 28 and will start in Kansas City July 12.

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP vice-presidential candidate, will tour Missouri July 17-21. Also touring the state in July will be Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and gubernatorial candidate Martin Anderson.

COLUMBIA DAILY TRIBUNE  
Page 49, Sunday, June 1, 1980

Show me Missouri

## PATRIOTS OF THE NEXT AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Change will sweep the country, putting power in the hands of workers and people before profits.

That's the prediction of the Socialist Workers Party. And the first step: getting socialist candidates on the ballot.



Above, Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, puts in her last day of work before layoffs at Chevrolet's Kansas City plant. Left, the party's midtown Kansas City office is staffed by volunteers.

Story by Mark Shepherd

**K**ANSAS CITY—It's 3 p.m., and the parking lot is packed. A few latecomers circle for a space. Marijuana smoke and music drift through the air outside the massive, ominous old Leeds Assembly Plant.

Workers know tonight will be easy: it's the last workday for the evening shift. Tomorrow, 1,500 Monte Carlo makers won't have jobs.

For Martha Pettit, being laid off indefinitely by General Motors means more than unemployment, more than a cash-flow problem. It's another bubble rising to the top of a boiling American economic system.

Dedicated to the day when power in America is swept from the plush corporate offices into the hands of workers, Pettit is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a candidate for U.S. Senate.

Her constituency, she says, is her fellow workers, who will turn to her party for answers once the questions become important enough—once workers have gotten angry. The next American Revolution.

Petitioning on the Central Missouri State University campus in Warrensburg, 31-year-old Pettit approaches two janitors unloading a truck. One listens and agrees to sign. The other is skeptical.

"Socialist Workers Party?" he says. "Don't sign it, Jim. Don't sign it—that's communistic. You'll be blackballed by the government."

The first signs anyway. "Well, I ain't touching nothing socialist," the skeptic continues. "That's Russian."

Such are the misconceptions with which the Socialist Workers must deal, the heavy connotations the word "socialism" carries: grey silent conformity, violent class struggle, totalitarianism.

Socialism is rooted in Karl Marx's theory outlined more than 100 years ago: in the waves of dynamic social history, the majority of workers will topple the minority ruling class.

But while based in Marxist doctrine, the views of the Socialist Workers Party differ from those of communists in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Communists here, the socialists say, don't want revolution in America. They support the status quo: detente between the Soviet Union and a stable capitalist world.

And while totalitarianism is the rule in most socialist states, the party here believes in democratic freedom. "The opinion of socialism given by the American news media and educational system and those with wealth is strict dictatorship," says party member Martin Anderson. "That certainly doesn't help our cause."

Marx believed that inevitably workers would establish an economy based on social



The party addresses problems of inflation, energy, civil rights and foreign policy.

## 'Patriots of the next American revolution'

On June 1 the 'Columbia Daily Tribune' in Missouri ran a two-page feature article on Martha Pettit's campaign for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Following are excerpts from the story by reporter Mark Shepherd. Accompanying photos are by Louie Psihoyos of the 'Tribune.'

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Continued on next page

Above shows how a Missouri daily paper featured the SWP election campaign in a two-page story.



# Holds corporation responsible Mo. socialist denounces chemical dumping

By Donna Mistler

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Martha Pettit, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri, toured the communities of Aurora and Verona in the southwestern area of the state June 11 and 12 to speak to people about the problems posed by the dumping of toxic chemicals on farmland in their vicinity.

Improper dumping of the wastes, including the deadly chemical dioxin, took place almost a decade ago. But this fact was revealed to the public only recently after Herb Ayers, a former employee of Syntex Agribusiness, Inc., exposed the chemical company's dump site.

Syntex denies any responsibility in the matter, attributing all the dumping to the now-defunct North Eastern Pharmaceutical and Chemical Company, which had leased part of Syntex's plant in Verona.

When Pettit talked to Ayers, however, he pointed out that the workers at North Eastern had received their paychecks from Syntex.

North Eastern "was a dummy corporation," Pettit told the *Kansas City Star* after her fact-finding tour.

"Syntex is the one ultimately responsible. The blame needs to be placed squarely on Syntex."

The *Star* then reported that Godfrey Moll, vice-president of Syntex, "con-

firmed Saturday [June 14] that North Eastern workers had received their paychecks from Syntex."

On her tour Pettit found that residents of the quiet farming communities have begun to fight back against Syntex.

Cheryl Briggs of Verona told of organizing the first town meeting that took up the dumping issue. It drew 125 of the 500 residents.

Linda Stevens, also of Verona, helped organize a local effort to examine the effects that dioxin has had on the community. To change things, she said, it "has to be a collective thing. People need to get active."

Residents feel they have been lied to by the Environmental Protection Agency, Briggs explained. "The EPA

hasn't informed the people." Now the EPA and state officials say there is "no cause for alarm" and drag their feet about checking other dump sites that, according to Ayers, may also contain dioxin.

Pettit explained the socialists' platform to fight back: the records of all chemical and waste disposal companies should be opened to public inspection, and the chemical industry should be nationalized and the decision-making taken out of the hands of corporate profiteers.

"When profits are the bottom line, it is the working people who suffer," declared Pettit.

Working conditions at the Syntex plants in Verona and Springfield are another source of concern, said Ayers,

who worked at Syntex for ten years before being fired for shutting down a chemical reactor that was overheating.

Syntex, he said, chooses plant sites located along flood plains "so they'll get a cleaning out once a year." Barrels that had once contained some of the most toxic chemicals known have been found floating downstream. Syntex simply asks residents to return the barrels to the plant. And after floods he has seen workers in the plant wading around in dioxin.

Thirteen Syntex employees were recently sent to the company clinic for medical tests, complaining of numbness in the hands, severe headaches, and nausea. The company clinic attributed their problems to arthritis, stress, and mental illness. Evidence of sickness developing in young people after coming to work at Syntex is ignored.

Ayers believes that it's time for the workers "to stand up and be counted. They can't trust the company and the things they do."

Pettit said, "There is plenty of money available for the full medical testing of residents of Aurora, Verona, and the surroundings, and for detoxification of the area. That money can be found in the bloated federal military budget. It should be put to use not for destruction, but for cleaning up the area and making it safe for humans."



Militant/Jim Altenberg  
Local radio, left, interviews Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, outside Syntex plant in Springfield. Herb Ayers, right, exposed toxic dumping by Syntex.

## ... patriots

Continued from preceding page  
opinion of socialism given by the American news media and educational system and those with wealth is strict dictatorships," says party member Martin Anderson. "That certainly doesn't help our cause."

\* \* \*

Pettit, who hopes to challenge Sen. Tom Eagleton for his seat, became politically active in the early 1970s. At Wayne State University, she got involved in the Women's Liberation Movement and the fight against black oppression.

"I never thought there was that much wrong with capitalism," she says, "but everything fell into place. Capitalism was the cause, I realized, of so many problems. And the cure: build a socialist state."

While completing a master's degree in art history at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Pettit started a Young Socialists Alliance chapter.

When she found she could not apply her degree to earn a living, she took a job in Kansas City at the Chevrolet

assembly plant. Though she earned "more money than I ever saw in my life," she adds, "I joined the United Auto Workers for the socialist movement."

As an active member of the union, Pettit became the perfect Senate candidate for the Socialist Workers ticket. "Every bone in my body is political," she says, "and I'm proud to be a socialist."

The party's aim, however, is to do more than topple the capitalists. The party platform addresses unemployment, energy, women's rights, abortion, taxes and foreign policy.

Pettit's view on energy is straightforward: open the books of energy corporations, nationalize the oil companies and close all nuclear plants.

"Everybody knows we are being ripped off," she says. "Everyone is aware of the skyrocketing profits of oil companies. They are the highest in history."

On the economy, Pettit says workers should not be taxed, and a shortened work week—without loss in pay—would ease unemployment. Money made available by cuts in defense spending, she says, should provide

jobs for social projects like constructing hospitals, public transit systems, schools and day-care centers.

Pettit says auto companies, too, should be nationalized. "They aren't doing their jobs. Four or five men behind closed doors privately make decisions for thousands of workers' lives. Is this democracy? Is this the will of the people or of the board of directors of the Chemical Bank in New York?"

\* \* \*

A problem for the party is getting its ideas to the people. Blame is placed on the press. "The ownership of media is against us politically," Pettit says, "and this leads to a tremendous publicity problem."

"Ted Kennedy's son comes to town and gets a cold, and it's plastered on the front page. There's a description of the doctor's prescription and other interesting details, and we get no coverage of our events. It's totally out of whack."

A problem that looms bigger than news coverage, though, is getting on the ballot.

In Missouri, law requires minority parties to obtain signatures from 18,000 persons—1 per cent of each district's voters or 2 per cent of five districts.

This year, the party turned in 26,000 signatures on May 14. Law allows the state up to 40 days to validate the petitions, after which the party has until September to collect more names if needed.

Pettit says most people she met in her petition drive were sympathetic to the party. And Anderson says its success lies with the people. "This will be a fundamentally American model of socialism," he says. "Socialism without freedoms is a contradiction in terms. The only way America can be socialist is if the majority of people wish it."

Party leaders, however, don't expect change without struggle. "There will be a revolution. Entire social and economic change can be voted in," Pettit says, "but it's going to take an actual revolution on the scale of the Soviet Union and Cuba."

Anderson says violence will come from those who stand to lose. "The American rulers are very powerful and by far the most violent in history. They are armed to the teeth with sophisti-

cated weapons they say are for defense. We suspect all that hardware is meant for the American people in the long-run."

Indeed, the Socialist Workers say the ruling class already is engaged in a clandestine war against them.

The party has received evidence of harassment by the Federal Bureau of Investigation: mail tampering, telephone tapping and attempts to discredit supporters with employers and landlords.

Joan Paltrineri, of the party's national office in New York City, says the government has waged "a steady and insidious attack on the rights of those involved in the party."

A U.S. District Court agreed. As protection from the government, the court ruled in January 1979 that candidates belonging to the Socialist Workers Party need not disclose the names and addresses of their financial contributors, as must members of other political parties.

\* \* \*

If the Socialist Workers Party gets on the ballot in Missouri this year, that will be victory enough. They don't expect to win an election. "The Senate push now is just another effort, like the early abolitionists before the Civil War," Pettit says. "But we will win in the end. We will all win."

Garnering at least 2 per cent of the Missouri vote would be an even bigger victory. That would allow the party statewide ballot status in the next election without collecting 18,000 valid signatures.

But beyond this election, it's a matter of time. The question, for Anderson, is "not how fast can we make change. It's how long can capitalism survive."

Like bubbles rising to the surface as water begins to boil, "there will be continual breaking points that will increase as time goes on," he says. "All our problems are increasing almost geometrically now."

"The breaking points, like Miami recently and prison riots, may come much more quickly than people think. And the response will be natural, not subversion. A natural human response."

Says Pettit: "We don't have to convince people they have problems. We'll be helped by events. The point is that when people see their daily life getting worse, it will be like cataracts falling off their eyes."



Photo from 'Columbia Daily Tribune' feature shows Pettit leaving Chevrolet plant on her last day before layoff.



# international **socialist** review

## Carlos Fonseca Amador and Nicaragua's



AUGUSTO CESAR SANDINO

Barricada

## Fight for Freedom



CARLOS FONSECA AMADOR

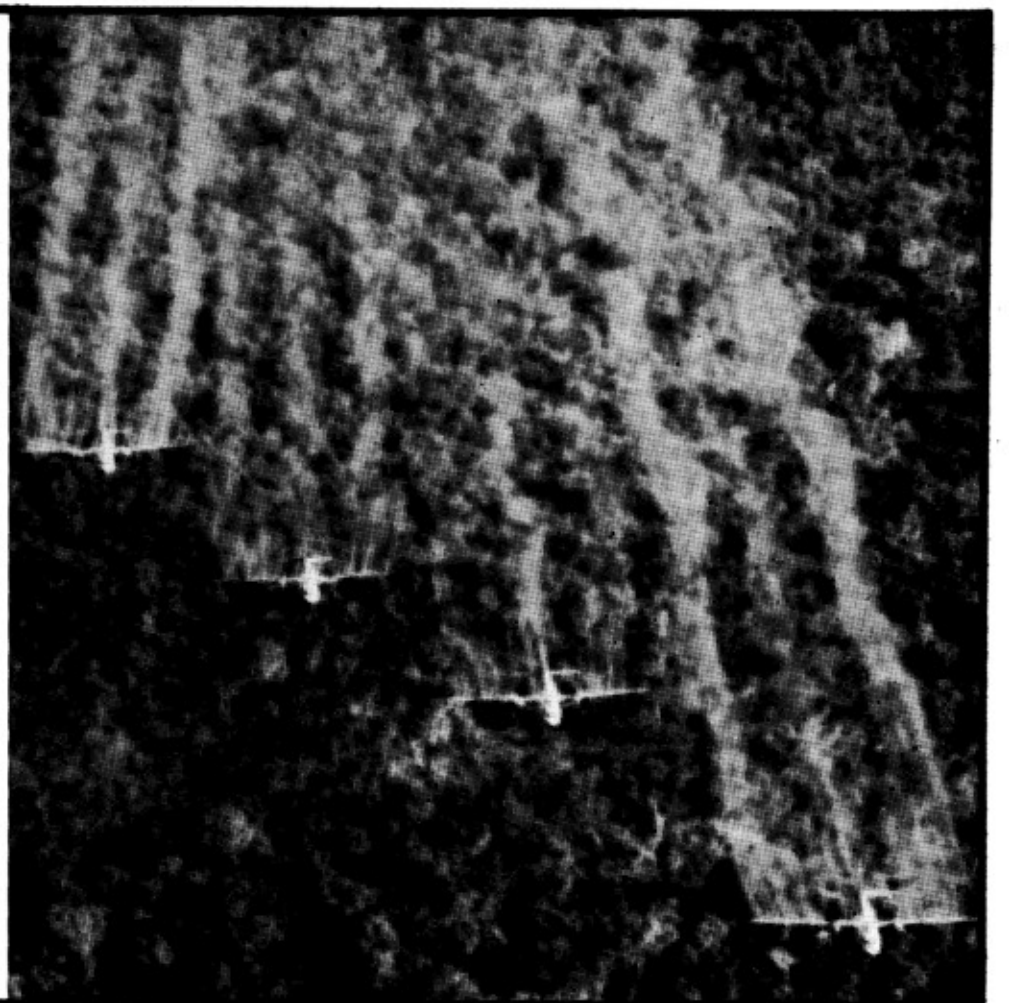
Barricada

By Tomas Borge Martinez

## Agent Orange:

Vets Die from  
Vietnam War Chemicals

By Richard Cahalane





# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## July 19 and July 26: what we celebrate

On July 26, 1953, about 150 Cuban youth tried to sieze the Moncada military barracks in Santiago, Cuba. They aimed to inspire a popular uprising that would bring down the brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

The organizer of the attempt was Fidel Castro, then twenty-six years old. Participants included Raúl Castro, Juan Almeida, Haydée Santamaría, and others who are key figures in the Cuban government today.

The Moncada attack was repulsed, and most of the heroic young fighters were tortured and murdered in the repression that followed. Fidel and others were jailed. Popular pressure compelled Batista to release them. Deported to Mexico, they organized the Granma expedition back into Cuba in 1956 and launched the guerrilla war.

Thus Moncada began the struggle that led on January 1, 1959, to the downfall of Batista and later to the establishment of the Cuban workers state—the first free territory of the Americas.

Twenty-six years after the assault, on July 19, 1979, thousands of armed youth from the barrios of Managua and other cities stormed the strongholds of dictator Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. His troops routed by the popular insurrection, Somoza and his hand-picked successor fled the country—ending a tyrannical dynasty imposed and backed by Washington for more than forty years.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which led the insurrection, came to power. The second socialist revolution in the Americas opened.

In the days to come, massive celebrations of these events will take place in Nicaragua and Cuba.

And around the world, supporters of these revolutions will express our solidarity and mobilize in opposition to Washington's attempts to stem the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean.

Washington's moves included the propaganda campaign around the gathering of would-be emigrants at the Peruvian embassy in Havana and the Solid Shield 80 military maneuvers carried out by the Pentagon in the Caribbean.

Washington's drive took a setback because of the Cuban government's revolutionary response. The Cuban people mobilized by the millions to defend their revolution and denounce Carter's threats. It opened the port of Mariel so that anyone who wished to leave for the United States could do so.

The result was to expose Washington's racist immigration policies, while increasing the mobilization, consciousness, and preparedness of the Cuban masses to defend

their revolution, and those in Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador.

But Carter is continuing to probe for ways of crushing revolutionary ferment in the region. As in the past, Washington will not hesitate to slaughter tens of thousands to prevent the establishment of new free territories in the Americas.

U.S. military aid to the junta in El Salvador—guilty of killing more than 2,000 civilians already in 1980—is being stepped up. And Washington is trying to lay the groundwork for sending troops to El Salvador, using the Organization of American States as a fig leaf.

A military coup attempt was foiled recently in Jamaica, where President Michael Manley has angered Washington by establishing friendly relations with Cuba and by resisting the austerity demands of U.S. bankers. Now he is the target of a CIA "destabilization" program like the one that brought down the Allende government in Chile.

In Grenada, a bomb exploded at a rally in St. George's on June 19, killing two people and wounding a dozen more. The target: Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. The assassination try was reminiscent of the U.S. government's many failed attempts to kill Castro.

The attempts to murder Bishop and Castro highlight an important aspect of Washington's policies in the Caribbean and Central America. The U.S. imperialists are especially fearful of the extension of the *revolutionary leadership* that, starting out in Cuba, now holds political power in Nicaragua and Grenada as well.

The emergence, development, and broadening of the teams of revolutionists around Fidel, the FSLN, and the leaders of the New Jewel Movement in Grenada are a blow to imperialist domination internationally. They mark a step toward removing the biggest obstacle to the victory of the working people on a world scale—the absence of a revolutionary socialist leadership with sufficient authority and roots in the masses to guide the struggle.

July 26, 1953, and July 19, 1979, were milestones in that development.

The grouping that led the attack on the Moncada barracks was not revolutionary socialist. Its aims were democracy and national liberation. Castro was a member of the most radical wing of a bourgeois nationalist party, the Ortodoxo Party.

Despite the military defeat of the Moncada raid, their determined revolutionary *action* set Castro and his associates off from the bourgeois nationalists, the Stalinists, and the trade-union bureaucrats as people who refused to conciliate with Batista.

In the years of exile and guerrilla struggle that followed, Castro and the grouping he led forged the July 26 Movement and broke with the bourgeois parties. Through their guerrilla experiences, they became deeply committed to the needs of the most oppressed and came to see the peasants and workers as the base of a truly popular revolution.

But it was only when, in power, they began to carry out their promises of land reform and basic social change that the Fidelistas discovered in life that this required a socialist revo-

lution.

They found that they had to mobilize the workers and peasantry against the imperialists and local capitalists, and ultimately to abolish capitalism, in order to build a truly human society. They became convinced Marxists.

The FSLN and the New Jewel Movement learned from the experiences that educated the Cubans. From the moment of taking political power, their words and actions have left no room for doubt about their socialist goals. They have acted on their conviction that the mobilization of the workers and peasants is the sole force capable of driving the revolution forward.

The return of the working class to center stage in the world revolution has also had a profound impact on the thinking of the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Grenadians. The decisive battles that brought the FSLN and New Jewel Movement to political power were fought out by the working-class and unemployed youth in the streets of the cities, not by peasant-based guerrillas in the countryside.

These leaders are increasingly aware of the potential power of the working class in advanced capitalist countries—especially the United States. Vietnam showed the role American working people can play in forcing the imperialists to retreat.

The deepening of the "Vietnam syndrome"—Washington's name for popular antiwar sentiment in this country—is a factor that severely limits the rulers' capacity to attack Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, or to crush the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador.

The new revolutionary victories being won by the current that began to emerge on July 26, 1953, create great opportunities for revolutionary socialists in the United States.

American working people are coming under ever harsher attack. The ruling class aims to solve its economic problems through cuts in our living standards, and to crush the challenge of the world revolution by shedding our blood in new Vietnams.

This crisis is forcing working people to rethink everything that the schools, the media, and the churches have taught them to believe about "American democracy."

As this crisis deepens, the example of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada—governments of working people that put the needs of human beings ahead of profits—will become increasingly attractive.

Working people are beginning to look for a new class-struggle leadership, forced to do so by the default of the trade-union bureaucracy in the face of the employers' attacks.

That is making the revolutionary example set by the Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Cuban leaders more attractive also. American workers will seek to forge their own leadership with similar courage, determination, devotion, and good sense.

Defense of and identification with the Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Grenadian revolutions—and with the revolutionary socialist current that heads them—is therefore an important part of creating the revolutionary leadership that can liberate American working people as well.

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International  
**socialist**  
review

Editor: Fred Feldman  
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# Agent Orange:



C-123 sprays Agent Orange in Vietnam

Bob Rand

## Vets Die from Vietnam War Chemicals

By Richard Cahalane

Steve Zardis, 32, is a Vietnam veteran. His doctors say he has two years to live. Maybe less. A progressively debilitating neurological disorder, caused by herbicidal sprays used in the Vietnam war, has forced him into a wheelchair. He weighs less than he did as a youth.

He is eager to talk about what happened to him and to other GIs even though, as he explains, "it's a very emotional issue for me." Zardis is a Massachusetts organizer for Agent Orange Victims International, an organization devoted to helping people who fall victim to the dangerous chemical.

Zardis speaks calmly, forcefully, explaining that "we are not what the cliché of a Vietnam veteran makes us out to be. We're intelligent people, we have dignity, and we intend to act with dignity; however long it takes, we're going to get justice."

But his voice also betrays anger when he says, "we cannot allow big business and government apathy to destroy our environment and to destroy us."

### Legacy of Vietnam

Zardis was one of three speakers March 9 at a Militant Forum in Boston on "The Legacy of Chemical Warfare in Vietnam: Agent Orange." The discussion was filmed for an upcoming documentary.

Agent Orange, named after the orange markings on its shipping barrels, was one of the many defoliants used by the Pentagon to destroy vegetation in Vietnam. The purpose, authorities

claimed, was to deny the NLF sanctuary and food reserves.

Agent Orange was first used in 1964, but spraying with other herbicides began in 1961, under the direction of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency. It was codenamed "Operation Hades," later changed to the less evildoing, "Operation Ranch Hand." The main defoliation units had the motto, "Only We Can Prevent Forests." The esprit de corps of the officers was such that they were reported to drink Agent Orange in front of the enlisted men to show the stuff was harmless.

As the project expanded swiftly, valuable timberland, rubber forests, and croplands were destroyed. Seventy per cent of the spraying was done by the 12th Air Commando Wing from low-flying C-123s. The rest was spread from helicopters, dumped from Navy patrol boats, or sprayed by GIs wearing tanks strapped to their backs.

No detailed statistics on the amount of herbicides used are available for the whole period prior to the massive U.S. escalation of the war in 1965. From government documents, however, it can be gleaned that between 1962 and July 1965, at least 1.27 million gallons of Agents Purple, Pink and Green were sprayed over Vietnam.

From August 1965 until it was phased out in 1970, about 3.6 million acres in Vietnam were saturated with Agent Orange. Other deadly herbicides continued to be used.

In all, write Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign in their recently published book, *GI Guinea Pigs*, "more than a third of [southern Vietnam's] forestland would be sprayed at least once, while at least 15 percent of the croplands also was doused."

No special precautions were taken to warn or prevent ground troops from entering sprayed areas. In one study, for example, of marines in I Corps from 1966-1969, it was found that almost 18 percent had been exposed almost immediately, and 40 percent within four weeks.

Among the key ingredients of Agent Orange are the chemicals: 2,4,5-T, which is unavoidably contaminated with TCDD, known generally as dioxin; and 2,4-D, containing two polychlorinated dioxins, OCDD and HCDD.

Dioxin has been shown to cause cancer and birth defects, and it is highly suspected of promoting hereditary abnormalities.

Scientists have known since 1949 that dioxin causes chloracne, a severe skin condition characterized by boils, eruptions, lesions and blackheads over the face, neck, back, and other parts of the body. Chloracne accounts for 50 percent of the complaints made by GIs in relation to dioxin poisoning.

Other medical consequences of dioxin are: shortness of breath and other respiratory problems; fatigue; loss of sex drive; nervousness; numbness in the extremities; dizziness; insomnia; fat metabolism disorders; liver damage; cardiovascular disorders; urinary tract infections; psychiatric disorders; memory lapses; stillbirths and miscarriages.

Dioxin has a residual effect. It is stored in the fatty tissues of the body, where it accumulates until it reaches toxic levels.

"That's what is happening now to the Vietnam veterans," says Steve Zardis. "The lag effect has hit us. We've reached our residual point, and we're dying. We're having deformed children who are also dying. . . . We want an answer to why our health is so poor. Vietnam vets are dying at a rate exceedingly higher than their peer group." Dying especially from cancer.

According to Agent Orange Victims International, 5,000 Vietnam veterans are known to have succumbed to cancer after the withdrawal of U.S. troops. AOV International has found that one-third of the children born to Vietnam veterans have birth defects.

### GI Guinea Pigs

Louis Font, an organizer for the veterans' and soldiers' rights group, Citizen Soldier, told the Boston forum about the history of military experimentation on GIs.

Military personnel present during atomic testing in the South Pacific and Nevada from 1946-61 "were told radiation wouldn't hurt them," he said.

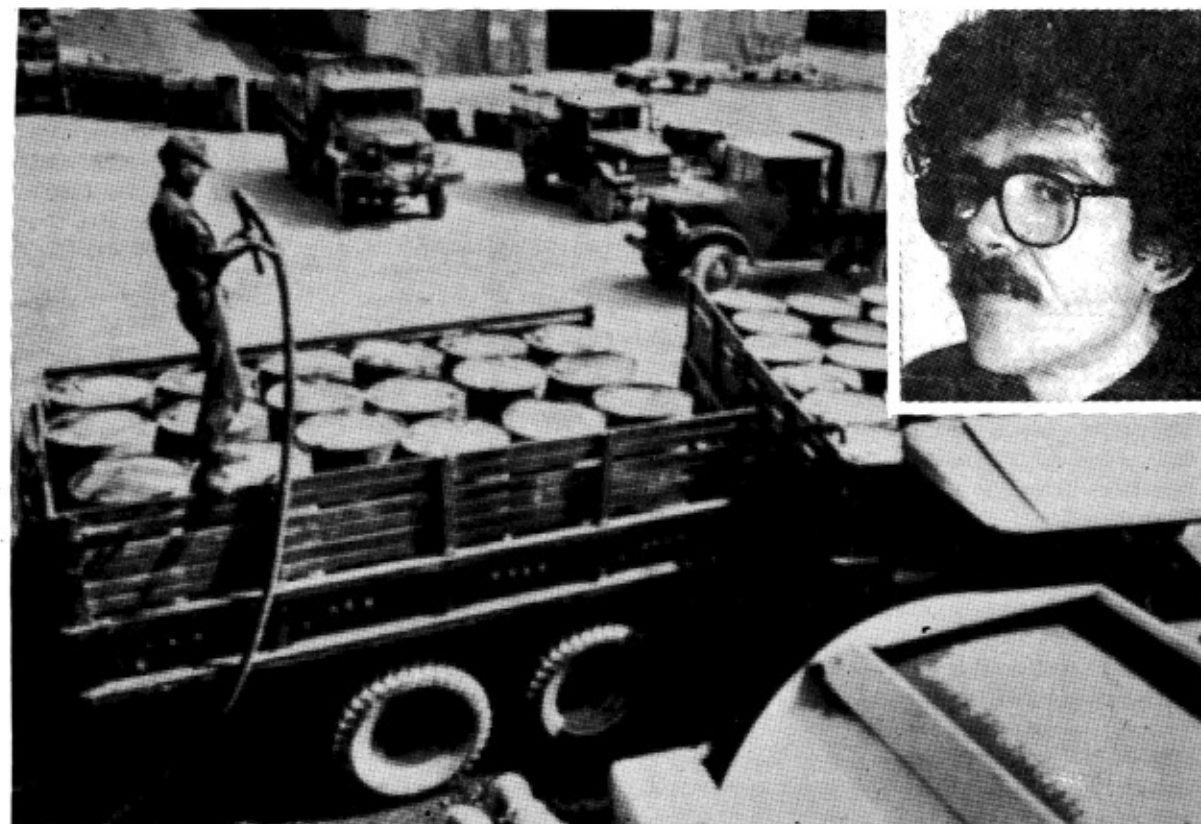
However, "an official record showed that the military knew that the enlisted soldiers and sailors were being hurt by radiation. They did nothing about it. Almost everything else was studied, except the effect on soldiers and sailors."

Only a public outcry over medical aftereffects finally forced Congress to investigate years later. The military's criminal responsibility was repeatedly documented. But survivors suffering from cancer and the families of those deceased still find it hard to obtain financial compensation.

The same pattern was repeated in Vietnam, where GIs "were told Agent Orange was just a plant killer." Now the government is trying to deny benefits to the victims.

Font called on veterans and others to "get together to fight the Pentagon and the Veterans' Administration" for compensation.

He also urged a fight to gain "acknowledgment from the chemical companies and the government of the destruction they foisted upon Americans and Vietnamese through the use of Agent Orange."



Agent Orange got its name from the orange markings on its shipping barrels. Steve Zardis, inset, a Vietnam veteran exposed to deadly herbicide, has been told by his doctors that he has less than two years to live.





After nuclear tests in 1950s, army told GIs nearby that some radiation could be brushed away with a broom.

Terry Bell, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who chaired the forum, described his experience:

"I was in a small helicopter outfit in the delta. They used to spray right over our living quarters, from one end of the compound perimeter to the other, just dumping stuff to get rid of the vegetation so sappers couldn't come in. (It really wasn't necessary, though, because no one could have snuck by all the beer cans that covered the first fifty yards of the perimeter.)"

"I was air-vaccinated out of 'Nam with liver problems. I've had stomach problems since I've been out. Both my kids were born prematurely and with respiratory problems, even though there is no history of this in the family. I have no idea if it's due to Agent Orange or what. . . ."

"People were getting exposed to everything over there. The Hueys would dump the stuff, saturate the perimeter, and then you'd have to go out there because they didn't get everything. You were supposed to go out there and burn what was left over, and you'd get all the fumes."

What the GIs didn't know was that combustion increases the toxicity dramatically.

Agent Orange was also used to clear landing areas. Disembarking GIs would be "rolling around in the dirt, inhaling it, swallowing it." Then they'd take their water from contaminated rivers or pools. Nurses and doctors were also exposed.

Some of the first symptoms were coughing, wheezing, runny eyes, itching and rashes. It

would get into jungle rot sores and make the condition even more unbearable. Few GIs were removed from the field if they complained or showed symptoms.

Steve Zardis was a forward observer in Tay Ninh province near the Kampuchean border from 1968 through 1969. It was the most heavily saturated area of the war, and he was there when it was being defoliated the most. He suffered throat paralysis for seven days, but was sent back into action when it "cleared up."

As early as 1964, reports of liver cancer, miscarriages, illnesses and birth defects among the Vietnamese rose to nearly epidemic proportions, according to Dr. Ton That Tung, one of Vietnam's most prominent surgeons, who practices in Hanoi.

Dr. Tung's medical surveys, which his American colleagues term only "interesting" or "suggestive," reveal a tenfold increase in the cancer rate, especially for liver cancer. There was a twofold rise in birth defects, such as the absence of the brain or spinal cord, abnormal smallness of the head, and congenital absence of the eyes.

Dr. Tung's interviews with North Vietnamese army regulars who served in the south turn up the same medical problems as American GIs who were exposed to dioxin.

These findings and others will be the subject of a soon-to-be-released film documentary, "Agent Orange: The View from Vietnam."

As Agent Orange was phased out in Vietnam, domestic use rose to at least 6 million pounds a

year. Chief culprits were railroads, utility firms, paper manufacturers and agribusiness.

The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that 4.2 million Americans have been exposed to the deadly chemical.

Bob Martin, of the Vietnam Era Veteran Association (VEVA), told how in Massachusetts it was discovered in 1979 that a chemical dumping ground containing 2,4,5-T (an ingredient of Agent Orange) had contaminated a nearby public pond. One result: deformed frogs. The public was outraged, but no one seemed to be able to determine who was responsible. The official response seemed to be, "they're only frogs, anyway."

On March 1, 1979, the EPA declared an emergency two-year ban on the use of polychlorinated herbicides containing 2,4,5-T and dioxin after finding an extraordinarily high rate of miscarriages among women in heavily sprayed areas of Oregon. The chemical companies are fighting against making the ban permanent.

The ban does not include 2,4-D and picloram (also sprayed in Vietnam), nor does it prevent 2,4,5-T and dioxin from being used on rangelands or rice fields.

In the summer of 1979, rural residents of Dennyville, Maine, and Alsea, Oregon, were enveloped in a man-made mist composed, in part, of 2,4-D. St. Regis Paper Company had made a "mistake." The spraying caused vegetation to shrivel, trees to die, animal life to disappear, and women to miscarry.

The U.S. government has officially stopped purchases of the herbicides and has said it is dumping or incinerating its stocks at sea. But U.S. corporations like Dow Chemical and other dioxin manufacturers market their wares throughout the world.

The World Health Organization has targeted several nations for intensive study as a result of the widespread use of these herbicides. The problem is especially severe in Africa where, as Steve Zardis observed, "the white supremacists are using it in counterinsurgency similar to how it was used in Vietnam."

#### Class Action Suit

Agent Orange Victims International (AOVI) was founded by Paul Reutersham, a Vietnam veteran who developed symptoms of dioxin poisoning. In October, 1977 he was diagnosed as having terminal liver and intestinal cancer. For a year he fought for the federal Veterans Administration to recognize the correlation between exposure to Agent Orange and the medical problems of many GIs. Before he died a year ago his lawyer, Victor Yannacone of New York, filed a class action suit on behalf of Vietnam veterans.

The defendants in the suit are the war contractors that manufactured the herbicides: Dow

*Continued on page ISR/12*

## The Dioxin Trail: History of the Deadly Herbicide

Herbicides were developed at the end of World War II as an outgrowth of plant hormone research. In 1948, 2,4-D was put into domestic use as a weed killer.

Until recently most research into dioxin poisoning in humans came from three sources: environmental exposures due to misuse; industrial accidents; and routine workplace exposure. But a thorough epidemiological study—one that defines and explains the interrelationships of the host, agent and environment in causing disease—has yet to be done.

In 1949 an explosion at a Dow Chemical plant in Nitro, West Virginia, that had been producing 2,4,5-T resulted in 228 workers becoming afflicted with chloracne, fatigue, and muscle weakness, as well as shortness of breath, nervousness and irritability.

The first military application of 2,4,5-T was in Malaysia in the early 1950s, when the British army used it to clear communication lines.

Throughout the 1950s, chloracne was reported by workers producing 2,4,5-T in Europe.

Studies begun in 1966 under the sponsorship of the U.S. government revealed that TCDD—the dioxin component in 2,4,5-T—causes monstrous birth defects. Experiments on animals conducted by the National Cancer Institute and a followup investigation by the National Institute of Environmental Health

Sciences both confirmed the fetal-deforming effects. The latter report led the Surgeon General of the United States in April 1970 to restrict domestic use of 2,4,5-T and helped convince the Department of Defense to cease its spraying in Vietnam.

The FDA discovered in 1970 that TCDD solutions of 0.5 parts per million produced many malformations in chicken fetuses.

In 1978 the EPA noted that 50 parts per billion were fatal to test rats after 2-4 weeks of feeding. Tumors developed in 46 percent of the rats ingesting as little as 5 parts per trillion.

Another EPA study on rhesus monkeys the same year revealed that dosages of 500 parts per trillion over 9 months produced qualitative changes in blood composition; anemia; abnormal cellular distortion of internal organs; and impairment of the immunological system.

The EPA's 2,4,5-T working group concluded that there is sufficient evidence to indicate that 2,4,5-T containing TCDD at levels as low as 0.05 parts per million can produce tumors in mammals.

A 1978 National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences report stated that while it remains to be demonstrated that TCDD itself is mutagenic (causes mutations), TCDD may enhance the mutagenicity of other chemicals present in the ecosystem.

Concurrent with these studies, it was recognized that exposed Vietnam veterans, agricul-

tural and forestry workers all shared symptoms similar to those of the laboratory test animals.

According to Steve Zardis, samplings were taken from the grounds of a testing area at Eglin Air Force Base Reservation in Florida that had been treated with dioxin compounds. These showed that toxicity in some areas had diminished little over 12 years!

Further, the herbicides used in Vietnam contained dioxin concentrations much higher than those banned in the United States by the EPA. The level considered safe at the time was 1/10 of a part per million; but tests done on some unused chemical stocks in Vietnam had levels almost 500 times that, or 47 parts per million. The average was 4 parts per million, 40 times higher than the then-officially safe level.

Toxic effects on lab animals have been noted as low as 5 parts per trillion. As Steve Zardis put it, that is like a dry martini made of 5 shots of vermouth and a million railroad tank cars of gin!

These herbicides are transported by rail and truck across America. Like nuclear waste, they are a major danger to rail workers and truckers as well as to the communities through which such shipments pass.

—R.C.





JACOBS / THE MILITANT

Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge Martínez, left, a founding member and leader of FSLN, Sandinista National Liberation Front.



## 'Carlos, the Dawn is No Longer a Temptation':

# Nicaragua's Struggle for Freedom

By Tomás Borge Martínez

This month marks the first anniversary of the victory of the mass insurrection led by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front) over the Somoza regime on July 19, 1979.

Tomás Borge Martínez is minister of the interior and one of nine Commanders of the Revolution in the Nicaraguan government.

He is the last survivor of the guerrilla fighters who, under the leadership of Carlos Fonseca Amador, founded the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional.

Here he tells the story of the FSLN and Carlos Fonseca Amador, up until the murder of Fonseca by Somoza's forces on November 7, 1976.

His description of the origins and political outlook of the FSLN and its leaders sheds light on how the FSLN emerged as the leadership of the second socialist revolution in the Americas.

Largely written in one of Somoza's jails, Borge's article appeared in Spanish in the May-June 1979 issue (no. 114) of the Havana literary magazine, 'Casa de las Americas.'

The title, 'Carlos, the dawn is no longer a temptation' is a response to Fonseca's remark that as the revolution advances, 'the dawn will no longer be a temptation.' Liberation will become not a dream, but a reality.

The translation is by Jan Aragon, Joanne Murphy and Harvey McArthur.

Because of space considerations, it has been slightly abridged. In order to make the chronology of events, as described by Borge, more accessible to American readers, the order of a few paragraphs has been shifted. The 'ISR' is solely responsible for these changes.

The writer of these lines is about as much a writer as García Márquez is a refrigerator salesman. These lines nevertheless have one merit. Almost entirely written in jail, they are possessed by the god of rage and the demon of tenderness.

I dedicate this small effort to my brother Modesto, the most modest, stubborn, fraternal, and honest guerrilla leader the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] has produced, and to the fighters of the mountains who live, sing, and struggle in each ambush, each hardship, in the edge of the sunlight and the dreams of Carlos Fonseca.

### I

That outburst of rhymed poems, of learning to dance, of visiting the opposite sidewalk under a street lighted by glances, of raiding the large estates in order to discover the secret of deer in the sights of a .22, and to compare with friends the delights and tensions of Winitú; when we wrote letters with careful writing only to discover at the last minute that Vilma was Aníbal's girlfriend, and we admired Guillermo because his eyes had that personal magnetism—he didn't masturbate with the gang—and all the girls would flirt with him.

It was the hour of Teresita, with the big freckles, black eyes, to whisper perhaps on Bolí-

ar's birthday: "If there's any enemy of freedom here, the earth will swallow him up. Bolívar is about to come with a whip in hand to drive him out of the temple."

A little later, *Espartaco*, a weekly that sold like hot cakes and in which one would find vague fervent expressions about Sandino.

Who knows if it was because she had black eyes, or because Marina sang in a low and persistent voice. The fact is that thus, suddenly, the discomfort, the chills, the magic appeared. Perhaps because of the river you could hear around her knees now and then or only because she was the first girl that smelled of night and sweat that ever looked into my eyes; the fact is that I was sad and shy.

I confess that it was difficult, even for me, to be sad. On Sundays, it was impossible. However, at night we became sad because we read Flaubert, Bécquer, and Karl May.

When we became anti-Somocistas we read Alberto Masferrer and they arrested us. We left off being sad. We stopped being adolescents who went to processions to flirt with the girls.

### 1934

On February 21, 1934, our national hero Augusto César Sandino and hundreds of other patriots were assassinated. North American imperialism and the liberal-conservative oligarchy dealt a brutal blow to the patriotic, popular movement in our country.

From that moment, our people had no alternative of struggle. Neither organization, leadership, or revolutionary consciousness existed in the country. The traditional parties held hegemony over political life in Nicaragua.



## II

Then Carlos Fonseca appeared. He came to us with his direct, blunt eyes, blue and myopic; serious and cordial, with his expansive gestures and white puddle-jumper pants. Top grades at the Institute in Algebra, French, and the rest; in the street, with his long, fast legs, he was a letter carrier to help out his mother Doña Justina. With a book under his arm for breaks, he didn't wait to see the expression common to all recipients of mail when they look at the return address.

The first meetings were in the patio of the Lala, with shadows of birds, plum trees, and oranges. Soon we discovered Tomás Moro, John Steinbeck; later we found Marx and Engels in the dusty bookstores of the poet Samuel Meza. Lenin was lost in the darkness, a difficult and distant bibliographic allusion.

In those afternoons interrupted by glasses of milk with pinol, Carlos led, naturally without proposing to do so, our first efforts to understand something different from what they told us in the classrooms, in the press, in the churches.

A couple of years before he had wanted to be a saint—so he told me later in the inevitable confidences. We saw him make his first communion in a ceremony of poor children and white candles with gold paper candle holders. His mother guarded them in a big wooden box where over the years she put treasures of the child who grew clearer and more irrepressible every day.

He no longer wanted to be a saint—but he continued being one anyway.

With Chico Buitrago he found *Segovia*, a magazine of strange symbols and premonitory editorials.

## III

When we arrived at the University, Carlos cried. And who didn't? The University was a roof, some walls, indifferent obscene hallways, reeking with the stink from the dissection of abandoned dogs, without anything of home.

Carlos became an ant, a hammer, a typewriter. From then on, he never stopped. He spread subversive posters wall-to-wall; and student and political papers from house to house.

Almost immediately, *El Universitario* (The University Student) came out. In two colors and with huge headlines, it published statistics without metaphors. Some 250,000 children of school age had no schools or teachers (now it's 400,000). Mining companies are taxed only 5 percent for exported gold. They are exempted from even that for farm and mine machinery, cars, electrical appliances, and so on.

Our country pays foreigners who exploit the subsoil and carry off the gold. They leave us with empty pockets.

## 1944

The first leftist groups that appeared in Nicaragua at this time were molded on the ideas of Earl Browder, secretary-general of the Communist Party USA.\*

## IV

By this time we were half recruited to the Partido Socialista [pro-Moscow Communist Party]. Carlos led the first Marxist cell of Nicaraguan university students: Silvio Mayorga was one of the three members.

A person from León who had lived in Mexico joined our discussions. We never knew if he was a *charro* [bureaucrat] or a Marxist militant.

Sandino, Carlos once said, is a kind of path for us. It would be untrue to him to reduce him to something ephemeral, remembered by an annual celebration. I think it is important to study his thinking.

The man from León, who was something like a delegate of the Partido Socialista (from which he

\*Earl Browder (1891-1973) headed the Communist Party USA from 1930-1945 (during the last year of his reign, it adopted the name Communist Political Association).

After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, his name became identified in the Western Hemisphere with the policy (actually dictated by Stalin) of slavishly supporting capitalist governments that were at war with Nazi Germany.

In Latin America, this meant supporting governments that had Washington's support. For instance, members of the Cuban Communist Party joined the cabinet of Fulgencio Batista.

With the first signs of the "cold war," Browder was removed from his post.—ISR.

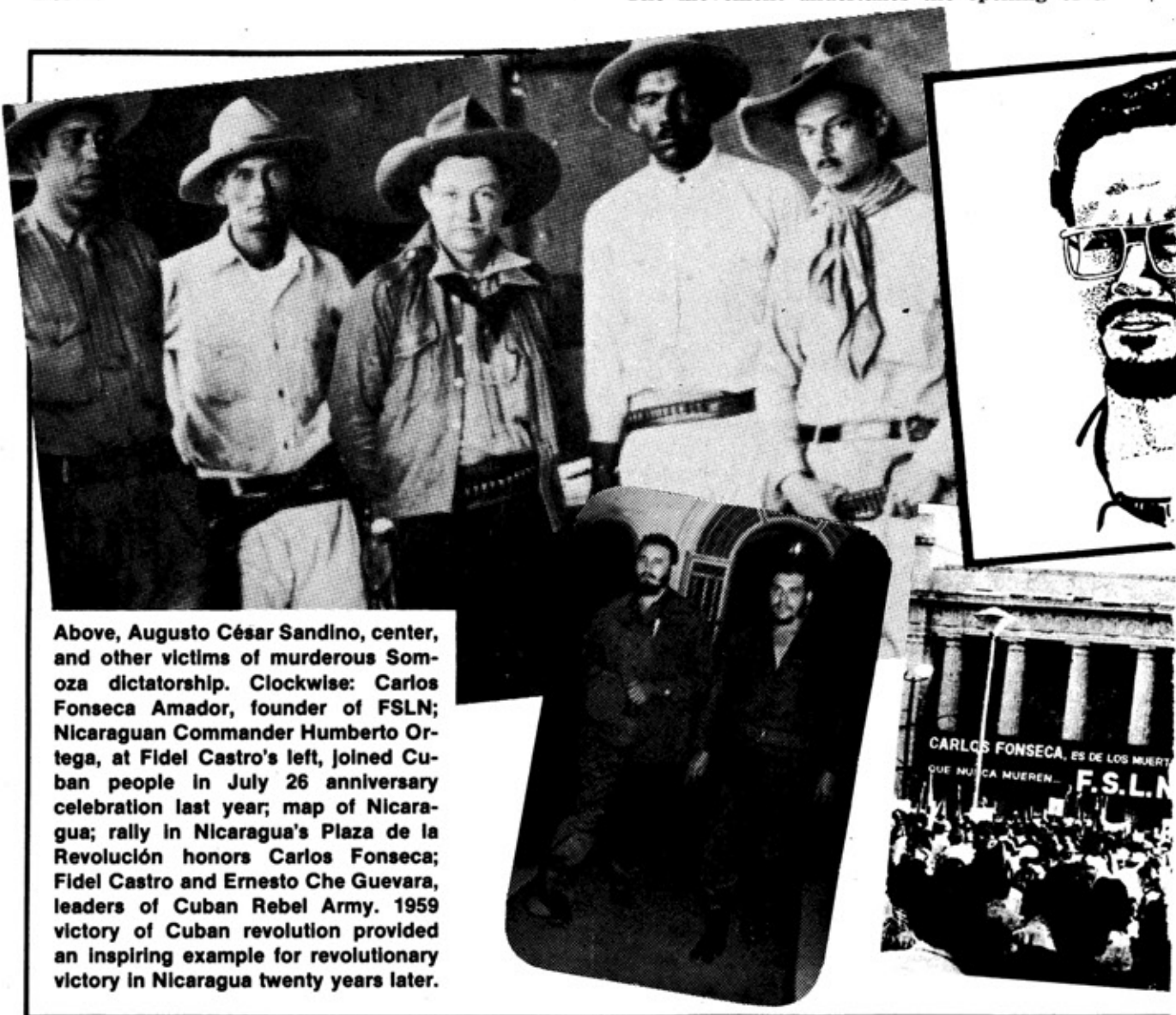
was later expelled), replied with fright more or less in the following terms:

"A path? That's poetry! Don't forget to be suspicious of the romanticizing of this guerrilla by the bourgeois ideologists. Sandino fought foreign occupation, not imperialism. He didn't become Zapata—he did not deal with the land question."

Carlos expressed doubts. He proposed to more completely investigate the ideas of Sandino. I remember the joy and seriousness of his impetuous manner when he talked about *El Calvario de las Segovias*, a book that tries to tear down the figure of the immortal hero.

That was the first entry into our bibliography. It later included *Sandino: or the Tragedy of a People* by the truthful historian Sonofías Salvatierra; a book by a Spaniard who had a long and forgettable name; the book written by Calderón Ramírez, and finally Selser's work.

With rigor and perseverance, Carlos wrote notes, reading aloud phrases from the colorful and rich letters of Sandino. Out of these notes was born *Ideario Sandinista*, a primer of the first ideas circulating among the militants of the FSLN.



Above, Augusto César Sandino, center, and other victims of murderous Somoza dictatorship. Clockwise: Carlos Fonseca Amador, founder of FSLN; Nicaraguan Commander Humberto Ortega, at Fidel Castro's left, joined Cuban people in July 26 anniversary celebration last year; map of Nicaragua; rally in Nicaragua's Plaza de la Revolución honors Carlos Fonseca; Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, leaders of Cuban Rebel Army. 1959 victory of Cuban revolution provided an inspiring example for revolutionary victory in Nicaragua twenty years later.

## 1956

Rigoberto López Pérez, national hero, brings justice to the tyrant Anastasio Somoza García on September 21, so "that Nicaragua would again become (or would be for the first time) a free country, without dishonor and without defilement. . . ."

## V

Carlos traveled to Moscow in 1957, as Partido Socialista delegate to a World Youth Congress. From a European city—Prague—he wrote his mother with moving loyalty. I learned the contents of one of these messages, so full of tenderness, by heart, even though my memory is not so good.

"I am almost happy, mom; surrounded by cheerful youth, with new words; by beautiful, large, friendly cities; we call each other comrades, although I want to call them brothers and sisters. Almost happy, I say, because you aren't next to me to embrace and share these moments of clarity and amazement."

When he returned to Nicaragua, he wrote "A Nicaraguan in Moscow," in which he compiled his experiences, with his usual accuracy and his clean, delightful, and exact language.

At the University he is the permanent representative of the subversives in these days before the Sandinista Front is formed. He is leader of the student assemblies, in the university organi-

zations, in the streets; he organizes the first national student strike, which includes primary schools, with strikes lasting forty-eight hours. "Ordered by Moscow," said *Novedades*. The strike was to release from jail a number of professors and a student who were unjustly condemned by court martial.

At the University he agitates; in the barrios of León he organizes popular committees for reasonable demands that, as it usually happens, became part of the political current.

## 1958

The veteran Sandinista Ramón Raudales took up the guerrilla's gun. He died fighting against the National Guard.

## VI

In 1957, Carlos founds New Nicaragua, a movement that starts out cautiously and slowly. It is, nevertheless, the first step by a group that intends to march from clandestinity toward the light of day.

The movement undertakes the opening of a

publishing house, New Nicaragua. It publishes the works of some revolutionary writers.

This effort, so difficult at that time, takes on an exceptional importance, considering the cultural and ideological isolation to which the Nicaraguan people were subjected.

Since independence from Spain, the patriarchal and oligarchical rulers had patiently constructed a wall around us—reinforced with bayonets and legal measures by the founder of the Somoza dynasty.

This isolation was so confining and petty that when the author of these lines arrived at the University, he became part of a group of students—who later became school principals and bankers—who believed that Haya de la Torre\*

\*Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (1895-1979) founded the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance), also called the Aprista Party.

In 1924 and 1931, he got a majority of the votes in Peru's presidential elections but the returns were faked and he was imprisoned.

APRA was the first movement to advocate economic and political unification of Latin America against imperialism. At its peak it had groups in Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Costa Rica, Argentina, and Haiti.

With the approach of World War II, Haya de la Torre dropped his opposition to Washington and APRA lost its anti-imperialist character. In 1962 he was elected president of Peru but a military coup blocked him from taking office. He remained a leading figure in Peruvian politics until his death.—ISR.



was a revolutionary Marxist and that there was no working-class party in Nicaragua.

In those days nobody moved even a miserable lump of sugar to attract the students. It was four years later that the Partido Socialista took notice of them, about the same time that Carlos arrived at the University. Carlos would point out later, with good reason, that the present-day revolutionary process in Nicaragua was begun more out of shame than consciousness.

The victory of the armed struggle in Cuba, more than a joy, was the drawing back of innumerable curtains, a powder flash that shed light from afar on the naive and tiresome dogmas of the moment. The Cuban Revolution certainly sent a shiver of terror through the ruling classes of Latin America.

Fidel was for us the resurrection of Sandino, the answer to our reservations, the justification of the dreams and heresies of some hours before.

We leave the country and organize the Revolutionary Nicaraguan Youth in Costa Rica. Carlos travels from San José to the Costa Rican banana zone, North American territory inhabited by Nicaraguans and some Costa Ricans; from the house where we were sheltered in San José, to the

Some tens of armed personnel were captured by the National Guard. Captains Víctor Manuel Rivas and Napoleón Ubilla, one-time military men who were participants in that expedition, died.

#### 1960

Guerrilla movement in the mountains of Nicaragua. Chale Harlen, farm owner; Manuel Díaz Sotelo, reporter; Julio Alonso, ex-member of the National Guard; Heriberto Reyes, veteran Sandinistas, all fall in combat.

In the month of June 1961 the guerrilla column Rigoberto López Pérez, which had been able to count on the solidarity of comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, is treacherously massacred in El Chaparral, a point on the border between Nicaragua and Honduras, by a joint effort of the armies of both countries. Many Nicaraguans and Cubans die.

The headquarters of the operation was located in the North American embassy in Tegucigalpa [capital of Honduras].

In protest against the massacre, the students in the city of León go out into the street on July 23. Four students are killed and more than one

#### VIII

We next find Carlos in Cuba. In Havana he had a close and fraternal relationship with Tamara Bunke (Tania, heroically killed in Bolivia); he made friends with comandante Guevara.

Silvio went to Caracas and brought a group of Nicaraguans to Cuba; in the jubilant streets of Havana a whole number of compatriots made their way happily. They were the first Sandinista guerrillas in the military expeditions of Bocay and Río Coco.

#### 1961

Carlos went to Honduras to prepare favorable conditions for our return. In the month of July 1961, in the city of Tegucigalpa, with Carlos Fonseca, Silvio Mayorga, Mr. Noel Guerrero and the writer present, the Sandinista National Liberation Front was founded. Carlos proposed the name of the organization, fought for it, and won.

#### IX

In 1962, the new revolutionary organization meets on the banks of the Patuca River in Honduras. Sixty men who had been almost a year training in the jungle, harassed by deer, raging rivers, and ticks.

The first to make incursions into the Patuca River, where the guerrilla column was trained, were Carlos Fonseca and Colonel Santos López.

In this way, two generations of Nicaraguans were joined, sealed by the historical presence of Sandinista thought. Colonel Santos López was a member of Coro de Ángeles, a combat unit in Sandino's war.

The relationship between Carlos and Colonel Santos López was not casual. The older and new Sandinista generations sought amidst the confusion to analyze correctly the political and economic conjuncture.

The old Sandinistas related their experiences to us, and their ideas fell on soil hungry for these seeds and for new perspectives. In reality what was happening was the replacement of knowledge from books about Sandino with the flesh and the bones through the words of these surviving veterans.

A little later the first FSLN militants arrived at Patuca; Víctor Tirado and Germán Pomares, among those still surviving; Faustino Ruiz, Modesto Duarte, Francisco Buitrago, Rigoberto Cruz, Mauricio Córdoba, and Silvio Mayorga, among the fallen. We had serious differences with Mr. Guerrero, which prevented Fonseca's participation in the guerrilla column. He was forced to go secretly into the interior of Nicaragua.

The guerrillas of Patuca later raided along the banks of the rivers Coco and Bocay, and they had some encounters with the National Guard. Those half-clothed and underfed men were hungry one day, hungry and tired the next day, and several days later, sick with mountain leprosy, tired and hungry. The command was rotated every week: they missed the presence of a leader like Carlos.

The guerrillas retreated with difficulty to Honduras: naked, unarmed, on the verge of starvation. Finally they pulled back together.

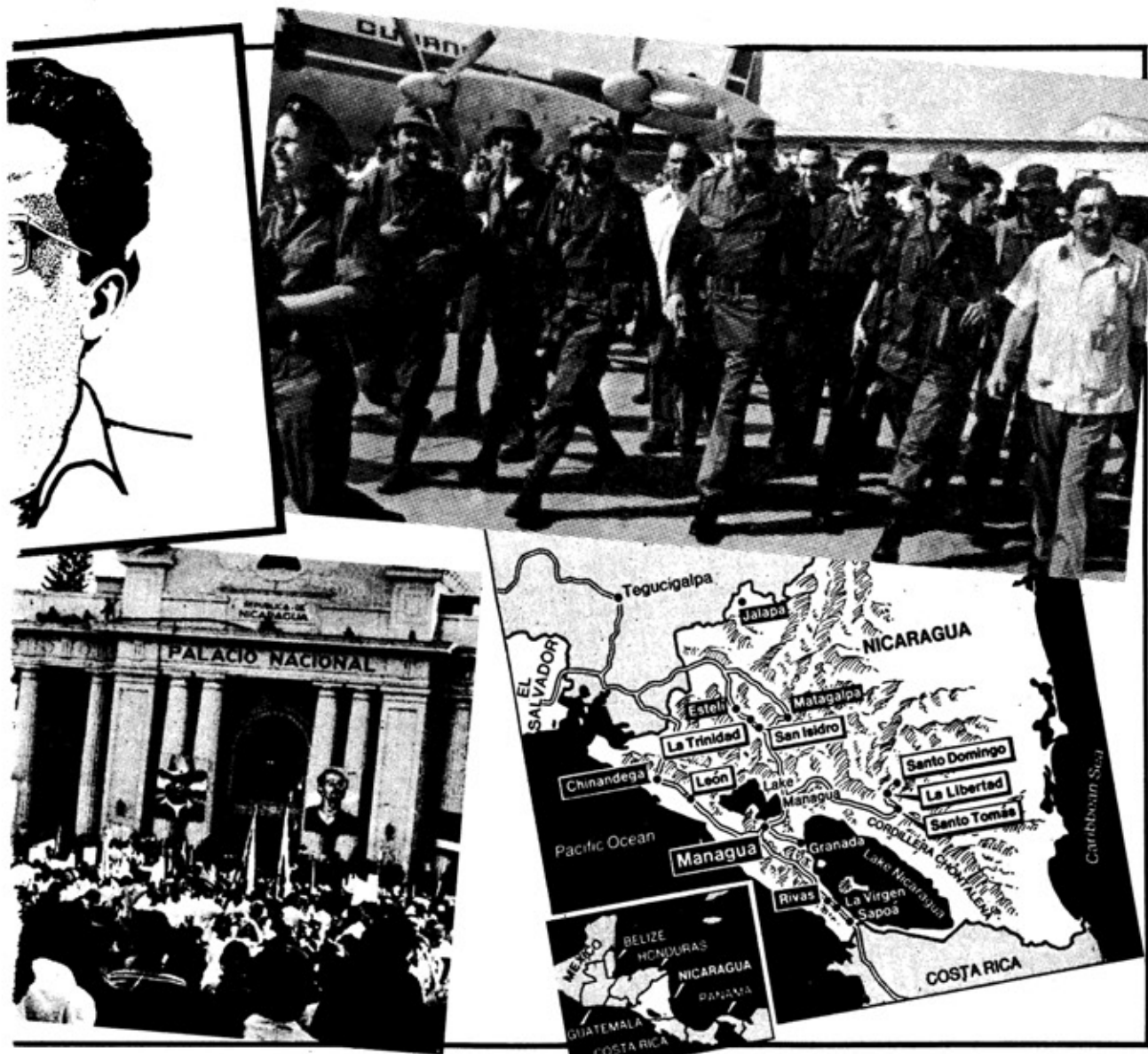
During encounters with the enemy, comrades fell who later became points of reference among the Sandinista militants, of generosity, heroism, happiness, and sacrifice. How could Jorge Navarro not be recorded in these short notes—the happy, optimistic, and severe Navarrito—who tickled us with his stories and pushed us hard to bring out reserves of energy in difficult times?

How could we not see, even though surrounded by the four walls of this cell, the gestures and words of Faustino Ruiz, The Beanpole, who didn't stretch out his hand except to give something, and who didn't say a word that wasn't aimed sure as an arrow to lift the heart?

Francisco Buitrago and Modesto Duarte had a quarrel because Chico wanted Modesto to be head of one of the squads and Modesto wanted it to be Chico. Colonel Santos López had to make a decision between Modesto's closely knit brows and Francisco's laughing eyes: as it was, Modesto was chosen.

One comrade, whose name unfortunately goes unrecorded, pretended to eat in order to secretly give part of his rations to weaker ones. Only those who have known the hunger of the guerrillas will know what this means.

Guerrilla squads are organized in urban areas under the direction of Carlos Fonseca and Jorge Navarro. The first worker and student cells are



neighborhoods where our compatriots repaired shoes and memories. Silvio Mayorga, hero and martyr of Pancasán, was with Carlos then, as he was earlier and later.

Carlos travels to Guatemala and Venezuela; he enters Nicaragua, for the first time in secret. He tries, although a novice, to contribute from underground a new content to the Patriotic Youth, over whose members he has a great influence.

The Partido Socialista, naturally, opposes such audacity and publishes a social note in its regularly weekly paper in which they announce the arrival in the country "of the young and brave student fighter, Carlos Fonseca."

Immediately, he is caught and expelled from the national territory, by express Air Force plane, to Guatemala.

From Guatemala he slips across to Mexico; there he knows Professor Edelberto Torres, for whom he always had a particular affection that we all shared. Professor Torres writes a book on the poet Rubén Darío—which is appreciated by Spanish-speaking intellectuals—and he dedicated it to Carlos.

#### VII

The victory of the armed struggle in Cuba awoke the enthusiasm of the Nicaraguan people and stimulated the fight against tyranny.

Airplanes landed in Olama and Mollejones.

hundred are wounded, machine-gunned by the National Guard.

From Mexico Carlos leaves for Honduras and joins the column that was treacherously massacred at El Chaparral. A bullet from an M-1 rifle pierces his lung. Because he doesn't cry out, the Honduran gorillas believe he is dead. They almost bury him. Neither does he moan on the painful trip to Tegucigalpa.

Silvio and I were in a cafeteria in San José when the doctor Enrique Lacayo Farfán, an honest man, brought us the news of his "death."

I began to cry out loud (now I can tell you, Carlos) and a Costa Rican said: "Look at this kid, he's crying like an ignorant peasant." Silvio, who was also crying, said shortly: "Don't be a fool!"

Carlos was only wounded, although badly. Before the events at El Chaparral he had called by telephone urging us to come to Tegucigalpa.

"But how," I said, "if we don't have money."

"I hope," he responded, "that you have sufficient imagination to get here even if you have to swim."

We were making preparations to march to Honduras when a delegate of Somarriba, the head of the column, appeared. He promised to sign us up for the reinforcement column, which was blocked, of course, by what had already taken place.



formed in Managua and León and the first nuclei of peasants formed in Chinandega, Matagalpa, Estelí, Somoto, and Ocotal.

## X

In the interior of the country, concretely in Managua and Matagalpa, Carlos and Jorge Navarro (who walked so as not to spend money on the bus when he had 35,000 córdobas of the organization in his bag) organized the first Sandinista cell and the first armed group in the mountains of Matagalpa (which was discovered in Carateras).

Jorge Navarro, under the direction of Fonseca, planned and carried out the first act of recovering the national wealth in a bank branch office: the 35,000 córdobas that he carried untouched to the mountains. Jorge read a message on Radio Mundial—filled with enthusiasm and unskilled violence—edited by Carlos. Navarro later set up the guerrilla group of Bocay.

## 1963

In March a guerrilla squad commanded by Jorge Navarro took Radio Mundial by force and broadcast the FSLN proclamation that denounced and condemned the meeting between John Kennedy and the Central American presidents being held in San José in Costa Rica. René Schick, the recently imposed puppet, and Luis Somoza, a member of the family dynasty, were present at that meeting.

In the month of May another economic recovery was carried out by a Sandinista squad that occupied the Bank of America in Managua.

On June 23 the town of Haiti was occupied by an FSLN guerrilla unit; they distributed food and clothes to people in the area after expropriating the commissaries. The town of Gualaquistán was taken. They fight in Sang Sang, where Silvio Mayorga is wounded and a National Guard officer and several soldiers die. Jorge Navarro, Francisco Buitrago, Iván Sánchez, Boalerges Santamaría, Modesto Duarte, and Faustino Ruiz fell in these actions. Pablo Ubeda, with help from the people, got to the Las Bayas region in Matagalpa and began extensive work among the peasant population.

## XI

Carlos maintained in his writings that the guerrilla experience in Bocay and Río Coco

wasn't a guerrilla foco.\* The FSLN, he said, was born linked to the exploited classes like a baby to the placenta.

Actually, the FSLN extended the warmth of its first outstretched hands to the factories, the neighborhoods, the University, the regions of Matagalpa, Managua, Ocotal, and Chinandega. When we arrived in Nicaragua in Víctor Tirado's company, after the campaign of 1963, there were three cells of workers in Managua and repeated contacts with the city's agricultural periphery.

Silvio had arrived in Chinandega when we were in Patuca, thanks to certain political work accomplished in the area of El Viejo. The armed group in Matagalpa was not the child of chance; and in Wiwilí several families were waiting for the arrival of the guerrilla column.

It is true that the column was removed to an unknown area inhabited by a small, marginal population without political perspectives. However, this was a logical error for a guerrilla leadership of a young revolutionary organization that had not absorbed its class orientation and practices.

This thesis was confirmed—Carlos maintained—since the FSLN survived the severe setbacks of 1963 and 1967, in contrast to other guerrilla forces in Latin America, which disappeared, leaving only their heroic footsteps as keepsakes after being militarily defeated.

The FSLN, on the other hand, had been strengthened, in political terms, right after every military defeat.

It is impossible to understand the survival and development of the Sandinista organization without taking into account the obvious architecture of its roots in the attacked and exploited sectors of our country.

## 1964

The work in the mountains grew under the direction of Rigoberto Cruz—the legendary Pablo

\*A *foco* is a definite, more or less permanent, rural base camp for the guerrillas, as distinguished from permanently mobile columns or urban guerrillas. In the debates of the 1960s over strategy and tactics among Latin American revolutionists, *foquistas* held that even a small group could and should maintain a permanent base camp if it was in a sufficiently isolated region with natural protection from sudden military attacks. Critics said this approach would lead to isolation from the peasant and urban masses.—ISR.

Ubeda—with the participation of Carlos Reyna, Fausto García, and Carlos Tinoco. This work extended to the regions around Matagalpa, Jinotega, and Zelaya.

Sandinista cells and unions were organized in Uluse, El Bijao, La Tronca, Agua María, Cerro Colorado, Cuskaguas, Yaosca, El Carmen, Cubalí, Guasclala, El Garrobo, El Kun, El Naranjo, El Ocote, Pila Grande, Pancasán, and El Tuma. Schools for learning to read were organized in the mountains and peasants were sent to Managua, where there was an effort to give them revolutionary training.

## XII

From 1963 on, Carlos Fonseca's authority as leader of the FSLN solidified. The course of the military campaign of Río Coco and Bocay forced a retreat that led us to give particular importance to work in the neighborhoods surrounding Managua and other cities. This work, as is known, was carried out together with the Partido Socialista and the defunct Republican Mobilization.

In this work the style of debate and recrimination predominated. Fortunately, the FSLN didn't abandon the mountains or the outlying regions.

The first of each month Carlos met with Rigoberto Cruz (Pablo Ubeda) and other cadres who had made significant efforts to organize peasants in El Bijao, La Tronca, and Uluse, mountainous regions of the department of Matagalpa: union, but also political organizations that shaped the basic conditions of the present-day guerrilla movement.

Carlos said that the movement in Río Coco and Bocay was the first battle prepared by a group that was homogeneous politically. It was—he added—a kind of test for the revolutionary sector.

Carlos indicated, in some of his writings, that the defeat of Río Coco pushed the FSLN to take positions clothed in reformism.

The armed struggle wasn't abandoned—he clarifies in *The Zero Hour*\*—but it was interrupted for awhile by the practical work of preparation. The factor—he added in the same reflec-

\**Nicaragua hora cero* (Nicaragua: The Zero Hour) by Carlos Fonseca Amador appeared in the Spanish-language edition of *Tricontinental*, no. 14, 1969, published in Havana. The ISR has not been able to locate an English-language edition of this issue of *Tricontinental*.—ISR.

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tions—that contributed to this weakness was that the defeat of 1963 coincided with a decline in the anti-Somoza struggle.

The FSLN leadership didn't succeed in understanding that this decline was only partial, that the revolutionary struggle was moving toward maturity. In 1964-65 the FSLN employed almost all of its energies in the city on open work among the masses, particularly in the outlying neighborhoods of Managua and León.

On the other hand, intense work was carried out to form secret bases of support in rural areas and the mountains.

The architect of this work was Rigoberto Cruz (Pablo Ubeda). From being a worker he disguised himself as a *curandero* [an unlicensed folk-doctor] and took on peasant mannerisms in his speech. This was his way of covering the difficult terrain of Matagalpa. From the standpoint of political and ideological outlook, Pablo Ubeda remained a worker.

### XIII

In 1965 Carlos was captured in a neighborhood on the outskirts of Managua, together with Víctor Tirado López. Sentenced under the Quintana Law, he spent six months in jail. A sweet and slender young woman, María Haydée Terán, came to visit. In jail he wrote a brave document—*I Accuse*. Upon completing the sentence he was exiled—once again by express plane—to Guatemala. He was exiled to El Petén, where he became friends with Lieutenant Luis Turcios Lima, future commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Guatemala.

Turcios presented him with several books on military tactics. Carlos escaped to Mexico, where he married María Haydée Terán.

Leaving his wife and children under the fraternal protection of the Cuban people, he returned to Nicaragua in 1966.

### 1966

In 1966 practical steps were taken—as Carlos said in *The Zero Hour*—to reinstitute armed activity.

The convention of the Liberal Nationalist Party, where Anastasio Somoza Debayle was proclaimed candidate for president, was sabotaged. Economic recoveries were carried out against numerous banks around the country.

A group of Sandinistas led by Oscar Turcios participated in a military training program provided by the Guatemalan guerrilla movement led by Luis Turcios Lima.

In that year the Sandinista Front became conscious of the detour that had been taken after the defeats of 1963.

The Front proceeded to prepare the guerrilla base of Panasán. Although these preparations constituted progress in regard to organized work in comparison with the armed movement of the FSLN in 1963, it didn't represent serious progress in military and political tactics.

There was a notable organizational step forward because now there was no longer the customary preparation of the armed movement in a neighboring country, with the problem of distance in keeping an eye on the principal enemy. The armed movement was being prepared in the mountains situated in the center of the country itself.

In the spurs of the Dariense Range, the FSLN worked on forming a guerrilla base. The bank recovery operations continued and a communication from the Sandinista Front appeared that denounced the electoral farce.

On January 22 an anti-Somoza demonstration was machine-gunned and more than 400 people died.

In September the National Guard penetrated into the mountains of the Dariense Range.

The peasant population was repressed. The peasant leaders Eufresinio Dávila, Eucadio Picado, Moisés Picado, Felipe Gaitán, Fermín Díaz and his five sons were tortured and killed. Armando Flores, a young Sandinista fighter, was skinned alive with a shaving knife, sprinkled with salt, and died after terrible suffering.

Silvio Mayorga, Rigoberto Cruz, Francisco Moreno, Otto Casco, Fausto García (the guerrilla doctor), Danilo Rosales, and Nicolás Sánchez (the Tiger of Cerro Colorado), fell in combat after a sustained resistance.

In September the most infamous torturer of the epoch, Gonzalo Lacayo, was executed in Managua. Sandinista Luciano Vilches, known as León of Dorado, was assassinated in jail. On November 4, in a full light of day in Managua, Casimiro

Sotelo, outstanding student leader and member of the FSLN leadership, was captured. So were Edmundo Pérez, Hugo Medina, and Roberto Amaya. Their bodies were handed over with marks of torture.

### XIV

The electoral process and its bloody culmination on January 22, 1967, defined the differences between the allied political groups.

The Nicaraguan Partido Socialista (PSN) and Republican Mobilization (MR) participated in the election campaign enthusiastically, with fiery demands for unity with the bourgeois opposition—which of course were not heeded.

The FSLN moved its central cadres to the mountains. At their head, as uncontested military and political leader, was Carlos Fonseca.

The guerrillas of Pancasán and Fila Grande put a definitive mark on our political destiny. Sandino was no longer ephemeral, an annual disturbance, but a kind of path.

### 1968

In April, David and René Tejada, FSLN militants and ex-officers of the National Guard, were captured and beaten by Major Oscar Morales, a



Teacher for Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade holds class session in El Jicarito, a farm near Acoyapa. A popular slogan for literacy drive says 'En cada alfabetizador Carlos Fonseca Amador' (Each literacy teacher should be like Carlos Fonseca Amador).

personal aide of Somoza. David died from the blows and his body was thrown into the smoking crater of the volcano Santiago, a deed which had world-wide repercussions.

### XV

We received the news at six in the evening. Carlos had been lost after a military encounter with a landlord-bailiff. The guide who had been accompanying him couldn't find him in the darkness.

The exchange of shots forced us to assume that Carlos was wounded or dead. Nobody could know because he was the type who didn't moan.

Just the possibility of his death crushed us, it couldn't be, not this magnificent one. At least not right now, or ever—we were too green. Besides, he was a friend, a brother, and exemplary leader.

In fact, the encounter had ended with one horse killed and the bailiff injured. Carlos made it to the house of a sympathetic peasant. Fifteen days later he reappeared in camp, bearded, thin, and grumpy.

### XVI

The military defeat of Pancasán, which naturally forced a new retreat, showed that the FSLN was a historical answer, the necessary synthesis to more than 100 years of popular struggle.

The political authority of the FSLN acquires more significance if one considers that after Pancasán the ebb tide of the armed struggle in Latin America began: a few days after the battles of Pancasán comandante Ernesto Guevara dies heroically in Bolivia.

Javier Heraud, teen-aged poet who left his mark on the literature of his country—another Leonel Rugama—fell in the mountains of Peru, "among birds and trees," fulfilling the promise of a beautiful poem.

Hugo Blanco and Héctor Béjar, Peruvian guerrilla leaders, were captured by the army in that country, wiping out an apparently promising armed effort. Turcios Lima died in Guatemala.

It was a hard time when difficulty was the only bread we had to eat. The dogmatists and vacilla-

tors once again found the ironic smiles they had mislaid years ago.

Carlos didn't get off balance, he didn't abandon his harmonious historical obstinacy. He kept on working with patience, joining in with determination, confronting danger and domestic contradictions; absolutely without the touchiness of the critic.

On the other hand, Pancasán meant the end of the remnants of those who had been for guerrilla tactics exclusively. In the areas of guerrilla activity, work was carried out that took into account factors other than guerrilla war.

Political work continued in the regions around Managua and other cities. Union and student activity was taken care of. Ties were established with leaders of the various traditional political parties, with intellectuals and priests.

After Pancasán, we began in silence the accumulation of forces, which slowly sketched a growing organic structure through the city neighborhoods and rural areas.

### 1969

Political work deepens in the mountains of Matagalpa and in the cities of Managua, León, and Estelí. Military and political preparation proliferate.

In the mountains of el Norte, particularly in Yaozca, National Guard patrols led by Corporal Miguel Tiroco repress the peasant population. Assassinations, rapes, tortures, and the burning of huts multiply. In Costa Rica, through joint activities of the Security organizations of that country and of Nicaragua, some Sandinista leaders, including Carlos Fonseca, Oscar Turcios, Humberto Ortega, Henry Ruiz, and Tomás Borge, are captured.

On July 14, the home of national leader of the FSLN Julio Buitrago is discovered and attacked by more than 400 troops of the National Guard, backed by artillery and air cover.

Julio Buitrago resists until death, for more than three hours. It was a battle of one man against an army. Referring to this action, it was said that there could be men in the world as heroic as, but not more heroic than Julio Buitrago.

That same day, Marco Antonio Rivera, Aníbal Castrillo, and Alesio Blandón fall in action.

This event provokes admiration and a profound respect for the FSLN. Numerous youth ask to join the Sandinista ranks.

On December 23, two Sandinista squads attack the Alajuela barracks in Costa Rica and manage to liberate Carlos Fonseca, but after various armed confrontations with the repressive forces the action is not a great hit.

### XVII

All the houses were burned. Lesbia, who knew the last safe hiding place, was taken prisoner. We left to search with Velia for a place to hide. We found an abandoned house where the rats were as big as cats, and the holes in the walls were like windows. Carlos stretched his long legs on the floor; we gave the only quilt to Velia. A week later we had five safe houses in the barrio.

### XVIII

In 1969 the leadership of the FSLN is reorganized: Carlos is named secretary general; the program and the statutes are published; Carlos writes *The Zero Hour*. He travels from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, vowing to drive forward a new guerrilla campaign that rises up in Bijao and Zinica, but is unexpectedly captured by the tica police. He is rescued by force in the well-known assault on the Alajuela prison, but is recaptured.

Carlos Agüero leads the action that finally wins Fonseca's freedom, and he leaves for Cuba, where he stays for some years, without losing contact with Nicaragua and the FSLN.

In Cuba he writes *Viva Sandino*, a book that has still not circulated in Nicaragua, a serious analysis of our unknown historical dimension. In public writings in the magazine *Tricontinental*, he launches the demand to organize the masses throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The FSLN puts on long pants to visit mountains, villages, districts, *barrios laterales* [poor neighborhoods], factories, universities, and schools. We grow, at that time, too rapidly.

### XIX

During some of those conversations where we consumed cigarettes, coffee, and the dawn, Carlos would tell us, referring to the role of the



working class and the peasants and of the petty bourgeoisie, that ever since the FSLN has been more than a name—and even before—we have maintained that the working class is destined by history to lead the victorious revolution. What is even more important, despite the limitations imposed by the economic development of the country, our organization always sought, and often found a base for itself in the factories and other centers of production.

Underestimating the role of the peasants—in this country of abused, hungry, and dispossessed peasants, with a tradition of armed struggle—would be, in practice, to renounce revolutionary violence, to seek an easy transition to legality, to give in to the enemy, to rest on the blood of our martyrs.

The working class, of course, is not a metaphor; it is far from being an abstraction. It exists in specific areas. One can reach it by way of the streets laden with the unsatisfied demands of the *barrios laterales*. Reality often demands that the route of a political cadre toward the centers of production pass through the rural areas.

The National Leadership of the FSLN has been demanding that the intermediate cadres pay special attention to the factories and also to the workers outside of the factories: in the barrios. On one occasion where we reviewed the social origins of our militants in one region, almost all were workers in some center of production.

The armed detachment in the mountains—the vanguard point and the guarantee of the process—has in its ranks a significant percentage of workers, independently of the fact that going to the mountains means proletarianization.

Worker elements who have distinguished themselves for their resoluteness and ability are placed as leaders of the masses, as chiefs of columns, as heads of a region or zone.

The working class—as Fonseca maintained with similar phrases—does not spontaneously occupy the vanguard position. The greater or lesser ease with which the working class realizes its historical role depends on different factors: the industrial development, the political level of the masses, the abilities of the revolutionaries.

The organized revolutionary movement is, ultimately, the energy that unleashes the conscious participation of the working class.

## 1970

A considerable number of Sandinistas meet in the mountains, in their majority peasants, situating themselves in the mountainous zone of El Bijao, in the department of Matagalpa.

On January 2, a Sandinista squad led by the poet Leonel Rugama, and in which participate Róger Núñez and Mauricio Hernández, amongst other fighters, carry out an action of economic recovery against the bank branch of El Arbolito, in Managua.

On January 15, the safe house of the poet Leonel Rugama, the best of his generation, of Róger Núñez, and of Mauricio Hernández is discovered. More than three hundred soldiers of the National Guard with helicopters and tanks surround it.

The three Sandinistas with their simple weapons fight heroically, and the rattle of the machine guns and the shots of the tanks do not silence the songs of war and the shouts of combat until they die riddled with wounds in the midst of smoking ruins. Thousands of people support the guerrillas with the cry of "*Patria Libre o Morir*" (Free homeland or death).

In February, at the time of another anniversary of the assassination of the national hero Augusto César Sandino, Sandinista squads set off explosive devices in the homes of military leaders and Somocista politicians. On February 21, a Sandinista squad broadcasts a communication of the FSLN over Radio Mundial.

In that same month the "Pablo Ubeda column" is detected, camped near the Maslala River. Two hundred National Guard troops penetrate into the mountains and send three patrols from different points to where the guerrilla camp is sited. One, a patrol of forty members of the National Guard that had entered by the district of Las Vallas, is stopped by the fire of a Sandinista reservist stationed a short distance from the dwellings. The enemy suffers one wounded.

The camp is evacuated by the guerrillas and by the women and children that accompany them. The bulk of the guerrillas reunite in the mountains of El Bijao, where the leader Oscar Turcios is present.

The enemy carries out an intense campaign of



Dedicated Sandinistas like those above fought in spirit of Carlos Fonseca in ousting U.S. imperialist-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, center, thus ending his bloody rule.

surveillance and repression against the peasant population. Local police agents assassinate the Sandinista fighters Luis "Cabo" Bernáñez and Jesús Méndez, both peasants.

A National Guard patrol assassinates nineteen members of the Moncada family in Wamblán. In Bilambé they assassinate Alfonso Tórrez and two workers and rape two peasant girls of the Martínez family.

Upon accusations by the landlord Marcelino Castro, a National Guard patrol captures various young peasants in the hacienda La Gloria near the hacienda El Carmen. All members of the Ramos family are tortured to death: Julio, thirty-four years old; Toribio, twenty-five; Doroteo, eighteen; Julián, fourteen; and Daniel, nine.

In el Cuá, Juan Saturnino González and Juan Hernández López are captured and put in an army helicopter; in Las Vallas Juan Hernández Sánchez and Gabino Hernández Sánchez are assassinated.

In el Cuá, several old women are captured and tortured, among whom are Venancia Hernández, ninety-eight years old; they capture the young peasants Cándida Donaire Romero and Ángela García, who are raped. The chief of repressive operations is the captain of the National Guard Manuel Sandino, seconded by the lieutenant Juan Lee Wong.

In the city of León, on April 3, Sandinista fighters bring the chief of investigations of the National Guard to justice. The enemy launches a repressive operation in that city, finding the Sandinistas Luisa Amanda Espinoza and En-

rique Lorente, who fight to the death various enemy patrols supported by helicopters.

In the month of May, the Sandinista fighter Igor Ubeda falls after wounding a mercenary of the National Guard who was guarding a bank that the guerrillas tried to assault.

In July, in the city of Jinotega, the young peasant Sandinista Efrén Ortega, who acted as a messenger, is assassinated. In August, as they were going to establish contact in the mountains, the Sandinistas Edwin Meléndez, Orlando Castillo, and Noel Argüello are ambushed.

In the city of Estelí, various repressive agents are brought to justice. In the mountains of the departments of Matagalpa and Jinotega primarily, bailiff-landlords, who had denounced the peasant unionists, are brought to justice.

September 5, in a solidarity action of the FSLN with the just cause of the Arab peoples, the Sandinista fighter Patricio Argüello falls mortally wounded. He tried, along with Palestinian guerrillas, to hijack a Zionist plane in the skies over France. A later hijacking, once again over European skies and in which Juan José Quezada participated, manages to recover the body of Patricio Argüello and liberate a Palestinian guerrilla.

## XX

The eleven-year-old girl was dying, inflamed with big eyes, mature like an adult's; she told us that she did not want to die; she was undernourished.

Carlos was looking at her with a frown; he took her in his arms while my brother paced in desperation. The child's life was extinguished like a candle with a drop of gas, and I could not clear my eyes because my arms were busy while I was rocking her. Carlos put her in his hammock and started to smoke.

## XXI

Unfortunately, in Nicaragua—as Carlos used to say, referring to an old headache—the petty bourgeoisie is reactionary, ignorant politically speaking, and has bad inclinations. Those in this country who come from petty bourgeois backgrounds crack easily in face of the enemy; they do not bear well the rigors of the guerrilla campaigns; they are incapable of maintaining themselves with dignity and strength when faced with hardship.

So it is. After the action of December 27, they were the most enthusiastic revolutionaries in the world. After the reverses of El Sauce and Ocotal, revolutionary ardor converted itself into objections, timorous glances over their shoulders, and finally, flight.

## 1971

On October 21, a commando team hijacks a plane in Costa Rica in which four *yanqui* executives of the United Fruit Company were traveling and win the liberation of the Sandinista leader Carlos Fonseca Amador and the compañeros Humberto Ortega, Plutarco Hernández, and Rafael Marín. The Sandinista Fabián Rodríguez is assassinated near the city of Matagalpa.

## XXII

Carlos ordered us to change the camp site. We arrived at the edge of a clearing, and we set ourselves up on a small crest of ground. At night, Silvio, Carlos, and Chelito Moreno were feverish, vomited, and had diarrhea. Three days later Sócrates, the doctor, arrived and confirmed what the symptoms indicated: the compañeros had paratyphoid.

## XXIII

"Implacable in combat, generous in victory," stated a Sandinista public document. This sentence synthesized a whole conception with respect to contradictions with the enemy. As old as the FSLN, such precision as to the way to be, like the limitless generosity of Carlos Fonseca.

Victory has a high and sad price. Complete happiness, therefore, is the inheritance of future generations. It is for them that we wage war, he would tell us. We must, nonetheless, avoid unnecessary sacrifices, saving blood and tears.

The soldiers of the National Guard, as individuals, are part of our people. Blind instruments, unfortunately, of the inhuman oligarchy and its foreign bosses. If a soldier of the National Guard falls into our hands, not only must we respect his life and dignity, but we must treat him as one of our own brothers. It is better to err on the side of generosity, and not of rigorous justice. What is important, as Fidel said once, is to eliminate the sin, leaving the sinner safely behind.



Undoubtedly, some of those who were happy at his death owe their lives to our leader, who always had persuasive words ready to contain extreme punishments, inspired by repugnance for the crimes and abuses of the enemy.

If we let ourselves be guided by our personal sentiments—by anger, by the understandable impulse of fighting fire with fire, we would fall into the same sins as those we are fighting against. If we want to build a new society inhabited by new men, don't we have to act like new men? If we murder, if we abuse a prisoner, how are we different from our enemies?

#### XXIV

He didn't want us to shoot him. The young peasant had deserted, taking with him the revolver and fifty córdobas. We arrived at his parents' hut. The mother said to us: "Pardon him, please, it was a foolish act." Carlos said: let him go. The young peasant joined the guerrilla forces in Zinica.

#### XXV

In his last declarations written in the mountains, he makes a call for the renewal of our methods of work:

Definite contrasts help to express better certain ideas. For example, there are tasks in the peasant arena that are impossible for a student to take care of. There are proletarianized students who must carry out indispensable tasks in this milieu.

At the same time, a militant who has had exclusively peasant experience cannot carry out certain tasks in the student milieu. This is completely apart from the importance of the militant, wherever he is, being connected in some way with the life of the working people.

Carlos contributed markedly to the development of the Sandinista cadres. He preached, by word and by example, fraternity, discipline, the joy of sacrifice, the unsavoriness of egoist desires.

It is wonderful and moving to see how young extroverts in a country that exports beautiful and witty phrases, surrounded by corruption and egotism, can be serious, respectful, discrete, modest, and impeccable. They fight like lions in unequal encounters, sing and laugh when they are exhausted, blush at the recognition and admiration of the world's people.

At the end of a long process the FSLN learned to give an exact role to each of its members.

A correct type of leadership, Carlos would point out, discovers the positive and fruitful part of each member so it can channel it in favor of the life of the organization, at the same time that it also knows how to uncover the negative aspects of the cadres in order to limit the effect that these can have in the life of the organization.

At the same time he would stress: We must not hide the weaknesses of the organization, even though we must close our ears before the insolence of those who only wish to see a negative balance in the path we have followed.

#### XXVI

Germán Pomares (El Danto) and I trained a group of peasants, various young men and a young woman. We learned to dismantle and reassemble the garand, the M-1 carbine, the M-3 submachine gun and the .45 caliber pistol. Carlos arrived and told us: teach them to read also.

#### XXVII

Referring to the unity of the revolutionary movement, Carlos pointed out:

According to the lessons of great experiences of other peoples, the source of the unity of a revolutionary movement is the fundamental common interests, which blaze within the thousands and thousands of wage laborers and dispossessed in a society.

It is not negative, but quite positive that a variety of opinions develop on a possible solution to problems. This is not new, and has arisen in other victorious revolutionary struggles, as in historic processes that date from antiquity. In the *Iliad*, one sees the differences that develop within a combat group; and the role that older fighters can play in favor of harmony within the group itself.

An aspect of the process of the Cuban insurrection that is not known as well as it should be, is the very sharp discussion that took place right up until July 1958 about the role of armed action in the mountains.

#### 1972

The Juan José Quezada commando team attacks the home of Doctor José María Castillo, a functionary in the Somoza regime. There was a party in honor of the *yanqui* ambassador being celebrated at Castillo's home. During this attack, high functionaries of the government and ambassadors are taken hostage.

The commando team, led by Eduardo Contreras, demands the liberation of the Sandinista prisoners, five million dollars, an increase in the minimum wage and of the pay of the National Guard, and the publication by the press and the radio of communications of the FSLN. The regime acquiesced, fundamentally.

The event had world-wide repercussions and initiated a new stage in the struggle. The guerrilla war in the mountains under the leadership of Henry Ruiz and Carlos Agüero intensifies.

The repression is extended and deepened: martial law and permanent military courts are established.

#### XXVIII

With respect to language between compañeros, he recommends: "We do everything possible to use a persuasive and fraternal language, at the same time, taking care to keep ourselves loyal to objectivity, renouncing the use of evasions, since these latter often contribute only to aggravating the problems instead of being ways to resolve them."

Finally, he asserts:

Considering the errors and weaknesses that we have done away with, we must say that the balance drawn over the twenty years since September 21, 1956, when we reaffirmed the decision to struggle arms in hand, is a positive one. The balance of the labors carried out by the Sandinista Front is positive.

It is impossible to simplify a whole process, but in the interest of clarity and brevity, we will answer the following question: What best shows the positive balance?

It is shown by the steel that we strike in the clandestine urban cadres and in the rural guerrilla cadres. The great revolutionaries have said that a revolution is measured by its capacity to spread itself. In Nicaragua, after recruiting the first peasant hut and the first urban safe house in 1961, it has been possible to raise a column of steel fighters, who are the terror of the ruling ruffians in Nicaragua and the only hope of a people largely submerged in misery.

Nonetheless, is it sufficient to create militant steeled cadres forged in combat? No. We must reply more fully to the question of what is possible to do and the means to use, apart from the organization that has now been forged. If we do not respond to this question, we run the risk that the steel will rust.

#### XXIX

He could not walk. He had sores on his feet and the nail of the big toe of his right foot was ingrown. We arrived at the camp site and Rigoberto examined him. The toe was infected, and we did not have anesthesia. Carlos put a ban-

danna in his mouth; we immobilized the foot, and Rigoberto, with a razor, drew pus, the nail, and a few moans. Carlos sweated, as we all did. He had to rest. The march started at four o'clock the next day, at a slow pace, with a lame chief, impossible. El Chinito said to me softly: What a tough guy the comandante is.

#### XXX

It is impossible for us to make explicit references to the thoughts of Carlos Fonseca; even less to cite from his writings—the magazines, pamphlets, and books that contain the political judgements of our secretary general. They are not, for obvious reasons, at our fingertips.

We point out, in the interests of literary honesty, that the words attributed in this writing to compañero Carlos are not, in the majority of cases, direct quotations. In them we have tried to reflect, the content—and as much as possible the form—of his thoughts. Fonseca expressed those and other ideas at different times during his exemplary life, more correctly and clearly than we do.

#### XXXI

With the example of our disappeared leader, the Sandinista revolution today marches towards the beginning of a vigorous resurgence. Our dreams are rigorously compared with the answers of history.

Sandinista optimism is objective, eager and open as a fresh horse. The revolution that gave birth to Fonseca is a mother who carries in her womb new and definitive answers: the victory of Sandino, the victory of the blood of Carlos, the victory forever, heroes and martyrs.

As we said recently in our affirmations to the Military Court that investigated us, today, for us and for our people, the dawn is no longer a temptation; tomorrow, some day, soon, an unknown sun will shine to illuminate the land that our heroes and martyrs promise us. A land with copious rivers of milk and honey where all the fruits will flourish, without the fruit of discord, and where man will be the brother of man. A land where love, generosity, and heroism will reign, and at whose gates our people will be a guardian angel that, with a flaming sword, will prevent the return of egotism, domination, arrogance, corruption, rape, and the cruel aggressive exploitation of some people by others.

For this we fight, for this has flowed the blood of Augusto César Sandino, of Carlos Fonseca, and of hundreds of Nicaraguan patriots and revolutionaries.

#### XXXII

Our brother fell fighting in a chance encounter. Little by little we have received information about the circumstances of his death.

A group of compañeros was walking towards Modesto's camp. A little after dusk, under a rain on one of these roads where tranquility is always suspicious, they hear three revolver shots. The group retreats into the woods. Claudia, the beautiful companion of Carlos Agüero, manages to observe clearly a peasant passing by merrily.

Everyone listens to the shouts: someone intoxi-

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## ...Agent Orange

Continued from page ISR/4

Chemical Co. of Midland, Michigan; Hercules, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware; Thompson-Hayward Co. of Kansas City, Kansas; Diamond-Shamrock Corp. of Cleveland, Ohio; and Monsanto Co. of St. Louis, Missouri.

It has become the largest product liability suit in history.

The plaintiffs include about 3,000 American and 625 Australian and New Zealand veterans who recently joined the suit.

Steve Zardis explained: "We were struggling to alert the public and the Vietnam veterans of the effects of dioxin poisoning, and also to gain recognition and substantiation for our claims."

AOVI, which is handling the legal action, is seeking health benefits for the veterans who are still alive; compensation for the survivors of those who have died; a medical trust fund for future generations who may require treatment and care; and the initiation of an epidemiological study to determine the effects of dioxin poisoning.

The magnitude of this undertaking is enormous. AОВI estimates that 357,000 veterans will develop symptoms, perhaps 57,000 of them fatally.

When asked why they aren't suing the government, Steve let out a short laugh. "American servicemen cannot sue the government for anything that happens to them during wartime, according to a Supreme Court decision in 1959. We were government property, government issue. That's where the abbreviation 'GI' comes from."

### Dow: 'Dioxin Is Safe'

To cover themselves, the chemical companies are suing the federal government "for damages, if any, for the harmful effects, if any" caused by the use of these defoliants. They are claiming that improper use—not the chemical itself—created any "alleged" medical problems.

In a pamphlet entitled, "Setting the Record Straight," Dow Chemical declares that it "has no intention of allowing bad science, emotional innuendo and political pressure to drive safe and necessary products from the market unchallenged. . . . [2,4,5-T] is not hazardous to human or animal life under normal conditions or use and even under conditions of substantial misuse."

Earl B. Barnes, Dow's chairman of the board, said in a letter prior to a stockholders meeting: "The hostility raised toward this product by the aftermath of the Vietnam War gave it a high profile. This was picked up by a lot of extreme activists among the environmentalists who are opposed to using any kind of chemical for agricultural purposes."

This statement neatly sidesteps the issue of dioxin's use as a war weapon and tries to portray Dow, a major war contractor, as just another poor victim of the unpopular conflict.

Bob Martin responded to Dow's charge of extremism. "We don't belong to any one political party. Most of us are probably registered Independents, Democrats, Republicans or whatever. What we stress is that we are American people, we grew up here, raise our families here, and we refuse to be made out to be radical insurgents. We're just speaking the truth, and basically that's what we stick by. And if the truth is radical, then that's what it is."

Martin was drafted in 1967 and served in Vietnam until 1969. He, too, was exposed to Agent Orange. The Vietnam Era Veterans Asso-

ciation, with which he works, deals with a variety of problems that the veterans face, and cooperates with AОВI on the issue of Agent Orange.

### The VA's Cover-up

More than 5,000 veterans have filed claims with the Veterans Administration over Agent Orange, but the VA has been less than helpful. Only two claims have been honored. Those were for the skin condition, chloracne, incurred during military service. But the VA did not recognize that this was the result of dioxin poisoning.

On February 25, Max Cleland, director of the VA, testified before Congress: "Unless or until some such latent effects of Agent Orange or its derivative components are scientifically documented there are intrinsic limitations to the VA's authority to allow these claims under current law."

Officials of the VA, HEW, and the Department of Defense all deny that proof exists showing the harmful effects of dioxin on humans. More comprehensive studies are needed, they say; but they have so far managed to avoid initiating a major study.

Compounding the cover-up, the VA prohibits physicians at their herbicidal clinics from conducting tests that could provide conclusive proof



'Operation Ranch Hand' was code name for Pentagon's defoliation project.

of poisoning. Chromosome analyses, sperm counts, and fat biopsies are all banned. Instead, veterans are asked questions from a five-page form and given a routine physical exam.

Behind the scenes, however, the picture is quite different.

In December 1979 a study verified that dioxin can be stored in the human body. It accumulates from repeated exposures and builds to toxic levels. (Previously it was thought that the chemical was so lethal it couldn't be stored.) This evidence confirms GIs' suspicions of a residual effect.

Five research studies made public here in April—four from Sweden and one from West Germany—showed that workers clearing brush on European farmland who had been exposed to chemicals that are also part of Agent Orange had a higher than normal rate of cancer. The studies had been available to the VA for months, but VA officials have so far refused comment.

### Evidence suppressed

A low-profile investigation by the VA issued a preliminary report stating that dioxin was found in the fatty tissue of at least 10 men of a 33-member test group, 22 of whom had been exposed to Agent Orange. The VA refused to release any more information.

Dr. Gilbert Bogen, former director of a VA hospital in Chicago, told a *Boston Globe* reporter that the discovery of dioxin in human tissue "is the most significant development so far, in my opinion." (January 20, 1980)

Until 1978, Dr. Bogen had not even heard of

Agent Orange. But after veterans began asking him questions he did a selective survey. Of 78 Vietnam veterans who claimed exposure and had children with birth defects, three have died of cancer and several more have cancer. "We are seeing some very bizarre breaks, gaps and rearrangements of chromosomes," Dr. Bogen said.

Maude DeVictor, a benefits counselor at a VA hospital in Chicago, first became aware of Agent Orange in 1977, when she was denied survivors benefits by the VA after her husband died of cancer. He had blamed it on Agent Orange, so she began reading up on dioxin.

At the VA Maude DeVictor discovered what looked like 79 dioxin-related cancer cases before she was ordered by her superiors to stop gathering statistics.

So she turned to a Chicago television station, and the resulting publicity broke through the smokescreen at the VA. "At first I was encouraged to make a study," she said. "Then I was abruptly told to stop. If a claims counselor can find that many cases, what are the doctors doing?" (*Boston Globe*, January 20, 1980)

Maude DeVictor's reward? She was transferred to the VA loans section.

### 'A Little Bitter at Max'

On March 18 two congressmen, both veterans of Vietnam, David E. Bonior of Michigan and Thomas A. Daschle of South Dakota, released copies of what they contend is a VA memorandum describing the effects of Agent Orange and Agent Blue. The memorandum, dated October 12, 1977, says of these herbicides:

"They are mutagens and tetratogenic. This means that they intercept the genetic DNA message process to an unborn fetus, thereby resulting in deformed children being born. Therefore, the veteran would appear to have no ill effects from exposure but he would produce deformed children due to this breakage in his genetic chain."

The representatives said in a letter to Max Cleland, VA director, "The clear conflicts between the memorandum and VA policy statements, coupled with nondisclosures, invite questions challenging the integrity of VA policy on Agent Orange."

Or, as Steve Zardis says bluntly, "I'm a little bitter at Max."

Most GI victims would no doubt agree.

### More GI Guinea Pigs?

Steve Zardis does not expect to live to see justice done. But he is certain that his cause will prevail in the end.

Terry Bell warns, however, that just as their efforts seem to be bearing fruit, just as public awareness is beginning to grow, the government is reaffirming its determination to use new GI guinea pigs in war.

Along with repeated military threats in the Mideast and elsewhere, he said, has been "Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's request for increased expenditures for chemical warfare, to prepare new Agent Oranges and new chemicals hundreds of times more deadly. . . ."

"Tonight's discussion," he concluded, "is a vital part of the new antiwar movement. Exposing Agent Orange serves both as an indictment of past U.S. war crimes and as an example of the kind of education and action that can tie up the government's new war plans."

The victims of Agent Orange—Americans, Vietnamese, Australians, New Zealanders, and others—have much to tell us about the inhumanity of war and its perpetrators and of the courage and humanity of those who struggle for justice, no matter what the odds.

## ...Fonseca

Continued from preceding page

cated on *cucusa*, the alcoholic drink manufactured by the inhabitants of the mountains. Surely some bailiff is responsible for the shots.

Carlos decided to wait twenty-four hours and restart the march the following dusk. At the head of the group marched the guide, next Carlos, followed by the rear guard of six men and Claudia.

The first shot from a garand sounded, and there was an immediate flight of birds. A few seconds before the dark was interrupted by the fire of an automatic rifle, Carlos stopped and

fired with his M-1 carbine, ordering the rest of the squad to retreat.

The fighters withdrew, crawling, a short distance away. The explosion of numerous grenades and a sudden silence translated into the difficult truth: our leader and founder had died.

The guerrillas waited, observing from the thicket. Come morning there are unusual movements of helicopters. They hear laughter and shouts. Officers of high rank arrive.

They cut off the head of Carlos and take it to the tyrant, who could not be convinced that such a man, pursued by legend and hatred, had died.

Carlos died gun in hand, with his heart overflowing with love for mankind, with his blue eyes looking into the future.

When the representatives of this egotistical and brutal system are sad and almost forgotten historical references; when no one remembers the charlatans and deserters; when the dusty archives of today are reduced to ashes, tomorrow's free, happy, and generous generations will remember Carlos Fonseca.

The commander of the prison of Tipitapa comes to our small cell, jubilant, with *Novedades* in his hand, to give us the news: "Carlos Fonseca Dies," he tells us.

After a silence of a few seconds, we reply: "You are mistaken, colonel. Carlos Fonseca is one of those who can never die." The colonel says to us: "Truly, you are incredible."



The following interview with Hugo Blanco, presidential candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International, was obtained in Lima on May 15 by Alán Martín. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

**Question.** What are the goals of the PRT in this campaign?

**Answer.** The main goal is to present to the people a way out of the social and economic crisis Peru is in.

There are various alternatives being presented by the right-wing parties, the most important being the APRA, the PPC, and the AP.\* They represent the interests of the big imperialist companies. These three parties have the aim of replacing the military dictatorship in the service of the big companies. Their plans for government are not essentially different from the economic policies followed by the Morales Bermúdez government—that is, the policies of the International Monetary Fund, which amount to safeguarding the profits of the big companies through the impoverishment of our people.

The elections are being held because of the heroic struggles carried out by our people. Alarmed by these struggles, the imperialists have seen the need to replace the military dictatorship with a civilian government, so that what happened in Cuba and in Nicaragua does not happen here. In those countries, the people rose up against dictatorships that did not want to leave and swept away not only the dictatorships but also imperialist domination.

### Meet needs of people

So, what we have to show the people is that there really is a way out of the crisis—not one based on the interests of the big companies but one that goes against the interests of the big companies. That means socialization of the economy, orienting it toward meeting the needs of our people and not toward the needs of the big imperialist corporations.

**Q.** What kind of a reception has the PRT received from the workers and peasants during its election campaign?

**A.** We have had quite large meetings everywhere. Here in Lima our main rally drew some 50,000 people, despite inadequate publicity. And we have also had local rallies in the various

\*APRA—American People's Revolutionary Alliance; PPC—Christian People's Party; AP—People's Action Party.

# Interview with Hugo Blanco 'Cuba a paradise compared with Peru'



Hugo Blanco casts ballot in May election

districts on the outskirts of Lima that have been quite important. Nearly one-third of the country's population is concentrated in the city of Lima—there is a brutal centralism owing to the imperialist oppression our country suffers, so the majority of factories and public offices have accumulated in the capital, forcing the people to migrate here.

We have also had big rallies in other provinces. In most of these, not only has the attendance been large but there has also been great enthusiasm and support expressed for our party. That shows us that the people really are tired of bosses and generals.

### Cuban 'refugees'

**Q.** In April a great many supposed 'refugees' arrived in Peru from Cuba—those who had sought asylum

in the Peruvian embassy in Havana. What is the PRT's position on these 'refugees'?

**A.** In the first place, we view this whole affair as a part of the general strategy of U.S. imperialism for smashing the revolution in Central America. It represents a move in the U.S. chess game in which the Peruvian government has been no more than a pawn.

This maneuver has also been used by the Peruvian government and the right wing to discredit a socialized economy, to discredit a workers government. However, this has not turned out too well, since the majority of these refugees wanted to go to the United States and not remain in Peru.

Certainly in Cuba there are still great limitations, owing fundamentally to the economic backwardness of

the country at the time of the revolution—backwardness caused by the imperialist deformation of the economy. And it is certain that because of the U.S. blockade, Cuba has not yet been able to overcome all those economic difficulties. This means that in some respects a Cuban can live better in the United States than in Cuba.

But it is also certain that living standards in Cuba are far, far higher than in Batista's time and much higher than those of any other Latin American country. These Cubans want to go to the United States; I don't think they want to stay here.

### Backfires on government

I was saying that this didn't turn out too well for the Peruvian government, because while they may have been able to discredit the Cuban workers state before the masses, some statements by the refugees have also made people see that things are better in Cuba.

For example, one Cuban was complaining that in Cuba one could only eat meat three times a week. The Peruvian people would certainly like to eat meat three times a week—only the upper classes can do that. It's well known that here in Peru a large part of the population of the marginal neighborhoods lives on things like Nicovita—a type of birdseed that is harmful to human beings.

Another Cuban woman was complaining that children there are only provided with free milk up to the age of eight. Well, that would be a paradise compared with Peru, where the only milk many children have ever had was their mothers' milk, and where baby bottles are usually filled with some kind of tea.

It was said by another Cuban that because education is free, people have to study a lot and work hard. And that seems like heaven here in Peru where the majority of people cannot learn because of the high cost of education and where half the economically active population is unemployed or underemployed.

**Q.** Is there anything you would like to say to the workers movement abroad about this election campaign?

**A.** It is inspiring to us that in countries like the United States, France, and Sweden the workers movement is stepping up its struggle against our common enemy—imperialism and the big companies based in the United States, Europe, and Japan. We hope our struggles can be more and more united and coordinated and that together we can defeat this enemy.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## 170,000 Peruvians vote for a workers gov't

By Priscilla Schenk

On May 18 general elections were held in Peru for the first time in seventeen years. After a 1977 general strike, the military dictatorship was forced to agree to a changeover to civilian rule.

Elected to the presidency was Fernando Belaúnde Terry, the candidate of the bourgeois People's Action Party, who received 42 percent of the vote. Thirty-six percent was the minimum needed to be elected president.

Hugo Blanco, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), received 4 percent of the vote, assuring him a seat in the House of Deputies from the Lima district. The PRT is the Peruvian sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party.

In the early 1960s Blanco became well-known for his leadership in the struggle of poor Quechua-speaking farmers for land and human rights. His popularity among the masses as a fighter against oppression and exploitation made him the leading left contender in the election for president.

More than 170,000 people cast their votes three times—for president, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies—for the PRT. According to the PRT, Blanco

received votes "that were more for a party than for a personality; more than for a strike call, they were for the battle cry of 'Workers to Power!'"

Other leftist candidates elected to Congress were Hipólito Enríquez, a metalworkers leader, Enrique Fernández of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party (PST), and Ricardo Napurí of the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR). The PST and POMR are affiliates of the so-called Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International. They supported Blanco's candidacy and were allowed to present some congressional candidates on the PRT's slate.

In assessing the elections, the PRT said that the election of Belaúnde was a clear rejection by the masses of military rule. "In these elections, the workers certainly did say, 'Without generals,'" declared a statement by the PRT Executive Committee.

However, they warned, Belaúnde offers no solutions to the problems facing Peruvian working people and poor farmers. Despite his campaign promise to "create 1 million jobs in a year's time," Belaúnde will continue

the savage austerity program implemented by his predecessors. "Achieving their objectives," the PRT predicts, "will actually require sinking the wages of the Peruvian proletariat to starvation levels."

Belaúnde won support in the election by claiming to oppose military rule and support democratic rights.

Another factor in Belaúnde's victory was the inability of the left candidates to present a united slate for the elections. Earlier this year the PRT united with other political groups behind the candidacy of Hugo Blanco for president. This alliance subsequently broke apart and the PRT entered Blanco as a candidate under the party's name.

Despite this setback, the PRT claimed some major advances during the campaign. In two months of campaigning, the PRT held fifty rallies throughout the country, attended by some 250,000 people. The PRT's final rally in Lima's San Martín Plaza on May 12 was attended by 50,000 people.

Everywhere Blanco spoke he popularized the need for Peruvian workers to organize themselves independently of the capitalists and generals. He explained that only a workers govern-

ment could solve the problems of Peru's workers and small farmers.

Blanco encouraged his supporters to become active and to join the PRT. More than 4,000 reportedly responded to his appeal and are now attending weekly PRT meetings and educational.

Blanco received a large number of votes in the working-class areas of Lima and southern Peru. He won 18 percent of the vote in Moquegua Province, a copper mining area. And in Tacna Province, where Blanco was tried in a 1965 murder frame-up, he received 15 percent of the vote.

"We are today a party of nationwide scope," the PRT said. "We have made the slogan 'Workers to power without generals or bosses' part of popular consciousness. We have transformed sympathy for an individual into active militancy in a revolutionary party. . . .

"We are preparing the conditions for launching a unified mass struggle against the new bourgeois government. In the midst of all this, we are building a party—more and more, we are PRT militants throughout the country. Of that we are certain."



## No membership vote

# Aluminum pact: profits advance, unions retreat

By Greg Nelson

NEW ORLEANS—The 1980 aluminum industry contract, signed May 30, offers a grim example of union retreat in an industry enjoying record profits.

The three-year package negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America and the smaller Aluminum Workers International Union covers Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaiser, the big three aluminum companies in the United States. Smaller companies generally agree to similar contract terms.

The first news aluminum workers got came in a company flyer announcing a "substantial settlement" at the Miami, Florida, negotiations.

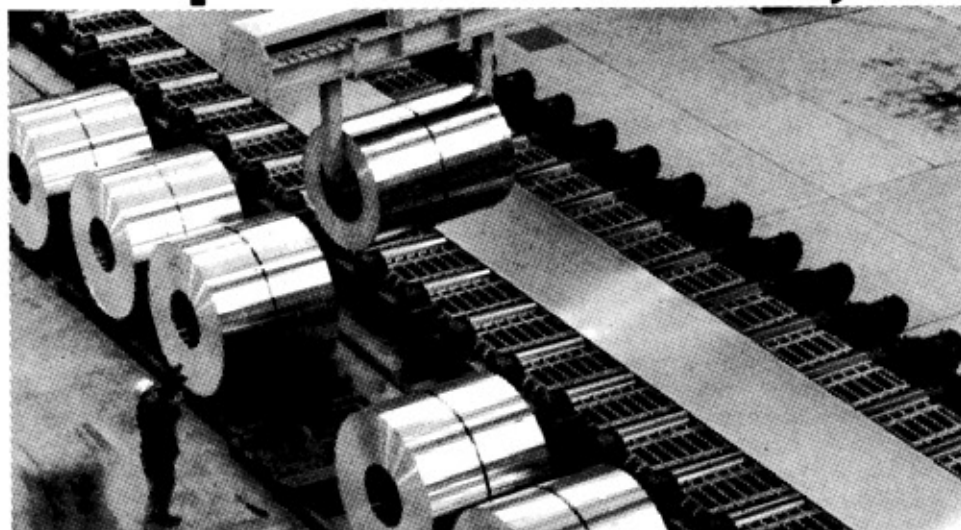
Aluminum workers in the Steelworkers union do not have the right to ratify our contract; it is decided by top union officials.

The new contract provides wage increases of twenty-five cents an hour in the first year, twenty cents in the second, and fifteen cents in the third. This is less than 2 percent a year.

The terms announced in the press are different from the fine print we will have to live under. The worst example is the supposed "breakthrough" in winning an improvement in the cost-of-living formula.

The auto workers did win such an improvement in their last contract, but the steelworkers got no change in the basic steel contract signed two months ago. And, contrary to media reports, aluminum workers did not actually get an improvement.

To quote from the contract summary: "Beginning in the third year of the new Agreement the formula will be 1¢ for each .26 point change in the Con-



Aluminum coils at an Alcan rolling mill in West Germany.

	1979 operating profits	% increase from 1978	dividends paid out to stockholders
ALCOA .....	\$729 million	39%	\$91 million
Kaiser .....	546 million	25%	45 million
Reynolds .....	621 million	9%	38 million

sumer Price Index (instead of 1¢ for each .3 point change). . . . Because of this significant increase, the new formula would further compress the wage structure. . . . It was, therefore agreed that on a quarterly basis, the excess generated by the new formula would be allocated to the increments between job classes."

Increasing the job class increments means more pay for the workers who already make the most. A decision like this would certainly never be approved by the majority of workers in the bottom job classes.

According to who is talking, different figures are used to describe the wage settlement. The Carter administration's Council on Wage and Price Stability declared the contract in compliance with the 7.5 to 9.5 percent range of "allowable increases."

The *New York Times* continued its

campaign to blame inflation on union wage gains by running an editorial denouncing what it calls 11 percent a year wage hikes for aluminum workers.

As usual, neither the government nor the big-business news media say anything about company profits. Operating profits for the big three aluminum corporations in 1979 increased an average of 24 percent over 1978. Their stockholders received over \$174.5 million in loot for the effort of doing nothing. And, as usual, soon after the contract was signed, the aluminum companies raised their prices.

Under the new contract, the average retiree after thirty years of service will get \$607.50 a month. Some already retired workers will receive desperately needed pension hikes.

The vacation bonus is increased, but only if you take it at the least desirable time of the year.

Basic medical coverage is increased, but so is the deductible amount paid by the worker. Sickness and accident coverage, supplemental unemployment benefits, dental, and vision plans are all increased somewhat.

New benefits include an eighty-dollar safety shoe allowance over the life of the contract, and a convalescent, nursing home, and home health-care plan.

Two paid personal days off a year were won, contingent on getting company approval after giving one week's notice, or if "especially urgent . . . two days' notice if it doesn't 'adversely affect' operations."

This really amounts to a gain of one day off, since the new contract gives up a paid holiday, UN Day in October, that was won in the last contract.

Union safety committees won the

right to demand air and noise samples, information on toxic substances, and tests done on any new material in question. A significant improvement is the closing of medical records to your foreman or anybody else unless you give them written permission to see them. But such language is traditionally easy to negotiate and tough to enforce.

One of the worst features of the new contract was the sellout of five locals where the companies pleaded poverty. The international union agreed these plants would get only 25 percent of the COLA and 50 percent of the benefits.

It was reported to our local, but not printed in the contract summary, that new hire probation will be increased from thirty calendar days to sixty working days. During probation, workers have little union protection. The companies use this time to get rid of workers hired to fulfill affirmative-action hiring goals.

A strike vote was taken by the Steelworkers during negotiations. Seventy-five percent voted to strike. As of Thursday night, May 29, the strike was on. Mechanics were told to take home their tool chests. Picket signs were ordered.

By Friday morning all was forgiven; the "substantial improvement" was signed. Most workers I spoke with predicted the "Friday morning miracle."

The response to the contract could be summed up by one piece of graffiti written on a smokestack in our plant after the terms were announced. It said, "Never have so few done so little for so many."

## Grim reality

The old pot operator was tired. He wouldn't play checkers and he wouldn't play dominoes. The sweat rolled off his face as he sat in front of a fan after finishing a run.

"I am going to have to work here forty-five years to get a half-decent pension," he told me. He was referring to the new contract pension plan. With twenty-seven and a half years of service in the potroom department, the grim reality of his and his co-workers' lot was hitting him broadside.

"I went down there [the union hall] and told Pep [one of the negotiators] I couldn't make it on \$600 a month." The union official said he knew it. "Sure, I came out here at nineteen and they gave me a job, but I've paid them back many fold."

"It's worse than a coal mine. Now I'm all messed up inside, and I know it, and how can I take care of myself?"

—G.N.

## USWA copper workers strike

Nearly 40,000 copper workers, members of the United Steelworkers, went on strike July 1. They have shut down the huge copper mines in the West and smelters and refineries throughout the country.

The union called its first industry-wide strike this year after refusing terms similar to those accepted in the basic steel contract.

Those concessions were made out of concern for the "poor economic health" of the steel industry. For example, a desper-

ately needed pension improvement for retired steelworkers is being funded by working union members losing a scheduled cost-of-living raise.

The union did not make such concessions to the aluminum industry and is refusing this demand from the copper companies. Both the aluminum and copper industries are wallowing in record profits.

Copper miners have a militant tradition. They have gone on strike at the expiration of every contract since the 1950s.

## Kaiser: 'Goodbye to earth, welcome to hell'

By Greg Nelson

NEW ORLEANS—The Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette, Louisiana, has a local reputation. It is exemplified in the statement of a Louisiana state trooper quoted in the June 9 *New Orleans Times-Picayune/States Item*. He was talking about his assignment to a "super cop" crime-fighting unit. "It's risky, you can get in some pretty scary situations, but it's better than dying at Kaiser Aluminum."

On the wall of one entrance to the potroom department, a chalked inscription reads "Goodbye to Earth, Welcome to Hell."

"You never get used to it," says one of the potroom workers, who number 800 out of a total work force of 2,500.

In New Orleans, summers are sultry enough. Add heavy, nerve-wracking

labor over 1,298 poorly maintained pots filled with molten aluminum burning at close to 2,000 degrees, and you begin to understand why potroom workers dread summer so much.

Few facts are available concerning the effects of the alumina, coke, pitch, and heat on workers' bodies. A study done by the Steelworkers safety committee showed potroom workers have the highest post-work accident level in the country.

As an ex-member of the local environmental committee put it, "It's a chronic respiratory, pulmonary, nervous system disease factory." Local officers say the average life expectancy for retiring potroom workers is three years. It's like a coal mine only hotter.

For all these reasons improvements

in working conditions were the most important thing potroom workers hoped to gain in the 1980 contract.

Their mood was volatile when they heard the report from the negotiating team at a special union meeting April 17. The potroom got almost nothing. The discussion was damning.

"Kaiser is making the biggest profits ever, and we're the ones doing the work. That's why this plant wins the Best Operating Team awards every year," said one young spare. "They can keep their BOT blankets and their BOT hats if I can have an operating body when I go home."

The local officers all urged passage of the local agreement. But it was turned down for the first time in the local's history. This stunned the offic-

ers, who hastily called another meeting and another vote a week later in hope of passing a local agreement before leaving for Miami to negotiate the national agreement.

At the second meeting, April 25, the mood changed from volatile to enraged, as the provisions changed only slightly. In the new vote the agreement was turned down by twice the margin in the first vote.

The local agreement was submitted for handling to the national negotiations. Ten out of twelve Kaiser locals in the Steelworkers Aluminum Conference rejected their local agreements. This was the voice of the membership.

Once in Miami, the local agreements were all approved. That was the voice of the international.



# UAW's 'changing of the guard'

By Frank Lovell

(first of two parts)

Less happened at the United Auto Workers convention last month than most of the 3,000 delegates expected. More than 300,000 UAW members were out of work. Some locals of the union had been dismantled by plant closings.

In the past the union leadership has usually offered some sort of "plan" to meet such grave emergencies. This time there was nothing . . . or worse than nothing.

Partly on this account the election of three new vice-presidents and a new secretary-treasurer attracted more than ordinary attention. The new officers succeeded to these top posts as the result of attrition. Their predecessors reached retirement age. There was no contest for the vacancies.

No delegate thought the new officers would be much different or any better than those they replaced. But the appearance of new faces prompted speculation. Has the policy of the old leaders failed? Will the new officers rise to the challenge of new times? What can the UAW do to help solve the economic problems of its 1.5 million members?

These are urgent questions for the UAW membership to consider. And any serious search for answers must take into account the history of this union and the evaluation of its leadership.

A false image of union militancy and rank-and-file control has been nurtured by UAW officials for more than three decades. Part of the myth is that today's departing "old guard" is the last remnant of the pioneers who organized the union.

## How they rose

Emil Mazey, the longtime secretary-treasurer and associate of former UAW president Walter Reuther, was there when the union began. The three vice-presidents who retired this year—Ken Bannon, Irving Bluestone, and Pat Greathouse—were not.

Bannon was a young auto worker in 1936. But he was at the Ford Rouge plant and had no part in the class battles that established the union at the time. His first union activity was in the 1941 UAW organizing campaign at the Rouge.

A UAW biographical sketch says, "Bannon transferred to the Ford plant in Highland Park after the UAW's Buffalo convention of 1943." If he was a



Sit-down strikers at Fisher Body No. 1 in Flint, Michigan, hail victory in winning union recognition from General Motors on February 11, 1937. Official myth portrays today's retiring bureaucrats as last remnants of class-struggle pioneers.

In 1961 Bluestone became administrative assistant to Reuther. And after Reuther's death and Leonard Woodcock's elevation to the UAW presidency, he then became director of UAW's General Motors Department in 1970, taking over the job vacated by Woodcock.

Pat Greathouse went to work for the UAW during World War II, being appointed international representative in 1943. He had been a shop steward in the Ford assembly plant in Chicago.

In 1947, at age thirty-two, he was elected to the international executive board and made director of UAW Region 4, covering Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. He became a vice-president in 1956, retaining this position in the top bureaucracy until his retirement.

## A different story

The story of Mazey is different. He was one of the original leaders. The others began their careers in the union apparatus as followers. Not much older than they are, he was a veteran of the class war in Detroit when they were not yet union conscious. In 1933 he participated in the Briggs strike and was a

## New Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus 'thinks picket lines are a joint union-management advertising effort to explain new price hikes.'

delegate he played no noticeable part. That convention was marked by sharp factional in-fighting between the challenging Reuther caucus and the incumbent Addes-Frankensteen slate. R. J. Thomas, then international UAW president, was not challenged by either side.

The surface issues around which the struggle seemed to develop were union endorsement of wartime piece-work rates to encourage speed-up, and a place on the UAW executive board for Black representation. The Reuther caucus was against both propositions.

Underlying the debate was a struggle for power between the two contending political tendencies in the union bureaucracy, Social Democracy vs Stalinism. Both sides were deeply involved in tying the unions to the war effort, vying for posts in the government's wartime labor agencies.

Bannon joined the U.S. Navy toward the end of the war. After the war he returned to work at Ford's Highland Park plant and was elected president of Local 400 in 1946, the year Reuther narrowly defeated Thomas for UAW international president.

Bannon must have proved himself a loyal Reutherite because he was appointed director of the UAW National Ford Department in 1947. He was a product of the post-World War II reaction, the anti-communist purges, and the consolidation of machine control by the Reuther faction.

## Career bureaucrats

This is also true of the other two UAW vice-presidents who retired this year. Bluestone graduated with honors at New York City College in 1937, the year of the UAW sitdown strikes. He continued his studies in Europe. During the war he went to work in a New Jersey auto plant and learned about unionism as it was then practiced under the no-strike pledge. He quickly became editor of the local union paper and head of the bargaining, education, and political action committees.

In 1945 he was appointed to the staff of UAW Region 9A on the East Coast. He never left the UAW payroll, moving easily from one post to another in the burgeoning bureaucracy.

young leader of the Unemployed Citizen's League.

There is another difference. In his youth Mazey was a socialist, a member of the Proletarian Party. He studied Marxism and was dedicated to the working-class struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This distinguished most of the pioneer leaders of the UAW, including the Reuther brothers and Woodcock, who later presided over the bureaucratization of the union and the suppression of its early democracy. They all wanted to be socialists, and that idea guided their actions in the early battles against the auto corporations. They renounced socialism when they decided that cooperation with the auto companies as "labor statesmen" offered a more tranquil and prosperous future, at least for them personally. They discovered that capitalist ideology is better suited to union-management collaboration.

Mazey was the outstanding leader in the 1936-37 drive to organize the Briggs Manufacturing Company, which built auto bodies. He was the elected president of Briggs UAW Local 212 from 1937 to 1941. In 1941 he was one of the central leaders in the organization of the Ford Rouge plant. He was re-elected president of the Briggs local in 1943.

During the war years Mazey was the most prominent UAW official in the fight against the no-strike pledge and for a labor party. The Roosevelt administration had him drafted into the army in 1944. That was one of the favorite ways to rid the unions of militant leaders in those days.

The army quickly shipped Mazey to the Philippines. He was put in the infantry and never rose above the rank of sergeant.

At the end of the war he organized soldier protest rallies and mass demonstrations, rather than be sent to fight against the colonial revolution in China and elsewhere. These were part of the worldwide "Bring Us Home" movement of American troops. Mazey was the popular leader of this movement in the Pacific theater. It had a far greater effect on U.S. military plans than the protesters knew, and it forced the early demobilization of combat troops.

As punishment for his part in the movement, Mazey was transferred to the small Pacific island of Ie Shima. He was there at the time of his election to the UAW international executive board at the 1946 convention. This was a public tribute to his class-conscious leadership in the union and among the soldiers.

## Traded-in class struggle

At the 1947 UAW convention Mazey was elected secretary-treasurer. He was then one of the organizers of the Reuther caucus. Until then he had played a semi-independent role in the struggles for leadership positions.

Mazey was always a contender in these struggles. He fought first against the bureaucratic edicts of Homer Martin, who was ousted as UAW international president in 1939; and always against the Stalinist faction, which he opposed politically.

Usually allied with the Reuther faction, Mazey was thought by many UAW members in the early post-World War II years to represent "the left wing of the Reuther caucus." But after he took the job of secretary-treasurer, Mazey and Reuther constituted the team that restructured the UAW under the anti-union pressures of government witch-hunting during the cold war years in the 1950s.

Mazey traded in the class struggle militancy of his youth for the class-collaboration policy that marked his long tenure in "the second highest office in the International union."

In recent years there has been a rapid turnover of UAW executive officers and regional directors. The replacements have all been carefully selected and cast in the same class-collaborationist mold. Those who now replace the most recent retirees are no different.

Raymond Majerus, Mazey's fifty-five-year-old replacement as secretary-treasurer, is a product of the UAW bureaucracy. He thinks picket lines are a joint union-management advertising effort to explain new price hikes.

Owen Bieber, the new director of the General Motors Department, has been on the union payroll for nearly twenty years. And Donald Ephlin was an assistant to both Woodcock and Bluestone, his qualifications for his new job as UAW vice-president in charge of the union's Ford Department.

Steven Yokich, at forty-four the youngest UAW vice-president, takes over the job held by Greathouse for many years, director of the Agricultural Implement Department. Yokich understands his new assignment, and his place in the bureaucratic structure. "I really feel that we're changing names, not philosophies," he said.

These latest new names that were brought into the top UAW leadership positions cannot introduce new policies. They were all trained in the UAW "leadership school." It produces followers, not leaders.

Next week: How the UAW is controlled and who will lift the controls.

## Further reading

**Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO** by Art Preis. 538 pages, \$7.95.

**A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: the Record of an Opportunist** by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pages, \$.40.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, or from bookstores listed on page 27. Please include \$.75 for postage.



By William Gottlieb  
(last of a series)

The capitalists make little secret of their view that the present recession is a good thing and the only problem is it should have come sooner. They want to keep it going.

This position for continued recession was forthrightly laid out in June—after unemployment had already risen 1.7 million in just two months—by a blue-ribbon "Committee to Fight Inflation." The committee is headed by Arthur Burns, former Federal Reserve Board chairman. It includes the former treasury secretaries of presidents Carter, Ford, Nixon, Johnson, and Kennedy, as well as former top-level Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Truly a bipartisan consensus!

### Budget cuts & tight money

These authoritative representatives of big business called for continued tight money policies and budget cutbacks "despite the short-run costs that will be incurred by some, perhaps many, of our citizens." To make it clear who should bear these costs, they also called for weakening cost-of-living provisions for the elderly and sick, for cutting or abolishing the minimum wage, for reducing business taxes every year, and for faster decontrol of oil prices.

The Carter administration is doing its best to comply. Even in an election year, it is trying to hold the line as long as possible against any creation of jobs or any economic stimulus.

The bosses and their government say this crisis is needed to fight inflation. What they really mean is that the slump is needed to fight overproduction. That is, the capitalists want the current economic nosedive to continue until production is again reduced to the limits of the market, the limits that are profitable to them. In addition, they hope to use mass unemployment as a club to beat down wages and strengthen "discipline" in the plants, paving the way for still greater profits.

The only thing that restrains the capitalists and



their government from going all the way with "born again Hooverism" is fear of the working class, the fear that working people simply won't tolerate a repeat of the 1930s.

There are, however, severe limits to the ability of the capitalist government to deal with economic crisis. The nervous zig-zags of economic policy that we've seen in the 1970s and now '80s are not the result of personal incompetence by Carter, Ford, or Nixon, as is often pretended. Rather, they reflect the dwindling room for maneuver between alternative disasters.

### Bleak alternatives

If the government continues its current recessionary course, especially when other major capitalist countries also seem to be sliding into recessions, there is no telling how deep the downturn may go.

On the other hand, if the government now resorts to massive deficit spending and easy money to stimulate demand, it could lead to a huge flight by capitalists out of paper money and into gold—similar to what happened last January if not worse. This would again raise the threat of hyperinflation, a sharp new rise in interest rates, and a completely uncontrollable collapse into another Great Depression.

The protectionist, anti-import measures demanded by some U.S. industries (and echoed by union bureaucrats) would, if carried out, increase the danger of trade war and full-scale economic collapse.

It is sometimes grimly argued that Washington's huge increases in military spending will at least give a boost to the economy. But this spending will either be paid for through tax increases and social service cutbacks far beyond anything yet seen, or it will worsen inflation and lead in that way to economic collapse. Or, most likely, both.

The bipartisan proposals for "supply side" tax cuts—that is, tax cuts for the rich and big business as "incentives" to produce more—are pure fraud. Likewise the calls for labor to sacrifice to hold down inflation. How can increasing supply solve the capitalist crisis of overproduction, the lack of markets for goods already produced? How can lowering wages solve inflation when, as we've seen, wage increases are not a factor in inflation?

# How can labor mov't defend jobs & wages?



Coal strike, 1977-78. Winning strategy for labor must defend workers' interests regardless of effect on profits.

All these proposals for sacrifices by working people aim to increase profits. But "our system" is based on profits, the capitalists more and more openly proclaim, so increasing profits at the expense of wages is the way out of the crisis.

This argument ignores one crucial fact. Profits depend not only on the rate of exploitation of the working class, but also on the ability of the capitalists to find buyers for their products. Reductions in the buying power of the working class can worsen a crisis by constricting the market.

The truth is that no matter what policies are followed by the capitalists and their government, periodic depressions are inevitable as long as capitalism survives.

*What is not inevitable is the degree to which the working people have to bear the brunt of these crises.*

To the extent that the unions follow a course of collaboration with the capitalists and their government—as top union officials are doing today—the bosses will only be encouraged to push ahead with harsher attacks. And they will take advantage of both unemployment and inflation to further weaken the unions. The ultimate result will not be renewed prosperity but the destruction of the unions. We would be thrown back to the wretched conditions of the nineteenth century if not worse.

### Class-struggle alternative

There is an alternative. If the men and women working in the factories, mines, and mills take control of their unions and use their organized power to fight back, real gains can be won. This is true even in the midst of severe economic depression, as the rise of industrial unions in the 1930s showed.

The starting point is a simple proposition, but one with revolutionary implications: *The unions exist to fight for the interests of working people, regardless of the effect on profits or the profit system.*

To protect against inflation, the unions can fight for full cost-of-living increases in wages, pensions, social security, unemployment compensation, welfare, and veterans benefits. These should go up automatically whenever prices rise, to match 100 percent the rise in the cost-of-living.

One of the most scandalous features of the crisis is the bosses' use of forced overtime while millions are out of work. In some auto plants, for example, workers are still forced to put in fifty-eight hours a week, while 300,000 auto workers are unemployed. Banning compulsory overtime, and reducing the general work week to thirty hours with no cut in pay, would spread the available work and create millions of jobs.

Unemployment can also be combatted by demanding that the government launch a massive public works program to rebuild communities such as New York City's South Bronx, restore the enviro-

onment, and meet the needs of working people for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit. Such programs to provide jobs and meet social needs can be financed by eliminating the \$150 billion war budget, which defends only corporate profit interests.

### Public ownership of industry

What about the plant shutdowns that are devastating whole cities?

To begin with, the unions should fight to abolish business secrets, to open the books and records of the corporations to public inspection. The bosses claim they can't afford to keep these plants open. But let's see the truth about their profits, tax rip-offs, bribes, and hidden plans to reorganize industry at workers' expense.

The interests of the vast majority of society require that the energy industry and other basic industries of this country be nationalized and placed under public ownership. There are great needs for energy, steel, efficient transportation equipment, and countless other products. There are millions of workers ready and willing to produce them. Only private ownership—which requires that nothing be produced unless it is profitable for the capitalists—stands in the way.

Control over production—work speed, automation, hiring and firing, health and safety—should be in the hands of the workers themselves through their unions or committees. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards whose meetings and records are open to all.

Demands like these cannot be won without militant struggle. And they cannot be won through supporting the parties and politicians of the bosses, whether Democrats, Republicans, or procapitalist "independents" like Anderson.

Already a big discussion has broken out in the labor movement over the futility of relying on the Democrats and Republicans, and the need for the unions to launch an independent labor party. Such a party could rally the strength of the organized workers, the unemployed, Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth to confront the parties of the corporations on all economic, social, and political issues.

Formation of a labor party would be a gigantic step toward the only real solution to the capitalist economic crisis—the bringing to power of a workers government in this country. A workers government, relying on the mobilized power of the workers and farmers, could move toward a planned economy based on public ownership of all basic industry.

Unlike the capitalist economy, which is governed by the struggle for private profit, this economy would be governed by a social plan arrived at through democratic deliberations of the working people as a whole. This would abolish at its root the cause of capitalist crises and all the other evils of the capitalist exploitation of wage labor.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Just what they need**—A Los Angeles research chemist insists the volcanic ash from Mt. St. Helens can be developed into a new kind of porcelain to make bathtubs, sinks and Quonset huts. "What we're doing," he enthused, "is providing Washington with an instant industry."

**Market research?**—Seagram's, the world's biggest whiskey dealer, gave a \$5.8 million research grant to study why some people are more prone to alcoholism than others.

**Boil and bubble**—Protests from religious groups forced German Chancellor Schmidt to cancel a party where guests were to come decked out as devils or witches. The protesters were concerned that it would lead people not to take the Devil seriously. Nah, they probably would have thought it was a spillover from the seven-nation Venice confab.

**Sounds appropriate**—Richard Jackson, former mayor of Atlantic

City who did eighteen months in the federal pen for extorting kickbacks, has been hired by the city to do PR work. His function is to improve the city's image.

**Hardly restrain themselves**—John Runcie, a sociology prof, spent five months on a Flint auto assembly line. He reports that, despite the monotony, many people love their work. "Boring as hell, yes," he said. "But it just amazed me, the number of people who said, 'I'm going to put in my thirty years and stay until it's time to take my pension.'"

**It gets sticky**—An informer for the Los Angeles police was convicted of trying to peddle cocaine to a neighbor. The neighbor was an informer for the feds.

**Sparkling pedestal**—Sporting grape-sized pearls, diamond earrings and a diamond-encrusted bracelet, Mrs. Vincent Astor told a reporter that she always dresses that way when she



"Someday this will all be yours . . . And your children's, and your grandchildren's and your great-grandchildren's and your great-great-grandchildren's . . ."

checks out one of her philanthropy projects up in Harlem or down on the East Side. "If I'm not dressed up or not wearing my jewelry," she explained, "people think I'm talking down to them."

**Thought for the week**—"Before this recession is over, there are going to be an awful lot of people down on our system."—The president of a Brooklyn auto parts company which has laid off 40 percent of its workers.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Why the 'freeze' against Liberia?

Since the April overthrow of the regime of Liberian President William Tolbert by dissident army troops headed by Master Sgt. Samuel Doe, the U.S. government has expressed "concern" over the direction of the new government.

Concern was heightened when key figures from the old, corrupt, and brutally repressive governing group were executed—to the evident satisfaction of the masses of Liberians.

Officially, U.S. diplomatic relations are "frozen." There is no indication yet of any warming up as a result of the visit to Washington of five officials of Doe's government.

Washington's "concern" does not stem from any interest—moral or otherwise—in the well-being of the 1.8 million Liberians.

Rather, Washington fears that Doe's government—which is under tremendous pressure from Liberians who want to see some real changes—won't be as easy to control as his predecessors.

Liberia has been a de facto U.S. colony since its founding 133 years ago. Unlike the rest of Africa, it was never colonized by a European country.

A common myth or half truth about Liberia is that it was established by freed U.S. slaves known as "Americo-Liberians." Actually, it was set up in 1821 by the American Colonization Society with the help of the U.S. government.

The society was a group of white philanthropists who organized the return of ex-slaves to the motherland. The idea was to prevent the growth of a

community of free Blacks in the United States.

The first freed slave community in Liberia was founded in 1822 and led by two whites. The first governor was Thomas Buchanan, cousin of the fifteenth U.S. president.

Liberia became an "independent" republic in 1836, again with a white as head of state.

From that point on the U.S. rulers have dominated Liberia economically and politically.

Its currency is the dollar. The government and constitution were patterned after the United States.

To ensure imperialist control over Liberia, the descendants of U.S. slaves serve as the surrogate de facto colonial masters. The Americo-Liberians are only 3 percent of the population but control 80 percent of the wealth. They discriminate against the indigenous population. (Sergeant Doe is an indigenous Liberian.) The right to vote was not extended to them until 1947 and only to those who owned property. The minimum wage is \$1.50 a day.

As *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Geoffrey Godsell explained, "This early US connection with Liberia has made the country an outpost unfailingly sympathetic toward the US for nearly a century and a half." Liberia has the largest CIA base in Africa.

And U.S. corporations have been raking in huge profits.

Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, until recently the primary employer, owns the world's

Osborne Hart



largest rubber plantation there, stretching for more than a million acres. Liberian rubber workers are the lowest paid of any in the world.

Liberia is the largest shipping nation in the world. Its flag flies over more than a quarter of the world's shipping tonnage. Oil tankers make up the bulk.

U.S. officials and shipping companies wrote Liberia's shipping laws in 1948 and subsequently administered them so that Liberia could be used as a "flag of convenience" for U.S. shipping—thus evading taxes, labor costs, and pollution control regulations that would apply if they flew the U.S. flag.

To maximize their profits, the oil and shipping barons pay Liberia only \$11 million a year for this privilege.

With the subservient old regime gone, U.S. big business is worried because Liberia has the legal right to increase rates, impose regulations, and even to seize ships if necessary.

Anyway, my point is that U.S. "concerns" don't coincide (as usual) with the needs and aspirations of the Liberian masses.

It is clear that the U.S. would like to keep Liberia—ships, rubber plantation, CIA base et al—under its imperialist wing. Regardless of the political course Sergeant Doe pursues, U.S. intervention—military, political, or otherwise—must be opposed. The Liberian people have the right to determine their destiny.

## What's Going On

### COLORADO DENVER

**MARX AND ENGELS & THE LABOR PARTY.** Two classes by Frank Lovell, writer for the *Militant* and national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 5, 12:30 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. Auraria Community Center, 1212 Mariposa. \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

**THE ECONOMY IN CRISIS: WHY IT IS HAPPENING. WHAT WORKING PEOPLE CAN DO ABOUT IT.** Speaker: Alan Gummerson, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 13, 6 p.m. 126 W. 12 St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN CRISIS.** Speaker:

Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party National Organization Secretary. Sat., July 12, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**WHY AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY.** A Socialist Educational Weekend. Speaker: Jon Hillson, author, *The Battle of Boston*. Sat-Sun., July 12-13. Sat., 4 p.m., "The Current Stage of the U.S. Labor Movement." Sun., 3:30 p.m., "What Will a Labor Party Look Like in the U.S." Sat., 7 p.m. Socialist Campaign Barbeque. Classes: 4715 Troost. Barbeque: 5037 Grand. Donation: \$1.50 per class, \$3.50 for barbeque, \$6 for entire weekend. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### ST. LOUIS

**THE CASE FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION** Speakers: Minnie Liddell, Concerned Parents of North St. Louis; representative of Operation PUSH; Rev. Ben Martin, Interfaith Coalition for Peaceful Integration and Quality Education; Martin Anderson, candidate for governor, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**EL SALVADOR: REPRESSION OR REVOLUTION?** Speakers: Jim Callahan, member, Machinists Local 1005; others. Sun., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### NEW YORK CITY WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING IN CUBA? Thurs., July 10, 8 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St.

A public meeting sponsored by the Center for Cuban Studies. Preview showing of three recent films by Santiago Alvarez documenting the April 19, May Day, and May 17 massive marches in Cuba. \$3/\$2 for members. For more information call (212) 685-8086.



## Cuban troops in Angola

More than any government in recent history, revolutionary Cuba has set the example in extending support and solidarity to the oppressed of other countries.

An outstanding example of this internationalism took place in 1975. That year, Cuba responded to the request of MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) leader Agostinho Neto by sending Cuban troops and other personnel to aid in the fight for Angolan independence against the U.S.-backed military intervention of the South African regime.

Based on interviews conducted in Cuba, Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez wrote an extensive account of the Cuban involvement in the Angolan civil war.

García Márquez's article was published by Prensa Latina, the official Cuban news agency, in 1977. It detailed how Havana made the decision to send troops to Angola. García Márquez summarized some of the political factors that influenced the Cuban decision:

"The possibility that the United States might intervene openly, rather than through the mercenaries and South Africa as it had been doing for some time, was obviously one of the most disturbing unknowns. But a rapid analysis suggested that at least Washington would think twice about doing so:

"It had just freed itself from the morass of Vietnam and the Watergate scandal. It had a President no one had elected. The CIA was under fire in Congress and low-rated in public opinion. The United States needed to avoid seeming—not only in the eyes of African countries, but especially in the eyes of American blacks—to ally itself with racist South Africa. Beyond all this it was in the midst of an election campaign in its Bicentennial year.

"Furthermore, Cuba was sure it could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, although it was also aware of the implications its action might hold for the policy of peaceful coexistence and international detente.

"It was a decision of irreversible consequences, too large and complex to be resolved in 24 hours. Nonetheless, the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba had only 24 hours to decide, and it decided without flinching, in a large, calm meeting on Nov. 5. Far from what has so often been said, it was an independent and sovereign act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed."

García Márquez described some of Washington's hidden moves to block Cuban participation in Angola, including the Ford administration's threat to bombard the airport in Georgetown, Guyana, if Cuban troop planes continued to be allowed to refuel there en route to Angola.

He showed Castro's intense interest in



the progress of the campaign in Angola:

"Fidel Castro himself was keeping up to date on the smallest details of the war. He was at the sendoff for each troop ship, and before it sailed he would call together the combat units in the theater at the Cabana [Hotel]. He sought out the commanders of the special forces battalion that went on the first flight, and drove them to the steps of the plane in his Soviet-made jeep. It is probable that then and in every one of the other farewells, Castro had to hide an envy for those going off to a war he could not be in.

"By then, there was not a spot on the map of Angola that he could not identify, not a quirk of the land that he did not know by heart. So intensely and meticulously did he follow the war that he could cite any statistic of Angola as if he were talking about Cuba. He spoke of Angola's cities, its customs and its people as if he had lived there all his life."

Tens of thousands of Cubans volunteered to go to Angola to join the fight for independence. They saw their role in Africa as an opportunity to defend and extend the gains of their own revolution. And Cuban support was maintained up until the military victory won by the nationalist freedom fighters.

Following the MPLA victory in the war, Castro and Neto met in Conakry, Guinea, to discuss a program for the withdrawal of Cuban troops. "They decided that the withdrawal would be gradual but that as many Cubans as needed would remain in Angola as long as needed to build a modern and strong army, able to guarantee the future internal security and independence of the country without outside help. . . ."

In the face of stepped-up attacks by South Africa, it is clear that the presence of thousands of Cuban troops still plays an important role in defending and consolidating Angola's independence.

—Nan Bailey

### Palestinian rally

Palestinian-Americans held a public demonstration in San Diego against the recent Israeli terrorist attacks against two Palestinian mayors. Called by the Arab-American Society, the demonstration attracted about sixty people.

Fozi Khouri, chairperson of the society, opened the demonstration by citing many examples of the Zionist government's harassment of Palestinians. He blasted the Carter administration for its continued military support to Israel.

Also speaking was Daniela Dixon, representing the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. She was very well received when she pledged support to the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people.

"In addition," she said, "we must organize in this country against re-imposition of the draft, to send back the shah with all the wealth he stole from the Iranian people, and to prevent any U.S. military aggression against Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador."

Written greetings were read from the National Lawyers Guild, and the Black Federation also pledged its support. The activity was widely covered by the media.  
Mark Friedman  
San Diego, California

### Cancel subscription

I would like to cancel my subscription to the *Militant*. I cannot understand or accept your analysis of the USSR invasion of Afghanistan. No one in Afghanistan supports the Soviets. No one in the Third World or the Fourth World supports the Russians. Why do you?

Tom Ellis  
Albany, New York

### Speed-up at PPG

I work at PPG Industries in Lexington, North Carolina. Over the past few months, the company has forced a speed-up on the workers, by combining jobs, upping production quotas, and generally forcing us to work faster.

Every day for ten minutes before work, we have what's called "preshift," which is a cross between seventh grade homeroom and Sunday school. At preshift the other day, our foreman lectured us on inflation and how each of us could contribute to solving it by not extending our breaks and not wasting time.

He explained that if we are paid for wasted time, that money is not recovered by selling our product, fiberglass, and thus causes inflation. He said we should look in the mirror every day and ask ourselves, what have I done to stop inflation today?

I had a few good discussions with co-workers about how speed-up is not the answer to inflation. They didn't realize that the government's war spending is the major cause of inflation, but they sensed that what the "bossman" said wasn't right.

Since PPG is talking of a big layoff next month, perhaps they think they're helping stop the recession by having fewer workers wasting time.

L.H.  
Lexington, North Carolina

### Encouraging news

I wish to tell you that I really am happy to subscribe to the *Militant*. The reporting is excellent. Coverage of U.S. and international events encourages me no end.

I was particularly pleased with "New Rise in the World Class Struggle" (June 20 issue). This article cleared up some misconceptions I had regarding the Caribbean and contained valuable lessons to be learned.

Also, I am glad to see the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign news. I distribute photocopies of Socialist Workers Party pamphlets at my workplace.

Please continue the dissemination of accurate socialist news, and let me know if I can help.

Gene Maynard  
Eugene, Oregon

### Union treasury looted

For many years I have been attached to the National Maritime Union of America (AFL-CIO), having once been

### Press lies on Afghanistan

In the local Toronto newspapers there have been daily reports of big battles between Soviet troops and Afghan rebels. However, an enlightening article regarding the "guerrilla offensive" appeared in the June 17 *Toronto Globe and Mail*.

Jacques Buob, a French journalist from the magazine *L'Express*, visited the town of Paghman northwest of Kabul where "Indian press reports spoke of Soviet aircraft and artillery cutting a wide swath of devastation through the mountains."

But Buob "saw no evidence that a battle had been waged. The town was normal and there were no soldiers in sight."

The article goes on, "Another European traveller said he was in Paghman during the weekend and that

he had heard nothing about a major guerrilla offensive. Western reports of a fierce battle appear baseless, he said.

"Soviet troops were also deployed around Kabul but diplomats dismissed as fantasy suggestions that the Moslem guerrillas were preparing to attack the city."

I had been having reservations about whether the Soviet Union was wise to become involved in Afghanistan if there was really widespread popular opposition to their presence. However, if this article is accurate, it would appear evident that the capitalist newspapers are completely distorting the real situation in Afghanistan and printing outright falsehoods.

R.P.  
Toronto, Ontario

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# Learning About Socialism

## Marx and Engels on the U.S.

an officer of the union. Ours was one of the unions that suffered from the post-World War II witch-hunt. In our case the U.S. Coast Guard weeded out all militants by canceling their seamen's papers.

The union has since declined with the decline in U.S. flag shipping. It has only a few active members left, but the proportionate number of officials is very high . . . and official salaries are higher.

On May 6 this year several newspapers published the salaries of various labor leaders, beyond the \$100,000 bracket. Included in this list was Shannon J. Wall, NMU president, who gets \$109,671 a year plus a fat expense account.

Wall is not the only high-paid NMU official. They are all grabbing as much as they can while the union still has money left. A complicated eight-year court battle ended in late 1978 with an assessment of \$1.1 million in damages against the union. This was paid to Commerce Tankers and to the Vantage Steamship company.

The NMU National Office asked for early dues payments in 1979 as well as voluntary contributions amounting to \$120 per member to pay off the debt. Pensioners were asked to contribute all they can afford. But there is no record of the union officials making any substantial contributions.

The only time these crooked officials turn over anything to the union is when they are forced to do so—and that isn't easy. Joseph Curran, the retired NMU president, was ordered last year by a federal judge to return almost a million dollars in stolen funds. From 1963 through 1972, the judge said, the cost of the union for Curran's salary, vacation pay, and taxes ranged as high as \$95,000 a year and totaled \$854,000.

The judge found that "NMU funds for the payment of personal expenses of the officers was standard operating procedure and that the acceptance of substantial personal favors as a form of kickback from suppliers was far from a rarity."

Curran is appealing the decision. His successors in office are in collusion with him, and continue the practices he initiated.

If these people can be exposed in the *Militant*, I would thank you.  
Joe Padilla  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Today there is growing interest in labor history. Frequently the question is asked, "What should I read?"

Studying labor history can be very fruitful if done from a Marxist perspective. The four volume series on the teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs, for instance, is not just a history of the building of the union. It is a history of the role, contribution, and importance of Marxism and socialist leaders in working class struggles.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote a great deal about the American labor movement and now their major writings on this are available in one volume: *Marx and Engels on the United States*, 391 pp., \$4.50. It is available from Pathfinder Press and the offices listed below.

This is must reading for those wanting to learn more about the history of the American working class up to 1895.

Marx and Engels were avid readers of the American press—at one time they were studying upwards of thirty different American newspapers.

Engels visited the U.S. in 1888.

### The Civil War

In January, 1860, Marx wrote to Engels: ". . . In my opinion the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America, started by the death of John Brown, and on the other, the movement of the slaves [serfs] in Russia."

Many of their writings on the American Civil War, "the first grand war of contemporary history," were published at the time in the *New York Daily Tribune*. They strongly supported the war against slavery, pointing out that as long as labor with a black skin was enslaved, labor with a white skin would never be emancipated.

One of the many interesting items in this book is a communication sent to Abraham Lincoln by Marx in 1864: "If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery."

The articles on the Civil War by Marx and Engels cover military tactics, the real differences that existed at that time between the Democrats and Republicans, and the response to the war in Great Britain.

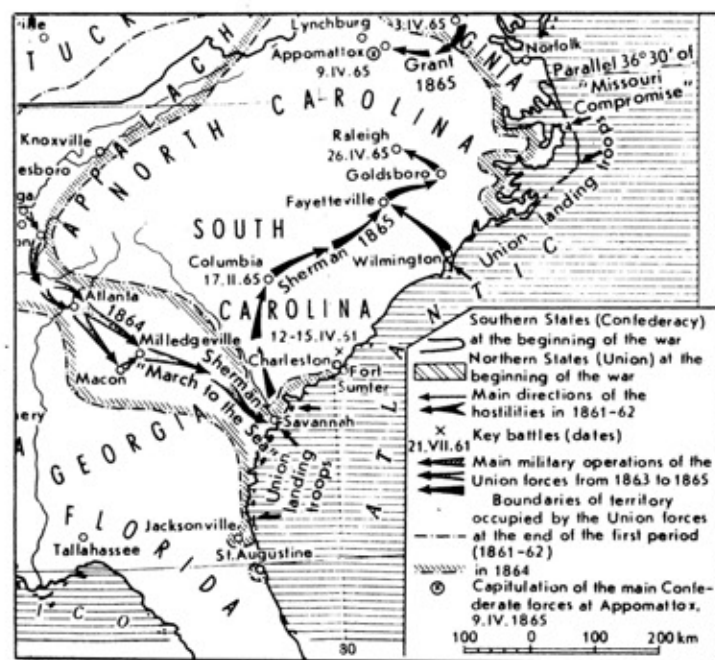
### Sectarianism

While American politics were not foreign to Marx and Engels, sectarianism was. Sections of the workers movement of a century ago suffered from sectarianism then, just as some do today. Writing in 1886, Engels referred back to the line of action of the *Communist Manifesto* written by him and Marx in 1848. The Manifesto declared: "[Communists] have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the whole working class."

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and model the proletarian movement."

In a letter to Marx's and Engels' friend and associate Friedrich Adolph Sorge, who lived in Hoboken, New Jersey, Engels criticized socialists who, "do not know how to use their theory as [a] lever to set the American masses in motion; most of them do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then satisfy all requirements without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action."

In a 1955 exchange of letters between SWP leaders James



A large, fold-out map is in this book showing major Civil War battles. It makes it easier to follow the discussion of military strategy by Marx and Engels.

P. Cannon and Vincent Ray Dunne, Cannon suggested the Marx-Engels-Sorge correspondence, "should be required reading for all party activists."

### Labor party

*Marx and Engels on the United States* includes the preface by Engels to the 1887 American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, a book he wrote in 1844.

Engels points out that in 1885, "American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point; that there was no working class, in the European sense of the word, in America; that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalists, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic; and that, therefore, Socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal miners and in the preparations, all over the country, for the great Eight Hours' movement which was to come off in May . . ."

"That the laboring masses should feel their community of grievances and of interests, their solidarity as a class in opposition to all other classes; . . . that is the first step only. The next step is to find the common remedy for these common grievances, and to embody it in the platform of the new Labor Party. And this—the most important and most difficult step in the movement—has yet to be taken in America."

—Paul Montauk

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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- ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.
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- UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East. 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
- VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
- WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.
- WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
- WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
- WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT

## Socialist vs. KKK in Calif. election

SAN DIEGO—The Democratic Party's nomination of a Ku Klux Klan leader as its candidate in the 43rd Congressional District "is a grave danger to the entire labor movement, especially to Blacks, Chicanos and undocumented workers," Mark Friedman said June 24, announcing his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in opposition to Democrat Tom Metzger and to Republican incumbent Clair Burgener.

National attention has been focused on the race ever since Metzger, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in southern California, won a narrow victory in the Democratic primary June 3.

Friedman dismissed the explanation, now being circulated by embarrassed statewide leaders of the Democratic Party, that Metzger's nomination was a fluke of no lasting consequence.

"The racist capitalist policy-makers—Democrats and Republicans both—know very well that they can use the Klan campaign as a battering ram to open up an even wider offensive of their own against the labor movement, women, and oppressed peoples.

"That racist, antilabor drive must be stopped now," the socialist candidate declared. "The best possible repudiation of the Klan election campaign would be if the labor movement launched an emergency effort to field its own independent candidates.

"That's why I decided to enter the race," the 28-year-old machinist explained. "To show what should be done. Working people need a real alternative to the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans."

The fact that a notorious leader of the Klan could run openly on the Democratic Party ticket, he said,



SWP contingent at February march against Klan and Nazis in North Carolina

"should lay to rest any belief that the Democrats are different from the Republicans.

"In fact, the antilabor, anti-Black, and anti-Chicano policies of both the Democrats and Republicans create a fertile culture medium for the most rabid racists like the Klan to develop."

As an example, Friedman pointed out how Metzger made a big pitch around virulent hatred of undocumented workers, a stand that won him many of his votes, according to media analysts.

"For years," Friedman said, "the top Democrats and Republicans have been sowing hatred of undocumented workers. Metzger expresses the very same hatred—just in a cruder, more extreme style.

"The conventional Democrats and Republicans breed racists and fascists. That has always been their history. That's why there was no cry of alarm from Democratic Party high councils when Metzger entered the race."

Klan strategists, for their part, have said that they intend to repeat Metzger-style campaigns.

"No matter what happens in the November election," Metzger told the *Los Angeles Times*, "I've already won... and this is just the beginning."

He promised that in the future KKKers would run for office as either Democrats or Republicans, sometimes openly as Klansmen, sometimes not.

In the June 3 primary here Metzger proclaimed his Klan membership in some areas, openly appealing for racist and rightist votes. Elsewhere in the district, however, his platform and Klan membership were not generally known, so he picked up many votes by accident, for example, in Black and Chicano areas.

Friedman insists that the nomination of Metzger did not signal a fundamental shift to the right among the majority of the people.

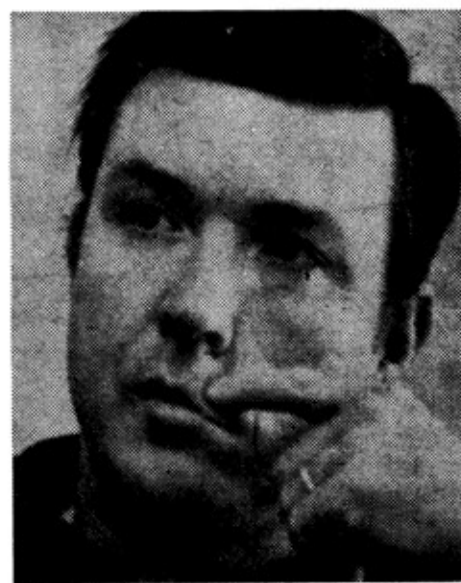
"It's a sign, rather, of a growing class polarization in American politics. Metzger on the right is highly visible in the electoral arena. On the left, however, working people do not yet have a labor party or even independent trade union candidates.

"When a labor party, based on the trade unions, is formed, it will be able to deal crushing blows to the racists. It can turn back the capitalist economic offensive.

"That's what I stand for. That's why I'm running."



Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Congress.



Thomas Metzger, a leader of Ku Klux Klan, is Democratic Party nominee.

### SWP wins Ariz. ballot spot

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX—On June 25 U.S. District Judge Charles Hardy directed the state of Arizona to place the Socialist Workers Party on the 1980 ballot.

Judge Hardy's ruling struck down the section of a newly enacted state law that would have made it more difficult for minority parties to obtain ballot status. In addition to a petition requirement of 10,700 signatures—which the SWP has been able to meet over the past twelve years—the new law would have required the signatures of nearly 300 registered party members.

Some voters might hesitate to designate the SWP as their party of preference because it could subject them to harassment by the FBI and other police agencies. The case of Morris Starsky, who was fired from his job at Arizona State University because of his SWP affiliation, is well known here.

During the trial the state assistant attorney general charged that the Socialist Workers Party could not

get sufficient community support to warrant being on the 1980 ballot. However, SWP attorney Shelly Davis pointed to the 1979 Phoenix mayor's race in which the SWP candidate received more than 17,000 votes, close to 15 percent of the votes cast.

At a celebration at campaign headquarters after the decision, SWP senatorial candidate Josefina Otero told supporters that Arizonans have the right to vote "for an alternative to the two parties of unemployment and inflation. Working people now have the opportunity to proudly cast their ballot for the SWP and for the idea of a labor party, which we champion."

On June 30, after eight days of petitioning, Illinois campaign supporters had gathered 21,750 signatures to place the party's presidential slate and senatorial candidate Lee Artz on the ballot.

The party expects to meet its goal of 32,000 signatures well ahead of the scheduled four-week deadline.

### Your help is needed!

The Socialist Workers Party in San Diego announced June 24 the launching of a drive to collect well over the 11,000 signatures required to put SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman on the ballot against Ku Klux Klan Democrat Thomas Metzger.

Petitioning will run from July 12 to July 26.

To help, contact the SWP campaign office: 1053 Fifteenth Street; San Diego, California 92101. Telephone (714) 234-4630.

"Californians are eager to sign for socialist candidates," said Sara Gates, the statewide campaign director. "As of July 1," she said, "143,555 people had signed to put the party's presidential ticket on the ballot. We'll reach our goal of 150,000 in only two more days.

"We expect even more enthusiastic support for the additional petitioning effort in San Diego."

**FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED** for this special effort. Send contributions to Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.