

THE MILITANT

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

For emergency aid to Nicaragua!

Labor should take lead in solidarity drive



Militant/Anibal Vargas

MANAGUA, Sept. 14—Thousands rally in solidarity with Vietnam. Both countries, after suffering ravages of U.S.-imposed wars, are denied aid urgently needed for reconstruction. Exclusive photo display on Nicaragua today, pages 14-15. Eyewitness reports, pages 11-13. Mass upsurge in El Salvador, page 10.

HAVANA SUMMIT

Nonaligned
conference
deals blow to
U.S. war drive

—PAGES 2, 16

Thousands welcome home Puerto Rican Nationalists



Militant/Dan Dickeson

SAN JUAN, Sept. 12—Crowd at airport cheered 'Puerto Rico libre! Cuba sí, yanqui no!' as Nationalists returned after more than twenty-five years in U.S. prisons. Page 19.

Havana Nonaligned Conference: A victory for American working people

The following statement was issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on September 19.

American working people have every reason to hail the outcome of the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Nations in Havana. The gathering gave voice to the most burning needs and demands of peoples in the semicolonial and underdeveloped countries, who make up the great majority of the human race.

The capitalist press has dismissed the conference as "anti-American."

That is a lie.

Its fire was directed at only a tiny minority of the people of this country—the owners of the

For news and analysis of Nonaligned Conference, see page 16.

big corporations, who dominate and exploit most of the world's people, including the American workers and farmers.

The conference showed that this exploiting minority is isolated as never before. And that is good news for the struggles of American working people against war, against racism, and for a better life.

The Havana summit condemned U.S. war moves in the Middle East and Central America. It demanded independence for Puerto Rico, which is today a colony of the U.S. It called for removing U.S. troops from Cuba and South Korea. It gave new inspiration to the fight for the massive international aid that the peoples of Nicaragua and Indochina desperately need to rebuild their war-ravaged lands.

These actions put new obstacles in the way

of the Carter administration's war drive, which threatens to use American working people as cannon fodder, as it did in Vietnam.

The conference registered the hatred that hundreds of millions of people feel for apartheid, Zionism, and every other form of racist oppression. That will strengthen the fight against racist oppression and discrimination here in the United States as well.

The Cuban government, which hosted the gathering, argued forcefully for the adoption of these progressive stands. The leadership displayed by the Cubans at the conference is an extension of their anti-imperialist actions in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

This heroic and self-sacrificing example—not "Soviet troops" or "Soviet domination"—is the reason for the escalating U.S. attacks on Cuba. The capitalists who run this country harbor an undying hatred for a government that, in Fidel's words, cannot be bribed, bought, or intimidated.

Not least of all, Washington hates the Cubans because they tell the truth to the oppressed masses of the world.

As Fidel Castro told the conference, the evils of war, poverty, underdevelopment, and racial oppression are "inseparably linked in the course of history to the system of the exploitation of man by man and the tremendous greed of that system to take over the natural resources of other peoples. As we one day said at the UN, 'Halt the philosophy of plunder and the philosophy of war will be halted.'

"Socialism as a system does not require arms production for its economy. It doesn't need armies to seize the resources of other people. . . .

"In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

War, economic misery, and social catastrophes are built into the capitalist system—not only for the peoples of the colonial and ex-colonial countries but for the American working class as well.

The Vietnam War, the drive to lower workers' living standards, and near-disasters like Three Mile Island are only a taste of what the rulers of this country have in store for us if their decaying system is not replaced.

The nuclear arsenal being piled to ever greater heights by the U.S. rulers shows that they are ready to consider the mad act of destroying the world in order to defend their profits.

More and more workers in this country are realizing that their interests lie in opposing the policies of the capitalist government at home and abroad. Their thinking is beginning to converge with the consciousness of superexploited millions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

They are coming to the realization that the fate of the American working people and of the peoples whose demands were voiced in Havana are completely tied together.

The rule of the rich means economic ruin, environmental destruction, and war for all of us.

Fighting together against capitalism and imperialism, we can open the road to the abolition of war, inequality, exploitation, and every form of injustice.

United, the working people of the world can build a socialist future for humanity.

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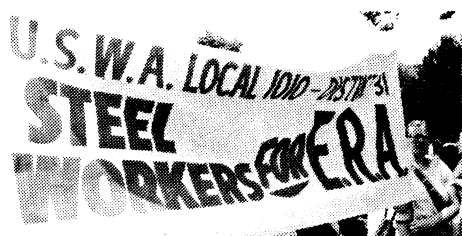


Freedom of press

In a victory against government secrecy, Washington has backed down in its attempt to suppress 'Progressive' magazine article on the hydrogen bomb. **Page 4.**

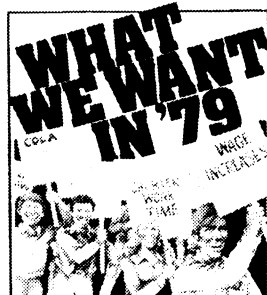
Auto contract

What's in the new UAW-GM pact? How do auto workers in Detroit size up the settlement? **Page 20.**



Virginia ERA march

Labor for Equal Rights Now reports new union support for its January 13 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment. **Page 4.**



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Pulley urges unionists weigh Calif. labor party proposal

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—"I think the proposal by John Henning, head of the California AFL-CIO, to consider forming a labor party makes a lot more sense for the union movement than lining up behind Kennedy or Carter."

This view was expressed by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee, in an interview here on the eve of his first cross-country campaign tour.

Pulley said it was especially significant that the Executive Council of the California Federation of Labor had voted unanimously to "give serious consideration" to the idea of a labor party.

Henning told reporters that the September 6 union gathering in Sacramento agreed that the time has come to start "intensively studying the prospects of the Labor Party . . . because it is now clear the two-party system is no longer serving the economic and social interests of American working people."

The CFL Executive Council authorized Henning to call a conference of state and local officers of labor councils to further probe the idea.

"I'm for that all the way," Pulley said. "Working people will be excited about the idea of a party of labor that can do something about their problems. And they're fed up enough with the Democrats and Republicans, that's for sure."

"That's why the capitalist politicians are now resorting to a shell game

within the shell game," the socialist candidate added. "They see working people are disgusted with both the Republicans and the Carter administration, so they're getting ready to offer another no-choice choice—Edward Kennedy."

Kennedy backs Carter

As Kennedy gets closer to the nomination, Pulley added, his pretended differences with Carter begin to dissolve and it becomes more evident that he has the same probusiness approach as Carter.

To make his point, Pulley pointed to an interview with Kennedy in the September 14 *New York Times*.

The interview reported at the outset that Kennedy said "he did not differ substantially with President Carter's economic policies but suggested that stronger leadership was needed to make them work."

"I won't argue which of them can make these policies work better," Pulley commented. "The question is 'better' for who?"

According to the *Times* interview, Kennedy, like Carter, favors cutbacks in financing for social programs. He has scaled down his already meager health care plan. He likes Carter's 7 percent wage guideline swindle. And he supports Carter's inflation-breeding budget, with its staggering deficit spending for weapons of war.

And, like Carter, Kennedy says he

favors bigger tax write-offs for industry and "possibly a reduction in the corporate income tax."

The *Times* interviewer reported that Kennedy "continually cited the importance of the free enterprise system."

In the face of that kind of antilabor program, Pulley observed, "isn't it pathetic to see union officials scrambling to get on the Kennedy bandwagon? Wouldn't it be a lot better for working people if instead they got behind Brother Henning's proposal to start studying the labor party idea?"

What labor party could do

A labor party, Pulley said, would have no reason to tailor its program to demands by business, the way all the Democrats do.

It could lead a fight to abolish all restrictions on the power of unions to organize, bargain, and strike. Instead of stabbing workers in the back when they fight for better conditions and higher pay, it would organize to support and defend them.

More than that, Pulley said, "with a labor party we could go after things way beyond what unions can win across the bargaining table. Like jobs for all through a federally legislated shorter workweek with no cut in take-home pay. Or a tax system that makes the rich pay. Or national health care. Or real social security so retired workers can live a decent, comfortable life protected from price increases."

"When you think about what workers need—and what we could win with a labor party," the socialist said, "the whole idea of falling for Kennedy's empty promises is simply ludicrous."

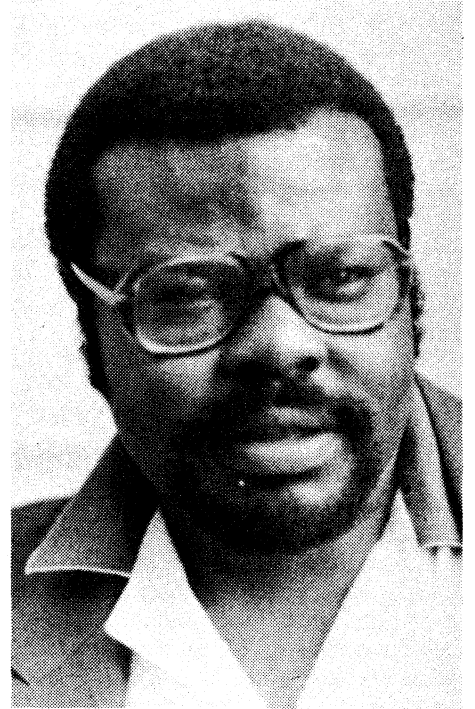
Some union officials, Pulley noted, had earlier given lip service to an eventual labor party, but at the same time were already plumping for Kennedy.

"Take William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists," Pulley said. "Last winter he told the *New York Village Voice* that in all basic respects the Republicans and Democrats were the same. But when the reporter asked why he didn't do something to build a new party, Winpisinger ducked fast."

Widely discussed

Winpisinger told the *Voice* that "my opinion is the only one I know of in the labor movement. I can't find any of my colleagues who agrees with me that what we've got is a one-party system."

"Well, that argument is gone now," Pulley said. "The California Federation of Labor has 1.7 million members. Brother Henning's proposal was featured on the front page of the *Califor-*



Militant/David McDonald

ANDREW PULLEY

nia *AFL-CIO News*. It was endorsed unanimously by the top state officers.

"And it's not just Brother Henning and the other California people," Pulley added. "Others in the labor movement are beginning to talk about the need for a labor party."

One recent indication of this, Pulley said, was seen at the August convention of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. There, vice-president Anthony Mazzocchi came close to winning the presidency of the union.

Addressing the convention prior to the vote, Mazzocchi stressed the fact that labor was under massive corporate attack and that if it stayed on its present course it would be defeated.

"It's time," Mazzocchi told the OCAW delegates, "to discuss the formation of a new political party."

Earlier Al Grospiron, the now-retired president of the OCAW, declared that the two-party system was being pushed "ever more to the right" and that labor had to consider moving in the direction of its own party.

"I say, 'second the motion,'" Pulley declared. "I think that every union conscious man and woman should be pushing this idea. Brother Henning made the point right on the button when he said labor should be using its 'vehicles of education' to study and measure the labor party idea and experience. I hope this will be done in as many unions as possible."

"And I'm convinced," Pulley added, "that it will be well-received by the union rank-and-file. It's an idea that's already overdue."



Militant/Howard Petrick

California AFL-CIO Executive Secretary John Henning, center, in 1975 union demonstration for jobs at state capital.

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Va. labor builds Jan. 13 ERA march

By Suzanne Haig

Support is building for the January 13 Equal Rights Amendment march and rally in Richmond, Virginia, called by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERN).

Rallies, educational activities, speaking engagements, and endorsements

The LERN state coordinating committee has voted to change the date of the ERA march and rally in Richmond, Virginia, from January 20 to January 13. The Superbowl is scheduled for the original date.

by unions were all reported at the state coordinating committee meeting of LERN on September 16. The meeting was held at the headquarters of the Virginia Education Association in Richmond.

The coordinating committee was formed out of the August 12 Labor Conference for the ERA in Richmond. The September 16 meeting was attended by twenty-five people, including representatives of unions and regional LERN coalitions throughout Virginia.

Among the unions were the International Association of Machinists, United Food and Commercial Workers, Boilermakers, Communications Workers of America, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, United

Steelworkers, and Virginia Education Association.

From the Peninsula region, Paula Axson, a Steelworker at the Newport News shipyard, reported that the LERN coalition there has called a rally December 2 in Newport News to build for the January march. This is part of the December 2-9 week of support activities called by the LERN conference.

Barbara Lomax told the meeting that the Richmond LERN coalition has established union and church outreach committees and an ERA research committee. They are also paying particular attention to reaching out to the Black community, she said.

LERN co-coordinator Suzanne Kelly reported that she had spoken at the District 2 council convention of the United Food and Commercial Workers and co-coordinator Jerry Gordon spoke to a meeting of five locals of that union in Virginia Beach.

Both meetings passed resolutions endorsing January 13.

Kelly also addressed the executive board of United Mine Workers District 28.

Both Kelly and Gordon have been invited to speak before a Teamsters Joint Council meeting in Virginia Beach this month.

Other unions reported ERA activities. Boilermakers Local 684 has en-

dorsed January 13, and their political action committee, LEAP, will help build it.

The coordinating committee voted to ask United Steelworkers Local 8888—which has fought long and hard for union recognition at the Newport News shipyard—to form the march's lead contingent.

One thousand copies of the pamphlet "Labor's Case for the ERA" and the action resolution passed at the August 12 conference were brought to the September 13-15 conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women held in New York City.

And 10,000 more ERA pamphlets are ready for distribution. A January 13 leaflet and poster are in preparation.

Outside Virginia, unions are also discussing the January 13 LERN march. On September 5 forty members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 in Atlanta heard a report on the August 12 LERN conference by Linda Millwood, who was sent by her union to attend the conference.

A report on the August 12 conference decisions was also given to USWA Local 2401 in Atlanta.

Steelworkers discuss ERA

By Maggie McCraw

CHICAGO—Local 65 of the United Steelworkers here has formed a subcommittee to work for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

This action followed a report to the local August 22 on the Labor Conference for the ERA held in Virginia August 12. Reporters were Sherene Johnson and Toni Sterling, co-chairs of the local's newly formed women's committee.

Sterling was sent by the local to the ERA conference, along with the chair of the civil rights committee,

the co-editor of *The 65 News*, and the third co-chair of the women's committee.

Johnson and Sterling explained the stake the labor movement has in winning women's equality and called on the brothers and sisters of Local 65 to get involved in winning the ERA in Illinois.

The report received an enthusiastic response from the more than 120 unionists present, and members of the women's committee distributed the pamphlet *Labor's Case for the ERA*.

COME TO A MEETING

**LABOR SAYS:
PASS THE EQUAL RIGHTS
AMENDMENT NOW!**



'We're in This Together!'

Sun. Sept. 23rd 1p.m. NEW BRUNSWICK N.J.
RYDER'S LANE, OFF ROUTE 1
LABOR EDUCATION CENTER RUTGERS UNIV

The Complete Text Of
The Equal Rights
Amendment

Section 1
Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2
The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3
This Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

Come to a meeting of trade unionists and other supporters of the E.R.A. Join us in the national effort to make the E.R.A. the law in the U.S.

Hear:

EDWARD S. GREY, Director Region 9
United Auto Workers

ROBBIE CAGNINA, President Women's
Affirmative Action Committee, N.J.
Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO

CLARA ALLEN, Director of the N.J.
Division on Women, former N.J.
Director of Communication Workers
of America

JANE WELLS-SCHOOLEY, National
N.O.W. Board member, Chair of the
N.O.W. ERA Committee

SUZANNE KELLY, President of the
Virginia Education Association
and leader of Labor for Equal
Rights Now (LERN), a coalition
of the Virginia labor movement

Report on August 12 'Labor for the ERA' conference held in Richmond will be part of meeting sponsored by New Jersey NOW and CLUW. For more information call (201) 761-4479.

Free speech victory in H-bomb 'secrecy' case

By Suzanne Haig

On September 17 the government was forced to back down in its attempts to prevent the *Progressive* magazine from publishing an article on the hydrogen bomb.

Publication by the *Madison Press Connection* on September 16 of a letter by Charles Hansen detailing similar hydrogen bomb "secrets" forced the government to retreat.

The outcome is a victory for freedom of the press against government moves to restrict democratic rights. It is a blow to the Carter administration's efforts to use "national security" as a cloak for the drive toward war.

In March the Justice Department obtained an injunction barring the *Progressive* from publishing an article written by Howard Morland. The government action was based on the 1954 Atomic Energy Act, enacted in the wake of the witch-hunt hysteria following the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The *Progressive* appealed the injunction.

In the ensuing court battle, the Carter administration escalated its censorship and secrecy.

Arguments were heard in secret. Briefs and affidavits submitted by the *Progressive* proving their sources were not classified were censored. Documents submitted by the government were kept secret.

On June 19, when Judge Robert Warren refused to lift the original injunction, he closed the courtroom to all defendants, media, and spectators.

Then he ruled that the reasons for his decision must remain secret.

'Born classified'

The government tried to create ominous legal justifications to ban the article. All information on nuclear energy is "born classified," the Carter administration said, and "technical" information is not covered by free speech guarantees of the First Amendment.

However, opposition to this growing net of censorship mounted. Support for the *Progressive* came from the Newspaper Guild, American Library Association, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Association of American Publishers, National Association of Broadcasters, Association of American University Presses, Radio and Television News Directors Association, and others.

The government also ran into the deep antiwar sentiment of the American people that grew out of the Vietnam War. They learned from that experience that government secrecy is a means of preparing for and justifying war.

The absurdity of the government's arguments became apparent to most observers. As a September 19 *New York Times* editorial stated, "The Government's case simply collapsed when other publications began to print similar H-bomb information, found by other amateur students in public sources including Government libraries, museums and a journal for model-airplane builders."

The government's decision to drop the case came one day after the *Madison Press Connection* openly defied this climate of intimidation by printing Hansen's letter addressed to Illinois Sen. Charles Percy. Hansen, who was used as a source in the *Progressive* article, included technical material on the H-bomb in his letter.

Hansen had sent his letter to at least seven other papers, including the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. The *Daily Californian*, which agreed to print it, was hit with a court order against publishing the letter. Most other papers refused.

The *New York Times* reported September 18 that they would not print the letter because it "was not of sufficient news interest."

The entire staff of the *Press Connection*—a paper launched two years ago by striking union workers on the *Wisconsin State Journal* and the *Capital Times*—discussed and decided to print the letter.

The real issue involved was not publication of "technical secrets." As the *New York Times* stated in its September 19 editorial, "The government's concern was more with power at home than abroad."

The government hoped under the pretense of "national security" to lay the basis for hiding from the American people more and more of the facts about the dangers of nuclear weapons and nuclear power, as well as the facts about U.S. war moves in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Central America, and elsewhere.

They hoped to create a climate of fear and intimidation to derail opposition to increased arms spending and the use of nuclear weapons.

'Secret' of the bomb

This mystique fabricated around the technical "secrets" of the bomb is not new. It was used to fan the flames of cold war hysteria and witch-hunting. It was used to justify the Korean War and to murder the Rosenbergs.

The axis of the entire argument—whether the information was classified or not—is an irrelevant smokescreen. The laws of physics are not a U.S. monopoly.

Defenders of the U.S. government's position on censorship argue that the printing of such technical information would lead to the production and use of nuclear weapons by "irresponsible" powers.

A look at the facts of history, however, shows who the irresponsible power is:

- The U.S. dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.
- Top U.S. political and military figures wanted to use nuclear weapons against China in the Korean War.
- The U.S. threatened nuclear war during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.
- Henry Kissinger admitted that the government considered using nuclear weapons during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

And the list could go on.

There's the real threat to world peace.

Oliver denounces U.S. Steel threats

By Michael Gillespie

BIRMINGHAM—Socialist steel-worker Mohammed Oliver has denounced U.S. Steel's threats to close its giant Fairfield Works here and has demanded public inspection of the corporation's books.

Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1466, said the 9,500-employee steel mill should be nationalized if the corporation tries to shut it down.

U.S. Steel closed Fairfield's plate mill in August, laying off at least 400 steelworkers. Additional layoffs and complete shutdown of the plant are still being threatened.

Earlier this summer, U.S. Steel management sent all Fairfield workers a strongly worded letter blaming them for the mill's "dangerous financial situation."

Recently, management has held a flurry of meetings with union and public officials to complain about "low productivity," "unfair" foreign competition, and "excessive" government regulation.

"Working people have no more reason to believe the excuses of the steel bosses than they have to believe the lies of the oil monopolies," Oliver pointed out in a statement carried by several radio stations.

"Making steelworkers work harder in more unsafe and unhealthy conditions, erecting inflationary trade barriers, or making it easier for U.S. Steel to poison our air and water will not save steelworkers' jobs.

"I call for the complete opening of



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Birmingham

the financial books of Fairfield Works and U.S. Steel to public inspection so the truth about the corporation's financial status and management practices can be learned," Oliver declared.

The socialist candidate also called for a reduction of the work week with no reduction in pay to provide jobs for the millions of unemployed.

"If, after all the facts are known, the private owners of U.S. Steel threaten to close the plant," Oliver said, "the facility should be taken over by the government, placed under public ownership, and run by the workers.

"In Birmingham and throughout America, there is more than enough work to do and more than enough money to pay for it. What stands in the way, at Fairfield and elsewhere, is the system of production for private profit

rather than social needs," Oliver said.

Although the Fairfield layoffs threaten the economy and jobs in the entire Birmingham area, none of the six other mayoral candidates have had anything to say about the threatened closing.

Oliver is scheduled to address a meeting of United Steelworkers Local 1013 on September 24. With 3,800 members, Local 1013 is the largest local at Fairfield Works.

Oliver has also been making almost nightly rounds to numerous community candidates' meetings. He has demanded prosecution of killer-cops, defended the right of public employees to unionize and strike, and explained the need for an independent labor party.

Oliver has also denounced an anti-Black "law and order" campaign being waged by three of the white mayoral candidates. One of them is the "grand dragon" of the Birmingham Ku Klux Klan.

"More guns, more cops, more 'law and order,' and more sermons about 'property rights' have nothing to do with curbing crime," Oliver said.

"The way to end crime is to end its causes: provide jobs for all at union wages, decent housing, free medical care, free education through the university level, and a secure retirement for all.

"The money to pay for these programs already exists in the millions of dollars in corporate profits, which are created by working people but are taken from us by big business," Oliver declared.

Az. socialist defeats company firing

By Caroline Fowlkes

PHOENIX—On September 11 Dan Fein, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, won his job back at Midland-Ross, Capitol Castings Division, in Tempe, Arizona. Fein, a production welder at the company and member of United Steelworkers Local 4102, was suspended from work on September 8 for giving a co-worker a leaflet about a forum on Iran.

Ever since Fein played a leading role in the ten-day strike by USWA Local 4102 last November, the company has been out to get him.

As of now Fein is the only mayoral candidate certified for ballot status. He has been campaigning against Arizona's "right to work" law, for higher wages, and for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

About the time Fein announced his campaign last spring, the company began to harass him. In June, with the help of the union, Fein won a grievance against a foreman who tried to deny him his paycheck.

On September 8, a co-worker talked with Fein about the campaign to free

fourteen socialists imprisoned in Iran. The worker had earlier signed a petition Fein was circulating protesting political repression in Iran. After he gave the worker a leaflet about a Militant Forum on Iran, a foreman told Fein he was being suspended indefinitely for giving out the flyer.

Fein met with a number of officials in his union local. All agreed that he was being victimized for his political views and that this was an attack on all union members' right to speak out as they pleased.

Although a paragraph in the contract prohibits "distribution" of any kind of literature on the job, no one has ever been disciplined before under this rule, although other literature is circulated freely.

The company had scheduled a hearing on Fein's case for September 10. Prior to the hearing, many of Fein's supporters distributed leaflets to workers outside the plant to inform them about his dismissal. There was also an article in the *Arizona Republic*.

At the September 10 meeting the personnel director claimed he was unprepared and postponed the hearing to

the next day. In the meantime Channel 12, the NBC-TV affiliate, ran a story on the Monday night news, interviewing Fein.

On the following day, campaign supporters called the company to protest Fein's suspension. The *Tempe Daily News* had a front-page article on the socialist candidate's suspension.

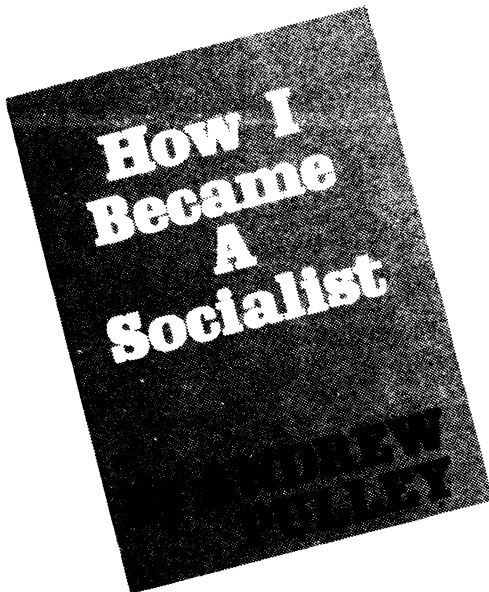
Channel 10, the CBS-TV affiliate, showed up at the hearing, but the company would not allow the camera crew on its property. They did do an interview with Fein, which appeared on the six o'clock news that night.

As Fein and the union officers went into the hearing, some workers gathered around, gave clenched fists and wished them well. After a two-hour meeting, the company said Fein would be given three days off without pay, but would not be fired.

This was a partial victory for the union. But the union intends to continue the fight. It is filing a grievance to get back Fein's three days of pay.

A Socialist Workers campaign dinner and rally is scheduled at the USWA Local 4102 hall for September 22 at 6 p.m.

Join the Socialist Workers Campaign!



Yes, I want to help.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$_____.
- ☐ Please send me a free packet of campaign material.
- ☐ Please send me the following:
 - copies of *How I Became a Socialist* by Andrew Pulley. 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
 - copies of *Bill of Rights for Working People* (English or Spanish). 3¢ each.
 - "Pulley for President" buttons, and
 - "Zimmermann for Vice President" buttons (with photos). 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more.
 - "Human Needs Before Profits" but-

tons, and _____ "Vote Socialist Workers" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more.

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Clip and mail to Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name _____
Address _____
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NEWPORT NEWS

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candidate for vice-president

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Sept. 30-Oct. 1 Kansas City

Oct. 3-4 Salt Lake City

Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Sept. 22-24 Toledo

Sept. 28-30 Milwaukee

Fred Halstead

Sept. 22-24 Boston

Sept. 28-30 Philadelphia

Héctor Marroquín

Sept. 22 Benefit concert

in Philadelphia

for Marroquín

defense

Sept. 26-28 Dallas

(Marroquín's tour sponsored by Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee)

For more information, call the SWP branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

JOIN US

World outcry to save socialists

Iran embassy meets protests with new slanders

By Janice Lynn

In response to the massive outpouring of protests over the arrests and sentencing of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., issued a press release September 7 denying that a verdict had been reached in their case.

Twelve of the HKS members were sentenced to death in a secret trial August 26.

Last week, six of these prisoners were returned to Karoun Prison where they should be able to receive visitors. However, six HKS members still remain in the jails of the Special Court Building, where their lives are in constant danger.

The six in Karoun Prison are: Hadi Adib, Firooz Farzinpour, Ali Hashemi, Mahmoud Kafaie, Kambiz Lajevardi, and Kia Mahdevi.

Those in the jails of the Special Court Building are: Hormoz Fallahi, Morteza Gorgzadeh, Mustafa Gorgzadeh, Mohammed Poorkahvaz, Mustafa Seifabadi, and Hamid Shahrabi.

Two women members of the HKS, Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, who were sentenced to life imprisonment, are in Dezful Prison, fifty miles outside Ahwaz.

The Iranian embassy's release repeated the new frame-up charges leveled against the prisoners September 4 by Vice-premier Sadeq Tabatabai: "carrying out anti-people activities; the blowing-up of an oil pipeline; creating chaos and disorder; instigating and encouraging people to participate in armed warfare against the central government, and so on."

This press release was mass mailed to all those who have sent protest letters or telegrams to the Iranian embassy and is handed to delegations that protest the arrests and sentencing at Iranian consulates around the country.

This sudden release of new charges—after the trial and verdict—represents a transparent attempt by the Iranian authorities to justify imprisonment of the socialists in the face of world pressure to release them.

The explosions at oil pipelines going into the Abadan refinery, as reported

by the Iranian government itself, took place the first two weeks of July. All the HKS members were *already in prison* in a different city—Ahwaz.

Most important, the HKS is well known in Iran as politically opposed to terrorism. Its main task has been explaining its program for a government of the workers and peasants.

Among those who have recently sent protest telegrams or signed petitions are: Cliff Mezo, vice-president of United Steelworkers Local 1010, Gary, Indiana; Patria Robinson-Martin, president of the Seattle National Organiza-

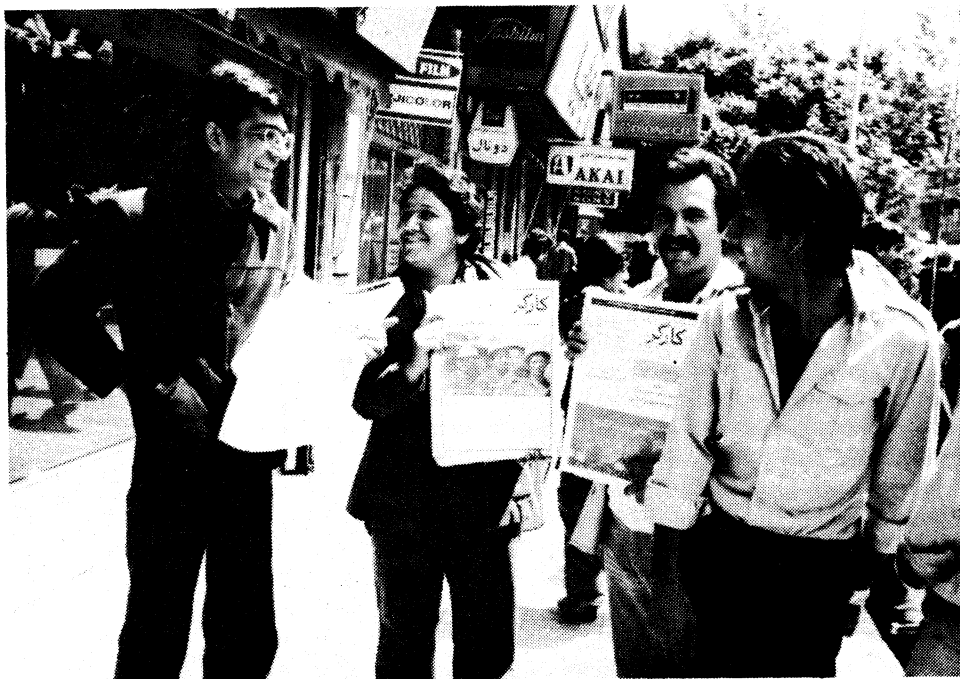
tion for Women; the Phoenix Mobilization for Survival, an anti-nuclear group; and five members of the District Council of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers of District 751 in the Seattle area.

Ninety-five steelworkers in Tempe, Arizona, have signed petitions for release of the HKS members. Ten members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227, ARCO group, in Houston have protested the arrests in Khuzestan Province.

New international support has been mobilized from the occupied territories in Israel. A telegram protesting the death penalty against the HKS members was sent by: twenty Palestinian activists, eleven of whom are former political prisoners; the Painters Union in Ramallah; the Writers Union in the Occupied Territories; the Building Workers Union in Beit-ur; the Union of Workers in Abud; and the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Ramallah.

Also: four members of the Abne al-Balad (Sons of the Village) in Um-al-fahm, one of the largest Arab towns; numerous lawyers; Mansur Kardosh of Nazareth, a former leader of Al-Ard, (The Land, a Palestinian nationalist group banned by the Israeli authorities); the Revolutionary Communist League (Israeli section of the Fourth International); the Progressive National Movement of the Arab Students in Jerusalem; and many others.

The international defense campaign remains vital for saving the lives and securing the release of the fourteen Iranian socialists.



Iran socialists were arrested for nothing more than selling 'Kargar' and explaining political ideas.

How to help

Telegrams protesting the death sentences given the twelve HKS prisoners in Ahwaz and demanding the immediate release of all fourteen socialists should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; and Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24, Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran; to *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should also be sent to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

Committee to save Iran 14 launched

NEW YORK—The Committee to Save the Iranian 14 has been formed in the United States to conduct a nationwide emergency campaign to save the lives of fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (Hezbollah Kargar-e Sosialist—HKS).

The HKS members have been imprisoned in Khuzestan Province in Iran for more than three months.

Twelve of these longtime anti-shah fighters were sentenced to death August 26 by a secret tribunal in Ahwaz. Two others, both women, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The only charges made against them at the time of their trials were for speaking or writing about their political ideas.

According to Craig Honts, secretary of the newly formed defense committee, the two goals of the committee are to stop the executions and to win the release of all fourteen prisoners.

To accomplish this the committee will work to get out the facts on the case throughout the United States. It will solicit protest telegrams to the Iranian government from the labor movement, civil rights and human rights organizations, students, professors, and all others who support the overthrow of the shah but oppose the violation of the HKS's democratic

rights.

In addition, the committee will be raising funds to publicize the case and is a sponsor of the three-country speaking tour by Farhad Nouri, a leader of the HKS. Nouri is a staff writer for the HKS newspaper *Kargar* (Worker).

Delegations of unionists and civil rights activists will be organized to visit the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., and Iranian consulates in other U.S. cities to make their voices heard.

The defense committee will also be coordinating the circulation of petitions urging the release of the imprisoned socialists, which has already begun in workplaces and campuses around the country.

In a September 19 press release the Committee to Save the Iranian 14 announced some of the initial sponsors of the national defense effort.

They include: writer Noam Chomsky; human rights activists Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers, District 65; Michael Harrington, national chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Kurdish activist Taleb Barzangi; George Novack, Marxist philosopher and Socialist Workers Party leader; Leon Harris, president of

the Village-Chelsea NAACP; and Elizabeth Reed, southern California vice president of the Service Employees International Union, Local 535.

Also: James Grant, Charlotte Three defendant; Patrick Loughlin, chief steward and executive board member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-2 in Baltimore; Chicano activists Armando Gutiérrez and José Angel Gutiérrez; Charles Maudlin, president of International Association of Machinists Local 685 in San Diego; Ervand Abrahamian, former co-chair of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI); Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar* magazine; Anne Sheppard Turner, Wilmington Ten defendant; Ellen Lavroff, president of the Colorado Federation of Teachers; Duma Ndlovu, of the steering committee of the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, U.S. region; John Perez, chair of the Human Rights Committee of sub-district one, District 38 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA); and Wilfred (Andy) Anderson president of USWA local 1845, Los Angeles (organizations for identification only).

To contact the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, write to: 200 Park Avenue South, #812, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Cleveland Robinson (top) and Michael Harrington are among sponsors of Iran defense committee.

Anti-shah professors protest to Iran consulate

NEW YORK CITY—A delegation of Queens College professors visited the Iranian consulate here September 18 to protest the arrests and sentencing of fourteen HKS members.

Michael Harrington, who is also national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Robert Fiengo; Helen Cairns; and Charles Cairns met with the consul general.

All four had been organizers of a

successful campaign in the spring of 1977 to abolish the "Program of Cooperation" at Queens College between the National University of Iran and the City University of New York.

The program included maintaining a list of all Iranian graduate students in the United States, which was no doubt used in the widespread SAVAK spying on Iranian students.

The delegation explained that as

people who welcomed the overthrow of the shah's monarchy, they were horrified at the death sentences. The imprisonment of these well-known antishah fighters harms the revolutionary process in Iran, they said.

They protested the vague and totally unbelievable nature of the charges and urged that their demand for the immediate release of the fourteen socialists be conveyed immediately to Iran.

Defense meeting raises \$1,500

Bay Area unionists: free Iran prisoners

By Bob Capistrano

SAN FRANCISCO—One hundred sixty people rallied here September 14 in support of the fourteen Iranian socialists imprisoned in Ahwaz. The meeting was held in the hall of Retail Clerks Local 1100, whose executive board and President Walter Johnson had earlier sent telegrams to Iran in protest of the arrests and sentencing of the HKS fourteen.

More than \$1,500 was donated and pledged at the rally to aid in the defense effort.

Farhad Nouri, staff writer for the HKS weekly *Kargar* (Worker), described the unfolding revolution in Iran. He stressed the positive effect that a victory in this case would have on the struggle for democratic and civil rights in Iran.

Nouri noted that the protests against the imprisonment and sentencing of the fourteen had forced the Iranian embassy in Washington to release a statement denying the socialists had even been sentenced.

He concluded with an appeal to continue the pressure on the Khomeini-Bazargan government by supporting and joining the efforts of the Bay Area Committee to Save the Iranian 14.

One of the high points of the rally was the support for the Iranian fourteen expressed by Celia Monge on behalf of Casa Nicaragua, an organization currently on a drive to collect \$1 million in supplies to aid in the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Gretchen Mackler, president of the Alameda Federation of Teachers, also voiced her support for the imprisoned socialists.



Militant/Susan Muysenberg
Celia Monge of Casa Nicaragua

Messages were read from Bob Chrisman and Robert Allen of *Black Scholar* magazine; Percy Edmond, recording secretary of United Steelworkers Local 50; and the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

Prior to the rally, Nouri was interviewed over KPFA-radio and met with Dick Groulx, executive secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. Groulx had earlier sent a protest telegram to Iran.

James Herman, international president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; attorney Vincent Hallinan; the executive committee of Teamsters Local 265; and Dorothy Ehrlich of the San Francisco American Civil Liberties Union

Farhad Nouri tour schedule:	
Houston	Sept. 23-24
San Antonio/	
Austin	Sept. 25-26
Detroit	Sept. 27-28
Chicago	Sept. 30-Oct. 1
Iron Range, Minn.	Oct. 2-3
Twin Cities, Minn.	Oct. 4-5
Philadelphia	Oct. 7-8
Baltimore/	
Washington, D.C.	Oct. 9-12
Toronto	Oct. 15-16
Montreal	Oct. 17-18
Boston	Oct. 19-20
New York/	
New Jersey	Oct. 21-27

were also among the many Bay Area individuals and organizations who cabled their protests to Iran.

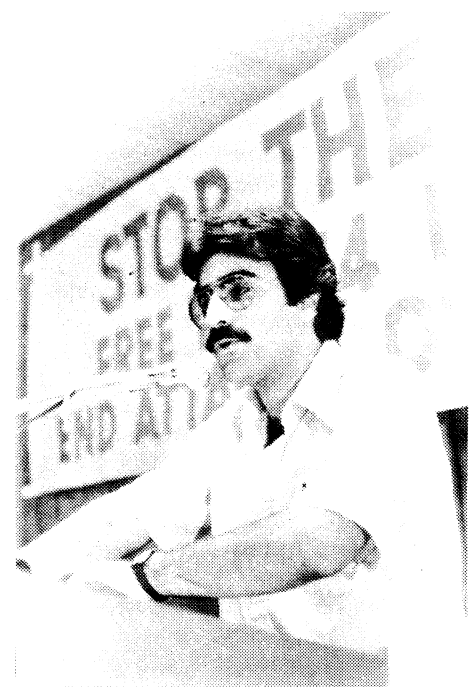
Unfortunately, the September 14 event was marred by attempted disruption by more than thirty members of the Spartacist League, who tried to march into the rally. Organizers of the event told them they would not be admitted because of their prior attempts in various parts of the country to disrupt activities in defense of the imprisoned socialists. The group then formed a picket line, brandishing previously prepared placards.

The Spartacists' chants and signs clearly showed their disregard for the death threat hanging over the fourteen HKS members. All of their slogans were directed against the Socialist Workers Party or the Fourth International. Not one sign or chant demanded the release of the Iranian fourteen.

The Spartacists placed their factional hatred for the SWP above the lives of the imprisoned socialists. The Spartacists applauded when it was announced over the bullhorn that two scheduled speakers, Daniel Ellsberg and Kay Boyle of Amnesty International, decided against speaking when they saw a picket line.

Another Spartacist leader took the loudspeaker to announce that he intended to demand that Local 1100 never again donate or rent their hall to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14.

However, the disruption by this sectarian group did not affect the seriousness and commitment of those attending the rally, as evidenced by the \$1,500 collection. The meeting unanimously voted to send a telegram to the Ayatollah Khomeini demanding that there be no executions and that the fourteen socialists be immediately freed.



FARHAD NOURI Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Canadian labor for Iran defense

By Robert Simms

VANCOUVER, Canada—Seven hundred delegates to the convention of the British Columbia New Democratic Party (NDP)—Canada's labor party—voted unanimously September 3 for an emergency resolution to be sent to Iran. It said in part:

"We strongly protest the massive arrests and executions of Iranian citizens. We demand an end to secret trials and torture, and the immediate release of all political prisoners. We strongly protest the sentences of death and life imprisonment issued to fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) in Ahwaz. We demand their lives and the lives of all other political prisoners be saved."

The resolution also protested executions of Kurds, Fedayeen, and members of the Tudeh Party. It demanded democratic and political rights for all Iranians.

On September 12 the officers of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, representing 250,000 workers,

sent the same emergency telegram. So did the Simon Fraser student council.

Regional Council Number One of the International Woodworkers of America, which represents 55,000 woodworkers in western Canada, also passed a resolution at its regional convention and voted September 14 to send a protest telegram to Iran.

During a recent tour of Vancouver, HKS leader Farhad Nouri was the featured speaker at a September 13 rally. The seventy people present donated \$200 for the defense effort.

Nouri was interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio program "As It Happens," which was broadcast throughout Canada September 12. He was also interviewed by the *Vancouver Sun*, CBC local television news, and local radio.

Woodworkers in Vancouver have collected fifty-five signatures of co-workers in the saw mills demanding the release of the HKS members.

In shift, Soviets criticize Iran repression

By Janice Lynn

In a welcome reversal of previous policies, the Soviet government seems to be reassessing its position of uncritical support to the Khomeini-Bazargan regime in Iran.

In light of the recent wave of repression directed against the working masses in Iran, and the Iranian government's support to the right-wing rebellion in Afghanistan, Moscow's previous position was becoming untenable.

On August 27, two members of the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) Party were executed in Kermanshah. The party's newspaper *Mardom* has been banned. Its members have been physically attacked and its headquarters closed down.

In all, twenty-six other newspapers and magazines have been banned and all opposition political parties have been forced underground.

The case that has attracted the most attention both inside Iran and worldwide is that of the fourteen members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), who face possible execution solely for speaking and writing about their political ideas. These antishah fighters have been in jail for almost three months.

Arabs, oil workers, and steelworkers in Khuzestan Province were arrested in this crackdown and several executed. And at least seventy-seven Kurds have been executed for demanding their right to autonomy and to elect their own leaders.

An article in the September 8 week-end supplement of the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* by foreign affairs commentator Aleksandr Bovin said the suppression of the "left wing of the political spectrum automatically strengthens the right wing and creates a fertile ground for pressure from the outside: from the side of those who continue to shed tears for the former monarch."

The article also said the Khomeini regime has suppressed all freedom of expression and denied ethnic minorities, especially the Kurds, equal rights and autonomy.

Just three weeks earlier, the August 21 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, had run a photograph of Iranian troops patrolling the streets of Paveh. The caption read, "... the government moved to end an armed provocation by Kurdish gunmen in western Iran."

This reflected the CP's previous

claim that the struggle of the Kurdish people for their democratic rights was a CIA plot.

In the April 6 *Daily World*, Tom Foley wrote: "It has become clear that the CIA and the remaining pro-Shah forces in Iran, using some kind of 'left' disguise are trying to provoke peoples like the Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Turkmen, Baluchis, and Arabs, in an attempt to bring down the new government and fasten the shah's chains once again on all of Iran's peoples."

The change in Moscow's position follows charges by Khomeini that the Kurds were spreading "Communist corruption" and suggestions by the late Ayatollah Taleghani that the Kurds were being aided by the Soviet Union.

There is no evidence to support the charge of Soviet involvement in Kurdistan.

The Soviet government's shift in position is a welcome change. It will help strengthen the hand of the Iranian working class.

In particular, Communist parties around the world should come to the defense of the imprisoned revolutionaries of the HKS. A victory in their case will also be a victory for all those

antishah fighters imprisoned and repressed in Iran for their political ideas.

Powerful union federations throughout Europe, prominent labor leaders, and numerous workers parties are spearheading the outcry of protests pouring into the Iranian government demanding the release of the condemned socialists.

Among those already coming to the defense of the HKS are the Tudeh Party within Iran and the Spanish, Australian, and British Communist parties.

In the August 24 *Morning Star*, the newspaper of the British CP, Jack Woddis, head of the party's international department, wrote:

"The British labour and progressive movement, which welcomed the overthrow of the Shah, should now raise its voice against the new wave of repression in Iran."

"It should call for the release of the 14 arrested members of the Socialist Workers Party, the lifting of the ban on the democratic newspapers, the return of premises to the democratic parties, an end to the persecution of the Kurdish Democratic Party and an end to the repression."

Hopefully the American Communist Party will follow this example.

September 28 opens big target sales week

By Peter Seidman

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are organizing a big national target week of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales beginning September 28.

The cumulative scoreboard below helps show why (there's also a scoreboard showing the results of last week's sales).

So far, branches and chapters of the SWP and YSA have taken on the goal of circulating 120,000 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* through single-copy and subscription sales. Seven areas have not yet announced their goals, so this total will go higher.

The drive is now scheduled to last twelve weeks. This cumulative scoreboard, covering the first third of the drive, indicates we're about 10 percent behind where we should be.

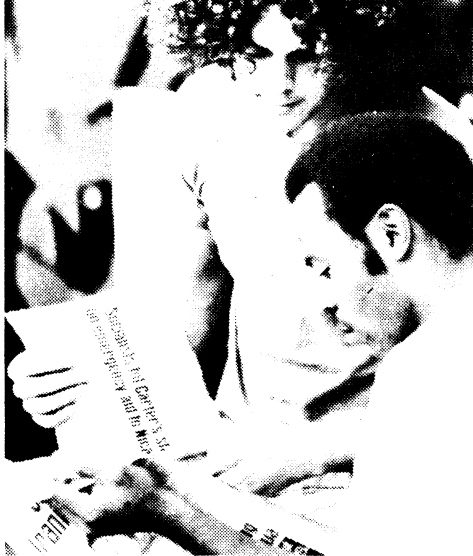
With every area trying to sell twice the usual number of papers next week, we should be able to get on or ahead of schedule.

Beefing up sales this way will be a big help to all the other work socialists are doing this fall, including our central efforts to defend the fourteen socialists imprisoned in Iran and to organize aid and solidarity for the Nicaraguan revolution.

Another important part of the target week will be a big push on subscription sales—especially to the many people who've been buying the paper week by week from socialist workers on the job.

As the scoreboard shows, 16 percent of our total sales have been at plant gates or on the job since the drive began. Last week we were only 1 percent short of our national goal of 20 percent industrial sales.

The SWP and YSA are trying to sell 6,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and



Sales at Houston Fiestas Patrias parade

PM—with one-fourth of these going to co-workers on the job—as part of this drive. As of this week, we've sold 182 ten-week subs (at ten points each), 69 four-month subs (twenty points), 32 six-month subs (twenty points), and 45 one-year subs (thirty points). This totals 5 percent of our subscription goal, so we need a big push on subs as part of the target week.

Of course, many areas will also be carrying on ambitious sub drives as part of tours this fall by the SWP 1980 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

Pulley and Zimmermann will launch their tours during the sales target week. Thus September 28 will open a big week of campaigning for socialism from coast to coast.

Boston socialists will be going door to door in nearby Lynn. That's where

Best PM sales ever

By Rich Ariza

More than 2,600 copies of the special Nicaragua issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold in the United States during the past month. This is more than any previous issue of this biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine.

Members of the SWP and YSA sold at least 600 copies four weeks in a row. This is the highest sustained sales of *PM* ever.

The SWP published this special issue to get out the truth to Latinos about what is happening in Nicaragua. The socialists viewed this as an important part of building a movement in solidarity with the revolu-

tion in Nicaragua, as well as a way to answer Washington's stepped-up attacks on Cuba.

This week's sales totals include the initial sales of issue seventeen by a few branches.

Chicago and New York socialists sold almost 300 copies of *PM* at the rallies welcoming the four Puerto Rican Nationalists.

Celebrations of Mexico's independence will be taking place this month. Socialists in Houston sold 155 *PMs* at one such rally on September 16. These kinds of gatherings—as well as the many meetings on Nicaragua that continue to take place—are great opportunities for the sale of *PM*.

Sales prizes

To encourage the highest possible sales during the national target week, the circulation office will award the following prizes:

- To the branch with the highest per capita sales, a bound volume of the *Militant* for July-December 1979.
- To the five individuals who sell the most *Militants* and *PMs*, the paperback book of their choice from Pathfinder Press.

Sales scoreboard

City	Militant		PM		Totals			% Ind.
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent	
Morgantown	100	123	0	0	100	123	123.0	13.0
Dallas	90	102	30	36	120	138	115.0	23.9
Louisville	100	113	0	0	100	113	113.0	22.1
Portland	90	96	0	1	90	97	107.7	8.3
Tacoma	125	130	0	4	125	134	107.2	7.5
Salt Lake City	110	114	5	8	115	122	106.0	6.6
Piedmont	75	79	0	0	75	79	105.3	21.5
Indianapolis	100	102	0	0	100	102	102.0	16.7
Denver	120	131	20	11	140	142	101.4	14.1
Iron Range	75	76	0	0	75	76	101.3	59.2
Los Angeles	270	194	80	160	350	354	101.1	12.7
San Diego	105	106	20	20	125	126	100.8	16.6
Seattle	140	141	5	5	145	146	100.6	13.0
Cincinnati	100	100	0	0	100	100	100.0	16.0
Atlanta	120	120	5	1	125	121	96.8	19.0
Kansas City	110	108	7	5	117	113	96.5	7.1
Washington, D.C.	140	96	35	67	175	163	93.1	1.2
Detroit	200	191	10	3	210	194	92.3	56.2
Albuquerque	115	98	25	21	140	119	85.0	8.4
San Antonio	50	44	15	11	65	55	84.6	60.0
Birmingham	150	124	0	0	150	124	82.6	44.4
Phoenix	120	100	40	28	160	128	80.0	30.5
Newark	125	88	25	31	150	119	79.3	30.3
New York City	445	168	105	266	550	434	78.9	**
St. Louis	100	73	0	2	100	75	75.0	25.3
Albany	100	76	5	2	105	78	74.2	42.3
New Orleans	100	74	5	3	105	77	73.3	16.9
Cleveland	100	57	0	15	100	72	72.0	29.2
Pittsburgh	200	142	0	0	200	142	71.0	28.9
Baltimore	125	80	0	0	125	80	64.0	48.8
Philadelphia	180	104	20	24	200	128	64.0	21.1
Toledo	100	58	3	0	103	58	56.3	36.2
San Francisco	250	112	25	39	275	151	54.9	7.3
Chicago	275	130	50	35	325	165	50.7	30.3
Milwaukee	115	62	10	1	125	63	50.4	14.3
Tidewater	200	100	0	0	200	100	50.0	**
Boston	175	74	15	8	190	82	43.1	9.8
Miami	100	31	30	22	130	53	40.7	**
Houston*		68		155		223		
Minneapolis*		65		0		65		16.9
St. Paul*		39		0		39		35.9
TOTALS	5885	4089	665	984	6550	5073	77.4	18.8

*Goals not yet announced. **Figures not available.
Not reporting: Gary, Oakland-Berkeley, San Jose.
Covers sales of issue thirty-five of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue seventeen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.
% Ind. indicates percentage of total reported sold at plant gates and to coworkers on the job.

Cumulative scoreboard

City	Single Copy Sales			Sub.	Total Sales			% Ind.
	Mil	PM	Total		Goal	Sold	%	
Kansas City	778	50	828	245	2400	1073	44.7	7.5
Dallas	554	230	784	185	2700	969	35.8	10.7
Cleveland	387	81	468	15	1500	483	32.2	26.1
Portland	356	3	359	285	2000	644	32.2	11.1
Salt Lake City	492	19	511	70	1800	581	32.2	4.7
Albuquerque	611	106	717	125	3100	842	27.1	7.7
Morgantown	504		504	25	2000	529	26.4	19.3
Detroit	818	9	827	295	4500	1122	24.9	39.1
St. Louis	421	5	426	95	2100	521	24.8	22.1
Cincinnati	317		317	50	1600	367	22.9	19.9
Piedmont	321		321	20	1500	341	22.7	5.9
New Orleans	282	17	299	60	1600	359	22.4	23.4
Indianapolis	320		320	60	1700	380	22.3	10.9
Seattle	539	15	554	110	3000	664	22.1	7.9
Birmingham	462		462	60	2400	522	21.7	14.9
Pittsburgh	855		855	50	4200	905	21.5	23.6
Iron Range	328		328	75	1900	403	21.2	37.8
Tacoma	446	9	455	75	2500	530	21.2	17.8
Louisville	520	1	521	40	2700	561	20.7	22.3
Denver	425	76	501	95	2900	596	20.5	11.8
Los Angeles	727	330	1057	210	6250	1267	20.2	9.0
San Diego	312	106	418	105	2600	523	20.1	21.8
Miami	408	108	516	45	2800	561	20.0	3.1
Gary	276	30	306	90	2000	396	19.8	23.5
Albany	301	35	336	55	2200	391	17.7	27.7
New York City	1251	742	1993	425	14000	2418	17.2	7.0
Chicago	600	82	682	235	5400	917	16.9	37.0
Boston	383	25	408	90	3300	498	15.0	6.6
San Jose	233	126	359		2500	359	14.3	6.4
Toledo	313	15	328		2400	328	13.6	40.2
San Antonio	193	32	225		1700	225	13.2	38.2
Newark	378	96	474	130	4700	604	12.8	14.8
Oakland/Berkeley	317	28	345	75	3750	420	11.2	**
Philadelphia	412	45	457	40	4600	497	10.8	24.3
Phoenix	175	88	263	35	3200	298	9.3	20.9
Milwaukee	162	4	166	25	2600	191	7.3	5.4
Tidewater	164		164	120	3900	284	7.2	**
Atlanta	568	14	582	50	*	632		16.2
Baltimore	253		253	20	*	273		46.6
Houston	346	181	527	110	*	637		30.4
Minneapolis	241		241	80	*	321		4.6
San Francisco	582	165	747	1	*	852		7.2
St. Paul	64		64	20	*	84		34.4
Washington, D.C.	474	242	716	55	*	771		3.5
Misc.				690		690		
TOTALS	18,869	3,115	21,984	4,845	120,000	26,829	22.4	16.1

*Cumulative goal not yet announced.
**Figures not available.
% Ind. indicates percentage reported of total sold at plant gates and to coworkers on the job.
Covers sales of issues thirty-two through thirty-five of the *Militant* and issue sixteen and the first week of sales of issue seventeen of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

On the Rio Puerco: yellow water, dead sheep

By Mark Curtis

CHURCH ROCK, N.M.—Driving down the road to this small community north of Gallup, I thought of the daily morning trips I used to take along this same route. But this time I wasn't on my way to work. I was going to gather information on one of the biggest nuclear accidents in the history of uranium mining.

Eighteen years old and just out of high school, I had worked for United Nuclear Corporation at the Church Rock mine one summer. It never occurred to me then that someday Church Rock would be in the headlines as the site of the largest spill ever of radioactive materials and other deadly elements.

On July 16 of this year about 396 million gallons of radioactive water and silt poured through a twenty-foot breach in an earthen tailings pond and into the nearby Rio Puerco. The pond was holding radioactive waste material left over from uranium refining at the Church Rock mill.

Radium, thorium, selenium, lead, and uranium, were carried by the Rio Puerco at least as far as downtown Gallup, fifteen miles away, and possibly even into Arizona.

State environmental officials closed the mill later that day, but United Nuclear representatives quickly asserted that there was no danger to the public. It has now been reopened.

I came out to Church Rock to talk to mine workers and local residents, most of whom are Navajo Indians. I first talked to Monica Dodds and Pete Chavez. Dodds lives in the company trailer park near the mill and works in the mine warehouse. Chavez commutes from Gallup and works underground as a surveyor. Both have worked at Church Rock for about a year.

Despite the fact that Dodds lives within a half-mile of the spill site, the company told her nothing.

"This company's hush-hush," she said.

"They only care if you punch in on time."

I asked Chavez if he thought the company had been negligent. "I think so," he replied. "As far as I know, there



Breach in earthen dam sent nearly 400 million gallons of radioactive water rushing down Rio Puerco.

Richard Pipes

was never any gradation, soil, or any other kind of test taken" at the dam.

Both workers expressed concern about safety conditions at the mine. Water pumped out of the mine is unfit for drinking, but is supplied for showers. Sometimes they run out of the bottled water, so mine water is used to make coffee.

I also talked with a Navajo couple living near the mill. Howard King, fifty-four, has lived there all his life. His wife Rita translated for us.

He had seen the breached dam the morning of the spill and heard people talking about it. Later, he and his wife walked to the stream near their house. The sand at the bottom, he said, was "yellow all the way down."

That day he went to the mill and insisted that water be hauled in for himself and his sheep.

King is also worried about other effects from the mine and mill on his livestock. "Two years ago, and this year, we lost quite a bit. We had sixty-five and now we only have twenty-

three. They just got sick and weak in their legs. They just laid there and died."

Gesturing to large piles of high-grade uranium ore a half-mile from his house, King said, "We're really worried about those big piles over there, that some of it's going to blow over here. What's going to happen when it blows in the weeds and the sheep eat the weeds and we eat the sheep? And what about the air coming out of the vent shafts that we're breathing in? Maybe in forty years or so we're going to get sick."

That night, I went to a meeting of the Church Rock Action Committee, part of the Church Rock Chapter House, the Navajo local governing body.

Community leaders explained that more than 330 people and 2,500 head of livestock were directly affected by the accident. Of an estimated 24,750 gallons of water needed, only a fraction had been delivered.

The president of the Action Commit-

tee summed up the mood when he said, "It seems like anytime anything happens to Indians, nobody gives a damn."

By the end of August, the spill still hadn't been cleaned up. In fact, there is no way all of it can ever be cleaned up. The Navajo tribe has threatened United Nuclear with legal action. It has also considered cleaning up the best it can and then presenting the company with the bill.

While claiming there is "no immediate danger to people along the river or to wells near Gallup," the head of the state's radiation protection office has admitted "the presence of radium in the tailings presents a potential contamination problem with underground pools, the extent of which might not be determined for a few years."

Meanwhile, ten Navajo children have gone to the Los Alamos atomic labs for radiation testing.

Young Socialist sales high as drive opens

By Kara Obradović

"I'm campaigning for a young Black steelworker for president. Would you like to buy a copy of the *Young Socialist*?" asks Rarby Grady as he sells the September issue.

Grady and hundreds of other members of the Young Socialist Alliance recently began a drive to sell 4,000 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper every month.

"The Washington, D.C., chapter of the YSA sold seventy papers at nearby campuses the first two weeks of the drive," Grady reports. "We met some

students at Howard University who worked at the nearby Sparrows Point steel mill during the summer. They were particularly interested in what the *Young Socialist* had to say about the union movement."

The September YS features coverage of the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann. YSA members across the country have been using it to get out the word about the campaign.

An especially important part of the sales drive has been getting the paper into the hands of young workers.

"With SWP members pitching in, we've been able to sell more than forty copies of the YS to young people at the various plants where we work," reports Katherine Crowder from the San Diego YSA, who is also a member of the International Association of Machinists.

"That's over half of our sales so far, and one of the young workers who bought the paper just joined the San Diego YSA."

Crowder reports that many of her co-workers knew Raúl González, the SWP candidate for mayor, and were interested in the article on his discussions with high school students. In addition to sales on the job, another fourteen YSs were sold at a local high school.

At North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University in Greensboro, where many students who organized civil rights sit-ins in the 1960s came from, more than twenty-five *Young Socialists* were sold on registration day.

"Young people here are very much aware of their history of struggle and they appreciate our socialist point of view," reports Jeff Cooper, a member of the newly formed Piedmont YSA chapter.

"They liked the campaign article that described how Andrew Pulley grew up in the South and why he became a socialist. I'm sure he'll get an enthusiastic response when he comes through on tour later this month."

Bob Kendrick, YSA organizer in Philadelphia and a member of the Teamsters union, reports that "people where I work liked the article on conditions at the Metuchen auto assembly plant in New Jersey. They related it to their own experiences on the job."

The September YS also printed an article on the government's continuing attempts to revive the draft. "Young people at the plant were very interested in the article on draft registration," said Kendrick. "Most of them are right out of high school and this possible conscription is a real threat to their futures."

"Everyone stood around talking about the YS article during the break. It became a lively discussion of how to deal with the draft and what could be done about it."

In the first couple of weeks of September, the Philadelphia YSA sold fifteen copies of the *Young Socialist* on the job and another eight papers at plant gates.

The YSA will continue its sales drive next month. The October issue will have special coverage on the revolution in Nicaragua.

Cathy Sedwick, YSA national chairperson, went there to interview some of the young revolutionary leaders for the *Young Socialist*. Her eyewitness accounts will help get out the truth about the heroic victory of the Sandinista fighters and the needs of the Nicaraguan people today.


The first week of October is targeted as a special week of *Young Socialist* sales. YSA members across the country aim to sell 1,500 copies that week. This special effort will coincide with the target sales week for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

To get your copy of the *Young Socialist* every month, just clip and return the coupon below.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for six issues of the *Young Socialist*.
- ☐ I would like a standing order of _____ papers per month. Enclosed is \$_____ (25 cents for 5 or more).
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- ☐ I want to join the YSA.

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Pulley for President Zimmermann for Vice President

Young Socialist

Socialist steelworker for president

'Working people should run the country'



YSA turns to young workers

—PAGE 1

U.S. concocts 'democratization' hoax

El Salvador: mass upsurge defies repression

By Aníbal Vargas

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—In nearby El Salvador, the murderous regime of Carlos Humberto Romero is staging a big publicity campaign about the "democratization" of a country that has suffered military dictatorship for forty-seven years.

The rhetoric about "democratization" is being urged on the Romero dictatorship by William Bowdler, a special U.S. envoy. Bowdler has been shuttling between El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras—all ruled by repressive right-wing regimes—to see what can be done to block a spread of the Nicaraguan revolution. Earlier he helped try to save Somoza.

The talk of "democratization" is, of course, a big lie worthy of Hitler. Information received here confirms that the government repression in El Salvador is more fierce than ever.

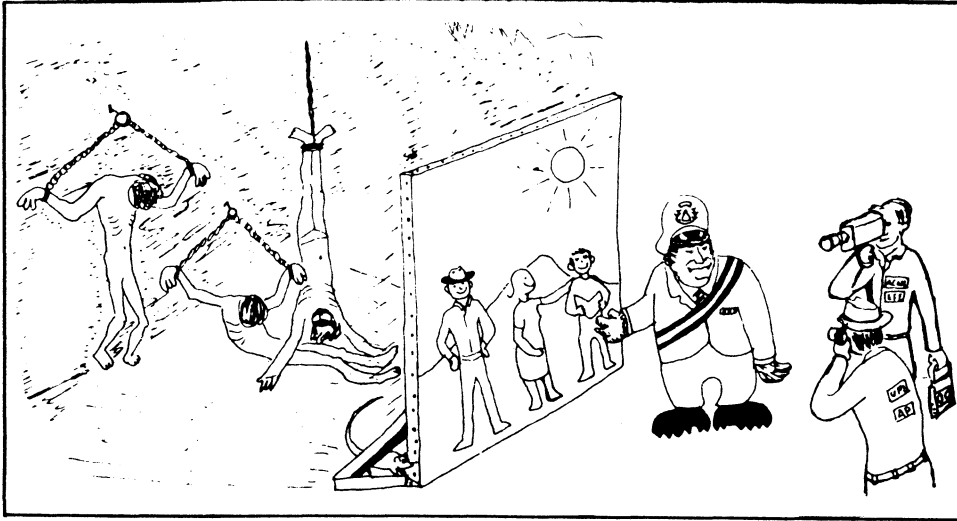
But despite the bloodshed, popular mobilizations against the regime are growing bigger and stronger.

The United Popular Action Front (FAPU), which includes trade unions as well as peasant, teacher, student, and human rights groups, demanded on September 6 that Romero resign immediately.

On September 8, masked killers armed with machine guns opened fire on a busload of students near the El Cuco resort. Seven youths were murdered and at least five others wounded. The act is attributed to right-wing death squads made up of off-duty police and soldiers.

A coffin with the body of one of the students was placed in front of the church of El Rosario in San Salvador. The church is occupied by members of the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) who are demanding freedom for all political prisoners.

The BPR called a demonstration against the government for the follow-



This cartoon, exposing lie of 'democratization' in El Salvador, appeared in September 9 issue of 'Orientacion,' weekly paper of San Salvador Catholic Archdiocese.

ing day. Other Salvadoran groups demonstrated their solidarity, covering the coffin with floral wreaths.

On September 13 a demonstration of more than two thousand people from a nearby city traveled through the streets of the capital demanding Romero's resignation. The demonstration, called by the FAPU, also demanded better wages for urban and rural workers and freedom for political prisoners.

In support of these same demands, the BPR, FAPU, and another mass organization, the February 28th People's League, have occupied churches, schools, and factories throughout the country.

Reflecting the tremendous impact of the revolution in Nicaragua, the occupied buildings have been covered with banners of red and black, the colors of the Sandinistas and of Cuba's July 26 Movement.

Nicaraguan slogans such as "*Patria Libre o Morir*" ("Free Homeland or

Death") are frequently heard.

In the face of this growing radicalization, the government responded with open and official repression. On September 14 agents of the Treasury Police opened fire on a march of thousands of people. Two persons were killed and at least twenty-seven wounded.

The demonstration, called by the teachers union, was the fifth that week demanding a halt to repression, freedom for all political prisoners, and Romero's resignation. Also, expressing the solidarity among the masses of Latin America, the demonstrators marched by the U.S. Embassy chanting, "*Cuba sí, yanquis no!*"

Meanwhile, the bullet-riddled bodies of another three youths appeared on the streets of San Salvador at dawn on September 14. All three were leftist militants. The right-wing terrorist group White Warriors Union (UGB) is blamed for the murders.

But the repression has not stopped

the masses. The next day, more than 2,000 supporters of the BPR took part in a funeral march for the two teachers murdered by the police the day before.

Barricada, published daily in Managua by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), carried an article September 11 entitled "Repression grows in El Salvador." It reported: "No one in El Salvador is believing, much less supporting, Romero's supposed 'democratic' opening, when every day young people turn up murdered with a brutality comparable only to that used by the Somozaist National Guard."

The leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution have declared their solidarity with the struggles of the people of El Salvador.

While rejecting imperialist claims of Nicaragua "exporting" revolution, solidarity with El Salvador was declared recently by Comandante Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior.



SAN SALVADOR, Sept. 14—Youth responds to government forces firing on demonstration to demand resignation of dictator Romero.

Romero: a bloody butcher 'Made in USA'

By Maura Rodríguez

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In the wake of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, the Carter administration is discussing the renewal of military aid to the dictatorship of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador.

The August 2 *Washington Post* reported that "spokesmen for the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies contended that the United States should help the armed forces in El Salvador and Guatemala to counter the threat [of popular insurrection] by resuming the former U.S. role as their principle supplier of arms and training."

Washington openly backed the Salvadoran dictatorship until 1976, when military aid was rechanneled through the Israeli regime as part of Carter's human rights charade.

Military dictatorships have ruled in El Salvador since 1932, when a peasant rebellion was crushed, with the massacre of at least 20,000 persons. As in Nicaragua, the dictatorship was installed, trained, and armed by the U.S. government.

Although El Salvador is a relatively wealthy country in terms of its actual resources, the vast majority of Salvadorans live in desperate poverty. The capitalist class—"the fourteen families"—owns 86 percent of all the land and holds the bulk of the national income in its hands.

Agricultural workers make up 90 percent of the population and subsist on less than in any other Latin American country. No less than 70 percent of all children under the age of five suffer from severe malnutrition and related illnesses, according to the United Nations.

Trade unions were completely illegal until 1950. Despite their late development and the severe restrictions imposed on them by the government, they grew to include the most highly organized working class in Central America. Farmworker unions were formed in the late 1960s with the assistance of activist Catholic priests.

Opposition forces in the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the United Popular Action Front, and the 28th of February Popular League have won broad support. Trade unions and peasant unions affiliated with these groups are fighting for better wages in the face of sky-high inflation and agrarian reform.

They also demand freedom for political prisoners, that political exiles be allowed to return, and that the government respect human rights.

The government has responded with organized terrorism, declaring many of the mass organizations illegal. Since Romero took office in 1977, there has been a dramatic escalation of the detention, "disappearance," and murder of trade unionists and peasant organizers.

During the first six months of Romero's administration, Amnesty International documented cases of imprisoned unionists from the textile, construction, manufacturing, and baking industries, as well as from public employees unions. Salvadoran trade unionists have testified to more than 500 such cases.

The January 23 *Washington Post* reported the "unsolved" murders of four priests, all of whom were active in building the unions of agricultural workers.

A paramilitary organization called



ROMERO

ORDEN has been set up by the government. It is directed from the Ministry of Defense and its president is Romero.

After an action by farmworkers in San Pedro Perulapán in March 1978, a regional leader of FECCAS (the Christian Peasant Federation), Tránsito Vásquez, was detained by ORDEN. His body was found the next day covered with torture marks, his head hanging from a nearby tree.

On-site investigations by the Organization of American States' Human Rights Commission concluded that "government security and paramilitary organizations in El Salvador are responsible for the deaths of 'numerous

persons,' as well as for acts of physical and psychological torture and inhuman imprisonment in secret dungeons."

The terror against Salvadoran workers has escalated in the last four months. In May, the government killed more than eighty persons at a peaceful demonstration demanding freedom for BPR leaders at the National Cathedral. This incident was accidentally filmed and televised internationally.

The archdiocese of San Salvador lists 123 persons killed by the government in the month of June.

On August 16, eight workers in an auto repair shop were gunned down execution-style by a right-wing organization. The government has made no arrests.

Right now, Romero is trying to cover up the truth about the repression by issuing a phony amnesty for political prisoners and exiles. He has invited the Red Cross to come in and inspect his prisons.

Romero is not afraid of them finding political prisoners because none are being taken. Trade unionists and students are now brazenly machine-gunned in broad daylight.

In Washington, D.C., the Salvadoran Bloc in Solidarity with the BPR (P.O. Box 884, Adelphi, Md. 20783) has educational materials on the situation in El Salvador that can be circulated to get out the truth. Union locals can pass resolutions and circulate petitions demanding that no U.S. aid be sent to Romero.

American workers can play a decisive role in blocking U.S. aid to Romero.

Nicaragua: class polarization deepens

'This revolution is for workers and peasants'

By Fred Murphy
and Pedro Camejo

MANAGUA—The first rifts are beginning to appear in the broad array of social forces that came together to bring down the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

Facing a situation of widespread destruction, scarcity of credit and foreign exchange, and deepening radicalization and organization among the labor force, many of the capitalists who opposed Somoza are refusing to invest or resume production. (The vast holdings of Somoza and his collaborators were immediately expropriated by the revolutionary forces.)

Through lack of confidence that things will improve for them politically, a growing number of capitalists are exhausting their stocks and leaving the country. Some are reportedly trying to dismantle their machinery and ship it out as well.

Among the workers and agricultural laborers, on the other hand, demands are being voiced for higher wages, improved working conditions, job security, and a say over production decisions. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) is encouraging the workers to organize and seeks to protect their interests when conflicts arise with the employers.

The unfolding clash of material interests has been reflected in a lively ideological debate in the pages of the two main dailies here—*La Prensa*, the capitalist paper with a tradition of anti-Somozaism (its publisher, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, was gunned down by Somocistas in 1978); and *Barricada*, the official organ of the FSLN.

Role of bourgeoisie

The capitalists appear to be uneasy and worried that the Sandinista-led revolution is simply going to use them for a time and then cast them aside. In *La Prensa's* editorial column on September 5, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios* complained of "demagoguery" on the part of those who use the word "bourgeoisie" as a "synonym for exploitation."

Chamorro's aim seemed to be to warn the FSLN leadership to slow down the revolution and avoid antagonizing the bourgeoisie. He declared that "participation by the progressive bourgeoisie is not only important but essential" in the reconstruction of Nicaragua. He called for avoiding "class hatred."

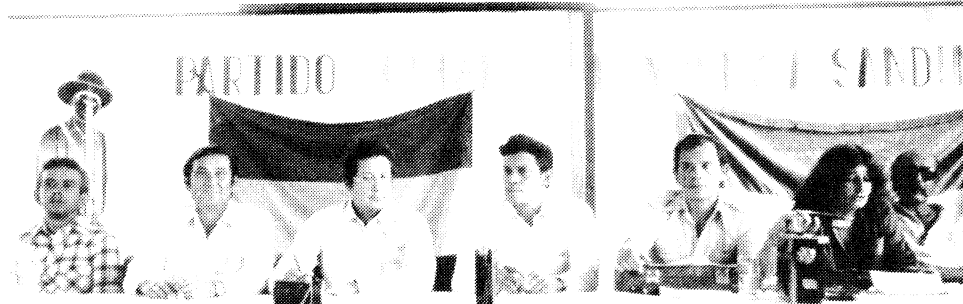
To back up his position, Chamorro argued that many current leaders of the revolution come from bourgeois families; that within the bourgeoisie there are nonexploiters and exploited as well as those who exploit; and that in all great revolutions—"the French, Russian, Mexican, and Cuban"—the bourgeoisie has played the predominant role "as leaders or as critics of the defects of their class."

Pedro Rivera Mendoza answered Chamorro in a letter published in the September 7 *Barricada*. "Telling the truth is not demagoguery," Rivera said, explaining that the nature of the capitalist system makes all members of the bourgeoisie exploiters, no matter how much some of the less wealthy ones are exploited in turn by more powerful sectors of their own class.

In the September 14 *La Prensa*, Guillermo Rothschild Villanueva recommended to members of the bourgeoisie who want to help the revolution that they leave their class and take up the cause of the proletariat. Rothschild explained that this was what great revolutionaries like Engels, Marx, and Lenin did. He urged readers with



Militant/Lynn Silver



Militant/Fred Murphy

Conflicts are sharpening between Nicaraguan masses, led by FSLN, and capitalist forces. Top, three FSLN comandantes at September 1 rally in Managua. From left: Luis Carrión, Jaime Wheelock, and Henry Ruiz. Below, news conference of 'Sandinista Social Democratic Party,' a regroupment of old Conservative Party factions.

doubts on this score to consult works by Michel Lowy, Ernest Mandel, and Leon Trotsky.

Social Democrats

As the debate on their role unfolded in the press, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie took the first public steps since the insurrection toward reorganizing themselves politically. Formation of the "Sandinista Social Democratic Party" (PSDS) was announced on September 7. Actually a regroupment of figures from various factions of the old Conservative Party, the PSDS capped its "Statement of Principles" with the provocative slogan, "Sandinism yes; communism no!"

Appropriation of the name "Sandinista" by this anticommunist outfit appears to have been a colossal blunder for the PSDS. The move touched off an immediate reaction from the leaders of the FSLN.

"We cannot allow others who did nothing outstanding politically or militarily in favor of the liberation of the people to now try to call themselves Sandinistas or to falsify the content of Sandinism," said FSLN Comandante Carlos Núñez in Masaya on September 9.

A letter by José Luis Medal published in the September 11 *Barricada* challenged the Social Democrats' anti-communist slogan. "Sandino was an anti-imperialist revolutionist, and imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism," Medal wrote. "It was the imperialist capitalists who ordered Somoza to murder Sandino. So the only slogan that fits would be, 'Sandinism yes; capitalism no!'"

FSLN communique

The FSLN Joint National Directorate issued a special communique on the subject on September 12. It was printed beneath banner headlines on the front page of that day's *Barricada*, and reissued as a poster two days later.

The statement denounced the Social Democrats for "usurping and staining the political image of Sandinism." It made the following four points:

1. The leading figures in the "Sandinista Social Democratic Party" had not only failed to support the popular struggle against the dictatorship but openly opposed the Sandinista Front.
2. "Absolute freedom of organization by Nicaraguan citizens" is guaranteed by the revolution and the FSLN. However, the FSLN "rejects and condemns" any group that tries to water down the revolutionary content of Sandinism.
3. The FSLN is the legitimate leader-

ship of the revolution, proven in action and expressing the will of the people.

4. Only the FSLN has upheld in struggle the anti-imperialist legacy of Gen. Augusto César Sandino and his Army to Defend National Sovereignty (which fought the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua from 1927 to 1933).

The statement concluded with a series of FSLN slogans. Among them was a new one: "Death to the counterrevolution!"

As of September 17, the Social Democrats had yet to make a public response to the FSLN's hard-hitting campaign.

The widening discussion over the bourgeoisie's role and the meaning of Sandinism comes as the FSLN leadership is making a shift in the way it explains the goals of the revolution and the obstacles to achieving them. While earlier they spoke primarily of the need for unity in the construction process, FSLN leaders now place greater emphasis on the role of the workers and peasants, and openly criticize the bourgeoisie.

During the Conference of Non-aligned Nations in Havana, Comandante Daniel Ortega told the press that the FSLN had signed no agreements of any kind with the capitalists, and that "private enterprise . . . never played a firm role in the liberation process."

In an interview published in the September 14 *Barricada*, Agrarian Reform Minister Comandante Jaime Wheelock said that the enemies of the agrarian reform include not only the Somocistas but also "the idle landlord . . . who has never worked the land, who has lived as a parasite . . . possessing huge tracts of land that do not benefit the people. . . ."

And in a recent speech in Rivas, Interior Minister Comandante Tomás Borge noted that during the civil war, "those with great economic possibilities left Nicaragua" while the workers and peasants were in the forefront of all the battles.

"So, since they were the ones who gave the greatest quota of struggle and sacrifice, and since besides that they are the ones most in need, this revolution must necessarily be for the workers and peasants."

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

By Joseph Hansen

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 inspired a generation of young rebels throughout Latin America. Many sought to follow the example of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara by taking up guerrilla warfare—rural or urban—aimed at toppling dictatorial regimes. Joseph Hansen, writing as a Marxist and longtime professional revolutionist, examines guerrilla war, its potential value as a tactic when linked to Marxist leadership of mass struggles, but its failure as a general strategy.

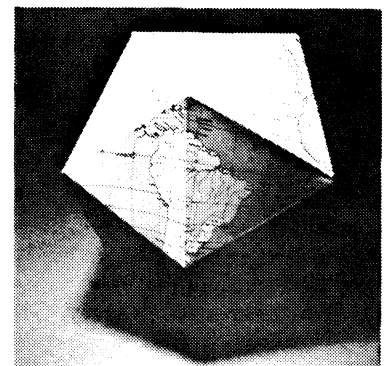
In a series of polemical essays he outlines a strategy for the building of powerful Marxist parties of the type pioneered by Lenin in the Russian revolution. 608 pages, \$7.95 paper, \$25 cloth. Also by Hansen is *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution: The Trotskyist View*. 393 pages, \$5.45 paper, \$18 cloth.

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The Leninist Strategy of Party Building

The Debate on Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America

Joseph Hansen



*Chamorro Barrios is the son of the late publisher. His mother, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, is a member of the Government of National Reconstruction.

Hugo Blanco hails advances in Nicaragua

Hugo Blanco, one of the best-known revolutionary leaders in Latin America, visited Nicaragua recently.

'I have come to Nicaragua to learn,' Blanco said upon his arrival August 29. Blanco, who was a deputy in Peru's Constituent Assembly until its dissolution in July, interviewed workers, peasants, and Sandinista leaders while visiting a number of cities in Nicaragua, including Managua, Matagalpa, Masaya, Granada, and Chinandega.

Of particular interest to Blanco was the agrarian reform initiated by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Well-known for the land reform movement he led in Peru's La Convención and Lares valleys in the early 1960s, Blanco has spent most of the years since then in prison or exile. He was finally able to return to Peru in 1978, after receiving more votes than any other workers candidate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

During his visit to Nicaragua, Blanco also gathered information to help Peruvian workers and peasants launch a solidarity campaign with the Sandinista revolution.

The following interview was obtained in Managua by Fred Murphy.

Question. After spending a week here, what are your main impressions of the Nicaraguan revolution?

Answer. Fortunately, the revolutionary process is moving forward. In Peru, we had feared that it was stagnating, or even slipping backward, because that's how it seemed on the surface, since a provisional government was formed that included some bourgeois figures.

In addition, the call for turning in arms appeared to be a negative sign. From our experience of other revolutions, it was those who wanted to put a brake on the revolution or turn it back who followed such a policy.

But seen firsthand, it is clear that the situation is much more optimistic. At the moment, real power rests in the hands of the FSLN.

On the question of arms, we learned



Hugo Blanco (center) talking to Sandinista youth in Masaya. Militant/Mirta Vidal

that counterrevolutionary Somocista bands were still active throughout the country. Naturally, if just anyone can carry arms, the Somocistas can use those arms to attack people. Therefore, we think it is correct that the people remain armed, but in an organized way—both through the people's army and the militias—in order to disarm the Somocista bands.

These are concrete questions, not abstractions, and that is how they came up in the concrete case of Nicaragua.

In the countryside, we were able to see advances in the agrarian reform, initiated by the Nicaraguan Institute for Agrarian Reform (INRA). The peasants have taken over the land of the big landlords. And not simply the Somocista landowners, but also of non-Somocista landlords who had stolen land from the peasants or occupied land that belonged to the state.

The working class has also won gains, such as the two months' pay that the workers had been demanding. The workers wanted to be paid for the two months that they were on strike, the last two months of the war. This measure was taken by the government, which demanded that the bosses pay the workers their lost wages.

There has been a big wave of unionization in the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). This is also progressive. There are many other advances of the working class that could be mentioned. Many of the complaints of the workers are being attended to.

But unfortunately, much of Nicaragua's industry has been crippled by Somoza's bombing raids. Production is at a standstill. The war was very brutal, and Nicaragua is now in a very difficult economic situation. Imperialism is trying to use this to strengthen the bourgeois sectors.

I believe that the Sandinista government truly wants to move forward. But it faces many problems and the advance of the revolution toward socialism is not yet guaranteed. It is possible that the capitalist sectors will grow stronger.

One big weakness of the Nicaraguan revolution is the lack of organization of the masses. The Sandinistas are aware of this and are trying to encourage mass organization in all areas, including the army, workers, peasants, youth, and residents of the poor neighborhoods. Naturally, it is more difficult to confront the bourgeoisie as long as the people are unorganized.

The efforts of the Sandinistas to organize the people show that they are interested in moving forward. Even if we may not agree with all the tactics that are used, it is clear that the Sandinistas are genuinely in favor of

organizing the masses and therefore of pushing the revolution forward, since the organization of the masses is the best guarantee of progress.

This shows us that the Sandinistas—even if we don't agree with all their tactics—are not trying to halt the revolution, to protect capitalism, but to advance the revolution.

Even in relation to their tactics, it is very difficult to criticize them without knowing the actual situation.

I believe that the progress of the revolution depends to a great extent on the attitude of the rest of the world toward Nicaragua. For that reason, I think that revolutionists throughout the world have a major responsibility. That is to initiate a broadly based Nicaragua solidarity campaign involving not only revolutionists but everyone who agrees that the Nicaraguan people should not starve to death as a result of Somoza's barbarism.

We must call on all humanity to help save the Nicaraguan people, so that Nicaragua can really become the master of its own fate.

We must also launch a campaign to prevent any military attacks against the Nicaraguan people, who have already suffered so much as a result of Somoza's genocide.

And we must fight against any indirect attack on the Nicaraguan people, such as the miserly way in which aid is being doled out, aid that Nicaragua needs in great quantities. Countries that produce as much food as the United States and Canada should send aid quickly and directly to the Nicaraguan government, something that has not happened yet. Instead they send promises.

They sent aid to Somoza—to help him kill the Nicaraguan people—and now they are withholding aid that could help the Nicaraguan people live.

It is necessary to build an international campaign that can force an end to this hypocrisy and provide open and direct aid to the Nicaraguan people.

Q. You went into the countryside to observe the land reform. Can you compare the land reform here with the one carried out in Peru by the Velasco Alvarado government?

A. I still can't say much about the land reform here, because much of it is still in the planning stage and in some places it has just recently gotten under way.

In some areas land has been given to the peasants who work it. I hope that in practice the decisions of the peasants are respected. In other areas that I visited, farm laborers were demanding justice on many labor questions, and it seemed that they were getting it. I listened to the declarations of [San-

dinista leader Jaime] Wheelock, who is in charge of agrarian reform and planning, and they seemed generally correct.

I am not too familiar with Nicaraguan agriculture, but the little that I do know shows aspects that are very similar to those in Peru. There are Indian agrarian communities, small individual peasant plots, and big agricultural companies. All these sectors exist in Peru as well.

In Peru we propose the nationalization under workers control of the big mechanized landholdings. We propose the redistribution to the peasants of the non-mechanized holdings, and those where the peasants actually want their own plots of land. And we propose that where the peasants may want to form Indian communities of a primitive communist type, they should be able to do so.

The proposals of the Agrarian Reform Ministry here are similar, but I still can't say much about how they are being carried out, because I have only been able to see a little.

The takeover without compensation of Somoza's land seems quite significant to me. This is very different from the Peruvian land reform, where the oligarchy was paid bonuses to help transform them from landlords into industrial capitalists.

Here, I do not think they paid one cent to Somoza, and justifiably so. After all, he took not only a few pennies out of Nicaragua, but millions of dollars from both the countryside and other productive sectors.

Q. What impact do you think the Nicaraguan revolution will have in the rest of Latin America?

A. I think it will have a big impact in Latin America, since there has not been a victory of such magnitude since the Cuban revolution. The overthrow of Somoza and the upsurge of the Nicaraguan masses as they struggle to become their own masters will naturally have an impact and be an inspiration throughout Latin America.

We can already see that—not only in Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, whose peoples have escalated their struggles—but also in other countries like Costa Rica, where the workers have been encouraged to struggle more firmly as a result of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Even countries like Peru have had big demonstrations in support of Nicaragua. In Paraguay, where Somoza has taken refuge, student organizations and other groups have demonstrated to protest the reception he has been given by the Paraguayan government. The fact that this has happened in Paraguay, which is ruled by a dictatorship like Somoza's, is quite significant.

Q. Finally, the Peruvian government and other members of the Andean Pact, as well as Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Mexico, say they support the revolutionary process in Nicaragua since the downfall of Somoza. What was the real role of these governments, both before and now?

A. If they had really supported the Nicaraguan people in their struggle against Somoza, the first thing they would have done was denounce the role of American imperialism in propping up the dictatorship. They didn't do that. That shows that they didn't really support the Nicaraguan people.

Even now they could send the kind of aid that has been provided by Cuba, which sent 1,000 teachers and 200 medical personnel, as well as medicine and other kinds of assistance. All these governments could do the same, but they don't.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Militant/Fred Halstead

Tenant farmer in Granada. Sandinistas have taken over big estates but peasantry is in desperate need of international aid to renew production.

Thousands rally in solidarity with Vietnam

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—"The heroic Nicaraguan people salute the thousand-times heroic people of Vietnam."

That was the theme of a rally of 30,000 or more persons held here September 14. The crowd filled the Plaza de la Revolución to welcome a Vietnamese delegation headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

The people who turned out to express their solidarity with Vietnam came overwhelmingly from Managua's poor and working-class neighborhoods, in contingents organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees, the Sandinista Workers Federation, the July 19 Sandinista Youth, the women's organization AMPRONAC, and other such groups.

Nearby cities such as Jinotepe and Masaya were represented, and Indians from the combative community of Moimbo carried banners.

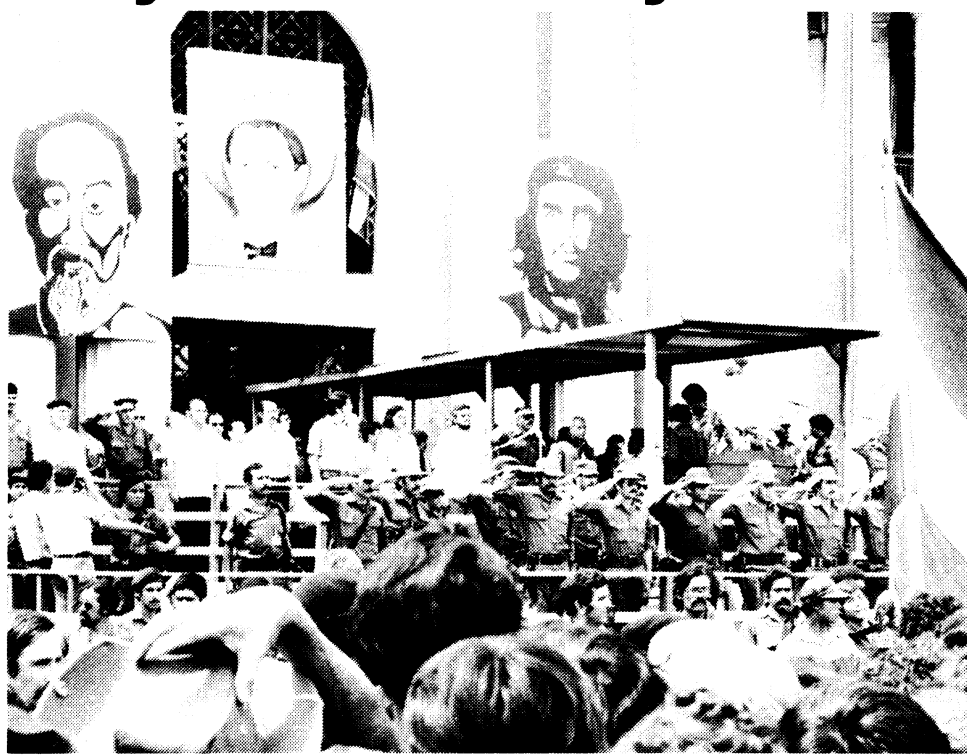
The rally was publicized for several days by the Sandinista daily *Barriada* and on radio and television. *Barriada* also carried a series of articles detailing the history of the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

The Sandinista paper's coverage stood in marked contrast to that provided by the capitalist daily *La Prensa* here, which scarcely mentioned the Vietnamese delegation's visit until after it had left.

Hundreds of hand-made banners and placards expressing solidarity with Vietnam were carried at the rally.

Hanging from the front of the Palace of the Heroes of the Revolution (formerly the National Palace), above the speakers platform, were enormous portraits of Nicaraguan national hero Augusto César Sandino, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevara.

"Nicaragua has not failed to be affected by the influence, prestige, and ability of the victorious Vietnamese people," said FSLN Comandante Car-



MANAGUA, Sept. 14—30,000 gather to welcome Vietnamese delegation.

los Núñez in a speech at the rally.

Explaining the significance of the new ties between Nicaragua and Vietnam, Núñez said: "They are two peoples, two nations that although separated by great distance have both fought to the death against similar enemies—in different circumstances, with different experiences, but with a common bond: the struggle by an entire people to shake off foreign domination, to battle to the end against internal enemies, and to carve out a promising future. . . ."

Washington's devastation

Núñez also pointed to another bond of solidarity between the two peoples—their mutual determination to overcome the devastation suffered when

Washington and its local puppets unleashed terror and war to maintain their rule:

"How could we not call this people a thousand times heroic? Like our own people, it suffered attacks in almost all its cities, along with the destruction of 12 provincial capitals and 51 district seats; the bombing of 4,000 [agricultural] communes, with 30 totally destroyed; extermination of industrial zones and severe attacks against all electric-power stations; destruction of 5 million square meters of housing; attacks on all rail lines, bridges, port facilities, rivers and waterways; damage to 1,600 flood-control dikes; and the bombardment of 3,000 schools and 350 hospitals. How could we not declare a thousand times heroic a people

that is raising itself from the ruins in infinitely adverse conditions to unite, produce, organize, and build?"

Speaking with a red and black Sandinista bandana draped around his neck, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong hailed the "great revolutionary effervescence" now sweeping "the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean." He also noted the continuing resistance by Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam to imperialist pressure, and denounced the Chinese government's reactionary military attacks on Vietnam.

Nicaragua's first victory

The September 14 rally here also marked the 123rd anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto—the turning point in the 1855-57 war to oust the American pro-slavery adventurer William Walker from Nicaragua.

The defeat of Walker's forces was Nicaragua's "first victory against interventionism," said Alfonso Robelo of the Government of National Reconstruction in his remarks at the September 14 rally.

"From now on," Robelo continued, "it should be clear to all interventionist forces that our country will rise up as a single man to repel them the moment they dare set foot on Nicaraguan soil."

"We must state clearly," Robelo said, "that just as the counterrevolutionary forces could not [defeat] Vietnam, neither will they be able to do so with Nicaragua."

Robelo closed his speech by taking note of another example of international solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. He read a government decree granting full Nicaraguan citizenship to Comandante Víctor Tirado López, a Mexican who has been a leader of the Sandinista Front since the 1960s and is today part of the FSLN's nine-member Joint National Leadership.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Houston gathering hears Nicaraguan consul

By John Cannon

HOUSTON—Romeo Lopez, Nicaraguan consul here, was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Houston Militant Forum September 7 in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Lopez recounted the heroic role of Augusto Sandino and the hundred-year struggle by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants to rid themselves of U.S. domination.

He then described the campaign of destruction and murder carried out during the last months of Somoza's regime.

"The aerial bombing of the cities and people was indiscriminate. Children and old women were killed. Even some

of Somoza's supporters died from the bombings," Lopez said.

Lopez displayed posters of children injured and homeless, victims of the civil war.

"This is the legacy of forty-six years of Somoza's rule. Over 50,000 people have been murdered by the dictatorship. And eight to ten children are dying every day due to lack of food and medicine," explained Lopez.

"So far," he added, "aid has been very little—especially from the United States."

Lopez stated that Somoza's son has a force of 7,000 troops plus 2,000 mercenaries on the border and is preparing an invasion. "We hope he doesn't, but

if he does, we'll be ready."

José Alvarado, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and of Railway Carmen's Lodge 783, condemned the U.S. government and corporations as responsible for installing Somoza in power and keeping him there. Now, he said, "they are refusing to provide Nicaragua with substantial amounts of emergency supplies."

Pledging support to the revolution and to the FSLN leadership, Alvarado expressed confidence in the ability of U.S. workers to block attempts by Washington to militarily intervene.

Our responsibility, Alvarado said, is "to disseminate the facts about the Nicaraguan revolution to our co-workers and others, and to pressure the U.S. government to give massive aid to Nicaragua."

Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, chaired the forum,

which drew fifty people. She pledged her campaign's support to the solidarity effort.

Lopez concluded on this optimistic note: "While many are hungry, they are in great spirits, because we are now a free people for the first time, and this is a democratic popular revolution oriented to the people. In a few years, Nicaragua will be like Cuba."

The Atlanta Committee for Aid to Nicaragua held a news conference and film-showing September 8.

About 100 people attended the film on the fall, 1978, Sandinista offensive.

Speakers at the meeting included the honorary Nicaraguan consul in Atlanta, a representative of UNICEF (United Nations Children's Emergency Fund), and Danilo Saborio, a Nicaraguan student who is coordinator of the committee.

L.A. support meeting held

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—More than 160 people attended a forum in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution September 14.

The enthusiastic crowd heard Manuel Valle from the Nicaraguan Consulate in Los Angeles; Blase Bonpane, a professor at California State University at Northridge; and Fred Halstead, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Halstead, recently returned from Nicaragua, gave a slide show depicting conditions in the country today. Among the slides were pictures of the capital city, Managua, in ruins. The National Guard of former dictator Somoza had blown out homes and schools with heavy artillery.

Consulate staff member Valle drew the obvious conclusion after

the slide showing: "Nicaragua must be rebuilt."

Three shipments of clothing, food, and medical supplies have already been sent from Long Beach. Plans are to continue this emergency effort.

Contributions for shipment to Nicaragua can be sent to the National Reconstruction Committee of Nicaragua, 2121½ West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90006. Telephone: (213) 380-1166.

On September 13, several hundred Nicaraguans gathered at the Sheraton Royal Hotel to celebrate the revolution.

Organized by the Sandinista movement, the joyous evening included speeches, music, and dancing. A theme of the event was the hope that El Salvador will be next.

Forums on Nicaragua

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

NICARAGUA: EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW. SPEAKERS: Bruce Wheeler; Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Habrá traducción en Español. Sat., Sept. 29, 7 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO

U.S. HANDS OFF NICARAGUA: SOLIDARITY WITH THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; representative of Casa Nicaragua. Fri., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

FLORIDA

MIAMI

'NICARAGUA: SEPTEMBER '78' A film. Speaker: Franklin Chávez, Nicaraguan Consul to Miami. Fri., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 NW 26th St. (at 22nd Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Miami Committee for Non-Intervention in Nicaragua. For more information call (305) 638-4085.

WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE

REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speakers: Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from tour of Cuba and Nicaragua. Sat., Sept. 29, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

For massive emergency aid to Nicaragua

Emergency humanitarian aid is urgently needed in Nicaragua. Nearly half the country's population, including a quarter of a million children, are suffering from the lack of food, clothing, and shelter. Industry and agriculture were devastated by the murderous U.S.-armed and U.S.-financed National Guard of the ousted Somoza dictatorship. More than 300 tons of food and medicine are needed daily.

Responsibility for the destruction and suffering in Nicaragua rests squarely on the U.S. government, which spent millions upon millions installing and supporting the Somoza dynasty's forty-five-year reign of terror. But today Carter turns his back on Nicaragua's appeal for help. Hundreds of millions of dollars in relief are needed right away. So far Washington claims to have spent \$7 million—a tiny fraction of what the Pentagon lavishes on dictators around the world. And of this pittance, millions were wasted on exorbitant administrative and shipping charges.

Headlines greeted the September 11 vote by a Congressional subcommittee to allow another drop in the bucket—less than \$9 million. The subcommittee had

stalled approval for more aid. The subcommittee never had to submit the aid bill to the full House, approved once before.

These delaying tactics serve to protect the U.S. image while they try to block the revolution. The real concern is that the U.S. is unable to U.S. corporate interests.

The working people of the world support the Nicaraguan revolution. They oppose U.S. oppression and exploitation against the same corporate interests.

We should demand that the U.S. government support Nicaraguan reconstruction efforts. Black and Latino groups demand the U.S. government to send more aid.

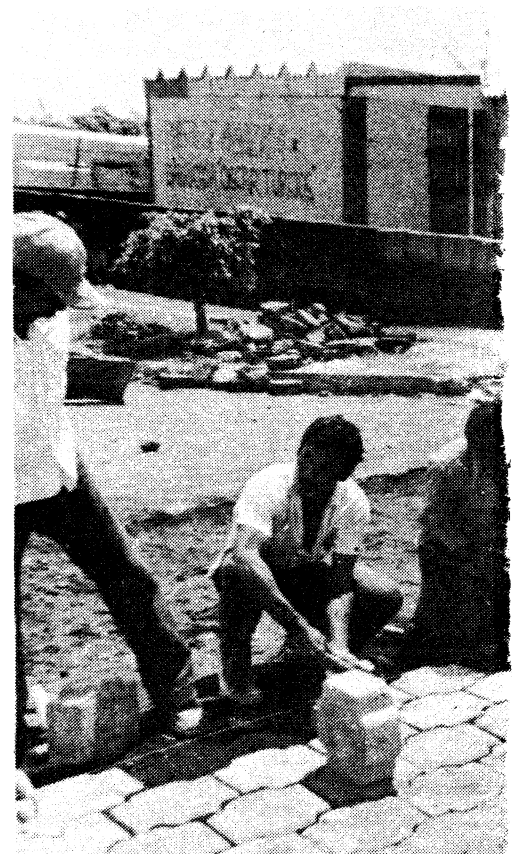


Militant/Gary Bridges



Militant/Gary Bridges

Young Sandinistas look at remains of bodies burned by the National Guard behind the National Theater. Right, section of Santa Rosa barrio in Managua destroyed by bombing.



Reconstruction efforts have begun despite the destruction. The area is named after Oscar Turcos, a Sandinista killed during the war.

Network newsletter helps build solidarity

By Osborne Hart

The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, which is a clearinghouse for information and activities in solidarity with Nicaragua, publishes a monthly newsletter.

The *National Network Newsletter*, an eight-page publication, reports on developments in Nicaragua as well as U.S. solidarity efforts.

The September 10 issue concentrates on the need for material aid to help rebuild that war-torn country.

"Almost two months have passed since we celebrated the triumph of the Nicaraguan people," begins the front-page editorial appeal.

"With very few available resources, the people have confronted the threats of hunger and disease. Providing housing for the thousands left homeless by the war, rebuilding destroyed commercial and industrial buildings, and reviving agricultural

production all stand as immense challenges to the revolution, and the foreign assistance that is urgently needed has been very slow in arriving," continues the appeal.

The editorial protests the U.S. government's lack of response, describing U.S. aid as "far short of what it should be."

The appeal points out that "our solidarity efforts must include pressure on our own government to come forth with significant aid."

The U.S. government should aid Nicaragua, the editorial concludes, because it was "responsible for installing and supporting the Somoza dictatorship that has caused the suffering and hardship."

The newsletter explains how funds, foodstuffs, and medicines can be donated for Nicaragua.

It also lists resources for solidarity activities. Among these are a slide show—complete with a cassette tape—on the overthrow of Somoza

and the beginning of the reconstruction of the country. Orders for the slide show, which will sell for about forty dollars, can be placed with the Network. The Network is also making available a film, "Nicaragua: September 1978," a documentary on the 1978 insurrection.

The newsletter features coverage on the heightened struggle in other central American countries. An update on Honduras reports the concern of the Nicaraguan government with units of Somoza's National Guard exiled in that country. They remain intact and pose a threat to Nicaragua's security.

The *National Network Newsletter* is a useful tool for encouraging and building solidarity activities in the U.S. Copies can be obtained from: National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 223-2328.



A young Sandinista stands guard in Managua where 1,000-pound bomb fell, killing Oscar Turcos.

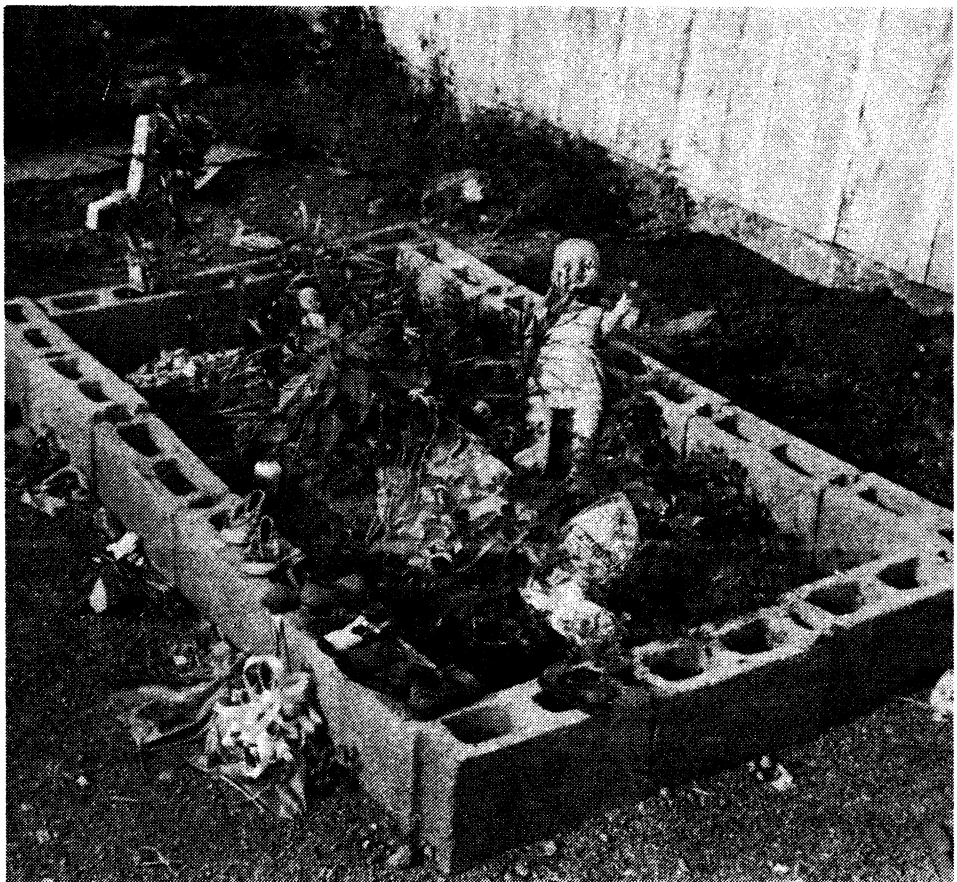
Emergency Guatemala!

In a month. Little noticed was the fact that Carter request to Congress at all. It had already been

to give Carter and Congress a "humanitarian" mail the new government in Nicaragua. Washing-Nicaraguan people will choose a course unfavorable. Carter fears another Cuba.

country, however, have nothing to fear from the y blow the Nicaraguan masses strike against strengthens the hand of U.S. workers in our fight rofiteers.

U.S. provide immediate and unconditional aid for massive solidarity campaign by the labor move- s, students, and women is needed to pressure the ef to Nicaragua now!



Common grave of five children killed by 1,000-pound bomb dropped by National Guard on Barrios Orientales in Managua. Militant/Gary Bridges



Lack of materials. Workers repair a street in Managua in front of a barricade during the civil war. Militant/Gary Bridges



Results of National Guard destruction in Masaya. Militant/Fred Murphy

Canadian unions set example

By Osborne Hart

The labor movement should take the lead in mobilizing for aid to Nicaragua—where a new society is being built in which the needs of the workers and poor come first.

The Nicaraguan unions, strangled under Somoza, are organizing at an inspiring pace. And the new government puts its power on the side of the workers' demands.

The Canadian labor movement is setting an example of solidarity for unions around the world. The August 24 issue of *Canadian Labour* reports on a relief campaign by the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC—Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO).

John Simonds, CLC executive secretary, toured Nicaragua shortly after Somoza fled. He reported to the CLC on the ravages left by the dictatorship.

On August 1 CLC President Dennis McDermott issued a call for contributions to a Nicaragua Relief Fund. In the first two weeks, the CLC collected \$250,000. An air freight shipment was scheduled to leave Canada August 19 with \$500,000 worth of medicines, food, clothing, and shelter.

Pledges to the fund came from the

United Auto Workers; Canadian Union of Public Employees; Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers; British Columbia Government Employees' Union; and Ontario Federation of Labor.

At the convention of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, delegates voted a one-dollar-a-member pledge to the fund, about \$180,000.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers in the Toronto area organized a shipment of clothing valued at \$65,000.

Many U.S. unions are part of international unions with their Canadian counterparts—the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, railroad unions, and many others. They ought to follow the lead of the CLC's Operation Solidarity.

Resolutions of support, plant-gate fund collections, donations from union treasuries, food and clothing drives, and educational presentations on Nicaragua are just a few of the activities that could be initiated here.

One positive step was reported in the August 20 issue of the UAW's *Solidarity*: the international headquarters staff contributed nearly \$1,500 in cash.

That should be just the beginning.



The slogan says: 'People, Workers, Sandinista Power.' Right, scene of destruction even people in Barrios Orientales in Managua. Militant/Gary Bridges

Havana summit deals blow to Washington's war drive

By Fred Feldman

"At this conference, the spirit of solidarity has shined brighter than ever, the most important and pressing problems of our times have been analyzed at this conference."

That was the assessment by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro in his speech to the closing session of the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries, September 9. Castro chaired the conference, which opened in Havana September 3.

Official delegates came from nearly a hundred countries and three liberation movements and included some sixty heads of state. Observers from other countries and liberation movements were also present. The overwhelming majority of representatives were from capitalist governments in semicolonial countries.

The results of the conference marked the most sweeping indictment of imperialism ever to come out of such a gathering of top government figures. According to Prensa Latina, the Cuban press service, the conference adopted the following stands:

- It demanded independence for Puerto Rico.
- It called for withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Korea.
- It denounced the Camp David accords between the Sadat government in Egypt and the Zionist rulers in Israel; reaffirmed its recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the representative of the Palestinian people and a full member in the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries; and called for the creation of a Palestinian state.
- It opposed U.S. military threats against Arab countries, particularly the oil-producing states.
- It denounced the racist character of Zionism.

Backs African struggle

- It blasted U.S. and British maneuvers aimed at propping up the white-dominated regime in Zimbabwe.
- It accorded official recognition to the Patriotic Front as the representative of Zimbabwe and to the Southwest African People's Organisation (SWAPO) as representing the people of Namibia, now under the rule of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Granting full membership to the Patriotic Front, SWAPO, and the PLO gave these liberation organizations the virtual status of governments.
- It called for "support and assistance" to the "front line states" (such as Mozambique, Angola, and Zambia), which are under attack from the South African and the white-dominated Rhodesian governments. (Cuba has already committed 20,000 troops in Angola for this purpose.)
- It denounced U.S. and British economic and military ties with South Africa.
- It withdrew recognition from the blood-drenched Pol Pot forces as representatives of Kampuchea.
- It called for the independence of East Timor, now occupied by Indonesian forces.
- It endorsed the struggle of the Polisario Front against Moroccan occupation of the Western Sahara.
- It hailed the overturn of Somoza in Nicaragua, describing his brutal dictatorship as "the result of imperialist domination and imposition." The Sandinista-led government was voted in as a member.
- It blasted the Israeli regime's military aid to Central American dictatorships and warned against "the interventionist maneuvers of imperialism



Zimbabwean students protest white minority rule and call for Cuban aid. Through its bold anti-imperialist actions Cuba has earned prestige in eyes of tens of millions in semicolonial world.

and its neocolonial agents in the zone."

- It expressed "satisfaction" with the rise of struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile.
- It condemned the military pacts used by the U.S. rulers to restrict the independence of the peoples of Latin America.
- It endorsed Fidel Castro's opening speech to the conference as "an historic contribution to the definition of the objectives of the movement" and affirmed Cuba's presidency of the Coordinating Bureau for the next three years.

U.S. sabotage fails

The outcome marked the failure of a campaign organized by Washington to block the adoption of a strongly anti-imperialist stance or, if that proved impossible, to disrupt and possibly split the conference.

The U.S. imperialists know that the toiling masses of the semicolonial countries whose governments were represented at the gathering are increasingly demanding such an anti-imperialist course, as the tightening squeeze of the world capitalist crisis worsens their already wretched living conditions. The U.S. rulers also know

that the Castro leadership in Cuba will implement conference decisions by extending its policy of using the resources of state power to aid and defend anti-imperialist struggles.

That's why the imperialists have responded with such hostility. "Havana shriekers," the *Washington Post* called the delegates, while the *New York Times* sneered at the final declaration as "wooly silliness." *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent Flora Lewis gloomily concluded September 12 that the Havana conference "left the West, and particularly the United States, a harder, stonier field in which to operate."

Particularly galling to the imperialists was attendance by twenty-two Latin American governments. The presence of these delegates and observers, wrote Alan Riding in the September 9 *New York Times*, "marked the de facto end of Cuba's isolation in the area and the growing desire of Latin American governments to assert independence from the United States in international affairs."

Setback for U.S. imperialism

This setback for imperialism reflected a further significant shift in the relationship of class forces over the

past half decade to the detriment of world capitalism. The defeat of the U.S. aggressors in Indochina inspired anti-imperialist fighters among the oppressed workers and peasants everywhere—from Ethiopia, the former Portuguese colonies, and the white-dominated regimes in Africa; to Iran, Afghanistan, Grenada, and Nicaragua; to Indochina itself.

The inability of U.S. imperialism to crush such struggles, and the deep antiwar attitudes that have developed among American workers, have deepened the self-confidence and will to struggle of the masses throughout the semicolonial world. Fidel Castro cited this vitally important factor in world politics during his opening address:

"The important role that the people of the United States . . . played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should not be forgotten."

This reflects the growing tendency of the Cuban leadership for the first time to include an assessment of important developments among American workers in their strategic evaluation of world politics—a factor also signaled by their initiative toward a dialogue with Cubans living in the United States.

Cuba earns right to lead

The Castro leadership itself has been a key factor in strengthening anti-imperialist currents. The Cubans have earned the right to lead the anti-imperialist movement in the eyes of tens of millions by not restricting themselves to talk.

They sent troops to defeat the South African invasion of Angola and to defeat the Somali regime's drive against the Ethiopian revolution. Their forces helped defend South Yemen against the threat of imperialist attack earlier this year. They gave full solidarity to the struggle in Nicaragua. They have provided massive aid to the new government of Grenada.

And they have won friends all over the world by providing doctors and teachers—with no political strings attached—to many countries in the semicolonial world.

The Cubans' readiness to risk their lives in the fight against imperialism has multiplied the inspiration provided by their own dramatic material and cultural progress on the home front—the elimination of hunger, illiteracy, and racism. It added to the impact of the Cubans' success in defending their revolution for twenty years against Washington and Wall Street.

The Cuban revolution now stands higher in the esteem of the toilers in the semicolonial countries than ever before in its history—a fact registered by the stance that growing numbers of capitalist political figures in these nations feel compelled to adopt toward the Castro government.

This, for example, helps explain why Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia—hardly the most radical of Africa's leaders—poured praise on the Cuban revolution in his address to the delegates. According to the September 4 *New York Times*, Kaunda declared that "'we admire Cuba' for its steadfast 20-year struggle against 'the biggest, best-armed power in the world.'"

"He addressed himself repeatedly to 'Comrade Castro.' . . ."

'Heterogeneous countries'

As Castro stated in his closing remarks, the conference was a gathering of "state leaders" that "constitute a movement of heterogeneous countries."

"How can one describe a group which includes Saudi Arabia and the PLO, Argentina and Cuba, Singapore and North (but not South) Korea?"



Joseph Tito and Fidel Castro. Washington failed in provoking a Tito-led split in Nonaligned conference.

disparagingly commented former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Charles Yost in the September 14 *Christian Science Monitor*. "It clearly is based on no principle either of exclusivity or of universality."

But these countries *do* confront something "universal." All are semi-colonies or former colonies of imperialism. All are still kept in poverty and superexploitation by imperialist plunder or—in the case of Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and Yugoslavia—still victimized by imperialist domination of the world market. They are compelled to sell cheap and buy dear in that market. They are threatened by imperialist military power.

The coming together of these countries reflects the realities of the laws of the world capitalist market and the resulting economic and political conflicts with imperialism, even among the most overtly proimperialist member governments. It is these realities, rather than alignment or non-alignment, that define this grouping of nations.

Based on this common oppression, the Cuban leaders participate in the Nonaligned movement in order to advance anti-imperialist struggles. They have rejected the sectarian course of simply boycotting and denouncing bourgeois governments in the underdeveloped countries. They see participation as an aspect of their revolutionary internationalist duties.

Contrast to Stalinists

The Castro leadership's class-struggle stance is in striking contrast to the class-collaborationist approach of the bureaucratic castes in Moscow, Peking, and Belgrade. Stalinist regimes view these gatherings as possible points of support for attaining economic and diplomatic deals with the imperialists on the basis of the international status quo. The Cubans have the opposite aims.

Washington recognizes Cuba's role in the Nonaligned movement as a threat—and its succession to the official leadership of the movement for the next three years as a serious obstacle to imperialism's goals.

U.S. officials gave enthusiastic support last year to the foreign ministers of Somalia and Yugoslavia, who opposed the choice of Havana as the site of the conference, and to President Sadat of Egypt, who announced plans to boycott the meeting.

When this failed, the U.S. press launched a campaign of lies about the Cuban proposals for the conference, depicting Cuba as a "Soviet puppet." One U.S. official was even quoted in the September 10 *Newsweek* as predicting that the Cuban proposals would turn the movement into "an adjunct of the Warsaw Pact."

This theme was picked up by those regimes that were supporting proimperialist stands. While the capitalist press depicted Yugoslavia's Tito as the leader of this group, those who sharply opposed Cuba's stands were the most servile underlings of U.S. imperialism. In the U.S. press, however, these regimes were invariably described as "genuinely nonaligned."

Soviet troop scare

The timing of the U.S. scare campaign over an alleged Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba was partly determined by the needs of this propaganda effort. This was to be proof positive of Cuba's "puppet" status, while the illegal presence of 2,800 U.S. troops at the Guantánamo Naval Base against the will of the Cuban people was to be forgotten in the excitement.

Some imperialist mouthpieces openly expressed hope for a split at the gathering. The August 25, 1979, London *Economist* asked rhetorically, "Should they [the 'movement's' truly non-aligned members] let Mr. Castro lead the whole group some way along the Soviet path, rather than let him split it in two?" It suggested that Tito's decision to oppose a split was a "tactical" error.

In his September 3 speech opening the conference, Castro made no conces-



Militant/Lorraine Thiebaud



Nonaligned conference hailed revolutionary victory in Nicaragua (top) and backed struggle of the Palestinian people (bottom).

sions to proimperialist pressures in laying bare the real issues in dispute. While the Stalinists portray the SALT II treaty as the key to world peace, Castro—although endorsing the treaty in passing—made it clear that his conception of peaceful coexistence has nothing whatsoever to do with tolerance for imperialist domination:

"Peace is possible, but world peace can only be assured to the extent that all countries are consciously determined to fight for it—peace not just for a part of the world, but for all peoples. Peace, also, for Vietnam, the Palestinians, the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the oppressed majorities in South Africa, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Ethiopia, Syria, Lebanon, and the Saharan people. Peace with justice. Peace with independence. Peace with freedom. Peace for the powerful countries and the small countries. Peace for all continents and all peoples."

Cause of war & poverty

Castro stressed that imperialism is the cause of war and that socialism is the only definitive guarantee of peace. "Halt the philosophy of plunder and the philosophy of war will be halted," Castro stated, quoting an earlier speech he gave to the United Nations.

While unconditionally endorsing every step the semicolonial countries take toward economic independence and progress, Castro also explained that only socialism can really end underdevelopment:

"I'm not going to tell you half-truths, nor am I going to hide the fact that social difficulties are much greater when, in any of our countries, a small minority controls the basic wealth and

the majority of the people are completely dispossessed. In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater."

The question of the Soviet Union held a subordinate place in Castro's talk, as in the conference as a whole. He correctly explained that the October revolution has made possible the liberation of the colonial world. He noted that the Soviet Union, unlike the imperialist powers, had provided material and public support to an array of liberation struggles. And he noted that Cuba obtains terms of trade for its sugar from the Soviet Union that other underdeveloped countries could never obtain from the imperialists.

Citing these facts was not calculated to win recruits to the Kremlin's policy of class collaboration with imperialism. On the contrary, Castro's description could only have the effect of encouraging liberation movements and underdeveloped countries to seek increased support from the Soviet Union—support that would run counter to Brezhnev's search for international stability and deals with Washington.

Castro sets tone

Castro's opening speech, which won enthusiastic applause, set the tone for the conference. It punctured the imperialist claims that Castro was plotting to bring the semicolonial countries under Kremlin domination.

Deprived of this red herring, each of the delegates at the conference was compelled to take a public stand on the real issue: for or against imperialism.

Under this pressure, the speech

given by Marshal Tito the following day—billed in the capitalist media as a reply to Castro—avoided any head-on clashes with the Cuban leader.

In the course of long sessions, many speakers, procedural wrangles, and all-night steering committee meetings, most of the disparate forces at the conference were gradually won to support the basic outlines of Cuba's proposals. As a result, the Cubans and their allies were able to isolate the most abjectly proimperialist regimes.

Once it was clear that the Cuban position was going to carry, the capitalist media adopted yet another tack to smear the conference. Castro was accused of railroading, packing the speakers list, and intimidating the participants. As the *New York Times* declared editorially, "The Havana Declaration was composed under the bullying tutelage of Fidel Castro by weary delegates. . . ."

The image of the delegates being tortured into submission by a brutal Cuban dictator, however, was even belied by many reports of journalists covering the conference.

"Communist or capitalist, president, prime minister or king, few of the leaders meeting here for the sixth nonaligned summit have abstained from liberal use of the code words for what has emerged as the No. 1 non-aligned enemy—the United States," reported Karen DeYoung in the September 8 *Washington Post*.

Kampuchea

Two issues in particular provided a test of strength for those favoring accommodation to U.S. imperialism at the conference: representation by remnants of the Pol Pot regime for Kampuchea, and the Camp David accords.

Representatives of the governments of Singapore and Malaysia—whose credentials of "genuine nonalignment" include full support to Washington during the Vietnam War—led the effort to maintain the reactionary Pol Pot regime as Kampuchea's representative. The *New York Times* signalled U.S. imperialism's backing for Pol Pot by designating this as one of the issues that would determine whether or not the movement would "reaffirm the founding principles of nonalignment."

Opposition to this move was led by the Cuban and Vietnamese governments.

According to a September 1 article by *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis, acting Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach "compared the situation [surrounding the war in Kampuchea] to that in the Middle East and southern Africa, saying it could be understood only by analyzing the underlying aims of the United States and other imperialists."

Blasting Peking's "marriage" with U.S. imperialism, Thach also criticized "reactionary Southeast Asian regimes" for their support to Pol Pot.

At a late-night session September 6, Castro tagged defenders of Pol Pot—notably Singapore's Foreign Minister Sinnathamby Rajaratnam—as "imperialist stooges."

In the end, the conference withdrew the recognition granted at an earlier gathering to the Pol Pot gang and left Kampuchea's seat open until the 1981 foreign ministers' meeting. This was a blow to the attempt by Washington and the Chinese Stalinists to pass off the Pol Pot forces as the legitimate government and adds to the pressure on them to forego any repetition of Peking's February attack on Vietnam.

Camp David betrayal

In response to the Camp David accords, a group of Arab governments pressed for Egypt's exclusion from the Nonaligned movement. Sadat showed his allegiance by demonstratively meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Begin as the Havana conference was opening.

Opposition to Cuba's proposal for "moral censure, at least" of Sadat was led by several neocolonial African regimes, including the representatives of Senegal, Malawi, and Gabon. Other

Continued on next page

U.S. escalates threats on Cuba 'troop' issue

By Harry Ring

SEPT. 19—The drum-beating furor by politicians and media about the "discovery" of Soviet troops in Cuba has ebbed somewhat in the past week. But the issue is being used by Washington to escalate its pressure on Moscow as well as to justify to the American people even greater war expenditures and new war moves.

The threats against Cuba are continuing. A September 18 *New York Times* dispatch reported: "Officials said today that the United States was developing several policy options in the event of an unsatisfactory resolution of the dispute over Soviet troops in Cuba, including an increase of American naval and air force units in the area" (emphasis added).

Such a buildup is aimed at the Nicaraguan revolution and the developing mass upsurges in nearby countries such as El Salvador. Washington poses the threat of a new confrontation like the "missile crisis" of 1962, when a U.S. naval blockade of Cuba brought humanity to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

In recent days, Carter administration officials have held a series of secret negotiating sessions with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin. What does Carter want from Moscow? Certainly not assurances that its handful of troops in Cuba won't row across to Miami.

Most immediately, Carter is demanding that Moscow not extend aid to revolutionary Nicaragua.

Turning a blind eye to hunger and destruction in Nicaragua, the Carter administration and Congress are refusing to send urgently needed relief.

Washington knows it has little pros-

pect of shaking Cuba from its declared policy of all-out support to Nicaragua. But the absence of any similar solidarity declaration from the Kremlin encourages Washington to seek Soviet non-interference in its efforts to starve out the Nicaraguan people.

Carter's war adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was quoted in the September 19 *New York Times* as declaring that "the troop issue was only part of a larger problem." That "larger problem" is the rise of the world revolution and Cuba's leadership role.

The United States must expand its military capabilities "across the board," declared Brzezinski.

That's not just rhetoric. The Senate voted September 18 to boost the military budget by \$40 billion over the next three years.

The Nicaraguans aren't the only ones being shortchanged while Washington gets ready for bigger military operations. At the same time the Senate agreed to cut domestic expenditures such as Social Security, veterans benefits, and farm price supports by \$3.6 billion this year.

The Senate vote to slash social spending was ninety to six. As with the anti-Cuba war cries, there was fundamental agreement between Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives.

Whatever happens with the phony scare around Soviet troops in Cuba, threats against Cuba and Nicaragua will mount as the Nicaraguan revolution deepens. American working people must answer these threats with the demand for massive aid to the Nicaraguan people.

Hands off Cuba!

Hands off Nicaragua!

...Havana

Continued from preceding page

African delegates, notably President Samora Machel of Mozambique and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, defended Cuba's stand.

The efforts to soft-pedal the Camp David betrayal by letting Sadat off the hook were unsuccessful. A motion was passed condemning Sadat and proposing that a committee submit a further recommendation on Egypt's membership to the 1981 meeting.

Senegal's foreign minister, Moustaphe Niasse, denounced the compromise, charging Cuba with taking a militant stance on the Middle East "from the safe distance of 30,000 kilometers."

Dismissing the Senegalese minister as "a rat," Cuban Vice-premier Carlos Rafael Rodríguez reminded the delegates that Cuba had 700 combat troops at the Syrian front during the 1973 war with Israel.

Eritrea

The conference declaration unfortunately did not include support for the Eritrean people's just struggle for their right to self-determination. However, the Cuban government reportedly distributed to the delegates the text of the 1975 speech by Castro to a meeting of the Nonaligned foreign ministers. In that speech—printed up before the conference and on sale all over Cuba—Castro stated:

"From a progressive and revolutionary point of view the events in Ethiopia, which also took place last year, are both of great interest and historic importance. . . . Unfortunately, a fratricidal struggle between the new government that destroyed the old structures and a national liberation movement is now being waged within that very state. This situation in which two causes of progressive trends are confronting each other is indeed complex.

"Therefore, what is the duty of the nonaligned? Is it perhaps to stand idly by or to support one side to the detriment of the other? To urge the war on? Decidedly not. The least that should be done is to make a serious effort and seek a peaceful and just solution that is acceptable to the parties in the conflict which is separating and pitting against each other the Ethiopian revolutionary process and the Liberation Movement of Eritrea."

This position, which stops short of supporting Eritrean self-determination, essentially remains the public position of the Cuban government today. The possibility of a peaceful solution continues to be blocked by the determination of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia to subjugate the Eritrean people.

Castro's clear success

"Castro has clearly succeeded in his main objectives," *Time* magazine's diplomatic correspondent Strobe Talbott noted glumly in the September 17 issue.

"At the very least, Cuba has won the appearance of a ringing endorsement from the Third World of its military intervention in Africa. Though there have been dissenting and cautionary voices, the vocal majority have applauded Cuba's championship of liberation movements. In the future, Cuba and those countries and guerrilla groups seeking its aid will be able to point back to this summit and what will probably be called the 'Havana Declaration' as justification for further intervention.

"Castro has also succeeded in marshaling a consensus against the American peace initiatives in the Middle East and southern Africa. This is precisely what U.S. diplomats sought to avoid, through two months of feverish lobbying with nonaligned foreign ministers throughout the world. . . .

"To make matters worse, Castro may well ride the swell of his enhanced

'Time' finds a 'spy station'

Would the news media lie to you about the threat of Soviet troops in Cuba? Would they manufacture evidence about it?

No more than the government would.

Take, for instance, the September 17 issue of *Time* magazine. Its cover story was "Storm Over Cuba." To illustrate that story it ran the page-wide photo shown below, with the accompanying caption.

Within days after that issue appeared, the faces of *Time* editors were as red as their cover. They got caught.

It turns out that the installation shown in the *Time* photo couldn't very well be a Soviet intelligence system since it was built by IT&T and installed in 1957, two years before the Cuban revolution. It was put there to relay telephone calls and some radio and TV programs.

A *Time* spokesperson said of their "exclusive" photo, "It appears that we were given information that was wrong."

He said the photo was provided by a "nongovernment" source, which he declined to identify. He said *Time* did check the picture with two sources regarded as "the best authorities in the field."

He declined to say who the two "authorities" were.

There was no comment from the CIA or the National Security Administration.

Back in 1898, when the U.S. government manufactured a "threat" from Spain as cover for its takeover of Cuba, the Hearst newspaper chain led the pack in whipping up hysteria for the Spanish-American "war" in which a claimed 305 U.S. soldiers died.

The story is told that Hearst sent a photographer to the area who wired back that he couldn't find any war. Hearst responded, "You provide the photos. We'll provide the war."

Today the heirs to Hearst apparently try to provide both.

—H.R.



'Time' magazine photo caption declared: 'A Soviet-built intelligence station in Cuba. This exclusive photograph, obtained by Time, shows a section of an advanced electronics monitoring complex atop a limestone hill east of Havana. Facing north and east, the large antennas eavesdrop on U.S. and international civilian, military and space satellite electronic and voice messages and picture relays.'

prestige straight into the Security Council, if the Cubans succeed in obtaining the rotating Latin American seat. . . . If Castro should go to the U.N. this fall, he will appear as the foremost leader of the Third World—and the firebrand spokesman for a kind of global anti-Americanism."

Chinese Stalinists isolated

Flora Lewis, in the September 12 *New York Times*, noted another setback for U.S. imperialism. The conference "seemed to cut China off from the sympathy it once enjoyed in the Third World."

But it was the criminal alliance of the bureaucratic caste in Peking with U.S. imperialism, not the Chinese revolution, that was isolated at the conference. (This counterrevolutionary alliance was symbolized when the Chinese and U.S. observers at the conference walked out within minutes of each other during Castro's anti-imperialist speech.)

The outcome at Havana will make it more difficult for U.S. imperialism to use Peking's support as left cover for attacks on the colonial revolution, including the Vietnamese revolution.

The isolation of the Peking rulers signified a change of still broader significance—a further advance in the decay of world Stalinism, a massive obstacle to the advance of revolutionary struggles.

For nearly three decades, throughout most of the colonial world, Peking's brand of Stalinism was falsely but widely seen as a revolutionary alternative to the Moscow variety.

Following the victory of the Cuban revolution, a non-Stalinist alternative began to attract anti-imperialist fighters. Today, the Cubans—a revolutionary current—have clearly pushed aside the Maoists as the prime model and inspiration for revolutionists in the semicolonial world.

The glaring contrast between Cuba's revolutionary action in the struggle against imperialism and Peking's more and more flagrant groveling before imperialism has been the key to this shift.

The Kremlin Stalinists, on the other hand, may try for the moment to bask a little in the reflected glory of Cuba's victory at the Havana conference. But Brezhnev views the Cubans' aggressive anti-imperialist course with grave misgivings. This is no way to pave the road for class-collaborationist deals—the be-all and end-all of Kremlin foreign policy.

'Fight & work for others'

The new prestige won by the Cubans gives them new leverage in pressuring Moscow for assistance to the Nicaraguan revolution and to other anti-imperialist struggles.

The increased legitimacy attained by the new Sandinista government in Nicaragua will strengthen its hand in demanding massive humanitarian aid and in buying time to prepare its defenses against military intervention by the imperialists or their cronies in Central America. It brightens the prospects for the intensifying struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The Havana conference marks a mighty triumph for the Cuban revolution and greatly increases the difficulties imperialism faces in preparing new counterrevolutionary threats against struggles anywhere in the world.

As Fidel Castro stated in his closing remarks:

"This conference has given our country great prestige, great authority, but that prestige and authority will never be used to the benefit of our country, we will use it to fight and work for others. . . .

"One thing we can say: Cuba will sacrifice more, Cuba will work more for others."

Thousands welcome Nationalists home

By Dan Dickeson

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—Chants of "Puerto Rico libre! Cuba sí, Yanqui no!" greeted Rafael Cancel Miranda as he stepped out onto the airplane ramp here, saluting the cheering crowd of 7,000 with a clenched fist.

Cancel Miranda and three other Puerto Rican Nationalists, freed from U.S. prisons after more than twenty-five years, were received as national heroes upon their return here September 12. An intensely emotional rally at San Juan's international airport was followed by a militant and spirited car caravan through the city.

The four—Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Lolita Lebrón, and Rafael Cancel Miranda—had been imprisoned in the early 1950s for armed actions in support of Puerto Rican independence (see box). They were the longest-held political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

When the news of their impending release reached here, the National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners started organizing a welcoming rally. Hours before the plane carrying the four reached San Juan, thousands of people had already crowded around a hastily erected speakers' platform at the airport.

When the plane landed, and rolled up to the end of the terminal near the crowd, a tremendous cheer went up.



Rafael Cancel Miranda debarks plane in San Juan to cheering crowd of 7,000.

After a reunion with close friends and relatives and a quick press conference inside the airport, the four climbed onto the speakers' platform. For several minutes they stood waving, with tears in their eyes, as they looked out over the sea of Puerto Rican flags and raised fists.

Lolita Lebrón took the microphone. Her voice breaking with emotion, she described her joy at seeing her country and her people again, and urged everyone to keep up the fight for independence.

The crowd responded with rhythmic chants of "Lolita Lebrón, example of courage!"

Oscar Collazo spoke next. He too vowed to continue fighting, and drew an especially enthusiastic response when he called for unity in the struggle for independence.

Irving Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda also spoke, stressing the need for unity. The rally concluded with singing of the revolutionary Puerto Rican anthem, *La Borinqueña*.

The speakers' platform was flanked by portraits of Andrés Figueroa Cordero, a fifth Nationalist prisoner who had been released in 1978 shortly before he died of cancer, and Pedro Albizu Campos, the leader of the Nationalist Party at the time of the 1950 uprising. Albizu Campos died in 1965 after long years in prison.

Following the airport rally, the Nationalists and their supporters drove in a car caravan across San Juan to a memorial service at the grave of Albizu Campos.

The five Nationalists had been kept in U.S. prisons long after the thousands of others jailed during the 1950 uprising had been released. Their prolonged imprisonment was widely seen here as a humiliating affront to the entire Puerto Rican people.

The U.S. government—even while denying that the five were political prisoners—offered to release them on parole if they would promise to no longer participate in the Puerto Rican independence struggle. But the Nationalists steadfastly refused to accept any such conditions.

Their defiant stance was a source of pride for Puerto Ricans, an affirmation of their dignity as a people. As Irving Flores told the cheering crowd here, "All the power of the empire could not bring us to our knees!"

The release of the four was the result of a prolonged international campaign to free them. At the press conference here, Flores scoffed at talk about Jimmy Carter's supposed "humanitarian motives" for granting them clemency. He stated that they had been freed "thanks to the efforts of the militant people of Puerto Rico and the United States, and of the honest and sincere people of Cuba."

The Cuban government played a leading role in promoting the cause of Puerto Rican independence and freedom for the Nationalist prisoners. On August 15 the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization passed a Cuban-sponsored resolution calling for their release.

Carter's announcement of clemency was timed to coincide with the summit conference of nonaligned countries in Havana, where the imprisonment of the Nationalists would once again have become a scandal. The Havana conference condemned Washington's colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

One of the banners at the airport rally here was from the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans in Puerto Rico, the United States, and other countries who support the Cuban leadership's dialogue with the Cuban community abroad.

Also present at the rally was Juan Mari Bras, the secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, who had just returned from the nonaligned summit. The Puerto Rican Independence Party was also represented.

Freedom for the nationalist prisoners had been the demand of nearly all political forces here, including even Puerto Rican capitalist parties that are firmly committed to continued U.S. domination. The municipal assembly in the city of Mayaguez passed a resolution "congratulating" Jimmy Carter on his decision to release the four. Public employees in the towns of Cabo Rojo, Lajas, and Guayanilla were given time off to attend the welcoming rally here.

Governor Carlos Romero Barceló is one of the few Puerto Rican politicians to openly oppose the unconditional release of the nationalists. He ordered members of his party not to speak to the press on the day the four returned.

Members of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, have played a prominent role in the National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners. Leaders of the LIT said that the campaign to free the Nationalists has been a rallying point for all supporters of independence in Puerto Rico.

The return of the Nationalists, who have pledged to press for united actions, could contribute greatly to strengthening the independence movement. A major proindependence demonstration is scheduled for September 22, the anniversary of *El Grito de Lares*, the 1868 uprising against Spanish colonial rule.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Who are the Four?

In April 1950, U.S. Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson met with Puerto Rican Governor Muñoz Marín to plan a campaign to destroy the influence of the Nationalist Party, then a major force on the island. This campaign began in October 1950 with the arrest of numerous *independentistas*.

Responding to this attempt to wipe it out, the Nationalist Party launched a revolt on October 30, under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos.

Fighting spread rapidly to all major cities in Puerto Rico. For five days U.S. tanks, planes, and troops fought the rebels.

Hundreds of Nationalists were killed and thousands arrested during and after the uprising. Some received prison terms of up to 400 years.

While U.S. forces were brutally putting down the rebellion on the island, two Puerto Ricans living in New York, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, carried out an armed attack on Blair House, the temporary residence of President Truman.

Torresola was killed in the attack and Collazo severely wounded. Collazo was later sentenced to death, although the sentence was eventu-

ally commuted to life imprisonment.

In 1954, after legislation was passed proclaiming Puerto Rico a "free associated state," Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero protested the imposition of colonial status on their country by shooting up the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding five members of Congress. The four Nationalists were sentenced to prison terms ranging up to 50 years.

As a "free associated state" or "commonwealth," Puerto Rico remains politically and economically a colony of the United States, with the majority of its 3.2 million people condemned to poverty. Wage scales are much lower than in the United States, the official unemployment rate stands at 35 percent, and more than half the population of the island depends on food stamps for survival.

While their homeland has become a haven for U.S. tourists and investors, a third of all Puerto Ricans have been forced to emigrate to the United States in search of work. Puerto Ricans in the United States suffer racist discrimination and are among the most heavily exploited workers.

...OSHA

Continued from back page
remove their union safety committee armbands.

According to OSHA's complaint, Tenneco has blocked workers from accompanying OSHA officials; denied interview time for workers with investigators; physically prohibited conversations between workers and OSHA personnel; transferred workers from job sites as inspection tours began in their areas; disrupted interviews; and broken up investigations with security guards.

"People are watching us," one Steelworker told the *Militant*. "They watch when the supervisors tell us to take our armbands off. And when we don't, that means something. We are keeping on OSHA's back to make sure they see everything we know."

Designers force Tenneco to bargaining table

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—It's been nearly two and a half years since Tenneco forced the first Steelworkers union at the Newport News shipyard—Designers Local 8417—out on strike. But the bosses' stonewalling of the union may be starting to crack.

Tenneco resumed negotiations with the designers on September 10. The last time shipyard and Local 8417 negotiators met was last February, for a grand total of eleven minutes. At that time Tenneco's demands regarding disciplinary and

grievance procedures would have gutted the local.

Last April the designers voted 429 to 0 to continue their strike.

Bargaining sessions have been scheduled to continue September 20 and 21. A special meeting of Local 8417 is set for September 22 to hear reports from the union's negotiating team.

In August, before the talks resumed, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals found the shipyard guilty of unfair labor practices against the designers and ruled that the strikers' jobs would be protected if they returned to work. Tenneco did not

contest the decision.

Scab designers have not taken this setback lying down. They claim to have filed a petition with enough valid signatures to force a new election in the design department. The National Labor Relations Board is set to rule on the decertification petition October 1.

The shipyard brass could be stalling for time in negotiations while working hand and glove with the scabs to decertify the union.

But the determination, fortitude, and numbers of striking designers don't favor the scabs' attempts to boot out the Steelworkers.

What's in GM pact?

By Shelley Kramer

Auto workers don't yet know what their tentative contract with General Motors looks like. The new three-year pact, which covers 460,000 GM workers, was agreed to by union leaders two hours before a September 14 strike deadline.

Membership ratification is expected to begin September 22, one day after 3-4,000 representatives of United Auto Workers locals meet in Dallas to vote on the proposed settlement.

Press reports are varied in their appraisal of the UAW contract. "GM Pact is Praised as Spur to Economy," "Auto Settlement Viewed with Alarm," and "GM-UAW Averts Strike, But Troubles Still May Lie Ahead" were the headlines covering the settlement in the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*.

The terms of the UAW contract will be of interest not only to GM workers. They will set the pattern for UAW negotiations with Ford, Chrysler, and the Big Three farm implement manufacturers—John Deere, International Harvester, and Caterpillar. The union has threatened to abandon its one-at-a-time strategy and strike all



Militant/Terry Bell

Contract does not include chief demands adopted at union's April bargaining convention.

three agricultural equipment companies if agreement is not reached by October 1. In addition, the UAW's auto contracts will influence negotiations next year in aerospace and steel.

Despite a 13.2 percent inflation rate, GM reportedly held the UAW to its standard 3 percent wage increase. The base wage rate will also include \$1.56 an hour in cost-of-living adjustments paid under the old contract.

The UAW had demanded an improved COLA formula to catch up with inflation. The current formula—one cent for every 0.3 percent increase in the Consumer Price Index—will remain intact for the first two contract years. In the third year GM workers will receive one cent for every 0.26 percent CPI increase, a gain won by the rubber workers earlier this year.

This improved COLA formula, says the *New York Times*, "has been characterized as 100 percent protection from inflation." But even this added protection will not close the gap between auto wages and CPI increases. And the CPI itself lags behind and understates the real increase in the cost of necessities.

According to UAW President Fraser, the union's "top priority" in negotiations was winning cost-of-living protection for its 300,000 retirees. But GM was quick to rule a pension escalator out of bounds. "We aren't purists on this," Fraser responded, adding that "incremental increases" would be enough.

This is just what the union got.

Pensions for thirty-year veterans of GM plants will rise from \$700 to \$800 monthly, eventually reaching \$915 by the end of the contract. Pensions for the already retired, now \$390 a month, will increase to \$498 after three years. While these raises will certainly assist the hard-hit pensioners, they still leave retirees far behind in the race against inflation.

Moreover, the pension raises will be paid in part out of COLA money due the active workers. By the end of the contract fourteen cents an hour will be deducted from quarterly COLA payments and diverted into the pension fund. Not only did retirees fail to win COLA, but active workers lost part of theirs to boot.

In response to workers' demands for a shorter workweek, GM granted an additional fourteen Paid Personal Holidays, bringing the total over three years to twenty-six.

PPH days are time off scheduled at company discretion. Workers must put in at least one year to qualify and work both the day before and day after to receive their PPH pay. While auto workers welcome PPH as time off the line, the companies try to use this system to crack down against absenteeism.

"The southern strategy will never again be a problem for the UAW," Fraser said, describing the agreement reached on automatic union recognition in GM's nonunion plants.

The UAW has successfully organized four of GM's southern plants in the past year, including its huge new assembly division in Oklahoma City. These victories were won in spite of GM's repeated violations of its pledge to remain neutral in UAW organizing drives.

Whether full automatic recognition has been secured is unclear. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, the UAW will gain recognition at plants making "similar products" to those already unionized.

GM seems to have taken the biggest bite out of the wages and benefits of new employees. Starting wages will be reduced sixty cents below the base wage rate for the first month and thirty-five cents in the next two months. It will now take up to a year to qualify for health and other benefits.

From what has been reported it seems that GM did not get away with any big takebacks of union gains. Unlike the rubber, trucking, and electrical bosses, GM did not set out to test the union's strength in this contract round. Nor did the Carter administration intervene in the same open way against the 1.5-million-strong UAW. GM settled for maintaining control over the shop floor—over line speed, working conditions, overtime, hiring, and firing—while preventing any significant extension of union benefits.

While the UAW didn't lose much ground, it didn't gain much either. Union officials failed to win the chief demands agreed to at the UAW's April bargaining convention: substantial wage increases, COLA on pensions, restrictions on overtime, and a shorter workweek.

While GM workers discuss and vote on their proposed contract, UAW negotiators move on to Ford and Chrysler. Treasury Secretary G. William Miller has announced that to qualify for the massive government handout Chrysler has requested, the company will have to produce "commitments of help from the UAW." In other words, wring more sacrifices out of Chrysler workers. As past practice shows, the ailing auto maker is hardly averse to taking such cures.

UAW leaders have promised to show greater "flexibility" in bargaining with Chrysler. But the union's Chrysler workers—hit hard by layoffs and plant closings—have not yet had their say.



Auto reports

DETROIT AUTO WORKERS REACT TO GM CONTRACT

Mark Rogers, Chevy Gear and Axle, Local 235

People in my plant don't know what's in our contract—except for what we read in the paper. And it's impossible to understand the newspaper reports. No one can believe that we're only getting a 3 percent wage increase. This has provoked the most angry reactions. Everyone knows this means we'll only be getting deeper and deeper into the hole as inflation grows.

The general sentiment is that the wage settlement is divided between crumbs for the retirees and nothing for the active workers.

It's not a foregone conclusion that our local will ratify. The skilled trades, which voted down the 1976 contract twice, are leaning toward rejection. A number of workers are saying we didn't get anything because we didn't strike.

Tom Headley, Chevy Forge, Local 262

What you hear in my plant are lots of questions. When will we know what's in the package? Just what is it that we're supposed to ratify? There are complaints about the secrecy of the negotiations, and about the fact that we are forced to rely on the newspapers to find out what's in our own contract.

As a result, most people are taking a wait-and-see attitude toward the national agreement. They are glad to have more PPH days, but very few believe that this will result in any new jobs for the unemployed. Shortening the workweek is a major concern at Chevy Forge, where we frequently work seven-day weeks.

I got two different reactions to the contract from two of my co-workers.

An older worker, near retirement, explained why he would vote yes: "I'm afraid a lot of younger members won't accept this because they want more money right now and the agreement doesn't give them that. But retirees are getting more and I'm going to be retiring some day. So I'm ready to vote for it for that reason."

A younger worker said he would vote no: "To take money out of our COLA payments and give it to the retirees is adding insult to injury. I'm all for the retirees getting as much as they can, but we could all get more if we vote this contract down."

Jim Patch, Detroit Diesel, Local 163

Everyone here wants to see retired workers get substantial increases, but not by having active workers pay instead of the company. We've been told that our COLA money will be deferred to pay for pension raises. People resent the fact that active workers are paying while the companies, who issue the checks, get the credit.

Some of my co-workers are irritated about being stuck with the same COLA formula for two years. They're also angry that the COLA increases we were due September 4 under the old contract are being counted into the new contract.

The extra PPH days are welcomed, but they're not seen as a big gain. In the third year of our last contract we got seven PPH days. So twenty-six over the life of the new three-year contract will hardly seem like a shorter work-week.

Elizabeth Ziers, Ford Rouge, Local 600

Most people came to work Monday without reading the Sunday papers, which carried reports about the GM contract. When you're working six days a week, you don't have much time on Sunday to read the paper. But what they did hear about the settlement, they didn't like.

One co-worker, Robert Packer, summed up the sentiment. "I thought the idea of a new contract is supposed to be progress. With this contract we're just standing still," he said. "And when you look at inflation, it really amounts to de-progress."

People were particularly worried about reports that GM had forced through lower starting wages and longer probations. "That gives the companies all the more reason to get rid of new workers and bring in a fresh batch every year," said one co-worker.

In between hooking up accessory wires, Edna Bolt told me, "I think the conference they're holding in Dallas [the contract meeting for UAW local officers] should be held up here in Detroit. And then we should all go to it."

NOW hears Bailey Strikers

Several members of UAW locals in the Cleveland area came to the September 9 NOW Labor Task Force meeting to hear nine women from UAW Local 1741 explain the issues in their strike. Local 1741 struck the Bailey Meter company, which manufactures controls for nuclear power plants, June 1.

As a result of a cop attack on the strikers' peaceful picket line August 13, twenty-five Bailey workers have been arrested. A union trustee, indicted on felony charges, spoke at the NOW meeting. Many of the women are recuperating from injuries received in these attacks.

"They are using our local to set a precedent," one striker told the NOW members. "This is a real battle for all of us here as well as across the country. We won't give up. We'll stay out another 100 days if we have to."

Other unionists at the meeting pledged to go back to their locals and try to get help for the strikers. The task force unanimously passed a resolution in support of Local 1741.

Compiled by Shelley Kramer

Rock Island strikers hold tough on demands

By Bill Peterson

INVER GROVE HEIGHTS, Minn.—Members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and the United Transportation Union here are holding tough in their strike against the Rock Island Railroad. The walkout, which began August 28, is over the railroad's refusal to grant full retroactive pay as agreed to in the national contract.

The Rock Island's operation in Minnesota employs about 300 workers. With limited trackage of its own in Minnesota, the Rock Island interchanges with several other Minnesota carriers.

When UTU pickets went up at the north and south ends of the Rock Island's Inver Grove Heights yard just south of St. Paul, most of this traffic ground to a halt.

The Soo Line, however, continues to run its train into the yard. When Soo trains arrive at the picket line, the union crews get off the train and a scab crew of railroad officials boards the train to pull it into the yard.

The carriers here are helping the Rock Island scabbing operation in another way. The Minnesota Transfer Railroad, a small setup dominated by and serving the shipping needs of the



Chicago pickets. Every rail worker has a stake in their fight.

Militant/David McDonald

bigger Minnesota roads, is handling significant amounts of Rock Island switching work.

Rock Island strikers feel strongly that every rail worker has a stake in the outcome of their strike. One worker pointed out that the Rock Island is attempting to set up precedents which could later be used against BRAC and UTU members on other roads.

"What is needed," said one BRAC worker, "is the same response rail workers gave the Norfolk and Western when the carriers tried to break the

union there: a national strike."

Scab crews of railroad officials running trains out of the Inver Grove Heights yard have been drawn from all over the Rock Island operation.

As reports grow here of other railroads helping Rock Island strikebreakers, so too is sentiment growing for solidarity action with the Rock Island workers. Burlington Northern BRAC Local 1504 carried an article on the Rock Island strike in the latest issue of its newspaper. The local also called a meeting of its strike committee.

"We want to be organized in case we have to go out in support of the Rock Island unions," said Bill Smith, Local 1504 strike committee member.

When asked what the solution to the Rock Island bankruptcy should be, one worker on the Rock Island responded, "The government should take it over and run it. It would be better for the government to have it than these management leeches who are presently sucking it dry. None of us have any sense of security about the future with bankruptcy hanging over our heads since 1975."

The outcome of the strike may prove to have particular consequence for Milwaukee Railroad workers.

Like the Rock Island, the Milwaukee Road has filed bankruptcy and has withheld a majority of back pay due its employees.

If UTU and BRAC win this strike, and secure all of the raises and back pay due workers since the expiration of their labor contracts on December 31, 1977, that would be a victory that would pave the way for Milwaukee Road workers to win our back pay.

If the Rock Island workers lose, it would establish the precedent of a railroad using the excuse of bankruptcy to withhold wages or carry out further attacks on working conditions.

The Rock Island strike is a test of strength that has a big importance for all rail labor. We need to support our brothers and sisters on the Rock Island in every way possible.

Wisc. rail workers hit Milwaukee Rd. scheme

By Tony Prince

MILWAUKEE—One hundred railroad workers met here September 5 to protest the contrived bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road and discuss what to do about it.

The meeting was sponsored by the general chairpersons of seven unions on the Milwaukee Road, who are leaders of Save All Milwaukee Employees (SAME). Also speaking at the meeting were Gerald Hagen, the United Transportation Union's legislative director for Wisconsin, and Fred Simpson, leader of Save Our Railroad Employees (SORE).

The general chairpersons who spoke all charged that the Milwaukee Road is being manipulated into a bankruptcy that was avoidable.

John Mogen, acting general chairperson of the UTU, warned against believing the "experts" who advocate turning the Milwaukee Road into a "core system" railroad, which would

eliminate more than 4,000 jobs. "Remember, it was the experts that got us into Vietnam," he said. "It was the political experts who gave us Richard Nixon."

Tom Bigley, general chairperson of the dispatchers union, pointed out another side of the bankruptcy—the major attacks on job conditions, supposedly carried out to keep the railroad solvent.

The Milwaukee Road was one of the first railroads to go to the two-person crew, and now it is even proposing a one-person crew on some trains.

"We may be heading for a Florida East Coast-type setup on the Milwaukee Road," Bigley said. The Florida East Coast Line has carried out the most successful union-busting operation of any railroad in the country in recent years.

Fred Simpson, a lawyer who quit the Milwaukee Road last year, described the "run to failure" program for locomotives. Mechanics were laid off, brand

new locomotives were run for four or five years with no maintenance whatsoever, and then parked when they broke down. Simpson said that over 50 percent of Milwaukee Road locomotives were out of service the past two winters.

Simpson explained the financial side of the bankruptcy. The liquidation value of the company is \$832 million. Its debt is less than \$450 million. This means that the Milwaukee Road stockholders stand to make about \$400 million through a bankruptcy.

Leading union officials on the Milwaukee Road have formed SAME to promote their solution for the bankruptcy—an employee stock ownership plan. All the official speakers at the meeting strongly advocated such a proposal.

An open microphone was available at the meeting for discussion from the audience. Doug Hord, a member of the solidarity committee of UTU Local 620 in Chicago, suggested that "if they

[Milwaukee Road owners] can't run the railroad without running it into the ground, if they can't run it without running over tens of thousands of small farmers, all over the passengers, all over the people who need cheap energy—not to mention 10,000 railworkers—then they don't have a right to run it. Let's take it over and run it as a public utility that conducts all its business in the open with no funny business."

Rob Bartlett, a member of UTU Local 577 on the Chicago and North Western Railroad in Chicago, explained how employee stock ownership works on the C&NW.

"I know when we had this ESOP plan, people had the idea it was employee-owned. Well, I can say for a fact that control over the company has remained the same—the same management, the same conditions, and so forth. It seems like work rules and conditions continue to worsen over the years."

Minn. grain strikers reject union-busting offer

By Rich Stuart

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Striking workers at Continental Grain Company unanimously rejected a company offer September 10 that would have opened the door to union busting. Continental is one of eight grain companies being struck in the Twin Ports of Duluth, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin, by Grain Millers Local 118.

The sixty-seven strikers at Continental also instructed their negotiators not to come back without an offer with a recommendation to approve. The negotiators had recommended rejection of this latest proposal.

After the Continental vote, more than 300 strikers from all eight companies joined together to back the Continental workers. The spirited rally

was an impressive display of unity in the face of attempts by the companies and the federal government to divide and break the ten-month-old strike.

The company proposal, submitted at the urging of chief federal mediator Wayne Horvitz, would have taken jobs away from three workers, one full-time and two part-time, and spread the "savings" among the rest of the work force.

The proposal had no mention of a cost-of-living clause, the central demand of all the strikers. The strikers see this demand as the only way they can begin to keep up with inflation.

They saw the job elimination proposal as a blatant attempt to weaken and eventually destroy the power of the union to protect all of its members.

A company offer of \$500 to each striker if they went back to work was considered, along with the entire proposal, as an insult to the intelligence of the strikers.

The companies falsely claim that they cannot grant any cost-of-living clause without breaking Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. Politicians in Minnesota and Wisconsin have called for Carter to invoke the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley law. Some have even urged the use of the National Guard against the strikers. Not a single Democratic or Republican politician has come out in favor of the strikers against the companies.

But solidarity has been forthcoming from unionists in the area. Steelworkers Local 1938 here on the Mesabi

Iron Range donated \$200 and put ads in area papers supporting the strike. Local 1938 also used Labor Day safety spots on local radio to declare its support for the millers. Steelworkers District 33 has also taken out newspaper ads supporting the strikers' demands.

The need for labor solidarity will become greater as company and government attempts to break the strike continue. More public statements of support, resolutions, money, and help on the picket lines are needed.

The stakes in this strike are high. The Twin Ports are the third-largest agricultural port in the country. The very life of the grain millers union is at stake, and with it the livelihood of the millers and their families.

Talking socialism: 'Our time has come'

By Harry Ring

For many attending the Thirtieth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party August 5-11, it was their first such gathering. The impressions of three of the 1,550 participants and visitors at the Ohio convention follow.

* * *

Mercy Calam

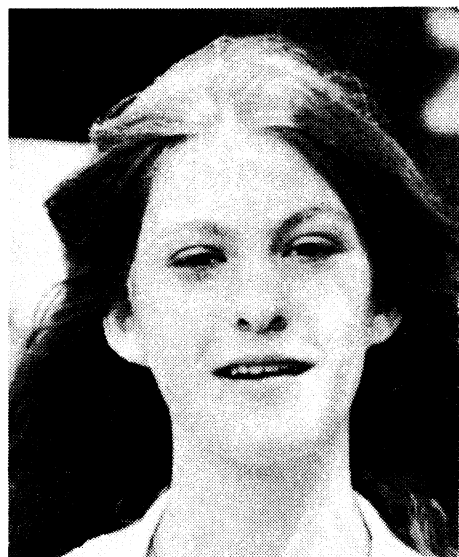
Mercy Calam, sixteen, recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance and then the SWP in Los Angeles. An Anglo, she grew up in the Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles.

For a number of years, she explained, she's been interested in left politics. But her activity had been largely limited to participating in demonstrations on behalf of political prisoners, such as the Wilmington Ten and others.

Then her older sister, a student at Cal State in Los Angeles, gave her a copy of a leaflet she had gotten on campus about the case of Héctor Marroquín, the SWP member who is fighting deportation to Mexico.

"I was really impressed with the way the leaflet was written," Calam said. "Most of the other leaflets I'd seen just said these people are political prisoners and we should free them."

"This one laid out the whole thing. It gave you proof, so if you wanted to check out the facts you could see these



MERCY CALAM

people were telling the truth and he really was being persecuted.

"Like, I was amazed about how he was in a hospital in Texas when he was supposed to be robbing a factory payroll in Mexico."

"So I called the SWP office in LA and they told me more about the case. Then I went to a couple of meetings where I heard Héctor."

"I was really impressed, the way he presented his case. The way he showed

copies of his FBI files and how they were censored. The pictures the Mexican cops put out, drawing on a mustache and glasses. And how they used his nickname as an alias."

At one of the meetings, Calam bought a copy of the *Young Socialist* and, later, the *Militant*. Before long, she joined up.

Becoming a member has meant a great deal to her.

"I always thought in a radical way," she explained. "But I didn't know what to do. And I felt real bad not being active. I felt something should be done, rather than just sitting around. So the only thing I could do was to go to demonstrations."

Calam greatly enjoyed the SWP convention. "It's really educational," she said. "And you get to meet a lot of people, leaders of the party, other people. So I'm having a lot of fun."

* * *

Gustavo Gutiérrez

Gustavo Gutiérrez is a leading figure in the Arizona Chicano movement.

Gutiérrez was an organizer for the United Farm Workers during the union's early struggles.

A member of the mainly Chicano Local 383 of the Laborer's Union in Arizona, he recently participated in a rank-and-file slate that challenged the union officialdom on a militant basis.

Gutiérrez is also active in the Maricopa County Organizing Project, a group that has scored some impressive gains in organizing undocumented migrant farm workers from Mexico.

Gutiérrez was in Ohio for the recent convention of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee and decided to take a few extra days to visit the SWP convention.

He said he's been familiar with the SWP and YSA since 1967 when he met supporters during a farm workers organizing drive in Arizona.

"Then when I was in Chicago in 1972 working on the boycott," he added, "I came across the Socialist Workers Party and YSA again. They were very instrumental in helping build the boycott."

What was his impression of the convention?

One of the most interesting things, he said, was the emphasis on the rapid development of the party's activity among industrial workers.

"I think the party has made a very wise decision," he said, "in having the young students who were in the antiwar movement now involved in industry."

"I like the focus," he added, "that workers can change the whole structure of this country."

Gutiérrez said he was also particularly struck by the international aspect of the gathering.

"Right now, of course, Nicaragua is in the forefront. So it was really impressive to talk with Pedro Camejo who just came back from there, getting his impressions. Also talking with the young Sandinista who's here."

Gutiérrez said he also got a sense of the deep internationalism of the gathering from the tremendous ovation



GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ

given to Duma Ndlovu, the exiled Black South African writer who addressed the convention.

"Meeting people from all over the world at the convention," he continued, "focuses your attention on the fact that the problems we face in this country are faced by working people in the other countries because of the multinational corporations."

"These corporations condemn socialism for saying we shouldn't have any boundaries. But they have no boundaries. If they can make more money in Formosa or Hong Kong, they don't hesitate a moment to let the workers here suffer so they can make a bigger profit."

"The important thing," Gutiérrez concluded, "is that people who think socialism is a good idea shouldn't hesitate to talk about it. For a long time the people with the power and money were trying to suppress the idea of socialism. But I feel now our time has come."

* * *

Wendy Berger

Wendy Berger, twenty, recently joined the Socialist Workers Party in Newark.

She became politically active while in high school as a member of the Jewish Defense League (JDL), a hard core Zionist group not particularly concerned with the civil rights of those who disagree with them.

"I became disillusioned with that whole movement though," she said. "The hypocrisy, the way they treated women. I was becoming disillusioned with religion, then with Zionism. And I guess I had some doubts about the JDL's violence, thinking that wasn't the way to do things—there had to be a better way."

Then, she got placed in a National Organization for Women office through a CETA summer job.

"I got involved in the women's movement," she said. "Though I knew while I was in the JDL that I didn't like the way they were treating women, I thought it was my problem. Then I plugged into feminist ideas and made the connection. They weren't just my problems, but the problems of a woman growing up in a sexist society."

"I got very involved with NOW, I went through feminist consciousness-raising. But, at the end, it left me in a place I was uncomfortable with. Like the idea that the system was crummy because men were on top and women on the bottom. Not that *somebody* was on top and *somebody* was on bottom. But that it was men—that they were the enemy."

"Then I became friendly with Chris Hildebrand, a NOW member who was in the Newark SWP. Real slowly and real carefully, point by point, I started looking at SWP politics, issue by issue."

But she wasn't convinced until she went to a memorial meeting for Evelyn Reed.

"Someone, I think Mary-Alice Waters, told about Evelyn Reed giving some counsel to another woman. They were talking about how screwed up society was. And Evelyn Reed said, 'Yeah, I know. That's why I'm in the SWP, and that's why you should be.'"

"And I said, 'Yeah, I should be.'"

Berger doesn't regret the decision, nor the process of integration she experienced.

"I had two problems," she said. "The idea of working in an organization that was 50 percent men. And Zionism—which I had not fully and consciously broken with. Reading took care of the problem on Zionism. The idea of working with men was more of a process."

"Another thing. When I'd get into a debate before with somebody, whether it was women's issues or Zionism,



WENDY BERGER

there were always gray areas that I stayed away from because I didn't know the answer. There were things I was afraid to argue about."

"Now I know that I can argue about anything with anybody. And the only time I'll have a problem, it's a matter that I just haven't read it yet. I may not know the answer, but I know there's somebody in the branch that does. Or that can tell me where to find it."

And the convention?

"I'm completely and utterly impressed by the degree of organization. But everything the party does organizationally impresses me."

"And the quality. Now I know it's not just Chris, or one or two women in my branch. The quality, and the dedication and seriousness is so universal. It's overwhelming. I feel like I'm at a point where I'm saturated with information and like I just have to go home and read and become grounded in the classics."

Since joining the SWP, Berger has gotten a job in an auto parts plant and will now be trained as a welder.

"I love it," she said. "I never made more money in my life. I enjoy what I do. And I love being able to talk politics on the job. And I love the response. I talk politics eight hours a day. People are thirsty for it."

"And already when something happens and they want to know what's going on, they come and ask me. I've got to keep up on stuff."

"I've already sold a few subscriptions, got people reading the *Militant* and some pamphlets."

And, she concluded with obvious pride, her older sister, "who I thought was the most unpolitical person I ever met," has now also joined the SWP.

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Washington's secret war in Kampuchea

Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia. By William Shawcross. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979. 467 pp. \$13.95.

During the five years that American imperialism waged war in Kampuchea (Cambodia), its planes dropped over 539,000 tons of bombs on this small country as against the 160,000 tons that they had dropped on Japan in World War II. Almost half of these bombs, over 257,000 tons, were dropped in six months in 1973.

Of a population of 7 or 7.5 million, it is estimated that there were 500,000 or 600,000 killed, the equivalent of some 17 or 19 million in the United States. When the Khmer Rouge took Phnompenh in 1975, about 80 percent of the prewar rice-growing paddy fields had been abandoned and 75 percent of the draft animals had been killed.

During the last eighteen months of the war most people in the cities, to which the peasants had fled in large numbers, were slowly starving. Eight-year-old children looked like shriveled babies.

The United States Agency for International Development laid out its perspectives for postwar Kampuchea in a report drafted just before the Khmer Rouge takeover of Phompenh. It stated: "Without large-scale assistance there will be widespread starvation between now and next February. . . . Slave labor and starvation rations for half the nation's people . . . will be a cruel necessity for



Kampuchean peasant and what remained of his village following U.S. bombing in 1973

in Kampuchea—gives the sordid details: the secret bombing, the elaborate falsifications, the cynicism, the propping up of a corrupt Cambodian government, the indifference to the plight of the Kampuchean people.

Shawcross, a reporter for the London *Sunday Times* in Vietnam and Washington, spent three years of research on the book, delving into government documents and interviewing more than three hundred people in the United States, Europe, and Asia. His work is a significant contribution to history.

Shawcross sees his book as showing what happens "when the world's most powerful nation . . . is governed as it was after Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger moved into the White House." Indeed, Nixon and Kissinger were a particularly repulsive combination.

Kissinger, who held Nixon in contempt, flattered him grossly; Nixon, who was jealous of Kissinger, used him. Driven by the same hunger for power, they had between them as much humanity as a snake and a baboon.

But by Shawcross's own account the destruction of a small peasant country did not merely spring from the characters of these two men. The secret bombing of Kampuchea was first suggested by General Abrams, the commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam. The secret was exposed early, but Congress made no move to stop it until the great antiwar demonstrations after American ground forces invaded Kampuchea.

When articles of impeachment were later drawn

up against Nixon, an article impeaching him for having conducted war without a declaration by Congress, contrary to the U.S. Constitution and international law, was dropped. Opponents of that article argued that previous presidents, particularly Johnson, had been as deceitful as Nixon.

Moreover, "a full inquiry would have demonstrated that Senator Mike Mansfield, the Senate Majority leader and other Democrats had known about the secret bombing at the time it was taking place." Elliot Richardson, who had been built up as a "hero" of the Watergate affair by the bourgeois press, had as Secretary of Defense lied to the Senate about the bombing. The blood of the Kampuchean masses was not on the hands of Nixon and Kissinger alone.

Today the Carter administration is engaged in a hypocritical propaganda campaign against the countries of Indochina. And it is continuing its economic blockade against them. The government has reneged on Nixon's promises of reparations to Vietnam.

The U.S. government is threatening the very survival of the Kampuchean people by holding up the massive food aid that is needed to end famine, thus compounding the crimes detailed in Shawcross's book.

Although deterred from direct intervention by the antiwar sentiment of the American people, American imperialism remains as ruthless as ever—despite the departure of Nixon and Kissinger.

—Paul Siegel

Where 'Norma Rae' leaves off

Rise Gonna Rise: A Portrait of Southern Textile Workers. By Mimi Conway. Photographs by Earl Dotter. Garden City, New York, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979. 228 pp. \$10.95.

Where *Norma Rae* scratched the surface, Mimi Conway's *Rise Gonna Rise: A Portrait of Southern Textile Workers* digs a little deeper.

When the curtain draws to a close in *Norma Rae*, the union has won the election. You might get the impression that a long struggle has just ended. Actually the struggle has just begun.

This is how the J.P. Stevens mill workers at Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, explain their story to author Mimi Conway. Five years after they voted their support to the union, they are still without a contract.

From its beginnings, the history of Roanoke Rapids has been the history of the mills—a history of clashes between mill workers and their bosses.

Mill towns like Roanoke Rapids are worlds unto themselves, with the mill owners running the whole show. When J.P. Stevens, the nation's second-largest textile manufacturer, bought the Roanoke Rapids mills in 1956, it sold the mill houses and recreation centers that the previous owners had set up. It withdrew its support from the hospital, originally built with funds assessed on tenement property owned by the local industries.

This corporate giant had no interest in suffering a cut in its profits by running the mill town with high overhead costs. The Stevens owners bought the Roanoke Rapids plant to add to the chain of southern mills they had begun acquiring in 1946. By taking advantage of cheaper labor, Stevens profits shot up and they shut down twenty-one mills in the northeast.

For mill hands who had worked in Roanoke Rapids for years and years, the attack by the new owner hit them with the jarring reality that they would have to fight long and hard for their rights.

Rise Gonna Rise is the story of these fighters—their own story in their own words.

There is Lucy Taylor, president of the Roanoke Rapids chapter of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, whose husband, F.K., wakes with a fright when he does not hear his wife coughing, fearing she may be dead. Lucy's coughing, caused by breathing cotton dust, can go on for twenty-four hours straight. It makes F.K. so nervous that they finally got separate beds so he could sleep better. He's thinking of suing Stevens for "alienation of affection" and says there are hundreds of people all over town with the same problem.

F.K. says, "I know why I don't like cotton mills—the way they treat their help by threats of shut-downs, three-day work, moving out, firing people, and making them sick. I believe the southern textile worker will organize and stand up for their rights."

There is Lucy Sledge, who brought the first race discrimination suit against J.P. Stevens, helping to win a historic precedent for southern textile workers. "I did do right," she says. "I know I did. I'd go down for this, if I had to, for my black brothers and sisters."

And there are many more fighters whose voices can be heard in the pages of this book.

The fighters in the textile mills are young and old alike. Many are dying. Cotton dust has given them brown lung. They plan to die fighting as sisters and brothers in the Carolina Brown Lung Association.

The CBLA, made up mostly of retired mill workers, was formed in April 1975 to assist victims of brown lung. One of the association's first activities was a series of one-day screening clinics to determine the breathing capacity of participating mill workers. The relentless fight of these veterans of the mills is recalled by its participants.

Greatly complementing Conway's work are photographs by Earl Dotter, who has won national recognition for his photographs of miners and their families.

The fight of the Roanoke Rapids textile workers against J.P. Stevens is truly an inspiring one and the best way to find out about it is from the workers themselves. Mimi Conway should be applauded for making this possible.

—Jane Harris

TEACHERS ON STRIKE IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Louise Armstrong

SAN FRANCISCO—This city's 3,800 teachers and 2,000 paraprofessionals began a strike September 11. School superintendent Robert Alioto ordered the closing of all public schools except the Children's Center and John L. Roberts Development Center for the handicapped.

The strike centers around two main demands: a 15.7 percent pay raise and reinstatement of 1,200 teachers laid off this summer. Because of past pay freezes, teachers' pay has risen only 8 percent in the past four years. Even with a 15.7 percent increase, they would be taking a cut in real wages.

The San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women enthusiastically offered its solidarity with the striking teachers. Joan-Marie Shelley, San Francisco Federation of Teachers vice-president, addressed the chapter's September 11 meeting, explaining the issues involved in the strike.

Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has urged San Francisco working people to support the teachers. "All the Democrats and Republicans in this state are participating in a con game to destroy public education," she said. "They tell us there is no money for the education of our children. There is plenty of money downtown that is not being taxed—at Standard Oil for instance. If we taxed the rich, not working people, we could not only bail out our schools but expand education."

ST. LOUIS LABOR MARKS R-T-W DEFEAT

By Bruce Kimball

ST. LOUIS—Hundreds of un-

The FBI and Jean Seberg

The foul stench of FBI COINTELPRO dirty tricks got another airing with the spy agency's admission that it conducted a poison-pen operation to discredit Jean Seberg, the actress who committed suicide in early September.

With approval from J. Edgar Hoover, the Los Angeles FBI in 1970 planted a rumor, published by the *Los Angeles Times*, that Seberg was pregnant by a leader of the Black Panther Party.

The FBI head office approved sending out the fake letter with the amendment that it be held up for two months "until Seberg's pregnancy would be obvious to everyone."

The agency decided to "neutralize" Seberg because she was a reported financial contributor to the Panthers.

Romain Gary, the French author who was Seberg's husband in 1970, said he was the father of the child and that the FBI had destroyed her life.

He said she had been deeply distressed by the planted rumor and had lost the baby at birth. She tried suicide several times.

In releasing the documents, FBI Director William Webster piously asserted that, "The days when the FBI used derogatory information to combat advocates of unpopular causes have

long since passed. We are out of that business forever."

That's about as persuasive as the official FBI assertion that it stopped burglarizing people back in 1966.

Under oath, the FBI declared in the Socialist Workers Party damage suit against it, that it was "out of that business" too.

Then, a decade after the burglaries were supposed to have stopped, it was established that in Denver an FBI plant in the SWP had burglarized the party's offices there to deliver documents to the FBI. This was known and concealed by the agency.

In a September 18 editorial, the *New York Times* discusses the Seberg revelations and what it properly



JEAN SEBERG

terms, "the horror of COINTELPRO."

The editorial takes as good coin the FBI assertion that it has ended its COINTELPRO disruption and dirty tricks directed against political dissidents.

However, says the *Times*, it's not enough to rely on "decent" cops. What's needed, the paper argues, is congressional enactment of the pending FBI "charter."

That's a fraud. What the charter does, basically, is make legal a host of crimes which the FBI has been conducting.

It would authorize FBI infiltration of legal political organizations, the use of informers, surveillance of dissidents, and more.

How could it do otherwise? That's the nature of the beast. The FBI is not a crime prevention agency. It is a secret political police force.

Since the U.S. Constitution guarantees the right of political expression to all points of view, attempts to curb those that are "unpopular" with the rulers of this country can only be done by the methods made so notorious by the FBI and CIA.

The way to begin cleaning up the political pollution in this country is not by "regulating" a dirty-tricks outfit like the FBI, but by abolishing it.

ionists marched in a September 8 Labor Day parade. The theme was celebration of labor's great victory over union-busting forces in last November's elections.

In a statewide referendum,

labor and its supporters beat back a proposal to institute "right to work" laws in Missouri by a substantial margin.

"Thanks, Missouri, for defeating Amendment 23," read the banner on United Auto

Workers Local 235's entry. Similar signs were carried by many of the nearly forty unions that participated.

Many T-shirts and bumper stickers bore the slogan of last year's labor campaign: "Right-to-work is a Ripoff."

While the parade was not as big as last year's, when thousands turned out to demonstrate against R-T-W, there was a strong feeling of solidarity among the participating unionists.

Another theme throughout the parade was opposition to high gas prices. "UAW says stop oil ripoff" was a common sign.

There was a very positive response to the proposal by the International Association of Machinists for an October 17 national day of protest against high fuel prices.

NOW CONVENTION SLATED IN L.A.

"NOW more than ever" is the theme of the twelfth national

conference of the National Organization for Women. It will be held October 5-7 at the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles.

The conference will set NOW's political action goals for the upcoming year and elect NOW's national officers.

It is open to members and nonmembers and the registration fee is thirty-five dollars.

NOW CHAPTER MARKS SANGER'S BIRTH

The Essex County, New Jersey, National Organization for Women sponsored a program September 16 to commemorate the birth of Margaret Sanger.

The theme was reproductive freedom.

The program featured a reading by feminist playwright Myrna Lamb of her abortion rights play "But what have you done for me lately?"

Leni-Anne Riotto, of the International Union of Electrical Workers and secretary of the northern New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women, spoke on the federal Pregnancy Disability Act, which her union along with other organizations fought to get through Congress.

The act denies an employer the right to discriminate against pregnant women.

Jean Fortin, from the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, spoke on impending legislation, which if passed will make New Jersey one of the most restrictive states for obtaining abortions. She also spoke on the need to maintain federal guidelines against forced sterilization.

A representative from Planned Parenthood spoke on birth control and teenage pregnancy.

SCHENECTADY PICKET PROTESTS 'SAMBO'

"Sambo's No! No Jim Crow!" was chanted by fifty demonstrators at Sambo's restaurant in Schenectady, New York, September 8.

They were protesting the change of name of a local restaurant that is now part of the national Sambo's chain. The chain has adamantly refused to change its name despite repeated protests in various parts of the country.

The Schenectady protest was called by the NAACP and joined by individuals from various groups, report correspondents Kate Skelton and Victor Cabán.

An NAACP leaflet explained the racist meaning of "Sambo." The protest received wide press coverage and good community support. The picketing will continue.

Chicago school Jim Crow hit

By Peter Thierjung

CHICAGO—The federal government has rejected a "plan" by the Chicago Board of Education for school desegregation. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare said Chicago schools have been illegally segregated for decades and the latest plan doesn't solve the problem.

Recently elected Mayor Jane Byrne, who is supposed to be giving the city a new image, has lined up with the racists by declaring

that she's against busing for desegregation. She's for "neighborhood schools," the racist code word for segregated schools.

Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, and many other figures in the Black community, have blasted the city administration for its refusal to desegregate.

Jackson labeled the city administration and school board a "Rhodesian minority" which rules over a majority Black and Latino school system.

Jackson has called on the unions to take a stand, declaring that "labor must be as willing to fight for multi-racial education as it is willing to fight for salaries."

The city schools are faced with the threat of losing several million dollars in federal funds if there is no move to desegregate, and there has even been talk of a Justice Department suit.

Officials here created a phony "voluntary" busing plan to avoid what's needed—metropolitan-wide, two-way mandatory busing.

What's Going On

ARIZONA TEMPE

PUT A STEELWORKER IN OFFICE. Speakers: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sat., Sept. 22, 6 p.m. reception and dinner; 8 p.m. rally. USWA Local 4102 Union Hall, So. 56th St. (So. of Baseline). Aup: SWP Campaign. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

COLORADO DENVER

PALESTINE—IS U.S. POLICY CHANGING? Speakers: Peter Verner, Socialist Workers Party; Khalid Aloe, Organization of Arab Students, Univ. of Denver. Fri., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave.

Donation: \$1.00 Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

INDIANA GARY

THE RECESSION: WHAT IT MEANS. Speakers: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the Militant; Etta Ettlinger, member of United Steelworkers Local 1014, chairperson of Gary Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

1980 SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY. Speaker: Ma-

tilda Zimmermann, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president. Sat., Sept. 22, Miners Memorial Hall (in Virginia). Reception 6:30 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

CUBA TODAY. TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE REVOLUTION. Speakers: Matilda Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, recently returned from Cuba. Sun., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: SWP Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK ALBANY

BRITISH TERRORISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speaker: Austin Devine, member of Northern Aid; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

OREGON PORTLAND

PUBLIC PROTEST MEETING: STOP THE EXECUTION OF THE IRANIAN SOCIALISTS. Speakers: Iraj Rabii, chairperson of Portland Committee to Save the Iranian 14; Houshang Fallahi, brother of condemned Iranian socialist. Sun., Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore

Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

U.S. HANDS OFF CUBA: END THE EMBARGO NOW. Speaker: Fred Auger, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Sun., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

UNITED AUTO WORKERS V. THE AUTO COMPANIES. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Farm workers score big gains



Militant/Dennis Scarla

With their fighting spirit undiminished, California farm workers are turning the tide in their nine-month battle for renewal of lettuce and other vegetable contracts.

The big breakthrough came August 31, when Sun Harvest, the nation's top lettuce grower, broke ranks with other lettuce firms and signed a three-year contract with the United Farm Workers, upping the starting wage to an initial \$5 an hour. The victory came after a bitterly fought strike that began in January.

Four days later, without waiting for union sanction, the workers struck the fields of at least a half-dozen other growers.

Six days later Mann Packing, the country's biggest broccoli grower, threw in the towel and signed the same basic agreement as Sun Harvest, plus provisions specific to the broccoli industry, including a 5 percent premium for working in muddy fields.

Two days later, four broccoli and two lettuce growers signed up.

By September 14, the

union had fifteen contracts, increasing wages by 50 percent over the three-year life of the agreements.

The head of the Grower-Shippers Association angrily declared, "We had those contracts jammed down our throats. We have \$20 million worth of vegetable crops in the ground, and if the crops were not harvested, it would all have withered in the heat. So most of our people signed."

Meanwhile, the battle continues against other major lettuce growers who are still holding out.

Attorney Jerry Cohen, chief UFW negotiator, said the new pacts represented an important breakthrough, but added: "The truth is we still have our major battle to be won: the fight to get contracts with the lettuce growers who produce most of the state's iceberg lettuce."

A few months ago, when the powerful growers' association seemed totally united, that looked like a hard proposition. But the resolute action of truly heroic field hands may now turn that situation around.

Did fuel production fall or drop?

After a bit of probing, the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, is beginning to suspect that last winter's fuel oil "crisis" may have been a swindle.

Its suspicion is based on the fact that at the very time Iranian oil exports stopped, U.S. companies cut back on their production.

Oil production here generally drops off in the winter, the GAO said. But this winter the drop was nearly double that of the previous winter and more than double that of two years ago.

But, the oil companies responded, the weather this winter was very severe and that caused the drop.

The GAO is skeptical. It checked the weather data and found that in three of the four major producing areas, the temperatures were the same, or higher, than the year before.

However, the whole murky business was cleared up by

the American Petroleum Institute.

Responding to reports on the GAO findings, the institute explained:

"The GAO report did not say that U.S. companies cut production but rather that crude oil production fell. That is a significant difference."

Oh.

Meanwhile, with price regulations lifted, the cost of heating fuel rose this winter from about 55 cents a gallon to about 85 cents.

So, guess what? The "shortage" is over.

In fact, reports the September 17 *New York Times*, "by late fall the country may be drowning in the stuff."

Again, meanwhile, Charles Duncan, Carter's new energy secretary, says he favors deregulating the price of gasoline too.

Sound thinking. Get it up to \$2 a gallon and we'll be drowning in that too.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



You'll hardly notice—Economic forecasters at the University of California at Los Angeles say the present recession will bottom out in 1980. But, they add, the recovery will be the most "gradual" so far.

Population control—A Florida State University professor told the American Chemical Society that studies in various areas indicate a decrease in the male sperm count, often reaching the sterility range. He linked this to the increase of poisonous chemicals in the air.

A yawning gap—S.I. Newhouse, the recently deceased chain newspaper operator, insisted he didn't shape his papers' policies. "My papers," he advised, "have different philosophies and they are about as far apart as you can get. Some are Democratic, some are Republican."

How moral can you get?—An Olympic games official said negotiations are under way with the U.S. Tobacco Company, and chewing tobacco may be enlisted as a sponsor of the games. But not cigarettes or cigars.

Big-hearted Henry—Henry Kronberger, operator of a busy Las Vegas pawn shop, says people there hock all kinds of things. For instance, he gave one woman \$10 for her dentures. "For three months," he said, "she ate soup in a cafe across the street. She couldn't eat anything else without her choppers. One day, I couldn't take it any longer. I walked over and gave her her teeth back."

Gift tip (I)—For the family hypochondriac, Neiman Marcus is offering an 18-karat gold pillbox. \$1,250.

Gift tip (II)—If the 14-karat pillbox doesn't eliminate chills, try a bedspread from Bijan's in Beverly Hills. Mink. \$42,000.

Sounds reasonable—Initially, it was speculated that bubbling purple blobs on a Friscoe, Texas, front lawn were from outer space. But the mystery was solved when investigators found tons of the stuff bubbling away at a nearby battery reprocessing plant.

Union Talk

Support Detroit teachers

This week's column is by Mac Warren, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant.

DETROIT—Some 12,000 public school teachers are on strike here. The main issue is the school board's refusal to grant them cost-of-living (COLA) protection.

This is happening at the same time as thousands of auto workers in the Detroit area are considering the newly negotiated contract with General Motors. COLA in pensions was a big issue for us, although we didn't win it in the proposed settlement. It's an issue still fresh in our minds.

Teachers are in the same economic bind that all of us are in who work for a living. Teachers have a right to a COLA clause in their contracts because without it they don't have a chance at maintaining an adequate standard of living with today's spiraling inflation.

Their fight for that basic right deserves the support of other working people—and in Detroit, that especially means auto workers.

Teachers are up against a united front of employers, just as we auto workers have been all along in our efforts to get a decent contract.

Teachers aren't even granted the legal right to strike in Michigan. The school board has gone to court to get a back-to-work order against them. On the first day of the strike, the board kept the schools open, urging teachers to defy the union's majority decision and cross the picket lines. (To their credit, none but a handful did.)

When teachers go on strike, their employers always try to convince the public that it's a strike against children and parents and against taxpayers.

It's a blatant attempt to divide working people. There is absolutely nothing in this scheme for auto workers.

Every time some group of workers wins a COLA clause, it means we're in a better position to defend and improve our COLA. When workers in one plant or industry or public sector win better benefits, the right to a union, or a pay increase, it's a step

forward for workers everywhere.

But COLA for teachers, the employers argue, would mean a bigger bite out of taxpayers—the vast majority of whom are working people also trying to cope with inflation.

What about this? It's true that our taxes are increasing astronomically. But our social services, like education, are rapidly declining. The public schools are in crisis and part of it is the employer attack on teachers' standard of living.

In this confrontation between Detroit teachers and the board of education, it is the teachers who stand for better schools. The board, like others across the nation, is leading the charge *against* education. Striking teachers need and deserve our solidarity.

Teachers could speak to our UAW local meetings to explain the issues. UAW members could walk the teachers' picket lines to show support and encourage other unions to do the same. As the most powerful union in Detroit, the UAW's support to the teachers could be a tremendous boost to their struggle.

The fight for better schools and for better pay and working conditions for teachers in the end comes back to the question of funding. As it is now, working people pay the taxes, but the only guarantees for "services" are to the rich. On the city level, bankers are guaranteed their interest payments on municipal bonds. On the federal level, some \$130 billion goes to the military budget to protect corporate interests around the world. (President Carter, by the way, insists that the arms budget have a COLA *plus* a 3 percent increase for 1980.)

But this is backwards. Corporations should be paying the taxes, not working people. And these taxes should be funding the services that we—the majority—need. Education would be at the top of the list.

In order to reverse these priorities, it will take more than the teachers unions fighting against cutbacks and for better contracts. It will take the power of the entire labor movement, in particular the strong industrial unions like the Auto Workers.

Hands off Cuba!

The U.S. government's campaign against alleged Soviet combat troops in Cuba is a reminder of the infamous "missile crisis" of 1962, when the U.S. rulers brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction out of their hatred for the Cuban revolution.

Then as now, the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party sounded the alarm, exposing Washington's war aims and rallying working people to Cuba's defense.

The Kennedy administration had failed to defeat the Cuban revolution through political blackmail, economic sabotage, or the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Faced with the heroic resistance and solidarity of the Cuban people, Washington escalated its attacks. Cuban sugar cane fields were firebombed by planes from Florida. CIA-trained terrorists were landed on Cuban beaches to carry out sabotage, bombings, and assassinations. Another full-scale invasion appeared imminent.

In October 1962, Kennedy made his move. The excuse was the presence in Cuba of medium-range ballistic missiles provided by the Soviet Union. These defensive weapons were portrayed as a deadly threat to the American people. Kennedy issued an ultimatum: remove the missiles or face war.

To show he meant business, Kennedy mobilized troops to invade Cuba, launched bombers carrying nuclear weapons, readied rockets and submarines for attack. A naval blockade was imposed.

American working people did not share Washington's war aims. The October 29 *Militant* published the results of polls taken only weeks before the missile scare. They showed "about 90 percent" of Americans "don't want to invade Cuba now." In California 56 percent of those polled favored the resumption of diplomatic ties and trade with Cuba.

"Instead of heeding these popular sentiments," said the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in a statement in the same *Militant*, "Kennedy is trying to change peoples' minds by deceiving them."

"Cuba is not a threat to the people of the United States in any way," the statement continued. "All the Cubans want is to be left free from attack while they concentrate on completion of the social revolution in their country. The working people there have taken national affairs into their own hands and they are running things in their own interests. They have abolished capitalism and set out to build a planned economy. They are eliminating unemployment, building homes for all, looking to the health and education of everybody. They have effectively outlawed Jim Crow. They are trying to build a new, good life such as the workers of that land never before knew."

"If the Cubans aren't stopped, workers

in other Latin American countries will begin to follow their example and the idea that the workers should run national affairs will make headway here in this country. To prevent that forward step by the workers, the big capitalists, who run the United States through their Republican and Democratic puppets, are determined to smash the Cuban revolution."

What about the missiles?

"Washington's drive to crush the Cuban revolution began long before Cuba was forced to get arms from the Soviet Union," the November 5 *Militant* answered.

"Kennedy has demanded the removal from Cuba of what he deems to be offensive weapons. The attacker demands the right to say how his intended victim shall be armed. Is there any doubt that for Kennedy all arms capable of effectively staying off an attack are to be defined as 'offensive'?"

During the height of Washington's anti-Cuba hysteria the *Militant* provided the Cuban leaders with a forum for getting the truth out to the American people.

"The peace is not endangered by our arms," said Fidel Castro in a speech reprinted in the November 12 *Militant*. "Peace is endangered because of the aggressive attitudes of the United States."

In exchange for removing the missiles, Castro demanded five guarantees of Cuba's sovereignty. These were reprinted in the *Militant's* November 5 editorial, which called for working people to demonstrate in support of Cuba's requests.

"1) The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically. 2) The end of espionage, sabotage, and counter-revolution organized by the U.S. 3) The end of pirate attacks. 4) The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters. 5) Withdrawal of U.S. forces from the base at Guantanamo."

Despite the removal of Cuba's missiles, not a single one of these demands was met—nor has been met to this day. Washington's economic blockade continues even today in a vindictive attempt to starve the Cuban people into submission. Nevertheless, the U.S. rulers failed to achieve their chief aim—to isolate and drive back the Cuban revolution.

Each week, the *Militant* reported protests against U.S. aggression—10,000 in New York, 3,000 in Bolivia, 10,000 in Italy, millions across China.

Inside Cuba, thousands poured into militia units and mass organizations to mobilize in defense of their revolutionary gains.

"The enemy, by harassing us, has disciplined us, has toughened us," said Castro. "These four years of harassment have created a heroic people . . . an invincible people. We possess long-range moral missiles which cannot be dismantled and which will never be dismantled. That is our strategic weapon."

—Shelley Kramer

Truth on Nicaragua

I'm interested in knowing about the truth of what's happening in Nicaragua and of the solidarity movement with Nicaragua in the U.S. and internationally.

Enclosed is a money order for five dollars for a four-month subscription to the *Militant*.

Your paper surely has some very interesting and informative articles.

I'll be awaiting subscription issues as soon as possible.

D. Robertson
Washington, D.C.

Rock Island strike

Sentiment in support of striking Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks on the Rock Island line runs deep around the country, making a national extension of the strike quite feasible if the workers have anything to do with it.

At the August meeting of BRAC Lodge 1906 at Amtrak's Corporate Headquarters, information about striking brothers and sisters on the Rock Island was sought after the lodge sighed relief that the October 1 Amtrak train cuts did not appear to jeopardize any of our jobs *this* time around. As soon as the strike was mentioned, an Equal Rights Amendment activist yelled, "Send 'em fifty dollars!" with which there was agreement.

Due to provisions governing strike solidarity actions in BRAC's procedures, the lodge decided to send a telegram of solidarity this month, requesting further information as to how we might support their strike. The example of BRAC workers at Norfolk and Western helped pave the way for this ready identification with another lodge's stand-up to management. Lodge 1906 organized two lunchtime rallies in support of N&W workers and building-wide distribution of flyers explaining the issues in the strike.

Sara Smith
Washington, D.C.

IAM and Weber

The report on the national conference of socialist workers discussing new class-struggle trends in issue 30 of the *Militant* (August 3) was an important and informative article. The article reported that "at Boeing, several locals held educationals on the Weber case even though some local officials tried to squelch the events."

I would like to clarify the actual situation. As a member of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers at Boeing and a member of the Affirmative Action Task Force of the National Organization for Women, Tacoma Chapter, I asked the president of my local, Local C, about having an educational on the Weber case at my April union meeting. He agreed right away to have speakers from the Affirmative Action Task Force at the next meeting and helped me get in touch with the presidents of the other locals to arrange educationals at those meetings too. The presidents of some of

the local meetings suspended the regular order of business for the presentations. Fact sheets prepared by the task force on the issues of the case were made available at the union hall to members who could not attend the presentations. A lengthy article on the case was published in the *Aeromechanic*, the IAM newspaper for this area with a circulation of 30,000. This article stressed the importance of affirmative action for all working people as well as the danger to collective-bargaining rights if Weber is upheld.

In all, the reception by the IAM officials of District 751 to the Weber educationals by the Affirmative Action Task Force was respectful of both the National Organization for Women and of the seriousness of the case.

A number of my co-workers read the *Militant*, with particular interest in articles and information relating to our union. Those of us who understood what was at stake continue to celebrate the victory of the Supreme Court decision to overturn Weber. Cecelia Moriarity
IAM District 751, Local C
Tacoma, Washington

Irish struggle

Your article on Northern Ireland entitled "The real terrorists in Ireland" [September 7] was quite informative in that it exposed Britain's repressive methods to keep Northern Ireland a British colony.

But I feel I must take issue with reference to the deaths of Mountbatten and the eighteen British soldiers where you say "the effect of these terrorist acts will only make Britain dig in deeper in Northern Ireland with repressive laws," etc.

What do you mean by referring to the deaths as "terrorist acts"? Don't you know that there is a war of liberation going on in Northern Ireland—being waged between Provisional Irish Republican freedom fighters (not terrorists) against the age-old repressor of Irish freedom—Britain?

I came from Belfast to this country two years ago. I've been held without charge or trial in the British concentration camp Long Kesh. I survived three attempts on my life before I was eighteen years old by the British army and British agents. I've seen two brothers gunned down by British paratroopers and was arrested, beaten, and tortured over 300 times from 1971 to 1977, my crime being I protested, along with my family and neighbors, British occupation of my country.

In my eyes the Provisional IRA is the only hope for the Irish people. Through the armed struggle we can and will win our freedom.

It may take another five, ten, maybe twenty years—who knows. But the Irish people are off their knees and they will never be put down again. The provisionals enjoy popular support not just in the Catholic working-class areas of Belfast and Derry, but throughout the whole of Ireland.



Picket outside United Nations in September 1960. Organized by Fair Play for Cuba Committee, demonstration demanded end to U.S. intervention against Cuba.

Learning About Socialism

Fundamentals of Marxism

So come on folks, do a little bit more research on the issue. Long live the IRA. Long live freedom. Austin Devine Cohoes, New York

James T. Farrell

Back in 1938 I had the opportunity for a conversation with James T. Farrell which I still recall appreciatively.

It was during the time when he was a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party. He was sitting at a table, alone, at a New York SWP Saturday night social. I greatly admired his writings, particularly *Studs Lonigan*, so I mustered the courage to sit down and tell him so.

I told him how I was able to use *Studs* as a kind of pamphlet in my neighborhood. My circle of friends were young working-class fellows similar in many ways to those portrayed in *Studs*. Most of them were not much into reading.

But a good half-dozen of them read *Studs* and were deeply affected by it. They read it initially because it was then considered a "dirty" book. But as they got into it, they began to see the mirror that was being held up, in many respects, to their own lives. And it helped them to recognize how barren the lives of working people can be in this society. The things I was trying to say about socialism began to make more sense to them.

Farrell was pleased when I told him about this and we got into a discussion of the relationship of a revolutionary-minded artist to the revolutionary party.

He offered some thoughts on the question in a simple way that corresponded to my obviously elementary comprehension of the question. But he did it without a trace of condescension.

He made one point that made a deep impact and remained with me. Farrell said—and I'm paraphrasing—To the degree that I succeed in telling the truth in my novels, I believe I'm contributing to the fight for socialism.

Harry Ring
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Beginning this fall, branches of the Socialist Workers Party throughout the country will be organizing classes to study the fundamental ideas of Marxism.

These classes are one part of a broader education campaign which was launched at the SWP national convention this August. The convention discussed the need to arm members of the SWP with a clear understanding of basic Marxist concepts so the party will be better prepared for the challenges ahead.

In addition to the classes, the convention projected beginning a full-time school which would enable small groups of party members to study Marxist theory in depth for a period of time as their primary activity.

Another aspect of the educational effort will be the stepping up of political educational programs for new members of the party as well as others who are just getting interested in socialist ideas.

Branches of the SWP are also planning educational conferences for the fall where socialists will hear speakers on such topics as the *Communist Manifesto*, basic Marxist economic concepts and historical materialism.

Accomplishing these projected goals will be a big challenge for the party, since the education campaign will take place along with many other activities, a major one being the socialist presidential campaign.

How will this class series in Marxist fundamentals work?

Some branches of the SWP have already begun preparing for the classes with a primary objective of having all members participate as students or teachers, or both. Special sessions for shift workers will be scheduled.

Although there are many relevant Marxist works that could be considered, five pamphlets have been recommended as a beginning: *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels, *State and Revolution* by V.I. Lenin, and *Wage Labor and Capital* along with *Value, Price and Profit* by Marx.

Also recommended as a clear and succinct introduction to these works is *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, An Introduction to Their Lives and Work* by David Riazanov. Riazanov, an outstanding scholar, headed the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in the Soviet Union and was responsible for the publication of many of their works until he was purged in the 1930s by Stalin.

The importance of this educational campaign was underscored by SWP leader Maceo Dixon in a report he made to the SWP convention.

"We want to put education right up front, giving special leadership attention to it, making sure it is thought out, with time allowed for all members to read and participate in classes. . . . We want to make concentration on our educa-



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tional needs a norm in our movement."

Dixon stressed how these basic works of scientific socialism contain ideas and lessons very appropriate for today's generation of revolutionary socialists.

The enduring relevance of Marxist ideas was also illustrated by Leon Trotsky in his introduction to the *Communist Manifesto* (Pathfinder edition, 1970), written in 1937 on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of this historical document. He states, "The Materialist conception of history, . . . applied with consummate skill in the *Manifesto* has completely withstood the test of events and the blows of hostile criticism. It constitutes today one of the most precious instruments of human thought. All other interpretations of the historical process have lost all scientific meaning."

Those reading Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* will also find the introduction to the Pathfinder edition by SWP leader and Marxist scholar George Novack useful. Here he refers to this work as "one of the most influential classics of Marxist literature . . . it has helped educate millions of people throughout the world in the teachings of scientific socialism."

—Paul Montauk

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Stop nuclear power! Socialist candidates speak out

The following statement was issued September 19 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice president.

All nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately.

Producing electricity with nuclear energy is too perilous to justify its continued use. Throughout the entire fuel cycle—from mining, milling, and fabricating uranium fuel, to the operation of the nuclear-fueled plants, to storing tons of radioactive wastes—radioactive particles are released into the environment, increasing the danger of cancer and other illnesses.

Every nuclear plant is also a potential Three Mile Island. And the possibility exists for accidents even more serious. These could cause thousands of deaths and the destruction of homes, farms, and property over huge areas.

That fact is not disputed. The gov-

ernment cover-up agencies and the private monopolies that reap gigantic profits from the nuclear industry belittle the likelihood of such an event. They try to reassure us that all the necessary safeguards are being implemented. But they don't deny that the potential exists for catastrophic accidents.

The Carter administration, Congress, and all the Democratic and Republican politicians insist that there is no alternative to nuclear energy. Therefore, we must drive ahead with the construction of more nuclear power plants.

But this is not true. There is an alternative. The 13 percent of electricity now produced by nuclear power in the U.S. could easily be made up through the use of more coal.

Huge reserves of coal are available. Even burned in its dirtiest form, coal is safer than permitting any one of the nuclear reactors to continue operating. It already provides the energy for more than half of the country's electric power plants.

The United Mine Workers are campaigning for coal as an alternative to nuclear energy.

They point out that nuclear power is unsafe and no technology exists to make it safe. Therefore it is unacceptable. And while there are many dangers in mining and burning coal, the technology exists to mine coal safely and to burn it relatively cleanly. How safe coal mining is depends on the strength of the UMWA.

The UMWA's aggressive antinuclear stance offers the biggest opportunity the antinuclear movement has to carry this fight into the labor movement.

The working class has no stake in a nuclear future and it has the power to prevent that future.

As we campaign around the country, one question we often get asked by



May 6 antinuclear demonstration of 125,000 in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Anne Teesdale

fellow workers is, Yes, I see the dangers of nuclear energy, but what about our jobs? Shutting down nuclear power plants will put me out of work.

Our answer is that when nuclear plants are shut down and no more are built, the factories that produce nuclear reactors should be converted to producing socially necessary products. Plants producing boilers, generators, and other components of nuclear power plants can easily be converted to production of equipment needed in coal-fired plants. Likewise, many construction workers building nuclear power plants can be put to work constructing coal-fired plants.

The big task in front of antinuclear

activists is to get the truth out—to explain why nuclear power is so dangerous and what the alternative is—and win millions to this struggle. Actions like the September 23 rally in New York City are an important part of this process.

We can't rely on the Kennedys, Carters, Browns, Bakers, and Reagans to end nuclear power. They all support it.

The Socialist Workers Party is unequivocally and unconditionally for shutting down all the nuclear power plants now.

We invite you to join our 1980 socialist campaign.

NYC rally

NEW YORK—An antinuclear rally and concert will be held here Sunday, September 23, at the Battery Park City Landfill in lower Manhattan. The day's events will run from 11:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Speakers and musicians include Ralph Nader, Dr. George Wald, Bella Abzug, Jane Fonda, David Livingston, Bonnie Raitt, Pete Seeger, and Holly Near.

For more information about the rally or to volunteer your help call (212) 673-7900.

Va. shipyard fights OSHA investigation

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The Tenneco-owned Newport News shipyard is back in court again, this time to answer charges brought against it by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Usually it's Tenneco that is running to the courts to block recognition of Steelworkers Local 8888. Shipyard production and maintenance workers voted for the Steelworkers in January 1978 and have been fighting ever since to secure their union rights. Last April the Steelworkers suspended their twelve-week strike for recognition.

Since that time the union has pressed for OSHA to investigate the notoriously unsafe shipyard. After much negotiation, and a potential contempt-of-court citation, Tenneco agreed to let twelve OSHA investigators into the yard for a sixty-day inspection beginning September 5.

It didn't take long for the oil-rich company to show how much respect it had for the guidelines it agreed to with OSHA. Exactly zero.

The OSHA investigation is the result of a safety campaign waged by Local 8888 and the international office of the United Steelworkers of America. OSHA acted on complaints filed by thirty-eight Steelworkers pointing to

across-the-board safety and health violations in the shipyard.

OSHA is now seeking a contempt-of-court order against Tenneco for a "course of conduct" designed to "delay and disrupt the inspection and harass and impede the inspectors." The company must answer these charges in the U.S. District Court of Norfolk September 20.

Tenneco has forced OSHA, the gov-

ernment agency stated, to spend "the majority of its time in coping with delaying tactics rather than conducting an efficient and careful inspection for occupational hazards."

The shipyard and the U.S. Navy, for instance, ganged up to prevent OSHA from inspecting nuclear reactor chambers, including unfueled ones. The yard bosses declared engine rooms, laden with illegalities, off-limits

as well.

OSHA's charges confirm what Steelworkers have been saying since the investigation began—that they have been harassed and threatened by the company, which is seeking to prevent Local 8888 members from accompanying the investigators on the tours. Supervisory personnel have even tried unsuccessfully to get Steelworkers to

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Unionists back Local 8888 in court

BALTIMORE—A federal appeals court panel here heard arguments September 12 in the long battle between Steelworkers Local 8888 and the giant oil conglomerate Tenneco.

Tenneco's lawyers repeated their well-worn charges of voting irregularities in the Steelworkers 1978 election victory at the Newport News shipyard. Tenneco's charge of vote fraud has already been rejected twice by the National Labor Relations Board.

The Steelworkers maintained that the company has not furnished proof that any kind of irregularity occurred.

Before the September 12 hearing the company publicly stated that it would abide by the appeals court decision on the shipyard election. The court is expected to hand down its decision in three to six weeks.

About thirty Steelworkers from Local 8888 made the four-hour drive from Newport News to observe the hearing. Also present to lend support to Local 8888 were several members of USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 from the Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant.

Some of the Newport News Steelworkers expressed skepticism that

the company would keep its promise to abide by the court's decision. They explained that Tenneco had made the same pledge before previous hearings and broke its promise twice.

The Virginia unionists were pleased to see fellow steelworkers from Baltimore who had organized solidarity activities during their twelve-week strike for recognition.

Afterwards they visited the local union halls and had a chance to meet several Baltimore Steelworkers. Local 2610 President Joe Kotelchuck informed them, "If you need us again, we'll be with you."