

THE MILITANT

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

Carter shields anti-Cuba killers

Pulley urges united action to stop assassins

By Andy Rose

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Responsibility for the assassination of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez, gunned down September 11 in New York, “rests squarely on President James Carter,” Andrew Pulley told a Socialist Workers campaign rally September 13.

“Regardless of who pulled the trigger,” the socialist presidential candidate declared, “it is certain that behind the murderers stand the CIA, the FBI, the New York police, and the Carter administration.”

The counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists of Omega 7 who claimed credit for the killing, “were assembled and armed by Washington beginning in 1960,” Pulley pointed out. “The CIA trained them in assassination techniques to murder Fidel Castro. For twenty years they have killed, killed, and killed again.”

“For twenty years the U.S. government has shielded them. They have never been brought to justice.”

Demand arrests

Pulley learned of the assassination of García late Thursday night, September 11, when he arrived in Newport News. The socialist candidate promptly sent a message of condolences and solidarity to the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, of which García was a member.

In a protest to Carter, Pulley demanded arrest of the terrorists and full protection for Cuban Ambassador Raúl Roa Kouri and other Cuban diplomats, who face death threats from Omega 7. He also called for opening the files of the CIA, the FBI, and the New York, New Jersey, and Miami police to bring out the truth on their ties with the right-wing hit squads.

The Saturday night campaign rally here, which had been set to wind up Pulley’s two-day tour of the Virginia Tidewater area, centered on protesting the assassination and analyzing its meaning.



Militant/Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Sept. 12—More than 500 protesters condemn murder of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez by right-wing terrorists.

At the request of Eli Green, the Newport News shipyard worker who chaired the rally, those present stood for a moment of silence to honor García.

Amy Husk of the Young Socialist Alliance, who had just returned from a week in Cuba, told of the social gains of the revolution. Sharon Grant, SWP

candidate for Congress in Virginia’s First District, contrasted the positive social role of police in revolutionary Nicaragua (which she visited last spring) to cop brutality in Black communities in this country.

Protests needed

In his speech, Pulley explained the

need for a broad movement demanding arrest of the terrorists and an end to Washington’s complicity with them.

“This was not only a criminal act against Cuba, this was a blow against the rights of all American working people,” he said.

Pulley compared the Cuban counter-

Continued on page 4

SWP ruled off Calif. ballot: national protest drive launched

By Roberta Frick

SAN FRANCISCO—Socialist Workers Party 1980 Campaign Director Larry Seigle has announced a nationwide effort by the party and its supporters to protest the exclusion of the SWP from the California ballot.

A Superior Court judge here ruled

the socialists off the ballot September 12, despite the fact that they had turned in 100,000 more signatures than required to place the party’s presidential and statewide ticket on the California ballot. The SWP is running Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

An appeal of the judge’s decision will be filed soon.

On September 11 the socialists had gone into court to present evidence of election law violations by Democratic Gov. Edmund Brown’s administration. Brown claims that only 40 percent of the signatures on the socialists’ nomi-

nating petitions were valid.

At the September 11 hearing Howard Moore and co-counsel Ann Menasche, attorneys for the SWP, argued that the state had arbitrarily invalidated signatures, violated the time limits set down by the state for verification, and re-

Continued on page 9

Build anti-terror protest campaign

The murder of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez has evoked unprecedented outrage against the terror of Omega 7, which has bombed and killed for years with complete impunity. There is a new determination today to stop these assassins.

The murderers, drug peddlers, and extortionists who make up the terrorist anti-Cuba gangs never represented the majority of Cubans in this country. Now there is growing sentiment in the Cuban community for normal relations, travel, and communications with Cuba. And there is growing outrage at the reactionary gangs that terrorize and prey on the Cuban community with the protection of federal and local governments.

Blacks, Latinos, and other civil rights supporters are also angry about right-wing violence.

The cops and federal agents who cover up for Omega 7 are the same ones who cover up for the racist attacks of the Klan and Nazis.

The labor movement has a stake in making sure Omega 7 doesn't get away with this one. Union members are learning that letting the right-wing gangs get away with attacks on Cubans or Blacks opens the door for similar attacks on strikers and union organizing drives.

The initial picket lines and demonstrations held to protest García's murder show there is big potential for a united action campaign to force the government to arrest and prosecute the Omega 7 gang.

There should be more pickets at federal buildings. There should be delegations to Mayor Edward Koch and to the White House to protest this heinous crime.

Upcoming conferences and meetings in solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the rebels in El Salvador are important opportunities to discuss how to build this anti-terror campaign.

Stepped-up efforts to get out the truth about Cuba are also needed.

The truth about Cuba is what the terrorists and their backers don't want the American people to hear.

We must break the blockade against Cuba—both by deepening the campaign against Carter's economic blockade, and by helping crack

the information blockade the U.S. government wants to impose.

The *Militant* and our sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*, will help get out the truth about Cuba.

Your effort to get out the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will help deal another blow against the terrorists.

Pol Pot out of UN!

Secretary of State Edmund Muskie announced September 15 that the United States would vote to recognize the ousted Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations.

Muskie's words were backed up by a high-pressure U.S. campaign to keep a growing number of waverers at the United Nations in line behind recognition of the hated ex-tyrant as the "legitimate" ruler of Kampuchea—despite the Pol Pot government's responsibility for the deaths of millions of Kampucheans; despite the fact that it controls virtually no Kampuchean territory or population; and despite the fact that it has been out of power for nearly two years.

Muskie justified continued support to Pol Pot on the grounds that Vietnam refuses to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. With the U.S., Peking, and the Thai military dictatorship providing bases and arms along the Thai border for Pol Pot, such a withdrawal would be an invitation for his murder gangs to stream back into a country that is still recovering from a decade of war and mass murder.

The demand for Vietnamese withdrawal has nothing in common with the views of the Kampuchean masses. A firmly anticommunist journalist like the *New York Times*'s Henry Kamm admitted after visiting Kampuchea last spring: "Cambodians still regard Vietnam as their liberator" for bringing down Pol Pot in January 1979.

What was liberation from tyranny for millions of Kampucheans, however, was viewed as a threat by Washington and its allies. They fear that the fall of Pol Pot will set off a chain reaction of opposition to repressive regimes in Thailand and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

United Nations recognition of Pol Pot, instead of Kampuchea's legitimate government headed by Heng Samrin, provides Washington

with cover for funneling aid to Pol Pot's troops while blocking reconstruction aid to Kampuchea. And it is a legal pretext used by Thailand and Peking to threaten war if Vietnam and Kampuchea move against Pol Pot's remaining bases.

Washington's effort to keep Pol Pot's murderers in business is losing ground. During the past year the Non-aligned movement dropped Pol Pot's "government" from membership. Great Britain withdrew recognition. And India has recognized the Heng Samrin government. UNICEF and the Red Cross claim they no longer aid Pol Pot's forces.

Even reactionary United Nations diplomats increasingly suspect that recognition of Pol Pot is not rehabilitating him, but further discrediting the United Nations in the eyes of people around the world.

Capitalist politicians are divided. Presidential candidate John Anderson denounced the Carter administration's support for Pol Pot, as have ten United States senators.

We must demand recognition of the Heng Samrin government, an end to U.S. support and aid to Pol Pot, and massive reconstruction aid to Kampuchea.

Kim Dae Jung

On September 17 Kim Dae Jung, the most prominent opponent of the South Korean dictatorship, was sentenced to death by a military court. Twenty-three of his co-defendants received long prison sentences.

Some 175 people have been indicted on charges relating to the insurrection in Kwangju last May that involved 200,000 workers and students.

The military government of Chun Doo Hwan is trying to stamp out the mass opposition that still burns beneath the surface calm in South Korea.

These violations of human rights are Washington's responsibility. The authority of the South Korean government rests on a military alliance with Washington that includes the stationing of 40,000 U.S. troops.

Protests are needed now to save Kim's life and end the round-up of critics and freedom fighters.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Pulley campaigns at Va. shipyard
- 5 Raúl Roa addresses UN
- 7 El Salvador: new U.S. threats
- 8 Carter stalls on hostage crisis
- 10 New unions throughout Poland
- 11 Turkish coup tightens austerity
- 12 YSA growing in N.C., N.Y.
- 13 N.C. socialists protest spying
- 14 Pulley slams Carter, Reagan
- 15 Bus driver fights for rights
- 16 Detroit Steelworkers strike
- 17 Sub drive off to good start
- 18 Gov't complicity with Omega 7
- 19 How Cuba solves economic problems
- 20 Polish struggle for socialism
- 23 Drought & working farmer
- 24 In Review
- 25 The Great Society
Union Talk
What's Going On
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .

Protest Omega 7 killers!

Outrage was the immediate response when the news hit that Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez was assassinated. Protests were lodged inside and outside the United Nations. **Page 5.** In Cuba, Council of State Vice-president Carlos Rodríguez delivered a memorial speech for the slain revolutionary. **Page 6.** Meanwhile, the cops and the FBI say they can't find the killers. But there's a long, documented record of police protection for these murderers. **Page 18.**



The Militant

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE
Business Manager: NANCY ROSENSTOCK
Editorial Staff: Nan Bailey, Fred Feldman, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Diane Jacobs, Harry Ring, Vivian Sahner, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.
Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

Cops cover for Omega 7 killers

By Stu Singer

SEPT. 17—A week after Félix García Rodríguez, a member of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations, was assassinated on a busy New York City street, police have made no arrests.

Right-wing terrorists who took credit for the murder threatened to kill other Cubans. They specifically targeted the head of Cuba's UN delegation, Dr. Raúl Roa Kouri.

At least three .45 caliber shots were fired at García, killing him Thursday evening, September 11, as he was driving on Queens Boulevard.

A caller told United Press International several minutes after the shooting: "Omega 7 commandos are responsible for the execution of a Cuban delegate to the UN. . . . We intend to continue to eliminate all these traitors from the face of the earth and we are going to continue on executing all these people who are responsible for conditions in Cuba."

In the past five years, "Omega 7" has taken credit for other murders. They killed Carlos Muñiz Varela in San Juan Puerto Rico, April 28, 1979 and Eulalio José Negrín in Union City, New Jersey last November 25. Muñiz and Negrín were both opponents of the U.S. blockade against Cuba. No one has been charged in their murders.

Omega 7 has taken credit for twenty-two bombings in the New York City area in the last five years. There have been no arrests. (See page 18 for the history of police protection for Omega 7.)

On Friday afternoon, the day after the murder of García, 500 people demonstrated outside the United States Mission to the UN. The demonstrators demanded the arrest of the Omega 7 terrorists and protested the U.S. blockade against Cuba.

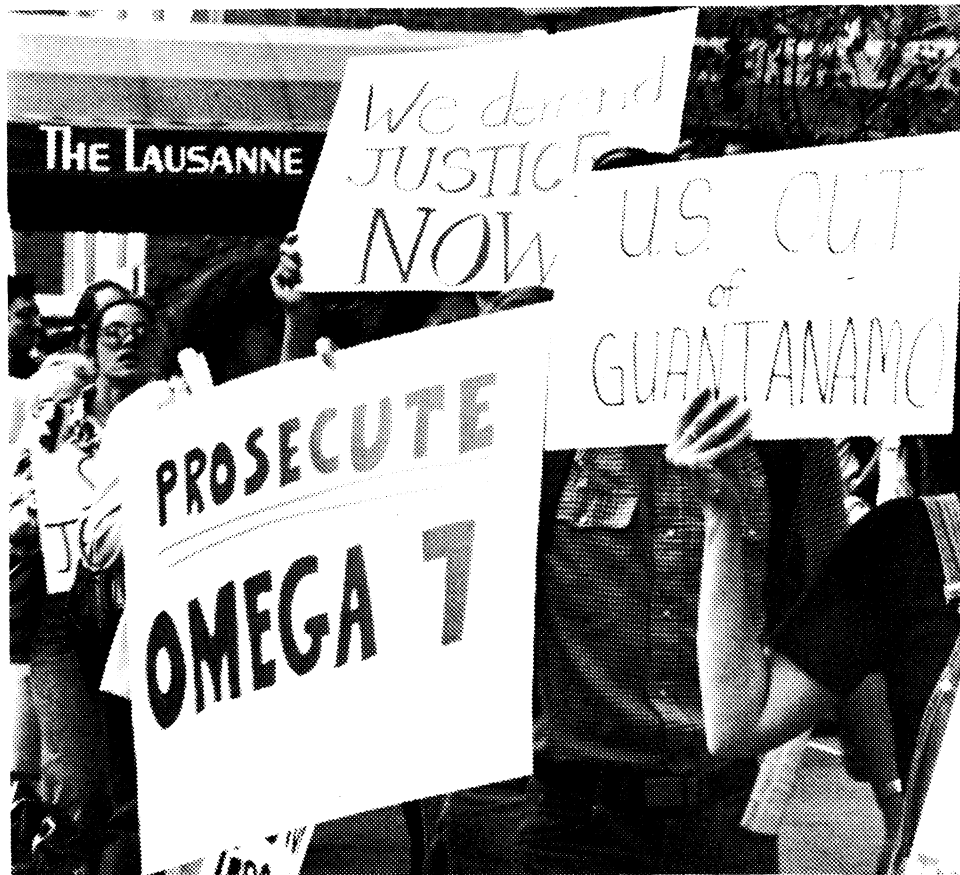
The afternoon edition of the *New York Post* was already on the streets. Its front page declared that "New York police said today they feared a bloody war here between pro- and anti-Castro groups following the assassination. . . . 'There could be a lot of blood in the streets,' a top law enforcement source told the *Post*."

Condolences and spy stories

In reacting to the murder, U.S. officials expressed "sincere regret" (UN ambassador Donald McHenry), "enormous distress" (New York Mayor Ed Koch) and regret over the "reprehensible murder" (Secretary of State Edmund Muskie).

But instead of arresting the terrorists, the government floated stories that García, the victim, "served some intelligence functions" (September 12 *New York Times*). The September 13 *Daily News* headlined their article "Believe envoy killed for spy activity" and quoted unnamed "federal authorities" that "Omega 7 decided to execute García after unmasking him as a high level spy sent here by Fidel Castro to wipe them out." The article claims, "García was thought to be keeping surveillance on a Cuban drug ring operating in Miami."

Similar reports were initially broad-



Top, 500 in New York protested killing of Cuban diplomat. Below, car blown up by terrorists in 1976 killing of Chilean leader Letelier. Killers will now get new trial.

cast in much of the news media. They wanted to turn the victim into the criminal and relieve the pressure on the government to move against the terrorists.

The charge is repeated in the *Newsweek* issue dated September 22, but the spy stories have since disappeared from the local press. New York Police and FBI officials have been quoted as saying "We don't have any information that he was in intelligence." (*Times*, September 13).

Raúl Roa said of the charges, "[García] was a protocol officer at the mission—that is all. The media is trying to invent all these fabrications to justify what has happened, and that is that Félix García has been murdered in plain daylight."

U.S. protects terrorists

The September 16 *New York Times* quotes FBI spokesman Quentin Ertel: "I think in terms of developing witnesses and hard evidence, progress is

slow."

But the slow progress has nothing to do with lack of information. The names and pictures of key leaders of the terrorists and the address of their public headquarters in Union City, New Jersey have been published repeatedly.

The *Times* reported September 14 that police have been "unable to find any members of Omega 7." The news media seems to have had better luck.

The *Daily News* of September 14 carried an interview with Pedro Hernandez, a right-wing newspaper publisher. Hernandez said he supported the murder of García because "justice is being done."

In the March 10, 1980 *Village Voice*, writer Jeff Stein identified Hernandez as, "a close ally of [Armando] Santana's Cuban Nationalist Movement and, according to New York police files, 'a suspect in recent Cuban bombings.'"

Stein said, "the FBI feels [Armando Santana] is the key Omega 7 operative in this area."

The September 23 *Newsweek* quoted Alfredo Chumaceiro, a right-wing terrorist, as insisting "there is no connection" between the [Cuban Nationalist] movement and García's assassination." Chumaceiro just might be lying. He and Santana spent two years in jail after New York police caught them setting a bomb at a theater showing a Cuban film festival in 1976.

The March 27, 1979 *Times* reported that the FBI said "its investigations indicated that Omega 7 was 'a pseudonym used by members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement.'"

The media have reported that the CNM has a public office at 4207 New York Ave., Union City, New Jersey.

Three members of the CNM are in jail for the assassination of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier and American Ronnie Moffitt. Letelier's car was blown up in Washington September 21, 1976. The trial of the terrorists revealed the murder was ordered by the Chilean secret police, Dina, and that there was some degree of CIA involvement.

Ironically the three CNM members jailed for the Letelier and Moffitt murders won a federal appeals court ruling September 15 that overturned their convictions. They are supposed to be tried again.

Hypocrites and liars

When Carter admitted the shah of Iran to this country, Iranian students seized the U.S. Embassy. U.S. officials branded this the most heinous violation of international diplomatic norms in history.

The United States is host country to the United Nations. Since 1975 Omega 7 terrorists have claimed responsibility for bombing the UN missions of Venezuela (twice), Cuba (five times), the Soviet Union, and Angola. Now a Cuban diplomat has been gunned down. No action has ever been taken by U.S. authorities against the terrorists for these attacks on "international diplomacy."

In the last few years some bombings were supposedly committed by Puerto Rican independence supporters. U.S. police not only arrested and convicted people allegedly responsible, but attempted to terrorize all supporters of Puerto Rican independence in the process. People were jailed for "conspiracy"; or jailed for contempt because they chanted independence slogans in court.

It is an outright lie that U.S. officials do not know or cannot get a conviction against the anti-Cuban terrorists.

Carter's policy

Whatever the facts eventually show about the direct links between the U.S. government and García's killers, the Omega 7 terror campaign fits right in with the policy of the Carter administration.

That policy is to block the revolutionary upsurge in Central America, and to isolate Cuba. The Omega 7 killings are inseparable from this policy, which could drag the American people into a new Vietnam in Central America.

The violence is also aimed at intimidating the growing number of people in the Cuban community in this country who want a friendly policy toward Cuba.

To the extent the murderers get away with their crimes, they are encouraged to step up their attacks.

Washington's message to Omega 7 thus far is: you have a license to kill.

A different message has to be sent back to Washington: the American people are sick of government-trained killers freely walking the streets of this country, whether they are counterrevolutionary Cubans or Ku Klux Klan scum.

Felix Garcia Rodriguez: a fighter since youth

The following biographical sketch of the slain Félix García Rodríguez is based on information issued by the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Born in 1939 of humble origins, García worked from his earliest years to help support his family.

As a student at the University of Havana, he was active in the movement against the Batista dictatorship, cooperating with the Revolutionary Directorate, a student organization, and the July 26 Movement, led by Fidel Castro. He

was arrested twice by Batista's police during student demonstrations.

He graduated from the schools of diplomatic law and journalism at the university.

A member of a combat unit of the people's militia, he participated in numerous mobilizations in defense of the revolution. He was also active in voluntary sugar harvesting mobilizations. As a member of the Ministry of Exterior Relations (MINREX) he participated in projects sponsored by the department

for building new workers' housing.

He served as an official of MINREX and then worked as a journalist on the daily *Victoria*, published on the Isle of Youth, and on *Juventud Rebelde*, the Havana daily. He was then appointed a diplomatic attaché to the Cuban UN Mission. He was, since 1977, a protocol official.

He is survived by a brother, Domingo García Rodríguez, currently the Cuban ambassador to Egypt.

...killers

Continued from front page

revolutionaries to the KKK-Nazi gang that shot and killed five antiracist demonstrators in North Carolina last November.

"When right-wing terrorists can strike with impunity, it hits us right here at home. It hits those trying to organize unions. It hits those demanding Black equality. It hits those fighting to stop the draft. It hits anyone who wants to change society."

Despite Washington's efforts to whip up hatred of Cuba, he went on, the great majority of Americans oppose the right-wingers' bombings and assassinations.

In fact, many working people here are beginning to hear about the gains of the Cuban revolution and are interested in finding out more. A central aim of Omega 7's violence is to intimidate those who are spreading the truth about Cuba to American workers.

Welcoming the example set by the emergency picket lines the day before, Pulley said more and larger actions are needed, drawing on the power of the unions, groups organizing solidarity with Latin America, Black and Latino groups, antidraft youth, and all who have a stake in opposing the terrorists.

'Cops know where they are'

Pulley scoffed at police claims to have "few leads" in the assassination. "They know who these people are. They know where they are," he said. "The reason the cops don't find them and jail them is because the cops are in complicity with them."

"The CIA never admits to killing anybody," he pointed out. "They always have somebody else take credit. They like to kill through a third party. Only years later does it come out that the CIA did it."

Pulley took up the statements by Donald McHenry, U.S. ambassador to the UN, justifying police conduct. McHenry had asserted that even though the FBI knew the members of Omega 7, arrests could be made only on "hard evidence," since "this is not a police state."

"It's true, this is not a police state," Pulley responded. "This is a capitalist democracy. And what we see here is that in a capitalist democracy, right-wing terrorists stand above the law, murdering people with impunity. We see the real face of capitalist democracy, the face of the oppressed masses of the world see every day."

Pulley said the assassination of Gar-

Shipyard workers tell Pulley: 'We're with your principles'

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—At noon on September 12, Andrew Pulley stood at the main gate of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, shaking hands with workers pouring out of the yard on their lunch break.

It was not a first visit for the Socialist Workers presidential candidate.

Last year Pulley was part of a delegation of steelworkers from the Chicago-Gary area who journeyed to Newport News to demonstrate support for the shipyard workers' long strike for union recognition.

This past summer, some 1,800 shipyard workers—at least 10 percent of the production and maintenance work force in the yard—signed petitions to help get Pulley on the Virginia ballot.

So it was no surprise that the response was friendly as Pulley talked with workers while a half-dozen campaign supporters distributed literature and sold the *Militant*. One Black worker chatted briefly



Militant/Andy Rose

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, left, talks with Newport News workers outside main shipyard gate during lunch break.

with Pulley, pressed a small envelope into his hand, and hurried on.

Inside was a forty-dollar contribution to the socialist campaign.

A note explained that the donation came from "a few of us who are not

yet members of your splendid organization, but with your principles, and reality of what you and the country were built upon. We wish that the working class will prevail and this is America."

cia fits into a pattern of attacks by Washington against the revolutionary movement in the Caribbean and Central America, including U.S. hostility to the revolutionary governments in Nicaragua and Grenada and stepped-up U.S. aid to the military dictatorship in El Salvador.

"And above all, attacks against Cuba," he said. Just in the past year, Pulley noted, Washington has tried to launch a witch-hunt against Cuba around the "Soviet troops" issue, resumed illegal spy flights over the island, held threatening military maneuvers in the area, and tried to exploit the Cuban emigrés to smear the Castro government.

Why they hate Cuba

The socialist candidate posed the question: "Why is Washington—the strongest military power on earth, based on the wealthiest economy, a big country of 240 million people—so hostile to Cuba, a small country of 10 million that is relatively poor?"

"Cuba does pose a threat," he answered. "A threat not to American workers, Blacks, women, or any of the oppressed, but a threat to the billionaires of this country."

"The threat Cuba poses is that the rest of the people of Latin America will learn from its example that the way to end unemployment, the way to end illiteracy, the way to end hunger and disease, the way to raise the living standard of the masses of people, is to take over your own country! And to take over your own country, you've got to take over some of the American billionaires' property, and you've got to bring down the dictators who serve on behalf of the American billionaires."

Pulley pointed to the response of the Cuban people to Washington's threats.

"Five million people, half the island's population, came into the streets May 17 to demonstrate support to the revolution. It dwarfed those who left."

"How many people could Carter mobilize?"

The fact is, Pulley said, that Washington has failed to win support among the American people for its attempts to crush revolutionary struggles around the world. He cited mass opposition to the draft among young people, "who see that the draft is not to defend them, but to defend the interests of giant corporations."

American workers, he said, "have no interest in Carter's anti-Cuba policy. Our interests lie with the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean. They are fighting against the same corporations that rip us off at home."

"Our interests lie with the Cuban people, who are setting an example of how working people can run society to provide jobs, education, health care, freedom from racism, and a better future for humanity."

"We should join with them in demanding an end to the economic blockade of Cuba. We should join them in demanding that Washington halt its spy flights and withdraw its troops from Guantánamo."

'They are losing'

Finally, Pulley stressed that the terrorist actions "are not only the actions of cowards, but the actions of people who are desperate, who have tried and failed."

"We have no reason to feel pessimism because of this assassination. The U.S. rulers are losing, not just in the Caribbean but right here at home."

"They lose when one million young workers say, hell no, we won't go."

"They lose when 7,000 demonstrators come into the streets to protest Klan murder in North Carolina."

"They lose when the Black community doesn't take the exoneration of killer-cops lying down, but comes out into the streets and lights up the skies."

"They lose when workers fight back against demands for sacrifice. When the fire fighters in Chicago link up with the Black community. When shipbuilders right here strike and win the union of their choice."

"They lose when they can't rally the American people behind Carter and Reagan."

"They lose when union after union starts talking about the need to build a labor party."

From Poland to Iran, from South Africa to El Salvador, Pulley declared, the strength of the working class is making history. He quoted from Fidel Castro's July 26 speech, with its confident defiance of U.S. threats and its reminder that capitalist society "already belongs to the past."

"In the last analysis," Pulley continued, "all the assassins they can muster will not be sufficient to halt the march of history."

"If little Vietnam can do it against the U.S. military, if little Cuba can withstand the blockade for twenty years, if little Grenada can move forward, if Iran can overthrow the shah and move forward—just imagine what will happen when working people in this country say it is time to call a halt. When workers here say what the Polish workers said, that it's time for us to become the masters of our factories, masters of all society."

"I'll tell you what will happen. All the assassins, like all the cops, will run for cover."

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hear Pulley on Grenada

Andrew Pulley speaks out on the revolution in Grenada

Sunday, September 21
2-5 p.m.

WHUR-FM—96.3

Interviewed by John Blake on 'The Caribbean Experience'

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—8 weeks/\$2

Don't rely on biased reports in the capitalist press to find out what's happening in Cuba. Read the *Militant* for an accurate account of what the Cuban government says, and for news, including firsthand stories from Havana, about what the majority of the Cuban people really think. Don't miss an issue. Subscribe now.



Subscribe today

- () \$2 for eight issues (new readers only)
() \$5 for three months () \$24 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Raul Roa addresses UN

'The assassins operate with full impunity'

Following is the text of the statement made by Raúl Roa Kouri, Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations, at the September 12 session of the UN General Assembly. The English text was released by the Cuban Mission to the UN.

Mr. President:

Distinguished delegates:

Yesterday evening, a member of the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations, Diplomatic Attache,



RAUL ROA

Militant/Harry Ring

Comrade Félix García Rodríguez, was cowardly assassinated in New York City.

His assassins, counterrevolutionaries of Cuban origin living in the United States, cynically informed the New York press that that was an act by one of the gangs made up of a small group of terrorists without a fatherland which operate in this country. They forecast that this would be the first in a series of aggressions.

These groups of professional assassins who not only act against the representatives of Revolutionary Cuba, but who impose their terror on all those who defend Cuba's rights, have several public offices in the country which hosts our international organization. The members and leaders of these groups publish their statements

in the Hispanic press of New York City and convene public meetings in Manhattan, shamelessly boasting about their criminal intentions against the diplomatic representatives of the Cuban Revolution. They are the same who, in the course of the past two years, have bombed the premises of the Permanent Mission of Cuba on five occasions, causing serious damage to our office building and endangering the lives and security not only of Cuban diplomats and officials but of innocent passers-by and New York police agents on duty at the Mission as well. In short, they are the same elements who six months ago placed a highly potent plastic bomb under the car of the Permanent Representative of Cuba to this Organization.

They have now vilely murdered diplomat Félix García on a Queens road-way, inside his own car, in plain day light, at a scarce 15 minutes drive from the United Nations Headquarters.

They have acted with full impunity. They have acted, likewise, with the treachery, expertise and security of those who were trained to commit all kinds of criminal activities against the Cuban Revolution, its leaders and representatives abroad. Above all, they acted with the cowardice typical of these despicable petty gangsters.

Encouraged by the impunity which they have enjoyed and still enjoy, despite our reiterated denunciation of their acts to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Common Relations with the Host Country, they resolved to slay Comrade Félix García once they ascertained he was alone and defenseless. Such is the nature of Cuba's enemies; such are their criminal methods; such is the indemnity with which they carry out their repugnant villainies.

Mister President:

The Permanent Mission of Cuba has received the condolences of the Government of the Host Country for this outrageous assassination. The Permanent Representative of the United States has assured us that all necessary measures to guarantee the security and physical integrity of Cuban

diplomats and of our Mission would be adopted, and that all efforts would be made to apprehend the assassins of our comrade, Félix García.

But, unfortunately, Félix García has died because his cowardly assassins were not punished for their previous crimes. It is, therefore, an elementary duty to denounce his murder before this august body and reiterate the imperative need to put an end to the impunity enjoyed by these terrorists and assassins; that the Host Country, in accordance with its obligations from the Agreement between the United Nations and the Government of the United States, fully guarantees the physical security of diplomatic personnel accredited to this Organization, of their Missions and properties. The international community cannot remain idle in the face of the repeated

aggressions and terrorist actions against diplomatic personnel and Missions in New York City.

From the bottom of our hearts, we pay homage to our comrade, who fell in the fulfillment of his duties. No member of the Cuban diplomatic service can be intimidated. My Government demands that the authorities of the Host Country adopt the necessary measures to capture and try the assassins of Cuban diplomat Félix García, and expects the Member States of this Organization to demand the strict observance of the norms and conventions regulating the activities of our Missions and their personnel, inasmuch as they are diplomatic agents accredited to the United Nations and reside, for that reason, in the territory of the Host Country. Thank you.

Message to Cuban youth

Following the assassination of Félix García Rodríguez, the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance sent messages of solidarity to three youth organizations in Cuba. They were the Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas, Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios, and Organización Continental Latino-Americana des Estudiantes (Union of Young Communists, Federation of University Students and Continental Organization of Latin American Students).

The following is the text of the message.

The Young Socialist Alliance of the United States expresses our profound outrage and sorrow over the murder of comrade Félix García Rodríguez. We hold the U.S. government responsible for this crime because of its twenty-year campaign to undermine and slander the Cuban revolution.

The government of the United States is afraid of the example of the Cuban revolution for young people in this country. Imperialist propaganda against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada has been aimed at turning young Americans against these revolutions. But American youth have no interest in fighting our brothers and sisters in the Caribbean, Central America, or elsewhere. This was shown by the refusal of hundreds of thousands of young American workers and students to register for Carter's draft.

We pledge to mobilize our members and supporters to protest this latest attack on the Cuban revolution. We demand immediate prosecution of the anti-Cuban terrorists. We demand protection for representatives of the Cuban government.

No draft! No war!
End the blockade!
End U.S. attacks on the Cuban revolution!

Protests echo inside and outside UN

By Harry Ring

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Within eighteen hours of the slaying of Cuban UN attaché Félix García Rodríguez, there were substantial protests here, both outside and inside the United Nations.

While the UN General Assembly met in a plenary session on the issue, protesters against the assassination marched outside. With literally only hours notice, more than 500 people showed up for a two-hour demonstration.

Chanting in Spanish and English, the picketers demanded:

"USA, CIA, Hands off Cuba!"
"Cuba sí, bloqueo no! Omega 7 has got to go!" "Arrest the terrorists! Break the blockade!"

Inside the UN, Dr. Raúl Roa Kouri, first secretary of the Cuban delegation, told the plenary that the assassins were encouraged in their deadly work "by the impunity they have enjoyed and still enjoy" in the United States.

Noting Washington's expressions of regret, Roa commented that "unfortunately Félix García has died because his cowardly assassins were not punished for their previous crimes."

This point was emphasized by the demonstrators outside the UN. A statement distributed to passers-by from the sponsoring group, the Committee to End the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba, demanded a halt to "all terrorist violence" against Cuba.



Protest at UN

Militant/Anibal Yáñez

It noted that ever since the triumph of the Cuban revolution twenty-one years ago, anti-Cuba terrorist networks have functioned "virtually unchecked" in this country and in Puerto Rico. It declared that the absence of vigorous prosecution of the terrorist groups by the government "can only be interpreted as complicity."

Numerous groupings opposed to U.S. aggression against Cuba participated.

Among them were Casa de las Americas, Casa Nicaragua, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, Venceremos Brigade, Workers World Party, and others.

At the UN plenary, representatives spoke on the assassination.

Speaking on behalf of the UN, General Secretary Kurt Waldheim said he

joined in "strongly condemning" the murder.

Representing several of the Asian governments, the representative of Bangladesh declared it "a matter of serious concern for all of us." He called upon the United States to fulfill its obligation as host country to the UN by assuring that effective measures be taken "to afford full protection to all diplomatic personnel" at the UN.

A statement by some of the Arab countries expressed "great concern at this odious crime."

"The host country," it declared, "must respect the principles of international law and ensure adequate protection for all members of the diplomatic community."

It declared it supported the Cuban demand that the United States "take the necessary measures to apprehend the criminals. . . ."

Donald McHenry, the chief U.S. delegate, voiced "sincere and profound sorrow." He asserted that "all appropriate federal agencies" would cooperate with the New York police and that the government would "use every constitutional means to seek out and prosecute" the terrorists.

Fine words. But a week after they were spoken the combined forces of the federal government and New York police were still saying they didn't have a single lead in the killing and that prospects were dim for developing any.

'Anger and renewed combativity'

Cuban leader delivers memorial speech

Following is the memorial speech for Félix García Rodríguez delivered in Havana September 14 by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party and Vice-president of the Council of State. The translation is by 'Inter-continental Press.'

The anger of our people is mixed with sadness today. It is growing in face of the cowardice of those who vilely murdered our beloved comrade Félix García.

This crime comes from the desperation of defeat. It is vengeance, brutal but useless, by those who know they have been uprooted once and for all from this land that they betrayed.

Those who shamefully fled the face-to-face battle now attack recklessly, knowing they are safe from harm.

These gangster outfits know all too well that nothing will turn the Cuban people aside. They know that their hope that this revolution might be broken by foreign threat or internal decay has long since vanished.

They know, too, that no fighter of the revolution slackens when his brothers are murdered. More than once they have heard the victory cry—"The people united will never be defeated!"

But they were trained to kill. They are not ready to give up the job of assassin. They are looking once again for someone to hire them.

When they see retrograde forces appearing on the U.S. political scene, who base their aspirations for power on a call for a return to violence and a heavy hand in Latin America, these gangs lose no time in demonstrating their skill in carrying out such a policy, whose prototype was that of Pinochet in Chile.

'Can't tolerate truth'

If they are to keep on doing their dirty work, these gangsters cannot tolerate the American people hearing the true voice of Cuba or understanding the significance of our revolution and its policies. They hate our incorruptible diplomats who represent Cuba in the United States. But they show



Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

the same hatred toward those young people who were dragged away from this island as children and have now had their consciences awakened.

These youth, who see the prestige and respect the revolution has brought the homeland in which they were born, now feel it to be their own. They are rising up to proclaim their pride and to publicize the reality of renovated Cuba.

Thus the gangsters murdered Carlos Muñiz Varela with equal cowardice. As a member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Carlos contributed to improving the understanding of socialist Cuba. They killed him just as they killed Félix García, the Cuban diplomat at the United Nations who happened to be the easiest target.

'A firm fighter'

In Félix García Rodríguez, Cuba loses a firm fighter. The Ministry of Foreign Relations loses a loyal and dedicated functionary. He came from among the people, and educated himself through his own efforts. For him, the revolution was both a joy and a duty. From the days of the Directorate and the July 26 Movement, he took

part in the struggle against Batista's tyranny. He spent time in jail, and he knew dangers. The victory of the revolution allowed him to serve with dedication and passion the people from whom he came.

Whenever the homeland called on him, Félix García was there. He shared the trenches of day-to-day labor. He worked long and hard at voluntary tasks in agriculture and construction.

Everything about him called for life. Nothing gave him more satisfaction than to help his comrades. He did so with such enthusiasm that, while carrying out his continual and tireless work, he seemed instead to be at an unending fiesta. He radiated understanding and optimism; perhaps for that reason it was not difficult for the criminals to do their infamous deed.

'Impunity of crime'

His death hurts all the more because of the impunity with which the crime took place. Faced with the ongoing threats to our officials in New York, Cuba's official denunciations and warnings have not been lacking. Being the host country of the United Nations imposes obligations [on the United States]. It demands that representatives of the countries that make up this organ of the international community enjoy safeguards that cannot be violated by unscrupulous gangsters.

The death of Félix García has been publicly condemned by the United States. They have also sent condolences to Cuba, in a message from President Carter. If Félix's death serves to put an end to the cowardly acts of those who uselessly seek to silence the revolution, intimidate its representatives, and strike blows against its defenders, this would be Félix's final service to the homeland and to socialism, which he loved so much.

We will await the test of events. Meanwhile, our people's anger and renewed combativity, as we gather around the body of Félix García and accompany it in an impressive procession, is the response to the miserable elements that carried out this crime. It answers as well those who call for aggressive policies against Cuba, who

seek to intimidate Latin America, and who proclaim a return to the days of servitude. Let them all recall what Fidel said about the tears of the people on another sad day like this one.

From now on, Félix García's name is inscribed on the long list of those who have fallen for our homeland. He joins Adriana Corcho, Efrén Monteagudo, and Sergio Pérez as another example of those who represent the revolution on foreign soil and who, knowing the enemy was lying in wait, never stepped back from their duty.

The people and the party will carry the name of this incorruptible fighter into history.

Castro on terrorism

Fidel Castro spoke to a mass rally in the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana October 15, 1976. It was a week after seventy-three people were killed when terrorists blew up a Cuban Airlines plane in the air near Barbados.

In that speech he said:

"Imperialism, capitalism, fascism, neocolonialism, racism, man's brutal exploitation of man in all its forms and manifestations, is approaching its end in humanity's history, and their maddened lackeys know it; that is why their reactions are ever more desperate, more hysterical, more cynical, more impotent. Only that can explain such repugnant and absurd crimes as the one in Barbados. . . .

"We cannot say that the sorrow is shared. The sorrow is multiplied. Millions of Cubans shed their tears today together with the dear ones of the victims of the abominable crime. And when an energetic and forceful people cry, injustice trembles!

"Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!"

Protests condemn murder, demand action

By Vivian Sahner

Outraged by the murder of Félix García Rodríguez, people from across the country organized protest activities demanding that the U.S. government apprehend and prosecute the killers.

The Cuban Coordinating Council of San Francisco sponsored a September 12 picket at the federal building there. More than fifty people, including members of Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Antonio Maceo Brigade, and reporters from *Black Scholar*, participated in the picket, which called for full protection for the Cuban Mission and an end to Omega 7-type attacks.

Outside the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., on September 12, protesters chanted, "Justice Department start today, stop Omega 7 in the USA."

The Washington Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (W-CARD), sent the following declaration to Carter, "The Washington Coalition Against Registration and the Draft thoroughly condemns the brutal assassination of Cuban UN attaché Félix García Rodríguez, by the terrorist exile group Omega 7. This cowardly act was an attack on everyone who speaks out against U.S. government policies in the Caribbean and Central America.

"W-CARD stands in opposition to your administration's attempts to reinstitute the draft and against the grow-



Anibal Yáñez/Perspectiva Mundial

ing U.S. military intervention into the civil war in El Salvador. This latest assassination, if left unpunished, will encourage a climate of violence against U.S. citizens who disagree with the government's belligerent foreign policy. W-CARD demands that the FBI immediately apprehend the Omega 7 killers responsible."

"Omega 7 pulled the trigger, the CIA held the gun," was the chant at the September 14 picket at the Santa Clara County Building in San José. The protest was called by the San José Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, the Solidarity Committee for a Free El Salvador, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Reporters from KTAR radio, KPHO-TV, and the *Scottsdale Progress* in Phoenix interviewed Josefina Otero, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Arizona. Otero, a member of United Steelworkers Local 3937, asked that telegrams be sent to the White House condemning Rodríguez's murder. The press noted that Otero's opponents for the Senate seat have been silent about this assassination.

In Philadelphia, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Venceremos Brigade and SWP organized a picket line at the federal building on September 12. They demanded the arrest of the Omega 7 killers and called on the U.S. government to end the blockade of Cuba.

The Chicago Cuba Committee sponsored a picket line on September 12.

Thirty-five members of United Steelworkers Local 15271 in Chicago sent a petition to the U.S. Attorney General, which noted, "Credit for this murder has been claimed by Omega 7, a Cuban exile terrorist group that was originally trained and organized by the CIA." They demanded immediate arrest and prosecution of these murderers.

Kevin Lynch, editor of the *Distributive Worker*, the Distributive Workers of America's newspaper, told the *Militant*, "We share with the public feeling of outrage that this cold-blooded murder could take place on the streets of New York. We strongly feel every effort should be made to put an end to such terrorist organizations."

Casa Nicaragua, one of the organizers of a September 12 picket at the UN, declared that the assassination "is yet another provocation against the socialist island of Cuba, and we express our solidarity with the Cuban people for the death of compañero Félix García Rodríguez. We are against this terrorism, which is one more part of imperialism's provocations."

Referring to the U.S. authorities, Casa Nicaragua added that "they try to say that they are working on the investigation of the assassination, but

Continued on page 17

El Salvador rebels face new imperialist threats

By Fred Murphy

With pledges of material aid and logistic support from Washington, the Guatemalan dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas García is preparing a counterrevolutionary invasion of El Salvador.

These plans were revealed September 4 by a former top official of Guatemala's Ministry of the Interior at a sensational news conference in Panama. The Guatemalan intervention is "imminent," the former official declared. One thousand regular troops have been stationed along Guatemala's border with El Salvador, he said, and a backup force of some 5,000 "mercenaries" has been recruited.

At the Panama news conference, Elías Barahona y Barahona explained that he had just deserted his post as chief press aide and close confidant of Guatemalan Interior Minister Donalddo Alvarez. Barahona revealed that he had posed for more than four years as a loyal supporter of the Lucas dictatorship, but had in fact been a member of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), one of Guatemala's main revolutionary groups. He said the EGP had assigned him in 1976 to infiltrate the top circles of the Guatemalan dictatorship.

Cuban response

As of September 12, none of the major news media in the United States had reported Barahona's statements, although wide coverage was given them in Mexico and Central America. The Cuban news agency Prensa Lat-

ina gave the following summary of Barahona's revelations in a September 4 dispatch from Panama:

"The government of Gen. Romeo Lucas García, he said, fears that if the revolution triumphs in El Salvador a civil war will break out in Guatemala. In that event, he added, the armed forces of Guatemala will intervene militarily in El Salvador with material, logistic, and economic aid from the United States.

"Barahona revealed that in Guatemala some 5,000 mercenaries have been hired to repress the guerrilla movement in that country and also to make up a reserve force to support the future intervention in El Salvador.

"Barahona declared that a secret agreement exists between the governments of Guatemala and El Salvador, under which troops from Guatemala would support the [Salvadoran] junta.

"After pointing out that the Romeo Lucas regime enjoys the support of the U.S. administration, he affirmed that elements of the old Somozaist National Guard are reorganizing in Guatemala in order to invade El Salvador and then continue on to Nicaragua.

"The EGP fighter revealed details of meetings held between Guatemalan and Salvadoran officials to plan military operations. He pointed out that 100 [Guatemalan] counterintelligence officers are permanently stationed along the border to collaborate with the Salvadoran junta in halting and capturing revolutionaries.

"Some 1,000 soldiers are also located along the border to cooperate with the Salvadoran army, he added."

Washington's aims

Barahona's statements corroborate other recent reports that Guatemalan and Honduran intervention is the option currently favored in Washington for halting the revolutionary upsurge in El Salvador. The Carter administration would have preferred relying on the Andean Pact governments, which have a more "democratic" image. But those efforts have been stymied by the rightist military coup in Bolivia, the public refusal of the Roldós government in Ecuador to go along, the



Militant/Walter Lippmann
Demonstrator at Los Angeles Chicano Moratorium protest in August.

weakness of the newly elected Belaúnde regime in Peru, and rising opposition in Venezuela to President Herrera Campins's open support to the Salvadoran junta.

Washington's public stance toward the Lucas dictatorship in Guatemala has been to criticize its gross violations of human rights, and Lucas has ostensibly refused U.S. military aid because of this. But Barahona said the Pentagon has helped Lucas obtain arms, training, and technical aid from Israel, Chile, and Argentina. A computerized communications center, staffed by American personnel, has been set up with U.S. assistance at the National Palace in Guatemala City, Barahona said.

U.S. military aid

In addition, U.S. military aid to the Honduran regime, already at a high level, has reportedly been increased further. Rafael Menjívar of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) told the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* August 27 that "in the last two weeks fifty military advisers were sent to Honduras by the State Department, and others were sent by the Pentagon. Teams of U.S. pilots also arrived. . . ."

Menjívar also said that a buildup of

U.S. forces was taking place at bases in the Panama Canal Zone, and he affirmed earlier reports that U.S. warships have been stationed off the Salvadoran coast.

Washington's military moves in the area reflect its growing concern over the stability of the besieged Salvadoran junta. A long-standing dispute between alleged "moderates" and "hardliners" in the Salvadoran officer corps burst into public view in early September. Junta member and army chief Col. Jaime Gutiérrez—a "hardliner"—signed an order removing key supporters of "moderate" junta member Col. Adolfo Majano from their posts in San Salvador and transferring them to embassy assignments abroad.

The Majanistas rejected the order and protested it publicly. At one point pro-Majano officers even took over a radio station to broadcast a statement. Majano himself called a news conference to denounce Gutiérrez's orders as "illegal and unjust."

The Christian Democratic civilian members of the junta tried to mediate the dispute, and U.S. Ambassador Robert White hurried back to San Salvador from Washington. The Majanistas eventually backed down and accepted the transfers, but the episode can only have exacerbated the tension inside the armed forces, weakening the regime still further.

"While splits can be seen among the military junta and the Christian Democrats," FDR leader Augusto Coto declared following a Mexico City rally September 7, "the people are growing stronger, and now it no longer matters what the junta does." Coto said the "regular people's army" now numbers some 20-30,000, with 70,000 more organized into militias.

"If the United States makes the mistake of intervening," the FDR's Menjívar told *Uno más Uno* August 27, "they are going to lose many lives and they will have to stay a long time. Because we aren't going to let them enter and leave like they did in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

"What is more—and this is not just bravado—they are going to lose."

From Intercontinental Press

New York City

El Salvador/Chile Solidarity Night

Speakers: Mario Palestro, Chilean leader, and representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Music and food. Saturday, Sept. 27, 7 p.m. William O'Shea JHS, 100 W. 77th Street. Donation: \$3. (With English translation.) Sponsors: Comité Chileno Antifascista and Comité Coordinador de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Salvadoreño.

U.S. aid to Nicaragua clears another hurdle

Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction received two pieces of good economic news in early September.

Agreement was reached in the renegotiation of Nicaragua's \$582 million foreign debt to private banks, with surprisingly favorable terms for the Central American country. And the Carter administration okayed disbursement of the \$75 million loan and aid package voted by Congress last May.

After lengthy talks with representatives of 120 U.S., Canadian, European, and Japanese banks, Nicaragua was granted an additional twelve years to repay the huge foreign debt run up by the Somoza dictatorship. Payments on the principal will not have to begin for five years. The interest rate during this grace period will be 7 percent instead of the usual rate of about 11 percent. The big banks also dropped a demand for prompt repayment of \$90 million in past-due interest; that debt has now been postponed to 1986-90.

These terms were granted by a negotiating committee of thirteen banks. The remaining creditors have until December 15 to approve or reject the agreement. Earlier in the negotiations, it was reported that Citibank of New York and two other big U.S. banks had been blocking an accord by demanding that Nicaragua devote 30 percent of its export income for the current year to interest payments. The Nicaraguans refused to consider anything above 15 percent.

If the announced agreement is made final, it will enable the Nicaraguan government to obtain needed short-

and medium-term loans on the private international capital market. Up to now, it has had to rely only on loans from international lending agencies (such as the World Bank) or from foreign governments.

On September 12 the U.S. Congress released \$75 million in loans and aid to Nicaragua. This sum—grossly inadequate but nonetheless needed by the revolutionary government—had been voted May 31 after months of stalling.

The aid bill included a clause calling on the White House to first certify that

the Sandinistas were not "aiding, abetting, or supporting acts of violence or terrorism in other countries." Carter stalled for three and a half months before announcing on September 12 that there was no conclusive proof that this was so.

Meanwhile, Carter was openly "aiding and abetting" the Salvadoran junta in its "violence and terrorism" against the workers and peasants of that country. Nearly \$100 million in U.S. military and economic aid will be sent to El Salvador this year.

The State Department said that the loan agreements with Nicaragua would be signed in Managua during the third week of September. Based on past experience, however, further delays in Washington cannot be ruled out. If it ever does get the money, the Nicaraguan government plans to use it to finance imports of parts and raw materials for nationalized and private industries, loans and economic aid to farmers, and commercial activity.

From Intercontinental Press

Assassination plot foiled by Sandinistas

By Claudio Tavárez

MANAGUA—Nicaraguan authorities are investigating a plot to kidnap and assassinate all nine members of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The top suspect arrested so far is former Defense Minister Bernardino Larios. Larios was a colonel in Somoza's National Guard who led a coup attempt against the dictator in 1978. He held the defense ministry post during the first five months of the revolution, but had no real authority.

Larios was detained during the night of September 9-10. On September 11, the capitalist daily *La Prensa* launched a campaign in his defense, claiming he was being harassed because his "Christian beliefs" did not

square with the FSLN's "Marxist ideology."

The Sandinista authorities responded to *La Prensa's* slanders at a news conference held later the same day. Interior Minister Tomás Borge and security chiefs Lenín Cerna and Walter Ferreti announced that Larios was under investigation for his role in organizing nine commando squads of twenty-five members each that were to kidnap and murder the FSLN's entire top leadership.

Ex-National Guard Lt. Francisco Antonio Martínez was also presented to reporters at the news conference. Martínez said he had been recruited by Larios to form part of the commando units. He said Larios told him the plot had the backing of Nicaraguan businessmen.

Tomás Borge answered *La Prensa's* claim that Larios was being harassed and persecuted because of his "Christian beliefs."

"Bernardino Larios is not under arrest because he doesn't share Sandinista ideology," Borge said. "He isn't detained because he is a Christian or because he isn't a Marxist. If we had to arrest everybody in this country who is a Christian or who isn't a Marxist, we would have to jail almost the entire population.

"Our revolution has guaranteed the most absolute freedom of belief, as everyone knows. But what is not allowed in Nicaragua is to make counter-revolution; what is not allowed is to plan assassinations or kidnappings; what is not allowed is to conspire against the interests of the people."

From Intercontinental Press

Iranians ask support from Nonaligned

Carter stalls on offer to end hostage crisis

By Janice Lynn

As the first anniversary of the U.S. embassy occupation in Iran approaches, Washington is still refusing to meet any of the legitimate demands of the Iranian people.

In a statement issued September 12, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini reiterated some of these demands:

I have said several times that the hostage-taking by the fighting, committed and Moslem students was the natural reaction to the damages that have been inflicted on our nation by the United States.

On the return of the deposed Shah's wealth and the cancellation of all the United States claims against Iran, a guarantee of no United States military and political interventions in Iran and freeing of all our investments, the hostages will be set free.

The response of U.S. officials was merely that Khomeini's statement required "further exploration."

Why have the U.S. rulers refused to grant even a single one of the Iranian people's demands? Because this would be seen by millions of people in Iran and around the world as acknowledgment of Washington's complicity in the twenty-five years of crimes and corruption under the shah—one of history's bloodiest dictators.

Khomeini reaffirmed that the new Iranian parliament, installed last May, would soon be taking up the issue of the hostages and setting the terms for their release. A spokesperson for the students from the occupied U.S. embassy explained that Khomeini's statement contained what would be "the minimum decision" of the parliament and that the hostages would be released just as soon as Washington accepted the parliament's terms.

According to a September 13 Reuters dispatch from Tehran, "An informed source close to the Parliamentary Foreign Relations Commission said that members would call for additional conditions. 'We will definitely want an American apology for their crimes under the Shah's regime,' this source said."

Muskie letter

Washington's refusal to deal seriously with Iran's demands was highlighted by a secret letter sent by U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie to Iran's new prime minister Mohammed Ali Rajai, on August 20.

In the letter, Muskie proposed establishing a "regular channel of communication" and wrote, "I would personally prefer that this be done directly, very discreetly if you wish, between representatives of our two Governments."

In contrast to the secret diplomacy and behind-the-scenes maneuvering proposed by Muskie, Rajai read the



Khomeini waves to demonstration from home in Qum. Carter's goal of crushing Iran revolution is behind stalling on Khomeini proposal on hostages.

letter aloud at a September 8 rally in Qum. The rally was one of several commemorating the second anniversary of the massacre of thousands of anti-shah demonstrators in Tehran, known as "Black Friday." The rally was broadcast live over radio.

"I have relayed your message to my public," Rajai replied to Muskie. "You have also heard the opinion of our nation. . . . We do not compromise or make deals."

"Diplomatic discussions are terms used during the satanic era," Rajai said, referring to the secret deals made with imperialism during the shah's regime.

"This does not mean that we will not talk," he continued, "but according to our beliefs, if we were sure that you had repented, we would talk."

The response of the crowd in Qum was clear, as the air was filled by chants of "Death to America!"

Rajai took note of the hypocrisy in Muskie's letter, which purported to recognize "the reality of the Iranian Revolution and the legitimacy of the Islamic Republic," and claimed that Washington "has had no wish to interfere."

"I assure you that we will show the fullest respect for your independence, your territorial integrity and for the

principle of noninterference," the Muskie letter stated.

The hollowness of these claims has been exposed time and again:

- One example of "respect for territorial integrity" was Carter's abortive April 24 raid against Iran.

- Another example of "respect" for Iran's independence is Washington's continued support for counterrevolutionary pro-shah forces plotting against the Iranian revolution.

- A third example of "noninterference" was the top-secret plan for a large-scale invasion of Iran in October, recently revealed by U.S. columnist Jack Anderson.

International appeal

In his message September 12, Khomeini appealed for international solidarity with the Iranian revolution.

The "most important and most distressing issues facing Islamic and non-Islamic countries under domination is the United States," Khomeini said.

The United States Government as the most powerful Government in the world does not spare any effort in devouring the material wealth of countries under its domination. The United States is the No. 1 enemy of the oppressed and deprived nations of the world. The United States would commit any crime in order to expand its

political, economic, cultural and military domination over the world under its rule. . . .

You nonaligned countries, we ask you to witness that America intends to destroy us. Come to your senses and help us to achieve our goal.

From Intercontinental Press

Khomeini: Why they fear Iran

In a September 12 statement, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini blasted the stepped-up attacks on Iran by the government of neighboring Iraq.

"We are at war with America," Khomeini said, "and today the hand of America has come out of the sleeve of Iraq."

Ever since the Iranian revolution a year and a half ago, the Iraqi regime has been strengthening its ties with Washington and providing a base of counterrevolutionary operations for pro-shah Iranians.

Pointing to Washington's collusion with Iraqi military assaults against Iran, Khomeini said:

The great Satan, whose fear is that the Islamic revolution of Iran may be exported to other Islamic and non-Islamic countries, thus cutting its evil hand from the countries under its domination, could not accomplish anything with an economic blockade and military attacks and has resorted to another trick in order to damage our Islamic revolution in the eyes of the Moslems of the world and to make Moslems fight each other to enable it to continue with its plunderings in Moslem countries.

Khomeini also blasted Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat for joining in Washington's campaign against the Iranian revolution.

Khomeini's statement came in the wake of several days of intensified air and ground battles between Iraq and Iranian forces.

According to Tehran radio, Iranian forces have shot down six Iraqi MIG fighter planes during the recent step-up in fighting.

From Intercontinental Press

Krivine fights for spot on French ballot

By G.K. Newey

Despite undemocratic ballot requirements, Alain Krivine will be the presidential candidate of the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) in the elections scheduled for May 1981.

Krivine is running on a platform stressing the need for workers' unity in struggles against the capitalist government and its austerity programs. He also calls on all working-class candidates to agree before hand that in the second round of the elections, they will step down in favor of whichever candidate from a workers' party gets the highest vote in the first round, so as to bring down the Giscard d'Estaing government.

Krivine also ran for president in 1974. Since then, the election law

has been changed to make it much more difficult for candidates other than those of the four largest parties in France—two bourgeois parties and the Communist and Socialist parties—to appear on the presidential ballot.

While in 1974 a candidate needed the signatures of 100 elected officials in order to be placed on the ballot, the current law requires that a candidate be nominated by 500 elected officials. Moreover, these signatures must now come from at least thirty departments of France, with no more than fifty from any single department.

The new law also places a number of administrative obstacles in the way of collecting the required signatures.

Despite the severe obstacles placed

in the way of Krivine's candidacy, the LCR has launched a big campaign to secure the needed signatures. In the words of the LCR's weekly *Rouge*, this campaign "requires an unprecedented mobilization of all LCR members, all its sympathizers, and all democrats who, while not sharing our ideas, feel that our current should have the means to express itself."

Krivine has also issued a letter to elected officials in France asking that they support his right to make his views heard in the election and the right of the French people to consider those views.

Teams throughout France have already begun visiting city halls to seek the support of mayors and town council members.

From Intercontinental Press

...ballot fight

Continued from front page

fused to count as valid voters who had moved since the last election.

The lawsuit filed by the SWP documents countless other violations including blank spaces on petitions being counted as nonregistered signatures and evidence of tampering with the petitions by county registrars.

Despite these blatant violations, on September 12 Judge Harry Low of the San Francisco Superior Court declared that the registrars had "acted reasonably and in accordance to efficient business practices and have not acted arbitrarily or fraudulently." He ruled that the SWP did not have sufficient signatures to be on the ballot.

Protest rally held

One hundred people gathered at a rally here to protest the court decision. California SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson explained to the rally why the state went to such lengths to try to exclude the socialists from the ballot.

"To understand the reasons for our exclusion," Johnson said, "we have to consider who we are trying to reach with our campaign and what we have to tell them."

"We aim our campaign at working people. We take our ideas directly to workers at the plant gates, at work, at shopping centers in working-class

Send telegrams

The Socialist Workers Party is urging trade unionists, civil rights fighters, and all supporters of democratic rights to immediately send telegrams protesting the exclusion of the SWP from the California ballot.

Protests should be sent to Gov. Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814. Send copies to the California Socialist Workers 1980 Campaign Committee, 2864 Telegraph, Oakland California 94609.

neighborhoods. We petitioned at union meetings to talk about labor's stake in the election. Our campaign workers are machinists, rail workers, miners, and oil workers.

"Our campaign is getting a good response among workers," Johnson said. "They like our ideas about the need to nationalize the oil companies. They agree with our opposition to the draft and to nuclear power and weapons. Workers are receptive to our ideas of working-class unity as op-



SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley addresses Bay Area rally that kicked off petitioning drive in California this summer. Militant/Peter Seidman

posed to the ruling class's divide-and-rule strategy.

"The Democrats stand opposed to every one of these points and that is the biggest reason they don't want us on the ballot. They don't want to legitimize in any way our ability to raise these issues before workers."

'Rulers fear labor party'

"The one idea," Johnson underscored, "that strikes special fear in the ruling class and threatens their political monopoly is the labor party. The labor party is central to our campaign, and we are the only candidates in the country calling for a labor party."

He explained that the labor party idea is especially disturbing to the Democratic Party, which traditionally masquerades as the friend of labor. He cited the continuing discussion inside the California State AFL-CIO on the labor party and pointed out that members of the California International Association of Machinists will be discussing the pro-labor party stand taken by their union at its recent national convention in Cincinnati.

"The Democrats and Republicans are scared of where this discussion will lead, so they don't want it to happen."

Another reason state officials want to keep the party off the ballot is the election in the Forty-third Congressional District, where the Democratic candidate is the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Thomas Metzger. "They haven't denied Metzger a place on the ballot," explained Johnson, "but they will keep anti-Klan candidates off, like our candidate Mark Friedman, who is challenging Metzger in the Forty-third C.D."

Mark Friedman spoke to the rally, detailing the long antilabor history of the KKK and called for a broad labor-backed campaign against its recent resurgence.

'Every worker will be hurt'

Also addressing the rally was Stan Smith, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Building Trades and Construction Council. He underscored the importance of democratic rights of independent parties. "I believe that the SWP, whom I may not always agree

with, but whom I often do agree with, has as much right as the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or John Anderson's Independent Party to be on the ballot," Smith said.

"By not having you on the ballot, every worker will be hurt, by not having the right to agree or disagree with the SWP."

Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley, discussed the fallacy of "free elections." "Anyone who has ever participated in a minority party or independent candidacy has run up against the bias and roadblocks of our election laws," he said.

One day prior to the ruling against the SWP, the Communist Party candidates were ruled off the ballot. The rally voted to send a telegram to the Communist Party that read in part, "We protest the exclusion of the Communist Party candidates from the California November ballot. The attack on the right of the Communist Party to be on the ballot is an attack on all working people. All those who support democratic rights should protest your exclusion."

The rally was also addressed by Catarino Garza, longtime leader of the SWP. Garza condemned the recent murder of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez.

"The assassination of Rodríguez by Omega 7, the right-wing Cuban terrorist organization, was not only an attack on the Cubans, but an attack on the American people," Garza said.

"It threatens the rights of anyone who speaks or writes about Cuba. The American people must demand that their government bring Omega 7 to justice."

NOW chapter sends protest

Kay Wiley, coordinator of the San Francisco National Organization for Women's ERA task force told the rally that the NOW chapter had sent a telegram to Secretary of State March Fong Eu protesting the party's exclusion from the ballot. "The only conclusion we can draw is that the powers that be do not want a workers party on the ballot."

She explained that she was happy to

be at the rally to lend her support, "because the SWP has been a bulwark in the struggle for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, for abortion rights, and for the rights of women in general."

Also speaking at the rally were Karen Wald, author of *Children of Che*; Luis Alfaro, leader of Casa Nicaragua; John George, Alameda County supervisor; Lewis Hedgecock, board of directors, Hayward Unified Teachers; and Louise Goodman, SWP candidate for supervisor in San Francisco.

Responding to a fund appeal by state campaign chair Sara Gates, rally participants pledged \$1,280.

Messages of support were sent from Rep. Ron Dellums; Robert Meerpool; Al Belmonte, president of the United Auto Workers Local 216 in Los Angeles; James McClaughlin, secretary-treasurer of the Santa Clara Central Labor Council; Barbara Grey, president of San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Gretchen Mackler, president of the Alameda Teachers Association.

Attorney Howard Moore told the rally that the SWP fight is part of a continuing struggle to grant freer access to the ballot by independent parties. He explained the violations of the election code by the state, saying with respect to the SWP petitions, "No law was applied, no law at all—it was completely outlawed."

"In due time," he said, "the people of California and the United States will have an opportunity to hear unfettered and to vote without restrictions for the SWP and to vote for a change in their lives and their country."

The California SWP is determined to give working people a real choice in the 1980 elections. The support expressed at the San Francisco rally, and the many other messages of protest from around the state and the country, reflect the opinions of millions of Californians—the SWP has the right to be heard!

As the party steps up its battle against Gov. Edmund Brown and his cohorts, it needs the support of all working people throughout the country.

2,250 sign to put socialists on ballot in N.H.

By L. Paltrineri

DURHAM, N.H.—"Hey, Pulley! I remember him. He spoke at my high school last year. Sure, I'll sign for him, I liked what he had to say," exclaimed a University of New Hampshire student.

More than 500 signatures were collected by a team of socialist campaigners on the UNH campus here. They were petitioning to put the Socialist Workers Party presidential slate on the November New Hampshire ballot.

One of the full-time petitioners was John Moriarity. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance just a few weeks ago.

"I like to talk to people. So I like

petitioning," Moriarity said. "Most of the responses were good. Most people signed, and I gave everybody I talked to a leaflet with the SWP program on it. All those people know a little bit more about the SWP now."

"I just asked everybody. I approached a priest who seemed uninterested at first, but when he saw that the socialists were for independence for Puerto Rico, he said, 'Now you are talking my language' and signed."

The most popular piece of literature on the campaign table was titled "Stop Nuclear Power," a statement by West Virginia SWP gubernatorial candidate Tom Moriarity, John's brother. Peti-

tioners report that many people they met throughout the state were opposed to nuclear power, and to the nuclear power plant currently under construction at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

In addition to collecting signatures, the petitioners signed up more than a dozen people on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann cards; sold a half dozen subscriptions to the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, several single copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*, and several socialist campaign buttons.

One thousand signatures are needed to put the socialist candidates on the

New Hampshire ballot. At the end of the scheduled one-week drive, Pulley/Zimmermann campaigners had completed the effort with 2,250 signatures.

Now they must begin filing all the signatures town by town. "As soon as the petitions are filed, there are important opportunities to follow up in New Hampshire," said Debbie Marshall, organizer of the Boston Young Socialist Alliance. "A lot of students who are against the draft, against nuclear power, and for the Equal Rights Amendment want to know more about our campaign."

"This petitioning drive has been a great way to start things off."

New unions spread throughout Poland



Polish workers see new, democratic unions as instruments for change, while crossed-out office sign of official union at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk symbolizes workers' rejection.

By Suzanne Haig

A new stage of the struggle in Poland is opening up as tens of thousands of workers throughout the country move to carry out their newly won right to organize independent, democratic trade unions.

Where necessary they are striking to break resistance by local officials trying to hold the workers back.

In Kielce, the official union put up posters saying that if workers joined a free union they would lose their social security. The workers responded by forming a free union and going on strike.

At the Nowotko diesel factories in Warsaw, one of the official union functionaries told *Glos Pracy*, the paper of the official union federation, that there was no demand for a free union in his factory.

The workers were infuriated.

They immediately formed a free union and went on strike, demanding the press present their real views. The main Warsaw daily, *Zycie Warszawy*, very quickly reported the truth.

In some cases workers are also demanding the removal of hated bureaucratic managers. In Mieszkow in Silesia, for example, 4,000 workers went on strike to force the removal of the foundry manager.

The leaders of the free unions have announced plans to organize a national federation, a development that can only hasten the growth, coordination, and power of the new unions.

To insure that the new federation will truly represent the interests of the workers, one proposed statute bars party officials from holding leadership positions—an open declaration that there is a fundamental conflict of interests between the workers and the bureaucrats who rule the country.

This is an important advance in political consciousness in the twenty-six year struggle by Polish workers for

real representation in the unions, the party, and political decision making.

Strikes inspire peasants

The strikes and the growth of the independent workers organizations are inspiring other sections of society. Students, scientists, artists, and professors have begun to form new unions and to raise demands that tear the web of government censorship and control.

Most importantly, peasants are beginning to raise their objections to the way the economy is organized. During the Baltic strikes, a peasant committee sent a message of solidarity to the strikers that also detailed their grievances.

"In towns and factories," the message read, "you have no genuine trade unions. Your rights are not respected. But we in the countryside are treated like slaves. The commune leader and the party secretary have unlimited power over us. Any time they can take our land and expropriate us, move our children to far-away schools, stop us from finishing a house or barn-construction, call up a son to military service and send him to a state-owned farm where he is given a scythe instead of a gun.

"The commune leader decides what we are to grow and when to harvest, without considering whether this will bring us any profit. Often without our permission, he sends a combine harvester to our fields and green corn is harvested at our expense. In some parts of the country we are given new fields to cultivate every year, and the old ones are taken from us.

"We are completely at the mercy of the commune leader when we want to buy even one bag of cement, a little coal, planks, or other materials. For every single item, we have to come with a written application to the commune leader, and to every such application attach a revenue stamp.

"At least one third of our working time is taken up by formalities and queueing. There is virtually no way of controlling a commune leader's decisions or to appeal against them. Within one year he may ruin a whole village, and we have no right even to complain."

New peasant unions are reportedly being formed.

Growing solidarity between the peasants and workers is central to the success of the struggle of the Polish masses for economic and political progress. The government's promise of higher wages and more food at controlled prices will not result in real increases in living standards unless the obstacles to the development of Polish agriculture are removed. The peasants' letter indicates that they are aware of some of the causes of these obstacles.

Government crisis unfolds

In an attempt to slow the proliferation of the new unions, the Polish government decreed that union organizers must register with city courts, which can reject applicants deemed "hostile to socialist Poland," according to the September 15 *Wall Street Journal*.

In view of the burgeoning movement, such repressive moves are unlikely to be effective. Far from being able to rein in the workers, the Stalinist government is facing further disintegration.

In a dispatch in the September 7 *New York Times*, John Darnton quoted a "well-connected Polish writer" as saying:

"The party is in a shambles. The apparat is frightened. The rank and file is under tremendous pressure. And the leadership is turning on itself in typical cannibalistic fashion."

The rising pressures have been reflected even in the Polish parliament, which has been little more than a

rubber stamp for the Stalinist rulers.

"Polish reporters couldn't believe what they were hearing," John Darnton reported after a session on September 5. "The debate was long, frank, even contentious. One delegate . . . asserted that economic reform wasn't enough. 'The whole party and society will have to reform themselves totally,' he said.

"Outside, as the session was beginning," he continued, "a tiny cluster of demonstrators hurled invective at the windows and at party functionaries and leaders as they pulled up in limousines. 'These should be tried,' they chanted."

CP under fire

That the Stalinist bureaucracy dared not suppress such a public show of contempt for the leadership is an indication of the power of the antibureaucratic upsurge.

A September 15 editorial in the Polish Communist Party's newspaper called for "cleansing from our membership [of] individuals who have lost their honesty, succumbed to the temptations of an easier life, and have been contaminated by corruption."

The editorial followed a weekend of party meetings in several cities where rank and file members attacked the vast privileges of top party and government officials.

A glimpse of what transpired was given in the September 16 *New York Times*.

At a meeting of the Warsaw section of the party, members charged that higher officials raised their salaries sevenfold with special allowances and honoraria for attending meetings, arranged for home delivery of scarce meat, and diverted funds to build lavish houses.

'You can't hide it'

A local secretary in the water works department said at one point: "It's easier to conceal it from ordinary people, but not from us. We install the pipes in all these new buildings, and we know how many there are and who they go to."

In Warsaw, lists are circulating with scores of names of officials, including some top officials, who have been living like parasites, high on the hog at the workers' expense.

The Polish masses are outraged at the double standard existing in the country, and want to equalize living standards. The government's austerity campaign—aimed at the workers' pinched living standards and not at the bureaucrats' lavish lifestyle—sparked the strikes in August in the first place.

The government hopes that the official call for a clean-up of corruption will help restore confidence in the bureaucracy. However, "well-informed Polish sources" told John Darnton of the *Times* that "if a thorough housecleaning got under way it might be hard to contain it," as inequality and corruption run so deep.

According to Darnton's informants, "the leadership would have to tread a careful line in exposing enough corruption to regain public confidence, but not so much that public outrage would further undermine the party's authority, already shaken by two and a half months of strikes."

One member of the Silesian miners' strike committee gave a cogent explanation of what is happening in Poland. He told Bernard Guetta, correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Monde*:

"We want to change things for the better. The free unions will play the role of an opposition party, since one does not exist in Poland. There will be an open competition between two groups to show which best represents the people."

Such a development would lead toward a struggle by the Polish masses to completely restructure the government and state administration in the interests of working people. That goal cannot be reached without further sharp confrontations between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the masses.

Turkish coup hits unions to tighten austerity

By Gerry Foley

The imposition of a military dictatorship in Turkey on September 12 was portrayed by the U.S. capitalist press as nearly an unmixed blessing as the Second Coming.

The report of the coup in the September 13 *New York Times*, written by correspondent Marvine Howe, itself sounded like the official proclamation of the change of government.

"Turkey's generals had given ample warning: Five times this year they served notice to the politicians to put aside bickering and face the problems dragging the nation toward anarchy.

"But the feuding continued, the political and economic situation deteriorated, terrorism increased alarmingly and finally the military leaders felt obliged to intervene."

Howe assured readers that Turkish Chief of Staff Gen. Kenan Evren "has said that the objective of the military chiefs is to restore Turkish democracy on firm foundations."

Howe explained that "today Turkey is facing the gravest crisis since it was proclaimed a republic in 1923. In the words of General Evren, it is 'a state without a master.'" That was what the generals took power to remedy.

'Gentle coup'

In its September 14 issue, the *Washington Post* proclaimed in a headline: "Normality Returns to Turkey's Cities After 'Gentle' Coup." The tenor of the article beneath the headline made clear that the quotation marks around *gentle* were merely a fig leaf to keep the paper decent in the eyes of democratic public opinion.

The article ended by quoting an

editor of the Istanbul capitalist paper *Milliyet* as saying, "... most people are somewhat relieved that something has finally happened that might curb the violence that has threatened us."

In other words, the general was a nice policeman who had come to the rescue in the nick of time.

After giving this sort of endorsement, why should the capitalist press bother to conceal who stood behind the coup? Howe wrote:

"Officials in Turkish military circles privately suggested recently that the armed forces would not intervene unless they received prior approval from Washington."

The military was portrayed as being "evenhanded," since it locked up all the "feuding politicians" and both the "left and right extremists."

The "even hand" of the military did make one slip, however. It let Alparslan Turkes, the leader of openly organized paramilitary fascist gangs, escape. Turkes is responsible, among other things, for the massacre of an entire community in Kahraman Maras.

The *Washington Post* did note:

"Although the military would neither confirm or deny it, one newspaper alleged that Turkes was warned of the impending coup" before police arrived to arrest him.

Turkes later decided to surrender himself to the junta. But these circumstances were another confirmation of the complicity between the fascist gangs and the military.

In fact, Turkes made no bones about the fact that one of his main political goals was to create the conditions for a

military takeover. His propaganda machine pounded away constantly at the need for military rule.

Unions banned

So, the "evenhandedness" of the military meant that Turkes got what he wanted. On the other hand, the militant trade unions were banned and their leaders arrested. The right of association was abolished.

What the coup really means, and what explains the rejoicing in the U.S. capitalist press, is the tightening of the imperialist vise on Turkey.

Turkey is one of the few neocolonial countries that has succeeded in achieving a measure of industrial development. The Turkish working class is the largest in the Middle East and the only one that has strong independent trade-union organizations.

But since the Turkish national revolution in the second decade of this century did not go on to abolish capitalism, the industrialization that was carried out was built on sand. It generated more imports than exports. A result was the piling up of huge debts to the imperialist banks. Under the conditions of the international capitalist crisis, with the accumulation of debt by countries such as Turkey threatening the world credit structure, the banks are determined to collect their pound of flesh. And so they need strongarm men to hold the victim down. That is what generals are for in countries such as Turkey.

In its September 13 issue, the *Washington Post* made it clear what the military's main objective is.

While the military junta has put the politicians on ice, it is seeking to keep the

economic technocrats hard at work, reflecting their own appreciation that the only slightly positive aspects of [ousted Prime Minister Suleyman] Demirel's most recent 10-month rule came in the draconian economic reforms he unleashed ... in January to stave off almost certain bankruptcy.

The importance the junta attaches to maintaining those reforms was underlined by the speed in which they met—twice during the course of today—with the reform's architects, Torgut Ozal, director of the state planning organization, and with Hakki Aydinoglu, head of the central bank.

The *Washington Post* explained that the "reforms" were designed "to revolutionize Turkey's cumbersome, protectionist and subsidized state economy by throwing it open to world market forces and investment. ..." It noted that they had been much appreciated by "international lending agencies" and "NATO governments."

Thus, the coup marks another big success for the imperialists in forcing the Turkish capitalists to knuckle under, as well as a further erosion of the Turkish national revolution. And this operation requires drastic cuts in the already low living standards of Turkish workers and a corresponding increase in repression to keep them from resisting.

The first six months of this year were marked by a growing determination by the workers to fight back, which peaked in a virtual uprising in Izmir.

Why should the junta end the rightist terror, when it fits in with the objectives of putting an end to such resistance? There can be no doubt that the "gentle" military dictators intend to step up the terror against socialists and the workers movement.

From Intercontinental Press

What capitalists want for Turkey—and Poland

By Gerry Foley

The capitalist press and politicians are trying to present the crisis of Stalinism in Poland as proof that "Marxism has failed." But the crisis of capitalism itself quickly exposes them.

At the very time that the U.S. imperialists claimed to be heartened by gains for democracy in Poland, they could not restrain their glee over the military coup in Turkey.

Like Poland, Turkey is up to its ears in debt to the imperialist bankers. In fact, one of the features of the deepening crisis of capitalism is the accumulation of huge debts by a number of countries and the grow-

ing possibility of defaults that would threaten the entire world capitalist financial structure.

The international bankers want a government in Turkey that will impose draconian austerity on the Turkish workers, so that the bankers can be sure of getting their pound of flesh. They needed to abolish even the extremely limited democracy and labor rights that existed in Turkey in order to force the workers to accept austerity.

So, what do these same capitalists really think about the expansion of democracy and trade-union power in another debtor country, Poland? The *New York Times* indicated

the answer. "Those who celebrate these political changes [in Poland] should also understand that the root problem has meanwhile grown worse. ... Someone, somewhere, is going to pay the bill."

The *Times*' editors counseled that "the West" should "not rush to underwrite the Polish settlement. ...

"Strictly financial considerations point in the same direction. To a banker's eye, Poland is not now a promising investment. ... The prospects for restraining consumption are nil."

The workers in Poland are showing the world that the only way to

"rationalize" the economy so that it can meet the needs of the masses of the people is through the struggle to expand democracy. The Polish workers are showing that the abolition of capitalism provides the necessary basis for democratic organization of the economy.

Why should the effects of this example be confined to Poland or Eastern Europe? It offers the answer sought by working people throughout the capitalist world who face the perspective of a decline in already inadequate living standards and the loss of what little say they have won in the past over decisions that affect their lives.

Save Sydenham Hospital!

By Reba Williams Dixon

NEW YORK—Moves by Mayor Edward Koch to close down the Sydenham Hospital in Harlem on September 16 were answered by angry residents and hospital workers in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 420, who began a sit-in there.

More than 200 demonstrators took over the executive offices, and volunteers continued processing admissions to the hospital. The emergency room, the first part of the facility scheduled to be closed, was taken over by doctors from the Committee of Interns and Residents.

Pickers outside the hospital carried signs that said, "Mayor Koch Has Harlem's Blood on His Hands" and "Koch Kuts Kill."

Violet Jeffrey, a Local 420 shop steward who works at Harlem Hospital, joined the picket. She explained,

"The emergency room is the life line of the hospital. People are dying in Harlem; we don't have enough health care as it is."

In a press conference at the hospital the Coalition to Save Sydenham, which organized the demonstration, described the protest as only the beginning of a fight against Koch's racist policy of cutting social services. Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a leader of the National Black United Front, also spoke at the press conference.

Koch first told reporters that the demonstrators could sit in "as long as they wanted" and that he was not going to order "anyone dragged out."

But a few hours later the city obtained a ruling from Judge Bernard Nadel that ordered the protest leaders to appear in court on September 18. They are required to show cause why they shouldn't be restrained from further protest activities.



Demonstrators protest moves to close Sydenham Hospital in Harlem

Militant/Wells Todd

'Grenada & Nicaragua inspired me to join YSA'

On September 6, the New York Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance held a campaign rally at their newly opened Brooklyn headquarters. Among the speakers was Enriqueta Acevedo, who had just joined the YSA. From the Dominican Republic, she is a student at Queensboro Community College. In the following excerpts from her remarks, she explains why she joined.

* * *

In 1965, when the revolution took place in Santo Domingo, I was five years old.

But I do remember the Yankee soldiers with their green army clothes. Bullets were flying all over the place and we were running to the church, which was safer.

They said they invaded to bring peace and to save us from becoming another Cuba.

But after the Yankee invasion, things got worse, and the Dominican Republic started to look like Cuba before the revolution.

Poverty and unemployment increased, and thousands of people left the country.

Things were so bad that when they wanted a place to film *The Godfather* they chose the Dominican Republic.

I came to New York in 1969, and I grew up in Williamsburg. I thought I was coming to heaven. But what I found was racism and drugs.

In 1974, I went back to the Dominican Republic to finish high school.

I got involved in school demonstrations which happened almost once a week.

Most of the time, the cops interfered. We got so used to throwing rocks at the

cops when they interfered, that we missed them when they didn't interfere.

At that time I wasn't involved in any kind of organization, but I did like the idea of struggle.

When the Nicaraguan revolution took place, I used to watch the news every day.

One day they were interviewing some of the Sandinistas who were fighting. They appealed for more weapons to fight the Somoza army.

I was very inspired by their determination.

The Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions will bring new hope for struggle in the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

It's a great feeling to see the USA unable to interfere as they did in my country in 1965.

I joined the Young Socialist Alliance

because I want to be part of this generation of youth who want to bury the system of racism, sexism, war and poverty—the system that makes the young people of this country kill our brothers and sisters who fight for their liberation as in my country in 1965.

I joined the Young Socialist Alliance because I want to be part of this generation of youth who will build a new society in which human beings can advance like in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

The Young Socialist Alliance is the youth organization of the United States which, like the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, is dedicated to organizing and developing young people as leaders to fight for a better future.

I feel proud to invite all young fighters to do what I did—join the Young Socialist Alliance!

Young Socialists growing in No. Carolina

By Greg McCartan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Lucy Overby and Jim Gibson are the newest members of the Young Socialist Alliance in North Carolina. They come from a small company town in the central part of the state.

Lucy is laid off from her job at an electrical equipment plant organized by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Jim is employed at an unorganized textile mill.

Jim and Lucy met Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, and members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the anti-Klan march of 7,000 in Greensboro last February.

The murder of anti-Klan demonstrators last November 3 "outraged me," said Lucy. "Here we were, sitting in our living room, and you see the Klan get out and shoot these people down in cold blood. You saw it, and you know they did it. And now here they are trying to say, 'No, it was the communists' fault, the Klan didn't really do anything.'"

Jim thinks the February demonstration is a good example of how to fight back against Klan violence. "It's the kind of thing that can draw a lot of people," he said, "which is the only

way the Klan can be stopped."

"The Klan says the reason the white worker is where he is at, is because of the Black worker," said Lucy. "That's not the reason. They try and use Blacks as a scapegoat."

But she thinks more white workers are seeing through the Klan's racism. "They don't see the Klan as a way to better their own situation."

She added that "a lot of people will be mad" if the Klanners and Nazis now on trial for the November murders get off. "People know they are guilty."

Jim is a U.S. Navy veteran. When Nixon ordered U.S. forces into Kampuchea (Cambodia) in 1970, he recalled, "I thought, things are really getting out of hand, and I became opposed to the war."

"I started reading a lot while I was in the navy. One day I came across something about Eugene V. Debs and really enjoyed it. Then I read everything I could by and about Debs. What he was saying really made a lot of sense to me."

"I grew up with the idea of communism as evil," Lucy said. "But with Debs, the way he was, there was nothing evil about him. He was for the working people, he firmly believed in the ideas of Marx and socialism. So I

realized there wasn't just the Stalinist version of socialism, and that a humanitarian socialism was possible."

You could say that Debs recruited Jim and Lucy to the YSA.

Some of the biggest battles of workers in the South center around organizing unions to improve working conditions and raise wages. Jim and Lucy know firsthand about the need to organize strong unions.

Lucy, while in grade school, spent many afternoons and evenings sitting in a large basket next to the machine her mother ran during long hours of forced overtime in a textile mill. "They would move my mother around to different machines, so after a while I got to see the whole plant. I learned at an early age about working conditions in the textile mills."

Jim's grandfather was killed by a machine while working at Cannon Mills. "My father was two years old. The company gave the family \$500."

Lucy remembers when a union tried to get into the textile mill where her father works. "They had a real hard-fought battle. The company used all kinds of tactics against the workers. There, the whites and Blacks worked together to get the union in. They felt they had to in order to improve condi-

tions for everyone.

"The companies try to tell us that we don't need the union, that they will protect us. They say all the union does is take dues," she explained.

While growing numbers of workers see the need for a union, she added, many pro-union workers are "fed up" with bureaucratic leadership in the unions.

At her plant, "workers feel the union is too conservative for them. Many think we should either get rid of the leadership or get another union in. If we got the militant workers at the lead of the union, things would be different."

Jim added, "A lot of older workers are like horses that are broken. The younger ones aren't. They don't realize a fundamental change is in order, but they do realize things are pretty messed up."

"Being a member of the YSA is something I've wanted to do for a long time," Jim said. "But I didn't know what organization I belonged in—I didn't know the YSA existed."

"We thought we would have to move out of the state to find what we were looking for," said Lucy.

She added, "I think there are a lot of Jims and Lucys out there. We just have to find them."

Come to Indianapolis 20th National YSA Convention December 27-30

No matter who is the victor in the presidential elections this November, the Young Socialist Alliance intends to discuss its own plan of action for American youth. We aim to organize the majority of young people in America to help make a socialist revolution—a revolution that will abolish capitalism and create a society which will place human needs before profits.

We will discuss:

- No Registration! No Draft!
- Solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada!
- Money for Jobs—Not War!



If you want more information about the YSA or the convention, clip and mail this coupon to YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

- _____ I want to join the YSA.
 _____ Send me more information on the YSA convention.
 _____ Enclosed is \$2.00 for one year of the *Young Socialist*.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____
 Zip _____ Phone _____

N.C. agents caught in act

Socialists protest gov't spying

By Greg McCarten

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—At a news conference in Raleigh September 8, the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) was caught spying on Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. SBI agents photographed Cooper and took notes. Raleigh and state police were nearby.

The Libertarian candidate for governor, Bobby Emory, held a press conference immediately following Cooper's which the SBI also attended.

After the press conference, several reporters filed complaints with North Carolina Attorney General Rufus Edmisten about the illegal surveillance. Edmisten was forced to reply, which set off a flurry of articles and editorials in papers around the state.

In his statement, Edmisten called the surveillance "a mistake." Andrew Vanore, senior deputy attorney general, added that the SBI had confused the SWP with the Communist Workers Party.

"We got some information there might be some disruption," Vanore said. "This was a mistake. Somebody thought the two groups might be the same."

The SBI claims that the pictures it took have been discarded, and in the future they "will monitor only groups about whom we have information that they might engage in disruptive activities or have a history of disruptive activities."

This illegal harassment of a legal party is not an isolated incident or a



Douglas Cooper at news conference demanding end to surveillance

mistake. It is part of a plan hatched earlier in the year by Governor Hunt to infiltrate "wild and crazy groups."

The seriousness of Hunt's spy plans was shown when a federal and a local agent infiltrated the Klan and Nazis in the state and helped plan and lead the murderous assault on five CWP members at an anti-Klan rally on November 3, 1979.

Agents made the rounds to Black campuses to try to intimidate them from participating in the February 2 march of 7,000 against Klan and Nazi terror in Greensboro.

In a press conference held here on September 15, Cooper responded to the spying on his campaign. He character-

ized the illegal surveillance and harassment as "designed not only to intimidate my party and campaign, but to intimidate others, including Blacks, unionists, women, and young people from struggling for social change."

On September 13 the major daily newspaper here, the *Winston Salem Journal*, editorialized against the SBI plan: "The first people to learn about the SBI's new, more liberal definition of 'wild and crazy' were a couple of gubernatorial candidates on North Carolina's general election ballot. The SBI agents did little more than take a few snapshots and scribble in their notepads, but their presence nevertheless proved disconcerting to the two candidates. A couple more incidents like those in Raleigh, and the SBI may wind up placing itself at the head of the list of 'wild and crazy' groups that need investigating. Until then, just to be safe, watch what you have to say at the bridge club and the bowling league."

Cooper is demanding a written apology from the attorney general, release of all files on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, recognition of the SWP and YSA as legal political organizations, and a guarantee that the harassment has stopped.

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL A Disconcerting Presence

You say a mysterious man wearing sunglasses and carrying a camera disguised as a box of candy was sitting in the back of the auditorium while Junior made his acceptance speech as the new 4-H president? You say a couple of the Boy Scouts in Junior's new troop look suspicious? — Editor's note: The "Winston-Salem Journal" editorial against SBI spying

ferences in Raleigh recently. The SBI agents did little more than take a few snapshots and scribble in their notepads, but their presence nevertheless proved disconcerting to the two candidates.

Attorney General Rufus Edmisten and his senior deputy Andrew Vanore Jr. were

One hundred letters in 3 weeks...

By Susie Berman

With only six weeks remaining till the elections, Socialist Workers campaign supporters have contributed \$21,000 to the \$75,000 fund drive. These have come in contributions large and small. These donations received daily will make it possible for us to meet the big opportunities to get out our socialist program in these final weeks.

The breadth of support of the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign is impressive. In the past three weeks we have received one hundred letters requesting more information about the campaign, ordering campaign literature, or making financial contributions. These letters come from all parts of the country—Kansas, Idaho, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois.

The socialist campaign is especially

popular among draft-age youth. Americans throughout the country have raised their voices against military registration and U.S. war threats. Young workers and students have been among the first to speak out. Hundreds of thousands of young people refused to register, thousands more registered under protest, fearing government action against them, and countless more participated in antidraft activities around the country.

The Socialist Workers Party places priority on these young fighters and the millions more like them. They are the ones who have the most to gain in fighting for a socialist future, and the most to lose under capitalist rule.

A new campaign brochure entitled "Jobs! Not the Draft!—Why young people should support the Socialist Workers candidates in 1980" explains,

"There is an alternative for young people. We can campaign for the Socialist Workers candidates. . . . They are fighting for socialism, a future where workers control the wealth they produce; a future where young people aren't sent off to die in wars in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, or Latin America to protect the profits of the wealthy American businessmen."

The contributions received in the past few weeks have enabled us to print 35,000 of these new brochures. Our aim in the next few weeks is to get each one of these into the hand of one of those rebel youth.

To continue this work we need your help. Please contribute as generously as you can to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Socialist Workers \$75,000 Fund Drive



\$10,000 \$20,000 \$30,000 \$40,000 \$50,000 \$60,000 \$70,000
so far: \$21,000



SCHENECTADY, N.Y.

Socialist Campaign Rally

Featuring:
Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate
for president
Saturday, September 27
7:30 p.m.
323 State Street, 2nd floor
Donation: \$3
For more information call
(518) 374-1494

DENVER

Socialist Campaign Rally

Speakers:
Matilde Zimmermann, SWP
candidate for vice-president
Silvia Zapata, SWP candidate for
U.S. Senate
Harold Sudmeyer, SWP candidate
for U.S. Congress, First C.D.
Saturday, September 27
Washington Park Community
Center
809 S. Washington
6 p.m. social hour
7 p.m. buffet dinner
8:30 p.m. rally
Donation: \$6.50 for dinner
For more information call
(303) 534-8954

Andrew Pulley candidate for president

Sept. 19-20 Baltimore
Sept. 21-22 Philadelphia
Sept. 24 Harrisburg, Pa.
Sept. 26-27 Schenectady, N.Y.
Sept. 28-29 Boston
Oct. 1 Burlington, Vt.
Oct. 2-5 New York/
Newark

Matilde Zimmermann candidate for vice-president

Sept. 19-20 Seattle
Sept. 21-22 Portland
Sept. 24-25 Salt Lake City
Sept. 26-27 Denver
Sept. 28-29 New Orleans
Oct. 3-5 San Antonio
(NOW Convention)

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

Pulley &
Zimmermann
in 1980!

Pulley slams Carte on jobs and police

By Andy Rose

MIAMI—The Democratic and Republican parties alike are ignoring the needs of the Black community, Andrew Pulley charged during his two-day tour here. The Socialist Workers presidential candidate hit hard on the issues of jobs and police brutality as he spoke at a campus meeting, over a popular radio call-in show, and at a September 10 campaign rally.

Both Ronald Reagan and James Carter "support a 'law and order' that results in the murder of Blacks in the streets from one end of this country to the other," Pulley told the campaign rally.

"From Birmingham to Boston, from Minneapolis to Miami, from Portland to Philadelphia, all the cops have to do is claim the comb in the brother's pocket looked like a gun. Or that he looked like he might be dangerous. Or that while the cop had the brother on the ground, his gun accidentally went off.

"Once such a claim is made, the cop gets off scot-free," Pulley said.

Killer-cops freed

This area has seen bitter confirmation of Pulley's words. Shortly before the socialist candidate arrived, a federal grand jury voted not to indict the Hialeah cop who killed Black youth Randy Heath one year ago. The grand jury merely recommended that Officer Larry Shockley be given a desk job since he had shown "poor judgment."

Even this slap on the wrist was rejected by Hialeah authorities, An-



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

ANDREW PULLEY: 'Take billions that now go to military and use them to provide jobs. There is plenty of work to be done. We nation.' Left, Black home in Miami during May rebellion.

drea Barron, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, informed the rally. Heath is "not only let free, but is out on the street again, gun in hand," she said.

A federal grand jury also looked into the infamous case of Arthur McDuffie, the Black insurance executive beaten to death by police last December. The

acquittal of the cops responsible set off the Black rebellion here in May.

McDuffie's killers could still be prosecuted under federal law for violating his civil rights. But the only person indicted by the grand jury is Charles Veverka, a cop who turned state's evidence and testified against the murderers.

"It is about time," Pulley declared, "to implement the demand raised in the Black community from Chattanooga to Wichita to Miami—get the cops out of our communities!"

"We need to have the Black community organize its own security," he said, pointing to the example of Chattanooga. The rebellion there in July

Miami socialist: defend bilingualism

MIAMI—A proposed ordinance to outlaw Spanish in all official functions of Dade County was sharply condemned by Andrea Barron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, at the September 10 campaign rally here.

The proposed law is "a racist attack on the rights of hundreds of thousands of Cubans, Colombians, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos living in Dade County," she said.

Calling the campaign against bilingualism an attempt to divide workers, Barron said it would hurt the interests of Black and white working people as well as Latinos.

Dade County became officially bilingual in 1973, when the county commission adopted a resolution backing the right of the Spanish-speaking population "to be serviced and heard at all levels of government."

This has meant that county publications are printed in Spanish and English, that transit information is available in Spanish, and that translation is provided for county meetings and hearings.

All that would be banned by the proposed ordinance.

Last month some 44,000 petition signatures were turned in to place the antibilingual measure on the November ballot. Validity of the signatures is still being checked.

Barron called the organizers of the referendum "a small group of racists trying to convince the workers of Dade County that their problems are caused by people who speak Spanish, that Cubans are responsible for inflation and unemployment." It is particularly aimed at pitting Blacks against Latinos, she noted, and thereby preventing an alliance between these two op-



Militant/Andy Rose

At Miami Socialist Workers campaign rally, senatorial candidate Andrea Barron hits racist referendum proposal to prohibit use of Spanish in county affairs.

pressed groups in the Miami area.

"As if before thousands of Cubans came here in April, there was no unemployment," Barron said derisively. "And Blacks did not have the worst housing and schools in the county. And there were not thousands of workplaces filled with people trying to support themselves on \$3.10 an hour."

The crude racism of the antibilingual forces comes through clearly in media coverage of their efforts.

"Hey, buddy, if you want to speak Spanish, go back to Cuba. This is America," one petitioner told the *Miami Herald*. "It seems to me that many of them don't want to learn English or they're too dumb to learn."

Barron told the rally that passage of

the ordinance would "legalize second-class status for every Spanish-speaking person in the country. And it would be a signal to the ruling class that they can continue to get away with the same kind of racist discrimination against anyone who is not white and English-speaking."

Another section of the proposed referendum would bar use of county funds for "promoting any culture other than that of the United States."

Officials have explained that this would end county support to such events as Hispanic Heritage Week; the Kwanza Festival, which celebrates African culture; the Goombay Festival of Bahamian culture; the Oktoberfest.

Barron said this is "aimed squarely

at trying to wipe out not only use of Spanish, but the cultural heritage of the Blacks, Cubans, Haitians, Caribbeans, and Latinos who make up more than half the population of Dade County."

She urged unions and Black organizations as well as Latino groups to join in defeating the referendum. "Our interests do not lie in legalizing racism, but in abolishing it," the socialist candidate declared.

"The Socialist Workers Party calls for maintaining and extending public services in Spanish. We think that the bilingual status must be expanded to include the same translation and services in Creole," the language of the tens of thousands of Haitian refugees in the Miami area.

r-Reagan brutality



Militant/Andy Rose
d housing, schools, and public transporta-

forced the withdrawal of police from the Black community, which organized its own patrols.

"When that happens, the crime rate will go down, as it did in Chattanooga," Pulley said.

The socialist candidate pointed out that after the Miami rebellion, "there was lots of talk about ending the 'underlying causes' of the rebellion. They skipped over the immediate cause—cop brutality. They had no plan for dealing with that. But they said they would deal with the underlying cause, the joblessness."

This claim has turned out to be a hoax, Pulley said. He ridiculed a \$500,000 federal grant for jobs in the Liberty City area (center of the rebellion) as "not even window-dressing."

Carter's recently announced economic program for the whole country is just as empty, Pulley continued.

The heart of Carter's plan is tax breaks, with "five times as much going to business as to individuals. All kinds of tax breaks to business for investing and allegedly creating jobs.

"The fact is the corporations are investing today in order to wipe out jobs, to increase automation, to replace workers with machines," he said.

Carter's 'reindustrialization'

"They have this concept called reindustrialization. It sounds noble. It sounds groovy. It sounds as if the unemployed will soon be working."

With Carter's plan, he said, "You might think, so what if the capitalists get the bulk of the money, at least I'll have a job.

"That's not true.

"The capitalists will get the money, all right, but 50 percent of the Black youth still won't have a job. A good chunk of the white youth won't have a job. And many older people who've been used to steady work won't have jobs either.

"Carter's reindustrialization program is, among other things, to shut down factories that they have concluded aren't making enough money. And to speed up production at the rest, combining jobs, getting more labor out of one person than they did from two or three previously.

"That's what Carter's tax cuts are designed to encourage—higher profits,

not more jobs. As for the tax cut for workers, it won't even make up for the amount that Social Security taxes are going up next January."

Pulley condemned top union officials for joining a tripartite committee with government bureaucrats and corporate executives, whose "only purpose is to drum up support for Carter's pro-business plan."

Even if all of Carter's plan is put into effect, the administration itself says it will add at most 500,000 jobs over the next year. Yet unemployment is officially reported to be over 8 million.

"What does this say to the people of Liberty City?" Pulley asked. "What does this say to the steelworkers of Youngstown? What does this say to the automobile workers, with 300,000 laid off? What does it say to the Black and Latino youth who face permanent unemployment?"

Stark contrast?

Ronald Reagan and John Anderson, Pulley explained, put forward their own variations on the same theme—tax cuts for business with the promise that benefits will "trickle down" to working people.

And yet the AFL-CIO Executive Council last month declared that "few elections in memory offer American workers such a stark contrast in candidates and issues. . . ."

"I don't know who they're talking about," Pulley said. "Are these people asleep? Or do they think *we're* asleep?"

"Most working people think there is no choice, that choosing between Carter and Reagan is like choosing between a disaster and a catastrophe."

That is why the discussion on the need for the unions to form an independent labor party is picking up steam, he said, with the one-million-member Machinists union voting this month to join the discussion. "Only such a party will fight for policies to benefit the majority, the working people, regardless of the effect on corporate profits."

Right to a job

"The Socialist Workers Party believes every person has the right to a job. If the auto companies and steel companies and the rest won't keep everybody employed and produce the goods we need, they should be nationalized. They should become public property," Pulley declared to applause from the rally.

"We should reduce the workweek with no reduction in pay, to spread the work to the unemployed. That would also give workers more leisure time to develop their potential as creative human beings.

"We can take the billions of dollars that now go to the military and use them to provide jobs. There's plenty of work to be done. We need to build up public transportation in Miami and around the country. We need to repair the deteriorating roads and bridges. We need to rebuild the railroad system. We need better schools and low-cost housing.

"The Democratic and Republican parties won't do this. It will take a party of labor, based on the strength of the unions, putting the needs of working people ahead of profits."

Pulley ended by pointing to the example set by the Polish workers. Poland shows, he said, that "when working people unite and have an uncompromising leadership, no force on earth can stop them."

Bus driver fights for political rights

By Miguel Pendás

MIAMI—One of those attending the September 10 rally to hear Andrew Pulley was Marcos Correa, a Cuban-American worker who is a leading participant in the "dialogue" between the Cuban government and the Cuban community in the United States.

Correa agrees with Pulley that Washington's economic blockade against Cuba should be lifted and normal diplomatic relations established.

Pulley's call for the union movement to break from the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party is also not a new idea for Correa. Last fall he ran as an independent candidate for Miami city commissioner.

Correa, a bus driver for nine years for the Metro Transit Authority, was forced to resign his job in order to run. Now he is fighting to regain his lost job seniority.

MTA officials cited a county ordinance that prohibits county employees from running for public office. They told Correa he could get his job back after the election if he quit "voluntarily."

When Correa was rehired after the election, however, MTA forced him to the bottom of the seniority list. His badge number went from 503 to 978!

A low badge number is one of a bus driver's most prized possessions. Seniority is what allows you to pick the hours, days off, routes, and vacation time you prefer.

Unconstitutional law

Correa's supporters have labeled the law against county employees running for office as "discriminatory, anti-democratic . . . and in violation of the Constitution."

They point out that deputy sheriffs, police officers, and top county administrators are exempt from the rule.

At most such persons may have to take a leave of absence. Workers, however, must resign, without any guarantee that they will be rehired. Such a law acts to smother independent working-class political action. All workers have a stake in this case and it deserves broad union support.

Correa labeled himself an "independent" in a "non-partisan" race. Although most of them were registered Democrats, Correa and his supporters chose to base the campaign not on the Democratic Party machinery, but rather on the dialogue movement.

The Correa campaign was conceived of as *the* pro-dialogue campaign in the Cuban-American community here at a time when many Cubans were running for various offices on strongly anticommunist platforms with the active participation of the right wing and terrorist organizations.

Defy blockade

Correa was a leader of the dialogue. He was elected chairperson of the Asociación de Trabajadores de la Comunidad ([Cuban] Community Workers Association) and as such was a member of the dialogue's Committee of 75.

More than 100 workers belonged to the ATC. It organized several trips to Cuba, including one of 70 persons.

One trip was organized as a gesture of defiance of the blockade and solidarity with Cuban workers. The ATC took a boatload of badly needed industrial tires and batteries and presented them to the Central de Trabajadores de Cuba (Cuban Workers Federation).

Correa, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 291, appealed to

Miguel Pendás is a bus driver and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 291.



Marcos Correa, leader of 'dialogue' between U.S. Cuban community and Castro government, ran independent campaign for county commissioner.

the AFL-CIO central labor council in Miami for support "as a worker." But the labor bureaucrats voted to support incumbent J.L. Plummer, the well-heeled owner of a chain of funeral homes.

Correa believes that by presenting himself as an alternative, he helped highlight how "ridiculous it is for the unions to support a capitalist."

'Why not a worker?'

The campaign was financed by members of the ATC. The only billboard they could afford carried the slogan, "Why not a worker for city commission?"

Plummer was easily reelected with about 14,000 votes, but Correa made a strong showing with some 3,400.

All the more significant is that Correa could win such support while openly declaring himself a Marxist in the midst of the campaign.

Not long after the elections, a former dialogue spokesperson, Rev. Manuel Espinosa, turned on the movement, slandering its participants as "spies" and "communist agents" of Castro.

Prominent among those accused by Espinosa was Marcos Correa. He defended himself boldly, saying, "I am no spy. I am a socialist."

There is no doubt that Correa's political activities play a role in his victimization by the MTA administration. They have told him so. One high official informed Correa that his job is in jeopardy because of excessive leaves of absence. Most of Correa's leaves, it is well-known here, have been taken to visit Cuba.

'Mixed up' in politics

According to Correa, this official also told him that employees shouldn't be "mixed up" in politics.

The message put forward by the Socialist Workers Party campaign rally here was the opposite: in light of the beating our rights and living standards are taking at the hands of capitalist politicians, getting "mixed up" in politics is very much in order for working people.

After the rally, Correa told the *Militant*, "Never before have I seen a political party like this." Noting that there were about thirty people present, he added, "Next time I'd like to see a hundred here."

Detroit Steelworkers strike fabricating plant

By Ruth Robinett

DETROIT—Strike Bulletin number one of Steelworkers Local 2341 here was put out September 3. It said:

"Our union voted overwhelmingly to strike Whitehead & Kales Co. on Sept. 1. The company left us no choice because they only wanted to *take away* gains from the union. Their only proposal was - a one-year contract extension (with a wage freeze) - and take away our cost-of-living".

Whitehead & Kales is the largest steel fabrication plant in the Detroit area, with 900 workers in the bargaining unit. The company primarily produces railroad trailer-trains for hauling automobiles.

The company made record profits in 1978 and 1979. Now it claims there are no new orders on the horizon.

More than 200 workers were laid off before the strike and there was an unexpected plant shutdown just prior to the contract expiration. But these attacks did not dampen the union's spirit.

Ruth Robinett is a member of United Steelworkers Local 2341.

The strike vote meeting heard the company's final "proposal" and voted 468-11 to go on strike.

There were forty to eighty pickets at the company gates each morning during the first week of the strike. A strike support committee was formed to contact the members and neighboring union locals to participate in a mass picket line September 12. About 200 union members, friends, and relatives showed up. Solidarity delegations came from United Auto Workers Local 417, which is on strike itself against Fabrilcon, and from Steelworkers Local 2659 at McLouth Steel.

The contract for the 3,500 at the nearby McLouth steel mill expires October 1. Management there is also complaining about bad business and is demanding a wage and benefit freeze for a year to help them out. Normally Local 2659 has a contract patterned after that in the Basic Steel industry.

At a September 10 meeting, more than 2,000 McLouth workers voted overwhelmingly to strike October 1.

The mass picket line at Whitehead & Kales was inspiring to everyone. One worker said, "This is the only way to show the company we mean business."



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

Mass picket shows 'strength in unity,' like Poland strikes

DETROIT—At the September 12 mass picket outside the main gate of Whitehead & Kales, *Militant* reporters interviewed a number of people.

Union picket captain Anthony Stevenson is twenty-two years old. He was a marshal at the antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C. last March and felt that "experience helped us get things organized on this picket line."

He has a longterm view of the contract negotiations: "The way I see it, due to the rise in inflation, they thought we'd take any kind of contract as long as we were making money. This strike goes much further than that. The main thing we have in mind is the future. In another three years, if we let them get away with this now, they'll try to take more next time."

Local 2341 President Clayton Nedd is from the West Indies. He has worked at this plant for twenty-four years. He described the company's reasoning for the take-aways.

"They tell us over and over of their record profits for the last three years, then they say they have no orders. They say they are going to lay off all but 175 workers, go back to twenty years' seniority. Then they tell us about all the concessions other workers have been making. Especially, they talk about the concessions Chrysler workers made.

"The fact is that we have made many, many concessions over the

years. In 1959 we were forced to give up COLA [cost-of-living allowance] and didn't win it back for fifteen years. We won it back in 1974, and we are not going to give it up again.

"The company knows the politicians are all asking for sacrifices and they are rubbing our noses in it."

Nedd was impressed by the strikes in Poland. "They were really united, and in that kind of unity there is strength. That's the kind of unity we are showing today."

Harry Lester, an international staff representative of the Steelworkers union, was at the mass picket. He said: "The labor movement must fight this trend of take-aways. This is a cancer that threatens the very existence of the labor movement. We will support all workers on strike in District 29 and urge others to do the same."

Lester also had some comments on the political situation in the country today: "Labor's voice is a cry in the wilderness. Big business can buy the politicians. All these years we've had a majority Democratic Congress and still Taft-Hartley 14b has not been repealed. This has led to many workers not being organized into unions in the South and decertification of locals in the North.

"The Democrats have taken our support and given us nothing. Law is weighted in favor of big business. If labor doesn't form its own policy, labor will die on the vine."

Ford's 'world car': speed-up, job hazards

By Susan Anmuth

The news media is filled with hoopla about Ford's new "world cars," the Escort and the Mercury Lynx. The Metuchen plant where I work in Edison, New Jersey, has just been retooled to make these cars instead of Pintos.

Management claims they want "quality" work. But jobs are more overloaded than ever; safety hazards and accidents have multiplied. Union committeemen complain of writer's cramp from filing so many grievances.

Despite a \$68 million revamping of the factory, it sometimes takes weeks before a magnetized drill bit or clean apron is issued.

Work hours are an issue of universal concern. Ford just announced that they are eliminating our PPH's (paid personal holidays) for September, October, and November.

When our union, the United Auto Workers, won these paid days off they were touted as a step toward a shorter work week with no cut in pay. This was supposed to provide new jobs. Now, with hundreds of thousands laid off and victimized by plant closings, the PPH's are given up in exchange for an extra day's pay for those working.

But at the same time, Ford has shortened the work week for many of us and cut our pay. Since they are not ready to run the cars at full production because there are too many kinks, we are often sent home after four hours work.

The union contract guarantees forty hours pay when we are sent home

early, but the fund to cover this has been depleted so much that you have to have ten years' seniority to get it. Naturally, almost all the workers who are sent home early have less than ten years' seniority.

An additional irritation of the erratic hours is that you don't know whether you're working four, six-and-a-half or nine hours until minutes before you're sent home. No shift seems so long as when you don't know when it will end.

Ford's emphasis on quality sounds good in the ads, but it has a different meaning for auto workers. Assemblers know that when the line speed is increased to the scheduled fifty to fifty-eight cars per hour, quality will plummet. There are not enough workers to do each job right.

Management keeps warning us, "build this car right or we'll shut down like Mahwah." (Mahwah, about an hour's drive from Metuchen, was shut down by Ford last June. Ford claimed the cars were poor quality. Some workers from there now work at Metuchen.)

The news media is overloaded with free and paid advertising for the new cars. But there is little mention of the people who have to make them.

All the claims about quality in these cars are going to have a hard time standing up to fifty-eight hour weeks, excessive line speed, too many operations per job, and inadequate concern for safety.

This is the real story behind the world car.

Carter at N.J. mill: offers workers 'more of same'

By Jean Rosario

PERTH AMBOY, N.J.—"So what's it like to meet the president?" I asked a steelworker from a New Jersey mill. Jimmy Carter and a swarm of local Democratic politicians spoke at the official opening of Raritan River Steel Company in Perth Amboy September 9.

"It's a big deal to meet any celebrity," the steelworker answered. "But I'm no Carter fan, and he didn't win my vote. One or two of the guys said they think he's better than Reagan, but most don't see much difference between them."

That sounded like the general response, as reported in the press. "A steely reception greets the President's tour" was the headline in the Newark *Star-Ledger*. "Workers are skeptical of political rhetoric" was the subheadline.

The steelworkers have good reason to be skeptical. In his speech there, Carter praised the mill as "a model for industrial development." He was all smiles as he noted that Raritan has the highest productivity per worker in the country.

"There were some nudges in the crowd when he said that," one mill worker told me.

"The company puts out so much steel per worker simply by refusing to hire enough people. We each cover two jobs and do all kinds of overtime. In one department, people didn't get a single day off for more than a month. In other parts of the mill, people are having accidents—dangerous ones—because the crews are too small and too tired.

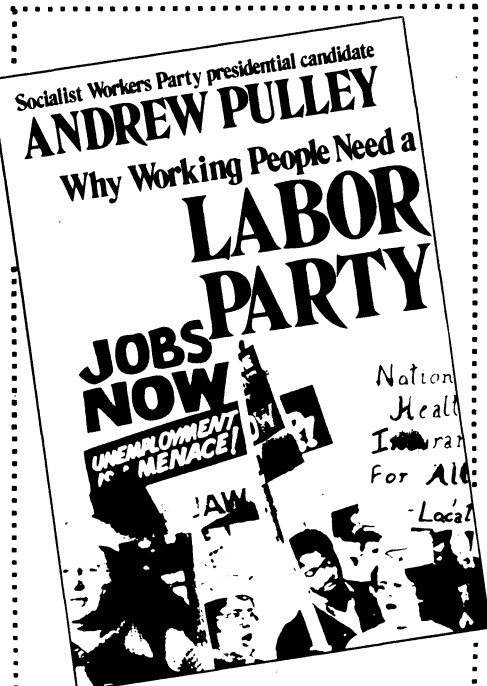
"And Carter says that's supposed to be the model!"

Trade unionists should take special note that Carter's "model" mill is non-union. Carter didn't go down the road only a few miles to give some encouraging words to the picket line at U.S. Metal, a copper refinery where workers are out on strike. He had no words of hope for the auto workers laid off at the nearby Linden General Motors

plant. And no words about the United Steelworkers Union which distributed organizing literature at Raritan recently, even though the USWA is supporting Carter.

It is newsworthy, however, that Carter did make one campaign promise that he definitely will keep if elected. He promised workers and their families "a more challenging life."

No doubt about that. Working at double-pace eight to twelve hours at Raritan, trying to survive the recession Carter deliberately exacerbated to "solve" inflation, avoiding the draft Carter is planning—it all makes for a very "challenging" life.



New from Socialist Workers 1980 Campaign.

48 pages. \$50 each, or \$35 for ten or more.

Order from **Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee**, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Why Cuba's UN mission is assassins' target

By Fred Feldman

On August 20 the United Nations Special Decolonization Committee submitted a resolution demanding that the U.S. government "adopt all necessary measures to make a full transfer of powers to the Puerto Rican people."

This resolution, like other United Nations statements in favor of Puerto Rican independence that have angered the Carter administration, was guided to passage by members of Cuba's mission to the United Nations.

In recent days U.S. diplomats have prowled the halls of the United Nations, drumming up support for recognition of the Pol Pot regime as the only "legitimate" government of Kampuchea (Cambodia)—even though Pol Pot's mass murderers have been out of power for almost

two years!

They will meet strenuous opposition—again with Cuba's delegation in the forefront.

Such stands are among the reasons why Cuba's U.N. mission has become a prime target for right-wing terrorists.

Cuba carries increased weight at the United Nations these days, and the Carter administration isn't concealing its unhappiness about this. Cuba now heads the group of Non-aligned countries. Castro spoke to the United Nations as leader of the Non-aligned last October, and received a standing ovation for a powerful attack on the imperialist plunder of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Cuba just missed being elected to a seat on the United Nations Security Council last January.

Much of the daily work of coordinating the Non-aligned occurs at the United Nations, where almost all the member nations are represented. And Cuba's United Nations delegation naturally plays a central role in this.

The U.S. rulers know Cuban influence will be used to aid the struggles of the oppressed and to oppose U.S. imperialism. Not just in the cases of Puerto Rico and Kampuchea, but in Southern Africa, the Middle East, Central America—in short, around the world.

Cuba's United Nations mission has long represented a breach in Washington's blockade of the island—a means by which the Cuban government can get out the truth about their country and its views to the American people.

So it's not surprising that the

Cuban mission is hated by the Omega 7 hit men—and by the cops and federal agents who cover for them.

But the murder of Félix García Rodríguez does not touch the Cubans alone. The Cubans are among the most consistent opponents of imperialism at the United Nations, but theirs is far from the only delegation to find itself at loggerheads with Washington over key issues.

This is especially true of delegations from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Soviet bloc.

The murder of García and the refusal of the police to arrest the killers puts all these delegations on notice that they could become targets if they don't toe Washington's line. That's why outrage against the slaying is running deep at the United Nations.

Subscription drive off to good start

By Nancy Rosenstock

The drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this fall is off and rolling.

Saturday, September 13 began the big kick-off week for the drive. Teams of socialist campaigners in at least forty cities were knocking on doors, talking to people about subscribing to the campaign newspapers of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

While Saturday's results are still coming in, there are already many positive experiences.

Kansas City socialists followed up on their recent victory in winning ballot status for Pulley and Zimmermann by talking about the positions of the campaign with working people in their city. They sold 15 subscriptions on Saturday alone, bringing their total to 35 subscriptions sold.

A major discussion has opened up in the union movement on the need for a labor party. This discussion took a big step forward when the recent convention of the International Association of Machinists voted to support the idea of a pro-labor party.

The labor party coverage has spurred on the selling of new subscriptions. Milwaukee socialists report a good response to the *Militant's* coverage of the labor party discussion in their door-to-door campaigning in Black working class neighborhoods. This past Saturday, they sold 15 new subscriptions to the *Militant* and signed up 18 young people on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann cards.

Socialists who work in the giant Lockheed plant in Atlanta have met with a similar friendly response. One Pulley/Zimmermann supporter sold 7 new subscriptions to the *Militant* after she posted the article reporting on the IAM convention on the plant bulletin board. In fact, Atlanta socialists are doing so well in the drive that they are the first area to raise their goal—from

100 to 120 new readers.

A big part of the fall circulation drive is the fielding of twenty national subscription/campaign teams. A team of three socialists in the Newport News area of Virginia just wrapped up their week of campaigning among steelworkers in the heavily industrialized area. During the course of the week thirty-two new subscriptions were sold, as well as 152 single copies of the *Militant*.

And this week, a team of campaigners are out in the mining communities of southwestern Arizona where thousands of miners have been on a long strike.

The circulation drive this fall takes on extra importance as the socialist candidates, Pulley and Zimmermann, step up their defense of the Cuban revolution. The *Militant* and *PM* will be highlighting this in upcoming issues. They will be explaining to working people that their interests lie with the workers and peasants of Cuba and not with Carter's attacks against Cuba. They will be pointing to the kind of movement that is needed here to put an end to right wing terrorist attacks against Cuban officials in this country or against any supporter of the Cuban revolution.

The big business press will continue with its attacks against Cuba and against other revolutionary developments in Central America and the Caribbean.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will continue telling the truth about these revolutions.

Since the drive began, supporters in Central Falls, Rhode Island, and Logansport, Indiana, have joined the growing number of readers that are circulating the *Militant* and *PM*. Why not join us in campaigning for the socialist candidates by circulating their newspapers. Just write to 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014, and we will rush the subscription sellers kit to you.



Matilde Zimmermann campaigns at Stewart-Warner plant in Indianapolis

...protests

Continued from page 6

it is obvious that what they're trying to do is confuse public opinion. They know who the murderers are, no doubt about it."

A spokesperson for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in New York also commented to the *Militant* about the role of the government: "We demand a complete investigation. We want to remind the government that this is not the first time, we remember the murder of Eulalio Negrín in Union City, New Jersey. We think the FBI and the CIA are holding back."

On September 13, eighty people attended a Pittsburgh protest rally where

Linda Mohrbacher, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, and Liz Hughes, Citizen's and Consumer's Party candidate for Congress, denounced the murder. The rally participants voted to send a telegram to the White House, part of which reads, "We hold the U.S. government responsible for this murder in cold blood, since the government shields and encourages right-wing groups like Omega 7."

"We demand that the government provide full protection to the Cuban Mission and their attachés and also demand the immediate arrest and prosecution of those responsible for this heinous crime."



November 16-30

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* invite you to travel with us on a two-week tour of Cuba.

After spending several days in Havana the tour will fly to Santiago de Cuba, birthplace of the Revolution. The next week will be spent traveling across the island. The tour will visit the cities of Camaguey, Las Villas, and Santa Clara.

During the two weeks we will have time to meet with representatives of the Cuban Workers Confederation, Federation of Cuban Women, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, and other organizations. Also we will visit schools, hospitals, polyclinics, housing developments, and factories.

The tour departs from Miami November 15 and returns there on the 29th of November. The cost is \$850. This includes hotel, meals, roundtrip travel from Miami to Cuba, travel in Cuba, visa fees, and bilingual tour guides.

For more information write to Militant/PM Cuba Tours, P.O. Box 314, New York, N.Y. 10014

Governmental complicity with Omega 7

By Harry Ring

On a Sunday afternoon last November, Eulalio Negrín, accompanied by his son, twelve, was entering his car in Union City, New Jersey. A car pulled up with two men in it. They began shooting. The boy escaped. Negrín was killed.

The counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists of Omega 7 took public credit for the assassination.

To this day there has not been a single arrest in the case.

Negrín was a prominent figure in Union City's large Cuban community.

He was active in Republican Party politics and headed a social service program for Cuban emigrés.

But he favored an end to the blockade of Cuba and normalization of U.S.-Cuba relations.

Union City is a base of operations for Omega 7. Its front organization, the Cuban Nationalist Movement, has a public headquarters there. It has powerful friends in city hall.

Earlier, Negrín's storefront social agency had been destroyed by a bomb. Omega 7 took credit for that too—along with the bombing of a drug company that shipped medicine to Cuba.

In the previous months, Negrín had received some ten threats on his life. The police refused him protection. An aide to the mayor said the city couldn't "afford the luxury" of protecting individual citizens.

The murderers of Eulalio Negrín did not go unapprehended simply because they have political clout in Union City.

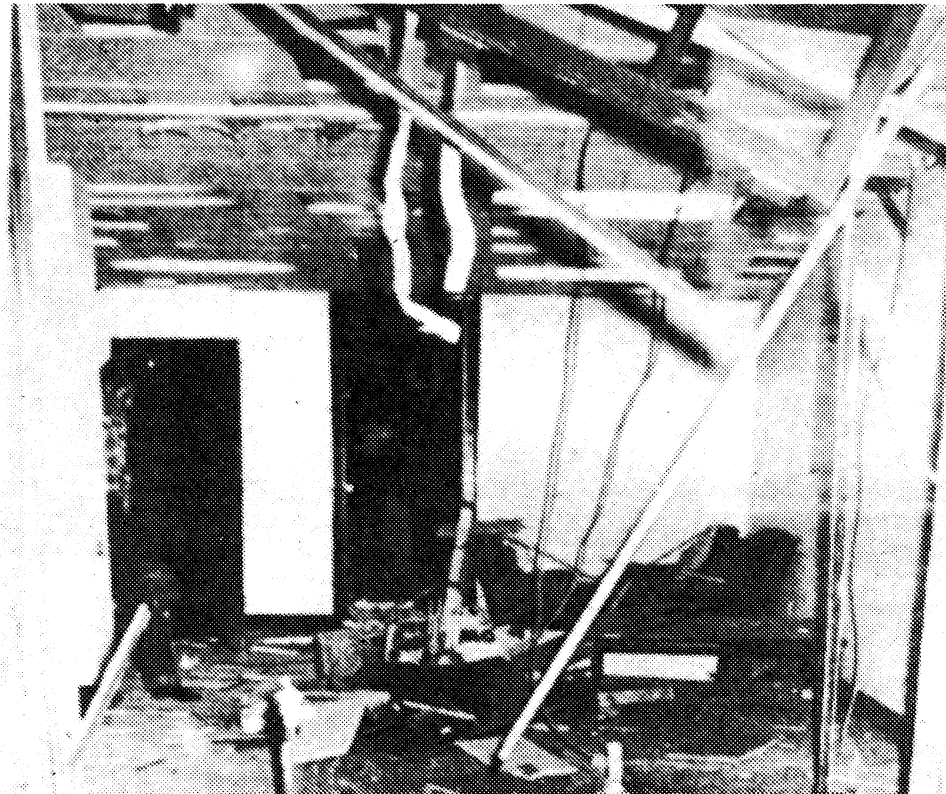
Muñiz killing

Seven months earlier, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Carlos Muñiz, a young Cuban working for an end to the blockade of his homeland, was also gunned down by the right-wing killers.

Those who committed that murder have not been apprehended either.

Five members of Omega 7 participated in the 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier, who had been an official of the Allende government of Chile.

Three were convicted but a federal appeals court just ruled they should have a new trial. Two are still at large. Federal authorities say they simply



Wreckage at Cuban Mission to UN from October 1979 bombing by Omega 7.

can't find them. But the FBI did name them as "prime suspects" in the bombing of Negrín's storefront office.

And at the scene of the murder of Félix García, a reporter for New York's Channel 11 TV, openly stated his belief that the two gunmen could well be in the area.

In the past five years, Omega 7 has taken credit for twenty-two bombings in the New York-New Jersey area—including five at the Cuban Mission to the UN.

There has not been a single arrest.

Last March, Raúl Roa, Cuban ambassador to the UN, escaped miraculously when the driver of his car spotted a shoe box underneath the car.

It contained enough explosives, New York police said, to blow up a city block.

Still not one arrest.

New York's Mayor Koch says he's "outraged" by the murder of Cuban attaché García. At the time of the last bombing of the Cuban Mission, Koch offered Omega 7 the fatherly advice that they were "doing their own cause a great disservice."

Koch does have one defense for his do-nothing policy about Omega 7. He can argue, convincingly, that the federal government isn't doing anything either.

Four months ago, as the stench of the coverup grew stronger, the federal government announced that the FBI and New York police were establishing a special task force to deal with Omega 7. The joint team includes twenty-two people.

They haven't accomplished much. Following the García murder, FBI officials told reporters they still weren't certain what the name Omega 7 meant, or how many members it might have. They said it might be as few as seven. That shrewd bit of police thinking may have been deduced from the organization's name.

September 15, FBI Agent Larry Whack told reporters he's been "investigating" Omega 7 for the past five years.

He said that over this period of time the FBI had developed a list of people it "suspected" were members of the

organization and that agents were now beginning to question them about the García murder. So far, he said, progress was "slight."

All of this is such a patent fraud that even cops must blush in telling it.

Federal and local police agencies have penetrated every conceivable kind of organization, from right to left.

Cops in Klan & Nazis

In the current trial of Klan and Nazi members who murdered five Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina, it was revealed that an agent of the federal bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was operating in the Nazi outfit, and a local police operative was in the Klan.

It was disclosed that both were involved in planning the murderous operation.

Federal and local authorities are determined to keep hands off Omega 7. Not simply because they sympathize with its anti-Cuba activity. The cops are in it up to their necks themselves.

Jeff Stein, a reporter who has done substantial digging into Omega 7, had this to say in the March 10 New York *Village Voice*:

"In the Dade County [Florida] police department, terrorism experts exchange smiles and look down at their hands when you ask them if the CIA's involved with exile anti-Castro activities. They look to each other to answer first, clear their throats, shift in their seats. The answer is yes."

In New York a police official told Stein: "You get just so far on a case and suddenly the dust is blown away. Case closed. You ask the CIA to help, and they say they aren't really interested. You get the message."

For good reason. The CIA has recruited and trained Cuban counterrevolutionaries ever since the revolution. The CIA-directed Bay of Pigs invasion was simply its most publicized effort.

The whole record leads to a single conclusion. Omega 7 has had a free hand to bomb and murder because it is carrying out the work of the United States government—a government that is determined to defeat the Cuban revolution by any means necessary.

A grim record of murders and bombings

Since the Cuban revolution came to power in 1959, Washington has waged a systematic campaign of violence against it.

In the early years of the revolution, there was a series of bombings of sugar mills and other installations.

Other acts of sabotage and arson were conducted by CIA infiltrators. It was publicly acknowledged that the CIA had plotted a series of assassination attempts against Fidel Castro.

In 1960, a French ship, *La Coubre*, exploded in the Havana harbor while unloading an arms shipment. United States involvement was proven.

In 1961 came the notorious CIA invasion at the Bay of Pigs.

In 1969-70 clouds were seeded with chemicals in an attempt to ruin the sugar harvest. A virus that did extensive damage to tobacco crops was smuggled in.

The following is a chronology of crimes against Cuba beginning in 1976, when Omega 7 entered the picture.

* * *

1976

April 22: A bomb explodes in the

Cuban embassy in Lisbon, Portugal.

June 6: A bomb explodes in the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

July 9: A bomb explodes in the luggage about to be loaded on a Cubana plane in Kingston, Jamaica.

July 23: Artaignan Diaz Diaz, a technician, is assassinated in Mérida, Mexico, when two individuals attempt to kidnap the Cuban consul.

October 6: Cubana de Aviación's CUT-1201 is criminally sabotaged, exploding in mid-flight off the coast of Barbados. All seventy-three passengers die.

1977

January 9: The New York daily *Newsday* says the CIA was involved in introducing a virus into Cuba, which in 1971 caused an outbreak of African swine fever.

December 20: Bombs are set off at two stores named Almacen el Español, one in Union City and the other in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Both had been sending medical supplies to Cuba. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1978

September 9: A bomb explodes at the

Cuban mission to the United Nations. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

October 5: A bomb is exploded outside of New York City's Madison Square Garden to protest the appearance of Cuban boxers there. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

December 29: Bombs explode at the Cuban mission to the UN and at Lincoln Center, where a Cuban orchestra was giving a concert. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1979

March 25: The Office of Cuban Affairs in West New York, New Jersey, is bombed. Almacen el Español in Union City, New Jersey, is bombed as well. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

April 28: Carlos Muñiz Varela, a



Militant/Harry Ring

leader among Cubans abroad who advocate normalization of relations and an end to the U.S. blockade against Cuba, was gunned down by counterrevolutionary thugs in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

October 27: A high-powered bomb explodes in front of the Cuban UN mission. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

November 25: Eulalio José Negrín, an opponent of the U.S. blockade against Cuba and a participant in the "dialogue" between Cubans abroad and the Cuban government, is murdered by rightist goons in Union City, New Jersey. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

December 7: The Cuban mission to the UN is bombed. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1980

March 13: The Angolan mission to the UN is firebombed by Omega 7, protesting Cuban aid to Angola.

March 25: Enough plastic explosives to have blown up a city block is placed under the car of Raúl Roa Kouri, Cuba's ambassador to the UN. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

How Cuba combats its economic problems

The following article is reprinted from the August 27 issue of the Australian socialist weekly 'Direct Action.'

By Renfrey Clarke

HAVANA—A crisis-ridden economy beset by crop failures and crippled by government bureaucratism; stagnant growth rates and shortages of basic consumer items; a disgruntled population, with large numbers of people fed up with the Castro regime and convinced they would be better off in some other country.

That was how the capitalist media were portraying Cuba earlier this year, as they set out to make political capital from the decision of some thousands of Cubans to emigrate to the U.S.

Anyone with experience of the capitalist "news" industry automatically treats its "exposés" of conditions in workers' states with great caution. All the same, I went to Cuba in late July, expecting to find some evidence of serious economic problems—if only because experience had taught me that the boss class are sophisticated liars, who know that the most effective lies are those which contain particles of the truth.

Talking about some other island

But no, the bosses' papers must have been talking about some other island. There is no economic or social crisis in Cuba.

The Cubans themselves admit that particular areas of their economy have suffered setbacks this year. The worst blow has been the virtual wiping out of the tobacco crop, normally an important exporter, by the fungus disease blue mold.

In another major disappointment, the sugar crop, which accounts for 80 per cent of the country's export income, failed this year to increase in line with projections. Because of unusually humid weather conditions, a high-yielding variety of sugar cane, which normally accounts for about 30 per cent of plantings, was severely affected by cane rust.

In addition, all the pigs in extensive areas of Cuba had to be slaughtered to contain outbreaks of the disease swine fever—the first on the island for some years.

Nevertheless, the time has passed when a big drop in sugar or tobacco production spelt disaster for the Cuban economy, and near-starvation for the masses of the population.

Cuba today is still an underdeveloped country; it lacks the broadly-based industrial economy of more advanced nations. But after 20 years of mobilising people and productive resources to achieve planned growth, the revolution has lifted Cuba out of the category of the "one-product countries," forced by imperialism to rely on one or a handful of commodities for almost all their national income.

Today the Cuban economy is not based only on sugar and tobacco, but also on coffee, beef, dairy products, bananas, citrus fruits, fish, nickel, and many other products besides. The figures for citrus plantings provide a typical example of the gains made in this campaign to diversify production. Before the revolution 10,000 hectares were devoted to citrus crops. Today's figure is 100,000 hectares.

What this adds up to is a productive mechanism able to withstand setbacks in specific areas. Also, the effects of the crop diseases should not be exaggerated. This year's sugar crop is, after all, expected to come to about the same tonnage as last year's. And with world prices remaining high, sugar will remain an extremely lucrative export.

Even after these points had been explained to me, I was still prepared to believe that this year's economic growth rate would be low. But no, I was assured, the figure would be similar to that of previous years—about 6 percent.

Six per cent! In a year when economic growth in Australia is likely to reach only 2.5 per cent and Gross National Product in the U.S. could actually decline! Whatever economic crises there are in the world, they're certainly not to be found in Cuba!

Sustained growth

The violent swings in world demand for agricultural products still pose problems for Cuban planners. But because Cuba has a nationalised, planned economy, which is more and more being tied in with the economic projections of other postcapitalist states, the island enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the boom-and-slump cycle of world capitalism. Sustained growth continues in Cuba even when the U.S. and Western Europe are deep in recession.

Evidence of this growth is everywhere. I was told recently by a proud Cuban that "all Cuba is a



Twenty-one years of mobilization has lifted Cuba out of imperialist-imposed one-product economy.

construction site," and I have yet to encounter a single sizeable town in Cuba that does not have large buildings—factories, schools, hospitals or apartment blocks—under construction.

If the "economic crisis" in Cuba is a myth, what about the "social crisis" which is supposed to have helped spark the exodus to Miami?

Cuba simply does not have the makings of social crises of the kind which afflict far richer capitalist countries. With controlled prices, there is minimal inflation. Unemployment is practically nonexistent; the first priority of this economy is not making profits but putting the population to work building a better society.

What happens to those who are thrown out of work by dislocations in the economy is shown by the fate of tobacco workers unemployed since the crop failure. All of these workers have been kept on full pay.

What about the shortages, the rationing, which Cubans are supposed to find so irksome?

Here, the relevant comparison is not with the U.S. or other industrialised countries, but with the rest of Latin America.

Basic necessities at low price

In most parts of Central and South America the shops are full of consumer goods—and large numbers of workers and peasants wonder where their next meal is coming from. There are no "shortages," but the poor live on the verge of starvation.

In Cuba the rationing system guarantees everyone the basic necessities of life at low prices.

There are three categories of goods on sale. A few commodities, prime export earners like coffee and beef, can be had only in small, rationed quantities. Others, such as clothing and petrol, can be had in limited quantities at low prices—and in unrestricted amounts if the purchaser is prepared to pay a higher price. On the purchase of many goods, including such foodstuffs as fish and eggs, there are no rationing restrictions.

Living standards in Cuba vary—wage incentives are used to encourage workers to upgrade their skills and raise production—but no one lives in luxury, and neither is anyone very poor. A recent reform increased the wages of many of the lowest-paid workers, while cutting back the salaries of some highly paid staff.

By Australian standards—though certainly not by those of Latin America—the living space of workers in Cuban cities is cramped. This is very much a legacy of capitalism; prior to 1959 a third of Cubans lived in unsanitary hovels without water or electricity.

Housing construction is now one of the government's main priorities, and the situation is improv-

ing. One agreeable result of the "exodus" to the U.S., Cubans told me good-humoredly, was that large numbers of apartments suddenly became available.

As well as enjoying low-cost housing, Cubans also receive education, medical care, and other benefits completely free.

Of course, social crises—in the sense of the loss of confidence by whole sections of the population in the ruling social system—can arise even when living standards and other such material factors do not seem, on the surface, likely to provoke big upheavals.

'Highest level of political culture'

But it is simply not true that the Cuban masses question the legitimacy of the Castro government, or feel themselves ill-served by its policies of defending and extending the revolution.

Of all the world's peoples, Cubans probably have the highest general level of political culture. This is the result of consistent political education, of the government constantly explaining its perspectives and intentions to the people—usually with great honesty.

The close identification which the great majority of Cubans feel with their revolution also stems from the fact that they have a genuine say in how it is made—through popular bodies like the neighborhood Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, and through the trade unions and other mass organisations.

Obviously, not everyone in Cuba is happy to make the sacrifices needed if the country is to rise out of underdevelopment. But from what I could gauge, few Cubans have much sympathy for the complaints of backsliders. Throughout Havana one sees hand-lettered signs and painted wall-slogans urging that "anti-social elements, criminals, slackers and scum" should get out of the country.

The most powerful impression one has of Cuba is of a united, determined, and extremely purposeful society. Cubans are proud of what their revolution has accomplished, and have great confidence that if they work hard, their lives will improve rapidly in the future.

'Dreams become reality'

On the outskirts of Ciego de Avila, the provincial capital which hosted this year's July 26 celebrations, there is a new block of workers' apartments surmounted by a huge sign which reads: "The dreams of yesterday are the reality of today." This captures the popular mood.

When the press in capitalist countries tries to invent "crises" in Cuba, it simply exposes the real crisis in today's world—the terminal sickness of the world capitalist system.

1945-1980

Polish struggle for workers democracy

By Gerry Foley

Behind the power of the 1980 Polish strikes lies three-and-a-half decades of struggle by the Polish workers and toilers against bureaucratic misrule—coming on top of a much longer tradition of revolutionary struggle against capitalism and foreign domination.

The immediate roots of the conflict in Poland today lie in the aspirations of the Polish workers to have a say over the decisions that affect their lives and living standards.

Capitalism has been overturned in Poland, making possible big strides in the social and economic betterment of the Polish people. But a privileged bureaucratic caste—not the Polish working class—governs and makes all political and economic decisions. The guiding precept of this caste is to hold onto its political power in order to preserve its special access to material benefits and pleasures. The result is gross inefficiency and mismanagement, glaring social and economic inequality, and totalitarian political methods.

Soviet occupation

This state was created in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, during the military occupation of the country by Soviet troops.

Moscow's initial aim, as it was in the rest of Eastern Europe, was to establish a capitalist buffer regime with friendly ties to the Kremlin, similar to the one that exists today in Finland. To do so, the Soviet occupiers tried to crush the tremendous working-class struggles for social change that were sweeping Poland in the wake of the country's liberation from Nazi occupation. They used brute force in the attempt to stop and turn back the Polish workers' fight for socialism.

But the imperialists were not interested in the live-and-let-live deal that Stalin was banking on. Washington was already moving to counter the post-war revolutionary upsurges around the globe. The Cold War policy of "containment and roll-back" of the "Soviet menace" was in full swing. The leaders of world capitalism did not want a Poland—even a capitalist Poland—that was allied with Moscow.

Within Poland itself, the Soviet authorities found the reviving bourgeoisie conspiring behind their backs with the capitalist governments of the United States and Western Europe. A small-scale but vicious civil war opened up, in which desperate anti-communist and anti-Russian terrorists assassinated thousands of Communist Party activists and pro-Soviet Polish government officials.

In reaction to this capitalist offensive, the Kremlin was compelled to strike against the Polish bourgeoisie. It was forced to allow mobilizations of the Polish workers to overturn capitalism and lay the basis for a collectivized economy.

Although this process was carried through in a carefully circumscribed manner—under bureaucratic control and without a popular revolutionary upheaval of the Polish masses—the state that was established nevertheless advanced the historic interests of the Polish working class.

Abolition of capitalism

The elimination of the profit drive and the nationalization of the major means of production made possible Poland's rapid recovery from the ravages of the Second World War. Education and health care was greatly expanded. The economy developed considerably, so that today Poland is among the most industrialized countries in the world.

The old Poland was melted in a crucible and out of it came a vastly expanded and better educated working class and a larger layer of intellectuals and students. For the first time, the



Warsaw, October 24, 1956: Poles rally against threat of Soviet intervention

national culture and traditions created by the prewar Polish revolutionary struggle could permeate the entire nation.

Contrary to the Stalinist slander that opponents of the regime are "anti-socialist," the revolutionary opposition looks back to the profound social changes of the late 1940s as the basis of their hopes for building a truly free and abundant life for the Polish people.

This is clear in the writings of the most influential dissidents, even though the repellant hypocrisy of the parasitic bureaucracy led them to incorrectly characterize it as a new social class. For example, in their 1964 "Open Letter to the Members of the University of Warsaw Sections of the Polish United Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists," Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski* wrote:

Under these conditions, the productive relations based on bureaucratic ownership assured rapid economic development and, thanks to this, possibilities of progress and a better life opened up for the other classes and social strata—perspectives for improvement within the framework of the bureaucratic system itself.

Industrialization opened the way to a better life for the broad masses of the underdeveloped country via the passage of vast numbers of people from the materially, socially, and culturally most disadvantaged classes to the higher classes and strata: from the peasantry to the working class, from the peasantry and the working class, thanks to the expansion of education at all levels, to the ranks of the technical cadres, office workers, intellectuals and technocrats.

The social progress of the masses and the elimination of rural overpopulation and unemployment were also accompanied by the improvement of the cultural level of the people, medical care, social services, education, etc. Thanks to this, and despite the terror and coercion, the bureaucracy found

numerous and enthusiastic supporters in all sectors of society. Since its rule enjoyed popular approval, its ideologues and propagandists could effectively impose its hegemony on the entire society, because the industrialization carried out under its leadership served the interests of the society as a whole.

Party made in Moscow

The political figures at the helm of the new Polish workers state, however, were among the most uninspiring who have ever presided over a process of great progressive social changes.

The new Communist Party that was rebuilt under Moscow's tutelage during the war was devoid of any heroic tradition or political principle. There were few survivors of the prewar CP, which had been disbanded on Stalin's orders in the late 1930s; most of its leading figures were executed in the USSR at the end of the Moscow Trials in 1938. Those who survived, such as Wladyslaw Gomulka, owed their lives to the fact that they had been in prison at the outbreak of the war in the part of Poland that was occupied by Germany and not the Soviet Union.

Gomulka was allowed to play a leading role in the period of coalition with bourgeois parties, when some sort of national cover was needed. However, he was purged—along with 370,000 other Polish CP members—during the trials staged by Stalin throughout Eastern Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s to liquidate all the leaders who were suspected of putting their loyalty to their own peoples above their loyalty to the Kremlin.

Boleslaw Bierut, a prewar member of the Soviet secret police, presided over a period of massive Stalinist repression. The Communist Party was a pliant instrument. It was a totally corrupt assemblage of prewar Social Democrats and pro-Moscow loyalists married under the shotgun of the Soviet Army.

The carrying out of Poland's industrialization by a parasitic bureaucratic caste began creating extreme contra-

dictions from the very beginning. There was enormous waste. Consideration for the human and social needs of the workers took a backseat to the privileges and prerogatives of the bureaucracy. Arbitrariness and irrationality bred demoralization among layers of the masses. Theft and cheating as a way of life was the moral standard set by the example of the ruling bureaucracy.

Explosive contradictions

The contradiction between the growth of a powerful and well-educated working class and mismanagement by corrupt bureaucratic dictators, and between the heroic traditions of the Polish national struggle and the dismal spectacle of a servile regime subordinate to Moscow, became violently explosive. After the death of Stalin, it became impossible to contain.

The surfacing of these contradictions quickly took on a powerful and massive character. In 1955, the steelworkers at the huge Nowa Huta complex near Krakow refused to vote for a resolution condemning a poem protesting the conditions of life under Stalin.

The student magazine *Po Prostu* became an organ of the opposition among intellectuals, its circulation shooting up toward 150,000.

In February 1956, the prewar Polish Communist Party was rehabilitated. In mid-March the first public references appeared to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech admitting some of the crimes of Stalin. A flood of articles followed, criticizing various aspects of life under the Stalinist regime.

The spotlight came on the low wages and high production norms, youth unemployment, and the miserable conditions of young people coming from the rural areas to work in the new industrial plants. The privileges and abuses of power by the bureaucracy began being subjected to criticism.

One of the most dramatic statements appeared in the April 22, 1956, issue of *Nowa Kultura*. It spoke for the generation that had grown up since the war.

Michel Bruck wrote that he had stopped believing in Poland when he discovered the anticommunist motives of the leaders of the 1944 Warsaw uprising, in which his brother died. At the age of fifteen he had lost his faith in God when he became a Communist:

The new ideology gave me faith in the world and a reason for living. Those were my happiest years. I fought for this ideology. . . .

However, they gave us some instructions that were wrong and obviously detrimental to the party's policy. I was convinced that somewhere, among the higher circles, there was some enemy giving these orders. But I thought that it would harm the party to make my criticisms public. That made it possible for me to tolerate a lot of difficulties. . . .

Now I am eighteen years old. . . . It is now proven that the dictatorship of Stalin was a reality and that history had been falsified. . . .

I can't change my faith a fourth time. . . .

I am ashamed of my older comrades. I am ashamed for the entire party, for all those who waited for the bandwagon and then jumped on it. I am ashamed for all those who consciously or unconsciously assisted this evil. I am ashamed for you, you petty bourgeois, you ministers, you well-fed journalists, you writers who did not want to see the conflicts.

I am ashamed for you, and above all, I am ashamed for myself. I am ashamed of my stupidity and my credulity.

Poznan rebellion

In June 1956, the Polish working class went into action against the bureaucratic regime for the first time and began to show what it was capable of.

The workers at the Stalin Steel Fabricating Plant in Poznan in western Poland refused to accept a continua-

**Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*, (1964-1968). New York: Merit Publishers, 1968. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$1.25.

and socialism

tion of low wages and speed-ups. They marched to the center of the city under the slogans "bread," "lower prices," and "higher wages." Along the route, they were joined by workers from other plants. They began to draw the rest of the population behind them.

By the late morning of June 24, a third of the population of Poznan had gathered in front of the city hall. As the mass mobilization became more general, political slogans began to be raised: "We want freedom!" "Down with the false communism!" "Down with the Russians!"

A group of demonstrators attacked the prison, disarmed the guards, and freed the prisoners. Another group stormed the radio station.

A crowd gathered to attack the secret police headquarters. The Stalinist security forces opened fire. Fighting spread through the streets. The insurgents captured some police stations. A number of the troops sent in to crush the rebellion turned their weapons over to the masses.

Since the uprising remained confined to one city, the government was able to put it down militarily, but the regime was deeply shaken.

The Stalinist press opened a campaign of vilification against the Poznan insurgents:

"Enemy agents have provoked street disorders. . . . The organizers of this action, an extensive and well-prepared splitting operation, will be punished with the full severity of the law. . . . The Poznan provocations were organized by enemies of the fatherland."

In a matter of weeks, however, the mounting pressure forced the bureaucracy to eat its words. But the changes did not come easily.

Moscow backs down

On October 18, Soviet troops and Polish army units under the command of the party right wing had begun to move on Warsaw to head off those sections of the bureaucracy who were turning to the only Polish leader with any political authority—Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Gomulka's rise to power at the October 19 party plenum took place within the context of a revolutionary situation. In response to the threat from the Kremlin, the Warsaw CP city committee set up a communications network outside the regular party channels. Weapons were concentrated at the headquarters of the party factory sections so that they could be quickly distributed to the workers. The Zeran auto workers were armed, and they took up positions to defend the capital.

A week after the event, Jan Kott wrote in *Przegląd Kulturalny*: "There is no longer any doubt. During that feverish night, the real master of our country and of Warsaw was the revolutionary working class. And the youth once again found a common language with the working class. . . . The workers of Warsaw stood guard."

Gomulka threatened to touch off an armed uprising if the Soviets and the right wing tried to keep him from taking power. His speech to the October 19 plenum, published the next day, exploded the Russian and Polish Stalinist slander campaign against the Poznan workers:

The working class has just given the party and government leadership a harsh lesson. By resorting to the weapon of strikes and by demonstrating in the streets on that Thursday of last June, the Poznan workers shouted loudly: "Enough! This can't go on! We have to get off this wrong road." When they went into the streets, the Poznan workers were not demonstrating against People's Poland or against socialism. They were protesting against an evil widespread in our social system from which they also suffered. They were protesting against deviations from the fundamental principles of socialism that is their ideal. . . .

The working class is our class; it is our invincible power. The working class is us. Without it, that is, without the confidence of the working class, none of us can represent anything but themselves.

The clumsy attempt to present the Poznan tragedy as the work of imperialist agents and provocateurs was politically very silly.

Agents and provocateurs can always be around working. But in no case can they determine the attitude of the working class. If the agents and provocateurs could incite the working class to action, the enemies of People's Poland, the enemies of socialism would find their task greatly facilitated; they could easily achieve their objective. But this is not the way it is.

Thus, through a convicted "enemy of the people," the Polish CP leadership had to acknowledge the charges raised by the workers against the Stalinist bureaucracy and to promise that they



Activists from 1970 workers' struggle helped lead victorious 1980 strikes.

would begin to really rule as the workers' representatives rather than as the usurpers of the political power that belonged by right to the workers themselves.

Political education

The Polish workers, who had very few illusions in Stalinism from the start, began to go through an incomparable political education in the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This process has continued from the 1956 upsurge through successive struggles and revolutionary upsurges up to the recent strikes.

In the December 5, 1956, issue of *Trybuna Ludu*, the leading Polish economist Oskar Lange was allowed to offer the following explanation of Stalinism:

Stalinism was engendered by the weakness of the working class, by the waning of its revolutionary energies, by the fact that petty bourgeois and peasant elements were able to outflank the working class, as well as by the specific conditions of isolation resulting from capitalist encirclement and the absence of solid traditions of demo-

cratic government laid down by an earlier bourgeois democratic revolution.

Lange went on to point out a road for eliminating Stalinism in Poland:

In Poland a social force that demands socialist democracy, the working class, was consolidated in the course of the industrialization, as well as a new intelligentsia that was born in this period and developed rapidly.

The experiences of a vital working class movement are still living and fresh, as well as the traditions of creative intellectual life preserved by the old progressive intelligentsia. These have enabled the working class and the intellectuals to resume their political activity. The popular origins of most of the intelligentsia have enabled them to find a common language with the working class. . . .

The role of the working class as the essential force in the democratization process is shown clearly by the mass movement for workers councils, in which the working class can express its demands and become the master of the factories and of the entire country. The workers councils movement is the irrefutable proof of the proletarian and socialist character of the

resurrection of the world communist movement.

Any other kind of unity means defeat. . . .

The experience of all of us, and the experience of our defeat in Hungary in particular, proves that the capitalists always benefit from Stalinism. The survival of Stalinism in our ranks is the surest guarantee of imperialist victories. The relationship between the entry of the Soviet army into Hungary and the [British and French] attack on Egypt proves this.

The 1956 upsurge against Stalinism also brought to the surface Marxist positions on the national rights of oppressed peoples.

In the January 13, 1957, issue of *Nowa Kultura*, Andrzej Mandalian wrote:

Lenin's "Notes on the National Question" is as much if not more of a mindboggling document for Communists as his famous "Letter to the Congress" [known as "Lenin's Testament"].

As regards nationalities policy, Stalinism found its fullest expression in great power chauvinism. Given the economic and cultural backwardness of certain countries, and their multinational structure, Stalinism developed a whole hierarchy of chauvinisms and lesser nationalisms, which it used as a prop for its power. . . .

Our movement of renewal was directed against Stalinism. But its specific character lay in the fact that it was directed first of all against the chauvinism of the Stalinist system and based itself on, among other things, the profoundly patriotic aspirations of the population for a normalization in the relations among states and for sovereignty.

An intense, rich, and illuminating political discussion took place that had a deep impact on the Polish masses.

Gains rolled back

There was also a rich organizational experience, going from struggles in the party and legal mass organizations to insurrection and the first forms of a nationwide uprising.

Nonetheless, the 1956 upsurge failed to destroy the Stalinist bureaucratic hold. The new leadership of the bureaucracy, led by Gomulka, was able fairly quickly to break the momentum of the struggle and begin to demobilize it.

The massively expanded Polish working class went through an experience in 1956 very similar to that of the vanguard workers in the immediate postwar period. Workers councils arose after the war, particularly in the Silesian coal mines. But they were progressively circumscribed and integrated into the bureaucratic union structure, and finally abolished. Lacking a political leadership with a program for establishing workers democracy throughout the society, the workers could be relatively easily divided, tied down, and worn out by the bureaucracy.

This also happened to the workers councils that arose in 1956. But the bureaucracy continued to talk about a big role for such bodies for a number of years.

The most political of the dissident publications, *Po Prostu*, was the first to be suppressed. It was abolished in 1957. The critical publications were suppressed one by one, but the last survived until 1963. Thus, for seven years a relatively frank discussion of the problems of the society took place in mass-circulation publications.

Simmering protest

Rearguard resistance continued until 1966 at the University of Warsaw, when the students organized a public meeting to commemorate the "Polish October" ten years earlier.

At the University of Warsaw, a vanguard was able to draw the lessons of October and its failure to overthrow the bureaucracy. Out of this experience came the most developed analysis of Stalinism and program for overthrowing the bureaucratic dictatorship and establishing workers democracy that has appeared in any workers state since the destruction of the Leninist opposition led by Trotsky in the Soviet Union. Its authors consciously based themselves to some extent on the tradi-

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

tion of the Left Opposition. And there was at least one survivor of the prewar Polish Trotskyist movement, Ludwik Haas, in this milieu.

This analysis and program was expressed in the "Open Letter" written by Kuron and Modzelewski, two leaders of the Communist youth organization on the campus. They gave the following explanation for the defeat of the October upsurge:

In Poland, the bureaucracy held onto its power by peaceful means. How was it able to do this?

The outcome of revolution is decided by the struggle between the two basic social classes: the working class and the bureaucracy. The Poznan events showed quite clearly that these are the two principal forces involved. The hegemony of the working class as the most powerful and consistently antibureaucratic force in society is the precondition for the victory of the revolution.

However, in order for the working class to be able to play the leading role, it must be conscious of its own goals and formulate them into a political program. As a class fighting for power, it must organize its own party (or its own parties).

What has been called the October Left, which was made up in large part of the natural leaders of the workers, the youth and the intellectuals, could have been the embryo of the political vanguard of the working masses. The left differed from the liberal tendency essentially in its propositions with regard to the Workers' Councils, in which it saw a base for a new relation of production and the framework for a new political regime.

But it was a heterogeneous current. The Left did not differentiate itself from the technocratic current in the Workers' Councils (the demand that the Councils run the factories did not go beyond the limits of the technocratic program); nor did it differentiate itself from the liberal wing of the bureaucracy in national politics. It did not set itself off clearly from the general anti-Stalinist front as a specifically proletarian movement.

In this situation the Left was clearly incapable of formulating its own political program, of organizing agitation for it among the masses, or of forming parties. This is why the Left was incapable of transforming itself into an independent political force and of avoiding becoming merely a leftist auxiliary of the liberal wing of the bureaucracy in power.

Student protests

Kuron and Modzelewski were jailed, but the ferment continued among the students.

In March 1968, the banning of Adam Mickiewicz's nineteenth century nationalist play *Forefather's Eve III* sparked mass student demonstrations. Kuron and Modzelewski, released not long before, were seen as political leaders of the movement. They were rearrested and jailed once again.

In a statement to the court in January 1969, Modzelewski described the origins of this student movement and the role he played in it:

After we got out, we found ourselves in this milieu of activist university students. We knew many of these people before. There was no idea of forming an organization.

As in any university milieu, there were various discussions. We did find one thing new. There was a lack of understanding of the Marxist theory of society. We proposed discussion of various theoretical questions. . . . We were interested in the question of the national traditions, productive and unproductive labor, the problem of utopia in Marxist theory, the question of the role of the working class. . . .

A section of this activist youth came from intellectual families, often families who represented the prewar Communist tradition. . . . There were many activists of the Communist Youth disillusioned with that organization but seriously thinking about socialist theory. These youth acutely felt the gap between the theory and the reality. A third layer were youth from rural backgrounds who suffered from bad material conditions and arrived at nonconformist positions as a result of these conditions.

Our first activity after getting out of prison was the issuance of a leaflet on Vietnam. . . .

This leaflet appeals to patriotic and internationalist values. It is a statement of principles. . . . It begins by listing the number of participants in demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam in various Western cities. Then a question mark is placed

after the name of Warsaw, [a reference to the bureaucracy's ignoring of the 1967 Vietnam International Solidarity Week].

In 1968, the political conditions had not yet ripened for a new general upsurge against the bureaucracy. So, isolated, the students were crushed. The regime launched an anti-Semitic and anti-intellectual campaign to intimidate the intelligentsia and widen the gap between them and the workers.

Despite this temporary blow, 1968 marked the complete exhaustion of the moral credit of the bureaucratic leadership that rose to power in 1956. This leadership had been seen twelve years before as fighters against bureaucratic abuses and for the national rights of Poland. But by 1968 it had totally stifled the workers councils and banned the greatest of the Polish nationalist classics. It ordered Polish troops to participate in the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia to crush a movement similar to the Polish October.

This leadership that had admitted the truth about the Poznan rebellion in 1956, and promised to always tell the

rebellion was that the government did not retreat so quickly. The price rises were an integral part of its economic plan. The food price increases were coupled with the lowering of prices for consumer durables such as television sets and automobiles. The government wanted to stimulate the sale of the latter as part of its plan for developing "market socialism".

In its desperation, the government finally resorted to massacres of the workers in Gdansk and Szczecin, killing hundreds. In response, the workers at the Adam Warski shipyards in Szczecin barricaded themselves in. They armed themselves and prepared for a siege.

Workers challenge Gierek

In the face of a threatened explosion, Gomulka fell. The new party leader, Edward Gierek, was obliged to go and discuss directly with the workers in their fortress.

It was one of the most politically concentrated confrontations in history. A whole panoply of issues were raised and thrashed out with the top figures

'Poland stands as an example that the development of planned economies cannot be kept forever in the straitjacket of bureaucratic misrule.'



truth to the Polish people, engaged in one of the vilest campaigns of slander against Jews and students in European history.

The illusion that any wing of the party could bring about lasting reform received a further battering.

1970 workers upsurge

By 1970, the illusions in the economic reforms were also shattered. The workers had seen in 1956 what could be gained through struggle. In the following three years, their real wages increased by 30 percent. But the economic program the new leadership adopted to deal with the failures of the old Stalinist economic policies failed to bring any solutions.

In fact, by trying to move toward a "more flexible" market economy, the Gomulka leadership came increasingly into conflict with the working class. Inequalities increased. For example, the pressing need for housing was supposed to be solved by "savings plans."

In 1970, the government's policy of raising the prices of food sparked a workers' revolt qualitatively broader and deeper than the Poznan uprising.

Striking workers in Gdansk, on the Baltic coast, burned down a local headquarters of the Communist Party—and sang the *Internationale*. A strike committee in Szczecin took over virtual control of that port city for several days, assuming the responsibilities of municipal government bodies. Strikes and demonstrations spread to Lodz, Poznan, Wroclaw, Katowice, Elblag, and Krakow.

One reason for the extent of this

in the bureaucracy. An unprecedented process of political education took place within the space of a few hours. Gierek obviously felt intense pressure:

Comrades, if you want to know about this shooting incident, leaving aside how all this happened, you know how it happened, right? . . . I have already said we condemn such things. . . . That is one of the reasons that I am here, so that we can come to an understanding, right?

I am not afraid of you comrades, I am not afraid, since you know what I am, right, a worker. If we workers can't reach an understanding, who can?

One of the workers delegates said:

We are talking frankly. . . . Maybe Comrade Gierek won't believe me. Well, I am not going to try to count up the corpses, because it's hard to tell how many were picked up in the street. They tell us that there were only seventeen in Szczecin (shouts of outrage).

I'm sorry, I probably got that figure from *Glos* [the local paper] (shouts of outrage). So, I won't dwell on the bodies. But there certainly were some. People fell. Bullets whistled. Now what is disagreeable about this is that we are the ones who paid for the bullets that were fired at us with the money earned by our toil. That's very hard to take. How can a class turn against itself. We have a party don't we?

The food price increases were rescinded, but the new government had no alternative economic policy. It struggled to stave off the inevitable by frantic foreign borrowing and by chasing after export markets in the capitalist countries. It made the fundamental error of banking on a steady expansion of export markets in the capitalist world. It failed to anticipate the capitalist crisis, becoming the victim of its

own class-collaborationist illusions.

However, it was finally able to divert and break up the independent workers organizations that developed in the 1970 strikes. In doing this, the bureaucracy played on the gap that had developed between the workers and the students and intellectuals, and which was deepened by the post-1968 repression. No opposition press developed, and no general political activity or ferment. The workers were relatively isolated.

Nonetheless, the 1980 strikes have shown that a layer of experienced worker activists has remained since 1970. Since that time, for example, yearly collections have been carried out in the yards to commemorate the victims of the massacres. And one of the initial demands of the strikers this year was the erection at government expense of a statue in honor of these martyrs.

Again in 1976

By 1976, the government felt that it could no longer put off food price increases. But the attempt to raise them touched off the first national general strike in the history of Poland, sparked by the action of the workers at the Ursus auto plant near Warsaw. The government dropped the price increases. But it went on a concerted campaign of reprisals against the militant workers.

This time, however, the convergence that failed to take place in 1968 and 1970 did develop. The intellectuals and students rallied to defend the workers and built organizations to support them and politically extend their challenge to the bureaucratic regime.

One of the most dramatic expressions of this convergence was an open letter to the worker victims of repression written by Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of the best-known Polish authors:

You must know that at a time when you are being slandered by the press, radio, and television; when the media are trying to mislead public opinion and divert its attention from the real problems of the crisis. At a time when you are being accused of antisocial activity, destructive anarchism, and even thuggery, there are people in Poland who can distinguish truth from falsehood.

These people see you persecuted workers not only as the protagonists of the present cause, but, and above all, as the fighters for genuine socialist democracy and social freedoms, without which all freedom perishes, the life of the society becomes dominated by lying rhetoric, the life of the nation is threatened, and individuals are stifled.

Out of the defense of the persecuted workers in 1976 grew a whole series of opposition organizations and publications. The new opposition press reached a circulation of tens of thousands, achieving a de facto semilegal status. One of these publications was the independent workers paper *Robotnik*.

Revolutionary prospects

A loose political vanguard developed that is far more extensive and politically conscious than any that has yet emerged in any bureaucratized workers state. It represents decades of political experience—symbolized by figures from Jacek Kuron to the seasoned workers leaders who got their test of fire in 1970.

The victory of the 1980 strikes opens up possibilities for the rapid development of the kind of political leadership that could lead the Polish people to the achievement of the objectives for which they have fought for two hundred years, the achievement of their national ideals and of workers democracy.

Poland stands as an example that the development of planned economies cannot be kept forever in the straitjacket of bureaucratic misrule, that the workers can and will take control of the societies built in their name, that they will establish a society of freedom, justice, and equality in which all the creative potential of humanity will be liberated.

From Intercontinental Press

Driven deeper into debt

How drought affects working farmers

By Doug Jenness

The cost of food is shooting upwards again and is expected to rise even more in the coming months.

In July and August the prices paid by retailers for finished food products was increasing at a rate of 20 percent per year. The rise in July was the highest in six years. These increased costs to the supermarket chains quickly translated into higher prices for the consumer.

For millions of workers out of a job and for those working for wages that don't keep up with inflation, the jack-up in food costs will be acutely felt.

This big price increase can be attributed in large part to the severe drought that affected twenty-six states this summer. Even before all the crops are in, it's clear that seven of the eight biggest food and feed crops will fall well short of last year's harvest.

According to the September 5 *Wall Street Journal*, "The drought, though minor by historic standards, was unusually sudden and intense. It withered farm land from Canada to Mexico in a year when climatologists had been expecting a third straight summer of nearly ideal growing conditions.

"The heat's effects were wildly uneven. It ripened a record winter-wheat crop in Kansas and Nebraska. But grassland and cornfields in Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas and the Dakotas burned up. Cattle, hogs and an estimated eight million chickens died in the record heat.

"Even the trees are dying," says an official of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Arkansas, where livestock and crop losses have mounted to \$800 million and farmers are abandoning some fields."

The drought followed cutbacks many farmers had already made in their breeding of hogs, chickens, and cattle because of low prices earlier this year. The effects of the drought have cut back further the number of animals, driving prices even higher.

Effect on working farmers

Will the rise in food prices mean a good income for working farmers? The *Wall Street Journal* is trumpeting the line that it will.

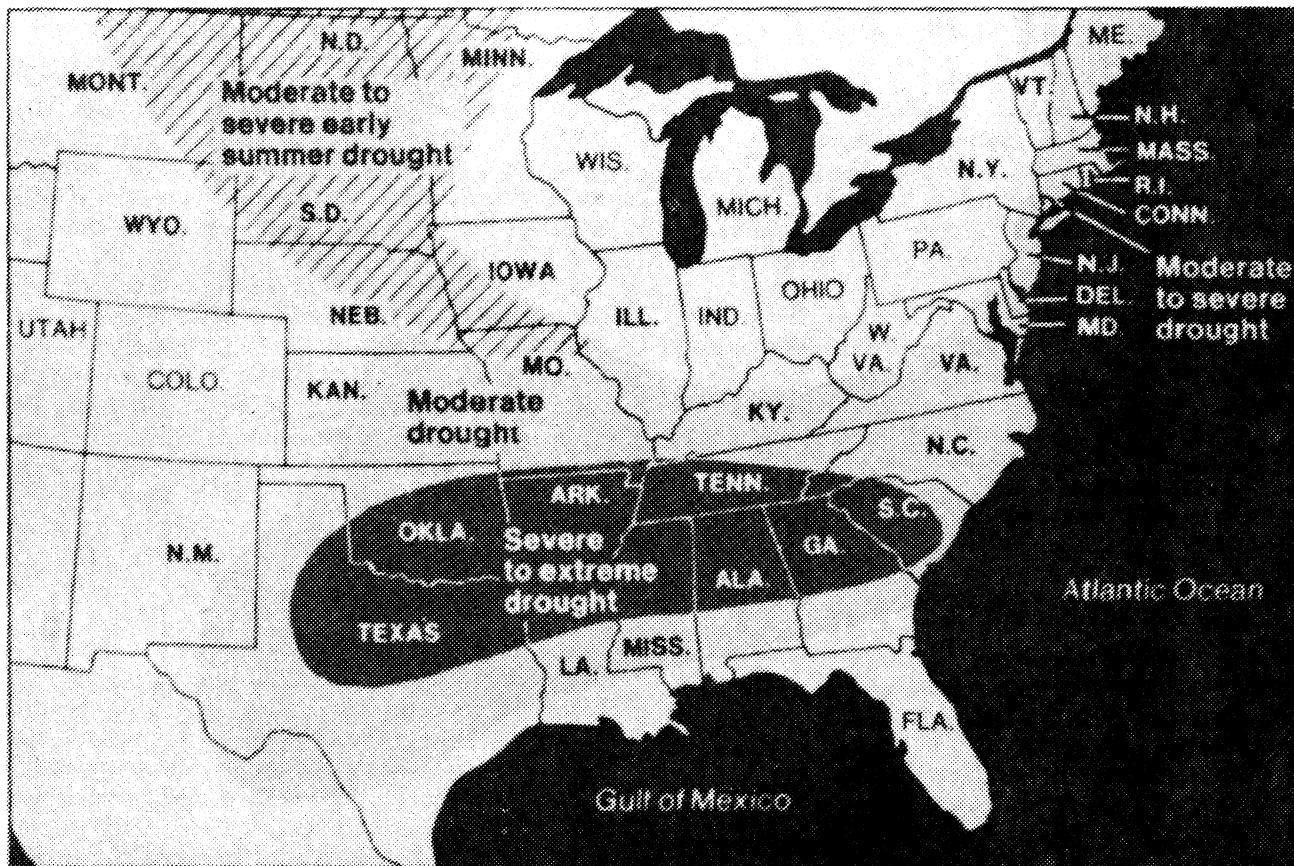
Under the subheading "Silver Lining" the *Journal* says, "The bright spot in all this, for farmers who have crops to sell, is an unexpected pickup in farm income. Some analysts expect farmers to net an additional \$1 billion or more in 1980 and 1981, compared with expectations before the drought."

They anticipate that this "pickup" means farmers will be spending more freely for new farm implements and irrigation equipment.

It's true that farmers who planted winter wheat, which was not seriously affected by the drought, may do well this year.



Farmer surveys his parched soybean field in Scott, Arkansas.



New York Times

But there are hundreds of thousands of farmers who have been badly hurt. Their crops were so ruined and their costs so high that they can't make enough to meet expenses, even selling at higher prices. In order to plant their crops this year many farmers had to pay as much as 20 percent interest on bank loans. The costs of fertilizer were higher than ever.

20 percent interest

An August 10 *New York Times* article, "Bad Times in the Flat Land," interviews Harold Barrett, an Iowa farmer.

"When farm loans got to 14 percent and the prime at 18," said Barrett, "I just used my own capital. But the young kids, man, it's getting to them. There's no segment of business that can close off quicker than a farmer. There's no incentive to work at 20 percent interest."

He added, "What good does the higher price do, if you haven't got any grain to sell? I've stopped corn sales since I'll need it for livestock."

Many farmers plowed under their crops in despair or sold their animals on a down market due to lack of feed and pasture.

The drought came on top of other problems. The *Times* reports, "Over the past year, Iowa has suffered from an unusual combination of overproduction last fall, low farm prices, record interest rates, the shock of the Soviet grain curtailment, abrupt decisions by farmers and consumers to stop spending, followed by scathing heat and drought."

John Enestvedt, who has been active in farm struggles in Minnesota since the 1930s, makes the same observation. He explains in a report to the *Militant* that layoffs in industry have deepened the farmers' problems. They cut into the farmers' chance to get jobs off the farm to supplement their income. "There is so much pressure," he says, "that many farmers have to move out."

Farmer protests

Enestvedt reports that in Minnesota protests are being organized to fight for government assistance to alleviate this situation. A "plow down" was organized near Clarkfield, where the first tractorcade was held in August 1977.

"It was not a large gathering," he says, "but that was not the idea the organizers of the event, led by Lou Anne Kling, had in mind. Reports had been coming in from Iowa, Kansas, and other states that they would be doing the same in their areas. The purpose is to plow down 'an acre per day' along the highway for a week. Then other forms of protest will be added that can continue to build and mold a large on-going protest movement at the grass-roots level, involving local people who do not have the money to keep going to Washington, D.C."

The Carter administration has declared some parts of the country disaster areas and the federal Farmers Home Administration is making loans to tide farmers over. But these loans will be too small and too late for many farmers.

Those who start planting next spring will find no letup in the high interests for bank loans. They will face steeper prices next spring for seed corn for their fields.

The axis of the government's farm program is to help the big grain merchants and processors like Cargill and Continental. These giant monopolies are sure to reap a rich harvest of profits as a result of the drought-induced high prices.

Looking for allies

The family farmers are looking for allies to strengthen their fight for a living income. Enestvedt points out that in his area they are making an effort to get the backing of local merchants who are also in trouble. "Some implement dealers are actually hauling their stock of new machinery back to the suppliers," he reports.

The difficulties of small businesses in the rural areas are widespread.

The August 29 *Wall Street Journal* reports, "Unlike previous recessions, which touched many rural communities lightly because of the uninterrupted prosperity of local farmers, this slump has coincided with a plunge in farm income. So for the first time since the 1930s, many small-businessmen have been hit with a double whammy."

The *Journal* interviewed Michael McKevitt, an official of the National Federation for Independent Businesses. He said, "I think already we've had a bigger fallout in small businesses than in the entire previous recession. A lot of them are in bankruptcy right now but don't know it because their accounting systems haven't caught up with their inventories yet."

But the most powerful potential ally of working farmers is the wage workers. Enestvedt notes that "the discussion now going on inside the labor movement for a labor party is an encouraging development.

"Many farmers work in unionized shops to supplement their farm income. Likewise many workers employed in industry farm some land along with their industrial employment.

"Working people on the land and working people in the urban areas are more alike than different in their needs today. They are exploited as farmers and they are exploited as workers.

"This double character is not even talked about by either Republican or Democratic politicians. They can talk only about higher profits and that means even more exploitation.

"Yes, by all means a labor party. It is long past due on the American scene."

Further reading

Marxism and the Working Farmer, Education for Socialists Bulletin, by Doug Jenness et al., \$2.50.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please enclose \$.75 for postage and handling)

In Review

'Portrait of Teresa'

Portrait of Teresa. Produced by the Cuban Film Institute. Directed by Pastor Vega, with Daisy Granados as Teresa. Screenplay by Pastor Vega and Ambrosio Fornet. A Unifilm release. Available for rental in 16 mm from Unifilm, 419 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Since its release in Cuba last summer, *Portrait of Teresa* has been seen by almost two million out of Cuba's ten million people and has been the subject of intense debate among filmgoers. This is because it is a deeply moving work that grows out of the daily life of the Cuban people and is concerned with a subject that touches each of them—the position of women in the new society.

Film

Now *Portrait of Teresa* is available in the United States.

The incisive political and sociological analysis of Leon Trotsky's 1923 article "From the Old Family to the New," included in Pathfinder Press's pamphlet *Women and the Family*, and of Fidel Castro's March 1980 speech to the Federation of Cuban Women can serve as illuminating commentaries upon *Portrait of Teresa*.

Both of them explain the roots of women's oppression in the previous society, the advances made by the socialist revolution, the need to free women from household slavery, the duty of men to rid themselves of old ways of thinking, and the decisive role of economic development, which makes possible the socialization of housekeeping through the construction of communal laundries, dining places, and child-care facilities.

But the artistry of *Portrait of Teresa* makes it in turn an illuminating commentary upon Trotsky and Castro.

It is a film about struggle—not the heroic struggle

of revolutionists in military combat, but the everyday struggle between old ideas and attitudes, constantly reinforced by the difficulties in transforming society, and new ideas and attitudes, growing stronger with social advances. There are no villains, but the old is seen to weigh heavily upon the new.

Reviewer Carlos Gallano commented a year ago in the English-language edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma*, "It's not the first time that Cuban cinema has tackled this subject. The third tale in *Lucia* (1968) showed the conflicts that arose between a young couple of peasant origin when the woman insisted on something as basic as the right to learn to read and write. Times have changed since then and *Portrait of Teresa* goes further than *Lucia*. Overall, women have not only won the opportunity to get an education but to work for society."

(Gallano's review was reprinted in the October 5, 1979, issue of the *Militant*.)

The story of Teresa is that of a woman who, despite the heavy demands of her housework and her factory job, finds an outlet for her creative energy by organizing a factory dance group which wins a national prize.

Her husband Ramón isn't a bad sort of guy, but he takes it for granted that his wife will bear the brunt of the domestic work and resents the time she spends with the dance group.

For Teresa to liberate herself requires a struggle that causes her anguish.

Her mother and her older sister, who is separated from her husband and knows what it is to bring up children in solitude, counsel her to yield. No matter what one's differences with one's husband, they tell her, it is better to submit.

But we perceive that her mother's submission has meant the continuation of a loveless marriage and a stultification of her personality and that the bitter sense of defeat of her sister rises from her own narrowness of vision.

The reactionary character of the traditions which guide Teresa's mother and sister is illustrated by the racist remark of an elderly woman, "Young girls nowadays don't care whom they go with—married men, Blacks, any one." In the racially integrated society we witness in the film, this is an echo from the past.

For Ramón the only roles for a woman are the traditional ones, wife and mother, but Teresa exclaims, "What about my life as a human being?" One of the best sequences in the film is that in which Teresa is shown going about the deadening routine of her everyday domestic chores.

She and her fellow women workers see the need for childcare facilities. At a workers' meeting in which we see Cuban grass-roots democracy in operation, they raise the cry that they have to have a nursery right away, pointing out that this would cut the amount of absenteeism. The struggle for production is linked to the struggle for women's rights.

At the conclusion of the film Ramón comes to Teresa to urge her to rejoin him. When she inquires about the affair he has been having during their separation, he replies that he was miserable, lonely and needed some solace. But, she exclaims, she too was miserable and lonely: would he accept her if she also had an affair during the separation?

His answer is that "it is not the same." The response, rooted in the old "double standard" for women, determines Teresa: she leaves him.

The question whether Teresa had actually had an affair is left unanswered as immaterial. What is significant is the principle.

What happens to Teresa is also left open. Does she live better alone, go on to a better union with another, or is Ramón able to overcome his sexism and win her back?

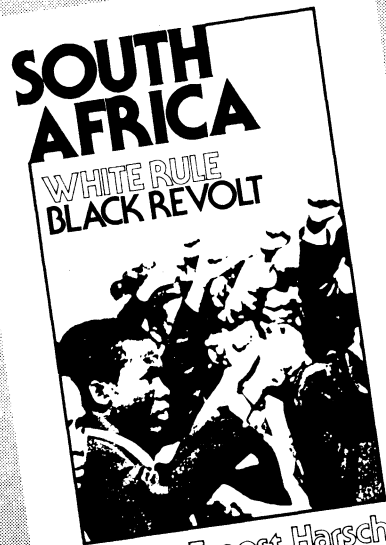
But one thing we know as we see her stride purposefully away: she has acquired the strength to fulfill herself as a human being.

—Paul Siegel

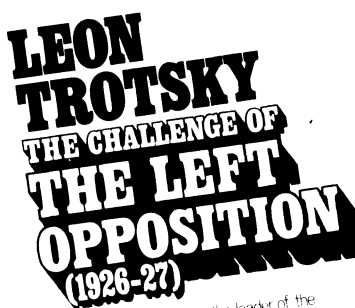
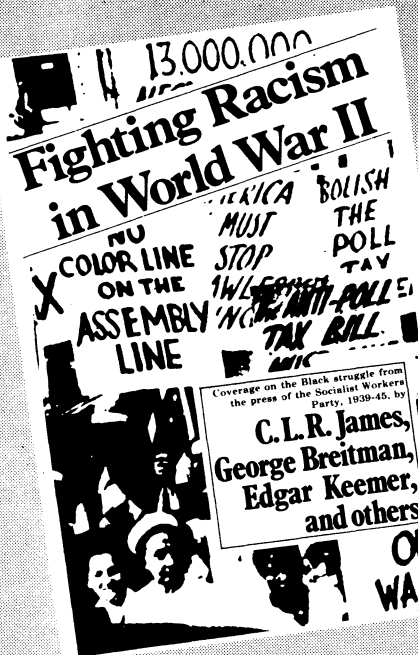
**New
from
Path-
finder**



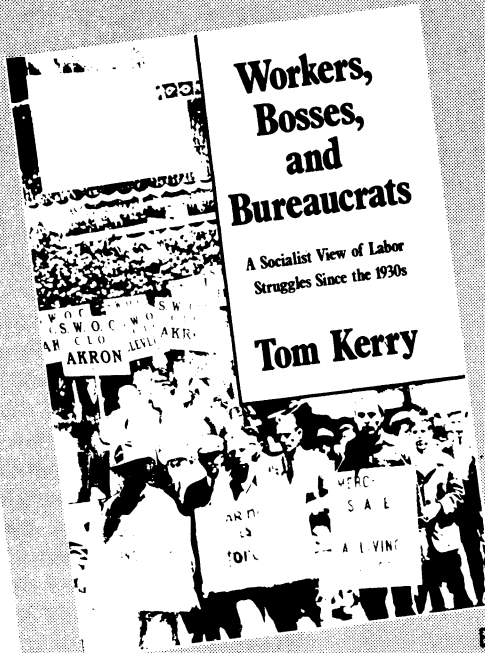
P'eng Shu-tse



Ernest Harsch



Speeches and writings by the leader of the anti-Stalinist movement from his bloc with Zinoviev to their expulsion from the Soviet Communist Party (includes the Platform of the Opposition & other United Opposition statements)



- A) **The Chinese Communist Party in Power**
P'eng Shu-tse, \$9.95
- B) **South Africa White Rule, Black Revolt**
Ernest Harsch, \$6.95
- C) **Fighting Racism in World War II**
James, Keemer, Breitman, and others, \$5.95
- D) **The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1926-27)**
Leon Trotsky, \$7.95
- E) **Workers, Bosses, and Bureaucrats**
Tom Kerry, \$5.95

Order from
Pathfinder Press
410 West Street
New York, NY 10014
Enclose \$.75 for postage and handling.



Spring and fall—We did know that Coor's beer used to make job applicants submit to lie detector tests with questions directed to such issues as their political views and sexual activities. Now we learn they also inquired as to how often people changed their underwear.

American know-how—A New York shop is featuring plastic dinner plates that look exactly like paper ones. Eight for thirteen dollars. Maybe next they'll develop a porcelain one that looks like plastic.

Jolly—If you attended the Chicago-Fest and got sapped by a clown and had your wallet lifted, just laugh it off. The Chicago police department assigned cops to mingle in the crowd costumed as clowns to help fight crime.

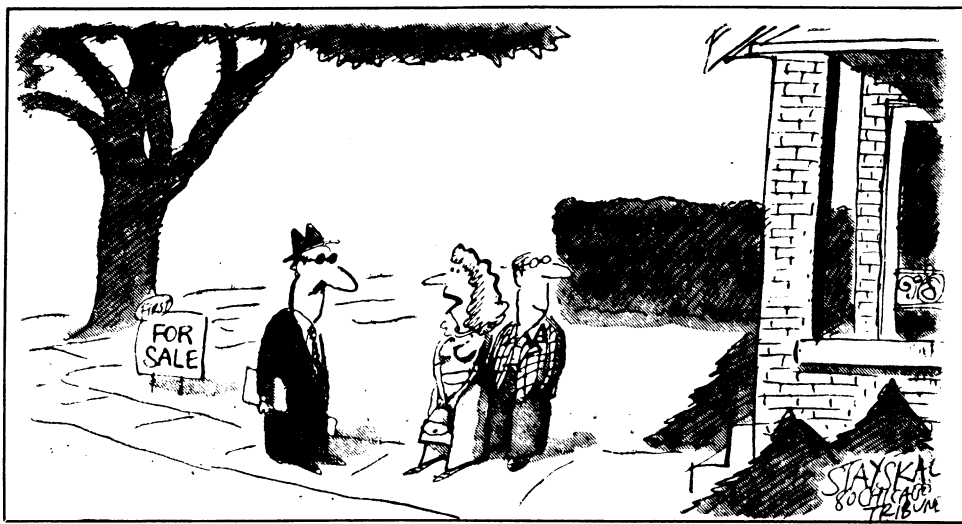
Absolutely mundane—Ann Getty, spouse of the heir to the Getty oil take, divides her time between homes in San Francisco, England (a thousand-acre

estate), and New York. Her yearly tab at Saks Fifth Avenue alone is \$77,000. She confides to a reporter: "I lead a very ordinary life."

None of that esthetic stuff—Ronald P. Reagan sent his dad an invite to his New York debut as a ballet dancer. But the old boy said he'd be too busy campaigning.

Time is money—Diane Von Furstenberg, a society figure, reportedly set a record at one of her favorite boutiques. Rushing in and out in but twelve minutes, the pleased proprietor reported, she scooped up such items as angora jodhpurs, an angora dress, and a gold sweater. \$12,000.

No throwaway—Calvin Klein has denim diaper covers. With two back pockets (for wallet and credit card case?), plus the Calvin Klein logo, they're available for fifteen dollars each.



'We like this one . . . How far away are the school, train station, church, grocery store and nuclear missile site?'

Makes for a stiff upper lip—Henry Bendel, a plush New York shop, is offering a French toothpaste laced with champagne. With a gold-plated tooth brush, fifteen dollars.

Thought for the week—"In the worst case, no evacuation time is really fast enough"—Brian Grimes, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission emergency planner.

Union Talk

Your money or your job

This week's column is written by John Olmsted, a member of Teamsters Local 100.

As the economy slides deeper into recession, it has become a time-worn tradition for ailing companies to point an accusing finger at the workers and demand wage and benefit concessions.

Two faltering companies in the Cincinnati area recently escalated this farce.

The steel industry is one of the hardest hit by the current recession. Slowdowns in automobile production and construction trigger cutbacks in the demand for steel.

The steelworkers at Interlake Steel in northern Kentucky were told, however, that they could save their jobs. They only had to let Interlake rip up their contract, make benefit concessions, and accept a wage freeze.

When the workers rejected this extortion attempt last July, by a vote of 860-1, Interlake shut the mill and went on a campaign of blaming the workers for their own unemployment!

Another company tried a similar shell game. Wilson Motor Freight, the nation's sixteenth largest trucking company, with 9,000 workers, was starting to slide. The big fish are eating the little fish in the trucking industry, with the biggest carriers and nonunion carriers gaining a greater share of the freight.

When the bank slammed the door on Wilson, refusing to advance any more loans, Wilson turned to the workers for some easy money. They proposed that the employees fork over \$9.5 million to "save" the company and their jobs. Each employee was asked to buy company stock at the rate of \$45 per week for eighteen months.

The workers responded with commitments for \$11.5 million. Their reward was a visit to the unemployment office. The company shut down nationwide.

The Wilson workers are supposed to get their money back. The same scam was tried by other trucking companies and the drivers lost their money.

But the bosses don't lose. They take their millions

elsewhere in search of higher profits. The companies save millions in tax write-offs from the shutdowns.

At Interlake and Wilson, the steelworkers and drivers were covered by two of the stronger union contracts in the country, the Teamster's National Master Freight Agreement and the one that followed the Steelworkers' Basic Steel contract. But the capitalist economic system in this country, with its inevitable crisis of overproduction, still cost these workers their jobs.

Steel and freight are two of our country's most vital industries. When companies like Interlake and Wilson chose to close down and toss us out of work in search of higher profits, it's further evidence that the capitalists should not be trusted with control over these industries or our jobs.

It is high time for our unions to demand these industries be nationalized and placed under workers' control. This is the only practical answer to the bosses' blackmail demand of "your money or your job!"

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Josefina Otero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Rob Roper, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA OAKLAND

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW. Speakers: Kara Obradović, Young Socialist Alliance national secretary; Karen Wald, author, *Children of Che*. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, YSA. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

LOS ANGELES

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN L.A. Speakers: representatives of NAACP, United Teachers of L.A., Socialist Workers Party, others. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

WHY NOT WOMEN? A film about the personal experiences of women in industrial jobs. Introduction by Jude Coren, International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. Sun., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

BLACKS AND THE RAILROADS. Speaker: Omari Musa, switchman on the Southern Rail Railroad and member Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Sept. 25, 7 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential candidate; Nelson González, SWP candidate for Congress, 6th C.D. Sun., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Boston SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA MINNEAPOLIS

GENOCIDE IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. An eyewitness report from Phil Berryman, Central American Field Representative, American Friends Service Committee. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1701 University Ave. Donation: \$1.

OHIO CLEVELAND

UNITED AUTO WORKERS LOCAL 451 vs. BAKER MATERIAL HANDLING COMPANY. A panel discussion with members of UAW Local 451. Sun., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE. Speaker: Jerold Baum, assistant professor of English, Lewis and Clark College. Sun., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

WOMEN AND THE 1980 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Andrea Morrell, national committee member.

Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Sue Martinez, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; Dave Hurst, SWP candidate for Congress. Thurs., Sept. 25, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 East. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP 1980 Campaign. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Halt anti-Cuba terror!

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

DEFEND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Protest U.S. complicity in assassination of Félix García Rodríguez, Cuban attaché to UN Cuban Mission. Speakers: Kara Obradović, Young Socialist Alliance national secretary, recently toured Cuba. Sun., Sept. 21, 6 p.m. open house, 7:30 p.m. forum. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

Robert Rowand, member, United Steelworkers, Socialist Workers Party; Charles Welsh, treasurer, Cleveland Nicaragua Solidarity Committee. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

DEFEND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION! Speakers: Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 8th C.D.; Jim Kendrick, SWP candidate for Congress, 4th C.D.; others. Sun., Sept. 28, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Minn. 1980 SWP Campaign. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OHIO CLEVELAND

PROTEST ASSASSINATION OF CUBAN DIPLOMAT. A discussion about what happened and what to do about it. Speakers:

Fidel Castro in Chile

On September 11, 1973, the heads of the Chilean armed forces staged a military coup, bringing down the democratically elected coalition government of President Salvador Allende. Allende was killed, along with thousands of workers, students, and farmers.

Torture of dissidents became standard practice and the standard of living of working people plummeted.

Washington spent millions through the CIA to bring about Allende's fall. During his presidency, the copper mines were nationalized, peasants began to take the land, and workers formed committees to defend their interests in factories and neighborhoods.

Allende's government tried to contain the advances. It tried to fend off a coup by forging alliances with the generals, bringing them into the cabinet, and by seeking the cooperation of the main capitalist party, the Christian Democrats.

The capitalists—in the United States and Chile—responded by economic sabotage and by organizing semifascist gangs that began to terrorize the workers.

As the coup was prepared, Allende urged the workers to trust the "democratic principles" and "patriotism" of the generals.

From November 10 to December 4, 1971, Cuban head of state Fidel Castro toured Chile. He visited mining areas, farms, universities, and ports.

Castro had high praise for Allende. He recognized developments in Chile as the opening of what he called "a revolutionary process."

But he differed with Allende's claim that the revolution could achieve socialism peacefully, without a violent confrontation with the capitalist forces. This idea provided the justification for Allende's search for capitalist allies and his attempts to slow down the workers' and peasants' struggle.

The following are excerpts from the farewell address Castro gave to a mass meeting in the capital city of Santiago on December 2, 1971. The full text appears in *Fidel in Chile* (International, 1972).

—Fred Feldman

* * *

When a revolutionary process is begun, or when the moment arrives in a country when what can be called a revolutionary crisis occurs, then the struggles and the battles become tremendously acute. The laws of history are in full force.

The question quite obviously suggested to a visitor observing this process is whether or not the historic law of resistance and violence by the exploiters will be fulfilled. Because we have said that there is no case in history in which the reactionaries, the exploiters, the privileged members of a social system, resign themselves peacefully to change.

We have been able to verify a contemporary principle [in Chile]—the desperation of the reactionaries, the desperation of the exploiters today tends toward the most brutal, most savage forms of violence and reaction.

You are all familiar with . . . how the privileged, the exploiters, destroy the institutions they created once these institutions—the very institutions they invented to maintain their class domination, the laws, the constitution, the parliament—are no longer of any use to them. When I say they invent a constitution, I mean a bourgeois constitution, because the socialist revolutions establish their own constitutions and forms of democracy.

What do the exploiters do when their own institutions no longer guarantee their domination? . . . They simply go ahead and destroy them. Nothing is more anti-constitutional, more illegal, more anti-parliamentarian, more repressive and more criminal than fascism.

Fascism, in its violence, wipes out everything. It attacks, closes, and crushes the

universities. It attacks the intellectuals, represses them and persecutes them. It attacks the political parties and trade unions. It attacks all mass organizations and cultural organizations.

Who will learn more and sooner? Who will develop more of an awareness faster? The exploiters or the exploited? Who will learn the faster from the lessons of this process? The people or the enemies of the people?

[Exclamations of "The people!"]

Are you absolutely sure—you the protagonists in this drama being written by your country—are you completely sure that you have learned more than your exploiters have?

[Exclamations of "Yes!"]

Then, allow me to say that I don't agree.

[Castro explains why, in his opinion, the Chilean rightists and reactionaries were gaining confidence.]

Such confidence is based on the weakness of the very revolutionary process, on weaknesses in the ideological battle, on weaknesses in the mass struggle, on weakness in the face of the enemy! And the enemy outside, which supports the enemy at home, tries to take advantage of the slightest breach, of the slightest weakness.

In fact, we should say that it is the result of weakness in the effort to consolidate your forces, to unite them and to increase them.

You're going through that period in the process in which the fascists . . . are trying to beat you to the streets, are trying to beat you out of the middle strata of the population.

They are trying to demoralize the revolutionaries. There are places where we have found the revolutionaries kind of hard hit, and there are places where they even looked discouraged.

If you want my opinion, the success or failure of this unusual process will depend on the ideological battle and the mass struggle. It will also depend on the revolutionaries' ability to grow in numbers, to unite and to win over the middle strata.

How did we [the Cubans] manage to resist and why? Because of the unity of our people, because of the strength that such a unity generates.

What is it that gives our people this deep motivation in their defense against danger from outside? The fact that, when it comes to defending our homeland, that homeland is not divided into millionaires and paupers . . . the fact that our homeland is not divided into oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited.

When our farmers are called to form part of the armed forces, they know they will not be defending a country of exploiters and oppressors . . . but rather a country of all the people and for all the people, a country which provides bread for all instead of abundance for some and hunger for others, instead of honors and grandeur for some and humiliation for others.

I'll tell you of an impression that comes from my very heart. When I see history in action, when I see these struggles, when I see how hard the reactionaries are trying to demoralize the people, when I see the means they resort to in their attempt, I come to one conclusion, one that comes from the bottom of my heart, and that is that I will return to Cuba more of a revolutionary than when I came here! I will return to Cuba more of a radical than when I came here! I will return to Cuba more of an extremist than when I came here!

All we want to say to you, beloved President [Allende], and to all the Chileans, is that you can count on Cuba. You can count on her unselfish, unconditional solidarity, on what that flag and that homeland really mean. Not the homeland of the exploited, but the homeland of free men! A homeland to which the Revolution gave equality and justice! A homeland where man has regained his dignity!

Shipyard death

On Tuesday, September 2, two young workers were found suffocated to death in an unventilated tank of a ship hull in the NASSCo shipyards of San Diego. Michael Beebe, twenty-three, and Kenneth King, twenty-four, were apparently killed by a leak of argon gas into the single-exit tank. Six other workers were seriously affected by the gas in an unsuccessful rescue attempt.

In a cynical move to shift blame, NASSCo officials quickly cleared the tank of all work equipment and posted warning signs and attempted to claim that the victims were dodging work and had been in a closed area. NASSCo's head safety officer, Sam Timmons, asserts that the cause of death is still unknown.

A funeral procession of 500 first- and second-shift NASSCo workers, large numbers of whom are minorities and women, indicates the depth of anger in the shipyard. Safety has been a hot issue recently. A three-day strike in early August was sparked by the firing of seven workers in a dispute centered around safety issues (asbestos use, uncovered holes, inadequate fresh air ventilation) and union-busting moves by the company.

In the wake of the strike, thirty-two firings have occurred. Most of those fired have been officers in the Machinist and Ironworkers units in the yard. The union is arbitrating these dismissals, and solidarity work—reaching out to the area's large aerospace plants—is beginning.

Mike McGraw
San Diego, California

Police brutality

Police conduct in Colorado is an ugly and blatant example of the injustices of the society. This system, which uses racism to maintain its profits, arms and trains bigots and gives them a badge.

On August 14, this proved fatal for Jeff Cordova and Luis Garcia in Longmont. These men were murdered for the crime of being young and Chicano.

The city administration and the cops have tried to blame the victims for their own deaths, while the murderer, Officer Glen Herner, is free to roam.

The Longmont administration just represents the business interests on Main Street. To stop police terror, we need political action that is independent of the government and the two parties that run it, the Democrats and the Republicans. We need a labor party that can defend Chicanos and Blacks in their communities, and that can provide jobs and a better education system instead of killing and harassment.

As Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate, I call for the immediate arrest and prosecution of killer-cop Herner.

Silvia Zapata
Denver, Colorado

Irish prisoners

The plight of Irish political prisoners held in Long Kesh concentration camp is known to those Irish Americans interested in the fate of their kinsmen in Northern Ireland. Few realize, however, that

Stop police brutality

I want to thank you very much for turning me on to the *Militant*. In my opinion the *Militant* is a very outstanding and informative newspaper. I've been digging on this newspaper ever since I received my very first issue.

The main subject I wish to rap on is police brutality. This is something that has to be dealt with immediately. Just to name some cases of police brutality, I'm going to cite the names of some of the victims who have been murdered at the hands of the racist and wicked police: Bonnie Carter, a young Bilalian (Afro-American) woman who was gunned down by the police in an Alabama town. Donald Ferguson, a young Bilalian construction worker who was murdered by police in Fairfax County, Virginia, after having been arrested for failure to pay a small court cost. Eula Love, a young Bilalian woman who was murdered by police in Los Angeles after she had failed to pay a small gas bill.

Arthur Miller, who was murdered by New York City police. Arthur McDuffie, who was murdered by the

police in Miami, Florida. Larry Morris, a twenty-eight-year-old Bilalian laundryman who was choked to death by Los Angeles police by placing a nightstick against his throat. And, most recently, the shooting death of a fourteen-year-old Bilalian, Levi Hart, by Boston police.

How many more people will die at the hands of police before the end of 1980? How many more fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers will lose their loved ones because of the savage, heartless, cruel, bloodthirsty, and hideous acts committed by the Ku Klux Klansmen who wear uniforms and badges.

I really do believe that the police force in America is no more than a devilish, Satanic organization designed to keep the poor, the minority, and the working-class "in their place."

I can only say that it is time for the poor, minority, and working-class people of this country to wake up to reality and become fully aware of what is going on in this cold-blooded hell called democracy.

Vivian Salaam
Alexandria, Virginia

Learning About Socialism

Socialism: utopian and scientific

many Irish are in English jails and are treated as an outcast people. I would like to bring to public attention some of the abuses at Albany Prison on the Isle of Wight.

Visitors to Irish prisoners are required to clear their visits three days in advance. All others can arrive without a visiting order and still get to see prisoners.

There is a waiting room for visitors, but those wishing to see prisoners of Irish nationality may not use it. They must stand outside the main gate in all kinds of weather until called.

There is a visiting room with a canteen where relatives and friends meet freely with prisoners unless the prisoner is Irish. In that case, there is a special room with two wide tables between the parties so that they may not embrace and must speak in a loud voice to be heard. As many as four guards are present to hear the conversation.

George M. Korb
Rensselaer, New York

Idiots

I got a chuckle out of this item and wanted to share it with your readers. It is from Bertrand Russell's *Wisdom of the West*, and he is describing life in the Greek city-states:

"A man who took no interest in politics was frowned upon, and was called an 'idiot' which is Greek for 'given over to private interests.'"

To avoid idiocy, then, think socially and act politically!
Cliff Conner
New York, New York



'This shouldn't take too long!'

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.

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.

When you are talking about socialism, have you heard the response, "Socialism sounds a lot better than what we have now, but it can't work. This society (or human beings) can't be changed."

Many people think socialists are unrealistic. They might even say we're being *utopian*.

Utopia comes from two Greek words meaning "not" and "a place." Not a place, imaginary. Before Marx, there was a kind of socialism called utopian socialism. The leading utopian socialists were progressive in their time. But they did not understand some important things about how society works and how it can be changed.

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific was written by Frederick Engels as part of a longer book called *Anti-Dühring* or *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*.

Marx and Engels worked together on the answer to Dühring, although it came out in Engels's name. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* has become "one of the most influential classics of Marxist literature," as George Novack wrote in his introduction to the pamphlet. Novack adds, "[it] has probably redirected the thinking of more individuals about this society than any other writing except the *Communist Manifesto*."

The great utopians

The great utopians were Claude Henri Saint-Simon, who lived from 1760 to 1825; Charles Fourier, 1772-1837; and Robert Owen, 1771-1858. Their prescriptions for society were not identical, but there were certain similarities among them. They were all young men at the time of the French revolution of 1789. They were disappointed, like many of their generation, by the gap between the revolution's promise and its performance. But they did not give in to cynicism or pessimism.

The utopians tried to convince the wealthy and powerful to make changes voluntarily to benefit the poorest and most exploited. By setting up model communist colonies they hoped to persuade people by example, by the force of their ideas.

As Engels put it, "To [them] Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and justice are different with the founder of each different school. . . . there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truths than that they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. . . ."

"To make a science of Socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis."

What Marx and Engels accomplished was to establish that objective basis and to found a socialist movement around it.

Marx and Engels made two great innovations in social thought.

One was the theory of surplus value. Marx showed that all value comes from human labor power. Profit comes from the employer paying us less than the value we create with our labor power. This concept is explained well in this pamphlet. Marx's pamphlets *Wage-Labor and Capital* and *Value, Price and Profit* go into it even more.

Marx's other major innovation was historical materialism. Engels explains: "The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means

to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange."

Is Marxism scientific?

The best proof we have that Marxism is scientific is what has happened since Engels wrote this pamphlet. One-third of the world population lives in workers states, where capitalism has been overthrown.

As we know very well even the richest capitalist countries cannot escape the periodic crises Marx and Engels discovered were inevitable under capitalism.

Haven't Marx's and Engels's predictions stood up much better than those of the capitalist economists who thought depressions could be avoided by tinkering with the supply of credit?

Right now working people are encouraged by the "authorities" to consider religion, class collaboration, and individual retreat as solutions to the problems facing us. The people who run the schools and the media do not want us to have confidence that our class can fight back.

But our revolutionary optimism that the working class can fight and win is based on objective facts. As Engels put it in 1877 when he wrote this pamphlet:

"The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalist mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working class."

Marx and Engels were not just writers. They were the leading revolutionary activists of their time. Engels ends this pamphlet by explaining the role of the socialist movement: "to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the means of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism."

Engels's pamphlet can help revolutionaries today to explain that the only realistic, practical alternative to the capitalist crisis is socialism. In achieving that, a cooperative, humanistic society embracing the whole world will not be a utopian dream, but a reality.

—Sue Adley

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific and *Anti-Dühring* are each available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from the offices below. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* costs \$1.25 and *Anti-Dühring* is \$2.85. Include \$.75 cents per book to cover postage.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1609 5th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 328-9403. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35205.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: East Bay: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 606 S. Allen St. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

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.

Actions against draft set for Oct. 12-18

By Joanne Kuniansky

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Committee Against Registration and the Draft has called for a week of actions against the draft from October 12 to 18.

Activities will consist of forums, teach-ins, rallies, press conferences, leaflet distributions, and other actions organized by CARD chapters in cities across the country.

These protests can continue the momentum generated around the two weeks of draft registration in July when CARD and other groups organ-

was highlighted at the national CARD steering committee meeting here on September 10.

The meeting was attended by representatives of CARD's member organizations including: the United States Student Association, American Friends Service Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, National Lawyers Guild, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, and others.

Pointing to Washington's fraudulent claim that 93 percent of all draft-age youth have registered, CARD leaders called for the antidraft movement to continue its offensive. They noted that the government has already designated January 5 as the next draft registration date for youth born in 1962.

Washington, D.C., CARD plans to hold a forum during the October 12-18 week, focusing on U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Birmingham, Alabama, CARD plans a teach-in. Atlanta CARD will hold a benefit fund-raiser. Pittsburgh CARD will hold a regional antidraft conference October 24-25, which will include activists from Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

The CARD steering committee also discussed calling a national antidraft conference sometime in February.

CARD is putting out a leaflet that can be adapted for all areas to use during October 12-18. For information on the leaflet, CARD's newsletter, and on CARD chapters in your city, contact National CARD, 245 Second Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Telephone: (202) 547-4340.

Harlem rally

A Harlem antidraft rally has been called for September 27, 2-4 p.m., outside the state office building at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in New York City.

Speakers will include Charles Barron, chair of the Harlem chapter of the Black United Front.

Organizers include: Blacks and Latinos Against the Military; Black Veterans for Social Justice; Committee Against Registration and the Draft; and others.

For more information call (212) 789-4680.

ized picket lines at post offices nationwide. With these protests, the American people, and especially draft-age youth showed Washington that they were dead opposed to conscription and intended to fight against it.

The urgency and importance of the October 12-18 week of antidraft actions



Militant/Della Rossa

Antidraft sentiment ran high at Chicano Moratorium demonstration of 3,000 in Los Angeles, August 30.

Vote 'yes' on Maine antinuclear referendum

The following statement was issued September 16 by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Maine residents will vote on a referendum September 23 to shut down the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant and to ban all future construction of such facilities in the state. This is the first time a ballot initiative has called for the shutdown of an operating nuclear facility.

My running mate Andrew Pulley and I urge Maine residents to vote "yes" on September 23. "Yes" to an end to the deadly threat nuclear power poses to the workers and farmers of Maine and the entire country.

The profit-hungry energy corporations have poured an estimated \$1 million into a campaign to defeat the initiative.

The utility bosses claim that shutting down Maine Yankee will result in an energy shortage, increased electricity bills, loss of jobs, and possible brownouts or blackouts in the state.

These are outrageous lies designed to cover up the hazards of keeping this nuclear plant in operation.

Maine Yankee is the same basic design as the Three Mile Island plant, which threatened the lives of millions in Pennsylvania in the near-meltdown accident in 1979.

In 1979 Maine Yankee filed twenty-seven incidents that endangered the health and safety of the people of Maine. This nuclear time bomb not only threatens the workers within the plant. Farmlands are exposed to radiation leaks and inadequate waste disposal. Thousands of workers at Bath shipyard, the largest workplace in the state, face the hazards of the nuclear plant, only eight miles away.

The Maine referendum is a big step forward in the fight to shut down nuclear power plants for good. Workers and farmers throughout the state have discussed and debated the issue of nuclear power. They have pointed to the need for the labor movement nationwide to take a stand on this life-and-death question.

On October 10-12, at the first Na-

tional Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh, trade unionists will have an opportunity to discuss the dangers of nuclear power and the development of

safe energy programs.

Andrew Pulley will attend this conference. We urge all our supporters who are union members to also participate in this important gathering.



Militant/Nancy Cole

SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann campaigns at Three Mile Island antinuclear protest last March.