Protest the draft!
Post office rallies set for July 21

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But they have a big problem, the socialist nominee observed. Large numbers of the young people needed to fight such wars are not ready to go.

They just don't believe that the profits of the oil barons and other companies are worth dying for.

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

The antidraft forces, he said, must now organize that sentiment, while educating as broadly as possible on the real war aims of Washington.

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

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

"These can and must be built very big," Pulley said. "The media will be focused on the post offices, and it will be a wonderful way of getting the antidraft message to all the people in... Continued on page 4.

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

Nicaragua's Fight for Freedom
Reminiscences of an FSLN leader

Carlos Fonseca Amador, founder of Sandinista National Liberation Front, is recalled in article by Tomás Borge.
Ruling-class ‘justice’: Supreme Court vs. abortion rights

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

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

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

The Supreme Court ruling runs counter to the deep majority sentiment in this country that women have a right to safe and legal abortion. The decision asserts “abortion is inherently different from other medical procedures, because no other procedure involves the purposeful termination of a potential life.” That is how the court justifies denying women abortions under Medicaid even though other medical care, including for child birth, is paid for. The court joins the Carter administration and “right to life” bigots in arguing that government has a “legitimate interest in protecting the potential life of the fetus.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is a blow aimed at the women’s movement itself, which is in the way of the capitalist offensive. Rather than bowing to this vindictive ruling, however, defenders of women’s equality should take it as a call to redouble the fight for abortion rights—with a more clear-sighted view of the stakes and what it will take to win.

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

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

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

The National Organization for Women, other women’s rights groups, and the labor movement should join forces in a drive to defend state abortion funds and to repeal the Hyde Amendment. The United Labor Union Women (CLUW), which has a long-standing record of support to abortion rights and opposition to the Hyde Amendment, can play a key role in winning labor support. Just as the unions have begun to come to the forefront in the struggle for ERA, as was shown this spring in Illinois, they should put their tremendous power into defense of abortion rights.

Let the voice of the majority be heard!

Militant Highlights This Week

UAW’s ‘changing of the guard’
The auto workers convention elected some new officers. Frank Lovell writes about the new faces and the old policies. Page 23.

Missouri labor backs ballot fight
State government effort to bar socialists from November ballot has run into stiff opposition from unemployed and poor women, especially young women, Blacks and Latinas, to a choice between unwanted pregnancy or the threat of being maimed or killed in back-alley operations.

Socialist versus KKK
California Socialist Workers Party launches congressional campaign, running Mark Friedman against Democratic nominee, a Klan leader. Page 28.
Harrisburg venting resumes despite radiation alarm

By Nancy Cole

Four minutes after Metropolitan Edison began releasing krypton gas from the damaged Three Mile Island nuclear plant June 28, radiation alarms sounded, forcing a halt to the venting. Hundreds, if not thousands, of residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area had already evacuated their homes, dismissing Gov. Richard Thornburg's plea to carry on business as usual.

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

Yet as news of the radiation alarm reached the public, officials attributed it to a "malfunction," a "false signal," an "oversensitive monitoring device." What really happened to spark the alarm remains unknown, adding another chapter to the history of lies and cover-ups that have accompanied every event since the nuclear accident began on March 28, 1979, in TMI's Unit 2.

To Harold Denton, head of nuclear reactor regulation for the NRC, it was just "another glitch" in the effort to clean up the nuclear accident. Other "glitches" have included an unexpectedly jammed door that prevented the first inspection team from even entering the containment dome in May.

The day before the venting began, 102 million gallons of radioactive water spilled in the Unit 1 building, which has also been shut down since the accident began.

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

The monitoring devices that were connected to the alarm measure partic- ulate--specks of dust inside the reactor containing long-lasting radioactive contaminants, such as cesium 134, cesium 137, strontium 90, and cobalt 60.

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

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

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

Conceding that it was only a prelimi- nary study, West German scientist Bernd Franke charged at a news con- ference in Washington June 18 that the NRC had approved the immediate venting plan because it was the cheap- est way for Met Ed to dispose of the krypton.

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

Met Ed Vice-president Robert Ar- nold charged the report was "obstruc­ tionist, entirely uncalled for, and does nothing to help the people around the Harrisburg area or the United States.

"He then admitted he had not read it."

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

The NRC denied a request to recon­ sider this decision from the Middle­ town People Against Nuclear Energy and the Newberry Township Three Mile Island Steering Committee.

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

Socialists: End the lies and secrecy!

"Once again, Metropolitan Edison, the Nuclear Regulatory Commit­ tion, and Democratic and Republi­ can officials have twisted the health of central Pennsylvanians to save face and money," declared Pennsylvania's Socialist Workers Party candidates after radiation alarms only temporarily suspended the venting of krypton June 28.

Linda Mohrbacher, a laid-off steel­ worker from Pittsburgh running for U.S. Senate, and Tony Dill, a rail worker from Philadelphia running for governor of Pennsylvania's Social­ ists, won support in the Harrisburg area this year to talk with residents about their concerns.

"We call for the immediate shut­ down of all nuclear power plants and the use of coal as the immediate alternative," the socialists contended.

"The residents of Harrisburg should have the full truth and complete control over the decontamination process and a guarantee that the plant will never reopen.

"The continuing Three Mile Island accident reinforces the need not only to end nuclear power but also to nationalize the entire energy in­ dustry. Every aspect of the industry should be owned by the working people, with scrutiny, and the secrets and cover­ ups made public.

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

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

Unionists form antinuclear committee

By Nancy Cole

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

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

Individuals and local officials partic­ ipated from United Steelworkers, Uni­ ted Transportation Union, Interna­ tional Association of Machinists, United Electrical Workers, and other unions.

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

Educational panels were inter­ spersed with discussion on structure and future plans for the antinuclear group.

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

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

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

The opening panel titled, "Towards a Safe Energy Future," included Charles Grimm, international field representa­ tive of UMWA District 6; Michael Tingling, chair of Minorities Organ­ ized for Renewable Energy (MORE), and Alden Meyer, Environmental Ac­ tion Foundation.


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

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

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Groups set protests against registration

By Suzanne Haig

Picket lines, rallies, and forums are being called across the country to protest draft registration. Thousands of people marched in a London downtown to protest a decision by the Conservative Party government to install 160 U.S. nuclear-tipped cruise missiles at bases within sixty miles of London.

A June 25 Washington Post dispatch reported, "Nearly 20,000 people from all over Britain turned out for the largest anti-nuclear arms demonstration in Britain since the ban-the-bomb marches of the 1950s and 1960s and the first peace rally against draft registration for men over nineteen for thirteen years since Suez in 1956."

The demonstration on a rainy day followed a national Labor Party conference where a big majority of the delegates repudiated a leadership stand in favor of nuclear weapons deployment in the country.

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

London march vs. missiles

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

The Socialist City to Stop the Draft Committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul will hold a community anti-draft meeting July 20 featuring speakers from the labor, Black, Latino, and student movements and picket lines at as many area post offices as possible.

The CARC chapter in Morgantown, West Virginia, has organized three major activities against draft registration.

Continued from front page

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

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

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

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

Pulley pointed to antidraft positions already taken by top officials of the Machinists, Service Employees, San Francisco Labor Council, and other union bodies as examples of the potential for labor involvement in the fight.

"And what's being said at the top is only a pale reflection of the tremendous potential to resist among the unions, especially the young workers," Pulley said.

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

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

"They should know we are a movement. We must who feel solidarity to work with people everywhere—where particularly those who are the immediate targets of U.S. imperialism—the revolutionary fighters from El Salvador to Iraq."

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

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

Send a one-year subscription to Socialist Challenge, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Send me the YSPZ antidraft button.
Salvadoran general strike protests repression

By Fred Murphy

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

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

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

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

The strike's demands were for a halt to military repression in the cities and countryside; an end to the state of siege; an end to the state of emergency; an end to the state of industry, commerce, transportation, and government offices in El Salvador; an end to the state of intervention in El Salvador; and the authorization of a visit by the International Red Cross, or another international humanitarian agency, to verify the extent of human rights violations in the country.

The strike also demanded the release of two members of the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces (FPL) recently captured by the military: ex-Minister of Education Salvador Sa­maniego and Jose Bertom Cardonetti, who is a son of ruling junta member and Christian Democratic Party leader Antonio Morale Ebrich.

'People's committees'

The CRM also called for using the period of the strike to "organize in self-defense mil­luses in the urban neighborhoods. Such mili­lluses should be called barrios. Food, water, and medical supplies are reportedly being stocked in many areas. One of the immediate tasks of the sur­rassion against the dictatorship that now seems to be fast approaching.

The strike's demands include the mobilization of troops and put tanks and armored vehicles in the streets during the strike. "We need armed men in civilian clothes from the right-wing paramilitary group ORDEN were also highly visible.

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

Members of the military/Catholic Defense Council, which supervised the general strike, are being accused of participation in the strike on both June 24 and 25. The ultra-rightist group further expanded the presence of popular support for the U.S.-backed junta.

In the early June 27 broadcast, junta strongman Col. Jaime Abdol Gutierrez adopted a more threatening tone. Chairman Somoza has "been chosen as the bridgehead for an inter­national conspiracy," Gutierrez said. \"We expect a full-scale war is going to be initiated.\"

"For us, that means war, that they will have," Gutierrez declared. "Attacks barrio, campus"

Gutierrez made good on his threat the very next day.

In a brutal reprisal for the successful forty-eight-hour strike, the Salvadorean armed forces occupied the National University campus and heavily armed troops on June 26 and launched helicopter and ground assaults against a densely populated poor and working-class neighborhood in San Salvador.

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

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

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

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

Worst since Somoza

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

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

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

"Many students who put their hands over their heads were shot down, while others were thrown face-down and bashed with the fearsome G-3s. A general search was initiated through­out the university. . . ." Some students were offered by self-defense units of the CRM, but these were unable to withstand the massive firepower of the Salvadorean military. "The army acted as if it was fighting another heavily armed force," the El Nuevo Diario said.

Río Sumpul massacre

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

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

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

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

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

The Nicaraguan government has called on the United Nations and the International Red Cross to provide aid to the refugees, owing to its own diffi­cult economic situation. As many as 200,000 refugees are expected here if the war breaks out in El Salva­dor.

U.S. hands off!

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

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

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

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

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

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

From Intercontinental Press/In prep

Junta responds with bloody attack

Salvadoran general strike protests repression

No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!

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

By Jon Hillson

MILWAUKEE, Ind.—"Gather your forces," United Steelworkers District 31 Director Michael Gotbaum told delegates to the district’s annual convention last week.

"The reason? To turn out steelworkers to swell the Save Our Jobs picket lines in front of USWA Local 65 against the two-week shutdown of U.S. Steel’s Gary Works.

The shutdown began June 28.

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

"The delegates passed the resolution unanimously, amid loud applause."

"Chicago strike against now affiliated with the United Auto workers.

"The union has called for a settlement June 19 providing an end to police brutality. We called for better job opportunities and better housing. And we have called for better education and training programs that put jobless workers back to work," he said.

"It’s been an extended number of public-service jobs, unions, affirmative action, southern roots, and the unemployed put back on the payroll."

"The shutdown is a cutting back on extended unemployment benefits, an emergency public works program, another resolution that begins to repair and rebuild public facilities.

"But the authorities should be started to find jobs for our youth."

"During the week-long convention, NAACP delegates will hold workshops and consider resolutions on police brutality, jobs, affirmative action, southern roots, and the initial date for draft registration approaching. Benjamin Hooks reiterated the NAACP’s opposition to draft registration, a stand adopted at last year’s convention in Louisville, Kentucky."

”

Detroit city workers strike against ‘uncola’

By Michael Smith

NEW YORK—Six trade unions spoke at a panel discussion on "The Fight City Hall . . . and Win" at the District 65 union headquarters June 26.

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

"Spokespeople for a diverse group of workers in New York working people by the layoff, cutbacks in public services, and the cuts in the city’s social services."

"New York was a testing ground for the big corporations," said Kevin Lynn, Local 337, representing 36,000 member District 65, which is now affiliated with the United Auto Workers, speaking to the panel on the newspaper, The Distributive Worker.

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

"Henning referred to the talk by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union official Anthony Mazocchi at this meeting in New York April 13, Mazocchi, who had been the OCAW legislative director, pointed to the failure of the union to take any pro-labor legislation passed in Congress for ten years. He urged the formation of a new union to fight for the leadership on this question.

"Mazocchi is an executive board member of the New York Public Library Guild, Local 1300 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, also spoke on the panel.

"I said, ‘think that nowhere in the country is there a better objective situation then in New York as the labor candidates under our own banners. We can get together with the Black and minority movement and the women’s movement, straight on ahead against Mayor Koch and the Democratic Party and the rest of those budget-cutters."

"Looking ahead to the 1981 municipal election, Markley said, ‘There’s talk that Mayor Koch is going to be running on the Republican, Democratic, Liberal and Reform ticket, and that no one never come across any politician that’s hated as much as he is, and President Carter is not exactly popular.’"

"In discussion at the meeting, some people criticized the labor party proposal, questioning the role of labor officials such as AFSCME District 31 President Victor Gavaldon, United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Both Gotham and Gavaldon were associated with city workers with the capitulation of the labor party to the New York City austerity drive."

"Markley responded to this by urging, ‘Don’t be afraid of the bureaucracy. Fight them.’"

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

"This meeting had been organized while negotiations were taking place on the contracts for 220,000 city workers. But city union leaders announced June 23 that the two parties had signed a tentative agreement which was ratified two days later."

"Save Miami was the watchword at the June 28 rally held at the United Auto Workers local hall in Miami Beach.

Brooklyn, N.Y.—After three prosecutions for the same offense, Jomo (Cleveland Da­ via is) Davis had been living in Albany, on charges that he killed two cops and a civilian.

The jury’s verdict here came after two previous juries had voted six-six and eight-four for acquittal.

Jomo Davis had been a leader in the Attica prison rebellion. He had brought the present trials, occurred here in 1978 when police authorities decided to prosecute Gonzalez, another former At­ tica inmate.

The cops went a seco, and shooting followed Gonzalez to the ground.

"Davis was charged with the killings. He insisted he was innocent and that the shots that killed the cops had been fired by another man, an His­ panic man at an auto shop.

"At the trial, the judge barred defense evidence of a police broadcast which indicated that the person who did the shooting was not in his Hispanic, about a 5'6" in height.

"Davis is Black and 6'2".

"Davis also forbids evi­ ence that the cops pistol whipped Davis in an ambu­

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

"The defense charged that the authorities decided to prosecute Davis for the police shootings to cover up for the terrible brutality inflicted on him, and to have the council pay "pact for the death of the cops."

"Throughout these two years and three months, Davis had been imprisoned without bail."

"Meanwhile, Davis faces ex­ tra charges of parole violation. He had been living in Albany, on parole, and had asser­tively gone to Brooklyn without for­ mal parole. Despite the shooting occurred. His lawyer said he might have to do another year for this in Vir­ ginia.

"The Brooklyn prosecutor said, ‘We are still the system of justice’ has been upheld."

Jomo Davis acquitted at last

New York City unionists discuss labor party

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

"City transit workers, who struck for eleven days in April of this year to work with a very small improvement over their initial wage offer and are now learning to work off three days, are facing an off five fines levied against them as a result of their strikes."

"AFSCME Local 1300 President Mar­ ian Porro reported that her local had passed a resolution favoring a labor party. She cited the importance of the labor party idea for women. "Just like women have up there in support in the unions, when the labor party comes, women will have to be up there in leadership roles too. Women have to be active and this is the only way that our concerns and our needs will be an­swered."

"Markley articulated the desire of many in the room when he said about building a labor party, "We have the power to do it. We have the organiza­ tion. And what we should do is just do it."
Missouri labor backs socialist ballot fight

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

"While we do not agree with all the political views of the Socialist Workers Party," the labor officials said, "we do welcome the opportunity for Socialist Workers Party candidates." "That's Russian," said a union leader.

The June 26 statement urging certification of the SWP for ballot status was issued in reaction to a June 20 preliminary report by the Missouri secretary of state saying that the SWP had failed to meet the petition requirement for ballot status. On May 14 the party had turned in 25,000 signatures—well over the 18,000 required by state law. But Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick claimed that the number of valid signatures was only about 14,000.

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

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

The labor statement was released to the press by Clifford Wilson, past president of the St. Louis Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Bonnie DeHass, vice-president of United American Workers Local 282 and a member of the St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Gus Lample, editor of the Missouri Teamster.

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

Also backing the party’s ballot fight were Linda Woody, Missouri coordinator of the National Organization for Women; Chris Kuehl of Amnesty Interna
tional in Kansas City; and Kenneth Zinn of the St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft.

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

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

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

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

As a result of the mounting support for the SWP ballot fight, Secretary of State Kirkpatrick later backed down from his earlier stand and agreed that the party would be allowed to check the validation sheets of election officials after the final review on July 5.

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

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

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

COLUMBIA DAILY TRIBUNE
Pat Day / by Mark Shepherd

Patriots of the next American revolution

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

KANSAS CITY—It’s 3 p.m., and the parking lot is packed. A few latecomers take a space. Marijuana smoke and music drift through the air outside the massive, ominous old Leeds Assembly Plant. Workers know tonight will be easy: it’s the last workday for the evening shift. Tomorrow, 1,000 Monte Carlo makers won’t have jobs.

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

Dedicated to the day when power in America is swept from the plush corporate offices into the hands of workers, Pettit is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a candidate for U.S. Senate. Her constituency, she says, is her fellow workers, who will turn to her party for answers once the questions become important enough—once workers have gotten angry.

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

“Socialist Workers Party?” he says. “Don’t sign it, Jim. Don’t sign it—that’s communist. You’ll be blackballed by the government.”

The first signs anyway. “Well, I ain’t touching nothing socialist,” the skeptic continues. “That’s Russian.”

Such are the misconceptions with which the Socialist Workers must deal, the heavy consolations that under “socialism” carries: grey silent conformity, violent class struggle, totalitarianism.

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

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

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

And while totalitarianism is the rule in most socialist states, the party here believes in democratic freedom. "The

Continued on next page
Hold corporation responsible
Mo. socialist denounces chemical dumping
By Donna Mistler

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

Improper dumping of the wastes, including the deadly chemical dioxin, took place almost 10 years ago but this fact was revealed to the public only recently after Herb Ayers, a former employee of Syntex Agriculture, Inc., exposed the chemical company's dump site.

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

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

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

"Syntex is the one ultimately responsible. The blame needs to be placed squarely on Syntex," the Star then reported that Godfrey Moll, vice-president of Syntex, "con

... patriots

Continued from preceding page

... patriotic jobs for social projects like construct-

hesn't informed the people." Now the local and state officials say there is "no cause for alarm" and drag their feet about checking other dump sites according to Ayers, who maintain dioxin in barrels that had once contained some of the most toxic chemicals known have been found at Syntex.

"The EPA simply asks residents to return the barrels to the plant. And after floods and rain wash the plant waste into flood waters, the plant is just a dummy," Ayers said, "and Syntex just asks residents to return the barrels to the plant. And after floods and rain wash the plant waste into flood waters, the plant is just a dummy."

The company's dumping, Ayers believes, is the most toxic chemicals known have problems posed by the dumping of dioxin.

Cheryl Briggs of Tex's Plant in Verona. Ayers believes that it's time for the workers at North Eastern to receive their paychecks from Syntex.


But Pettit told the Star, "There is plenty of money available for the full medical testing of residents of Aurora, Verona, and the surrounding communities. That money can be found in the federal and military budget. It should be used to stop the destruction, but for cleaning up the area and making it safe for humans."

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

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

"The party would have been broken if it had been the government," Pettit said.

"It's how fast can we make change. That would allow the party to be proactive."

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

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

Beyond this election, it's a matter of time, Pettit says. "It's not how fast can we make change. It's how long can capitalism survive.

Like bubbles rising to the surface as water begins to boil, "there will be continual breaking points that will increase as time goes on."

The party's problems are increasing almost geometrically now.

"The breaking points, like Miami recently and prison riots, may come much more quickly than people think.

And the response will be natural, not subversion. A natural human response," Pettit said.

"We don't have to convince people they have problems. We'll be helping them, trying to stop the devastation, when people see their daily life getting worse, it will be like cataracts falling off their eyes."
Carlos Fonseca Amador and Nicaragua’s Fight for Freedom

By Tomas Borge Martinez

Agent Orange:
Vets Die from Vietnam War Chemicals

By Richard Cahalane
THE MONTH IN REVIEW

July 19 and July 26: What we celebrate

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

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

The Moncada attack was repulsed, and most of the heroic young fighters were tortured and murdered in the repression that followed. Fidel and others were jailed. Popular pressure compelled Batista to release them. Deployed to Mexico, they organized the Granma expedition back into Cuba in 1955 and launched the guerrilla war.

The defeat of this initial attack led on January 1, 1959, to the downfall of Batista and later to the establishment of the Cuban workers state—the first free territory of the Americas.

Twenty-six years after the assault, on July 15, 1979, thousands of armed youth from the barracks of Managua and other cities stormed the strongholds of dictator Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. His troops routed by the popular insurrection, Somoza and his hand-picked successor fled the country—ending a tyrannical dynasty imposed and backed by Washington for more than forty years.

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

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

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

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

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

The result was to expose Washington’s racist immigration policies, while increasing the mobilization, consciousness, and preparedness of the Cuban masses to defend their revolution, and those in Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador.

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

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

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

In Grenada, a bomb exploded at a rally in St. George’s on June 18, killing two people and wounding a dozen more. The target: Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

The assassination try was reminiscent of the U.S. government’s many failed attempts to kill Castro.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The new revolutionary victories being won by the current that began to emerge on July 26, 1953, create great opportunities for revolutionary socialists in the United States. American working people are coming under ever harsher attack. The ruling class aims to solve its economic problems through cuts in our living standards, and to crush the challenge of the world revolution by shedding our blood in new Vietnams.

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

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

American workers will seek to forge their own leadership with similar courage, determination, devotion, and good sense.

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

CONTENTS

The Month in Review .................................. 2
Agent Orange: Vets Die from Vietnam War Chemical By Richard Cahalane .......... 3
Carlos Fonseca Amador and Nicaragua’s Fight for Freedom By Tomás Borge Martínez ...... 5

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW/PAGE 2

10
By Richard Cahalane

Steve Zardis, 32, is a Vietnam veteran. His doctors say he has two years to live. Maybe less. A progressively debilitating neurological disorder, caused by herbicidal sprays used in the Vietnam war, has forced him into a wheelchair. He weighs less than he did as a youth. He is eager to talk about what happened to him and to other GIs even though, as he explains, "it's a very emotional issue for me." Zardis is a Massachusetts organizer for Agent Orange Victims International, an organization devoted to helping people who fall victim to the dangerous chemical.

Zardis speaks calmly, forcefully, explaining that "we are not what the cliché of a Vietnam veteran makes us out to be. We're intelligent, we have dignity, and we intend to act and to other GIs even though, as he explains, "it's a very emotional issue for me." Zardis is a Massachusetts organizer for Agent Orange Victims International, an organization devoted to helping people who fall victim to the dangerous chemical.

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Legacy of Vietnam

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

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

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

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

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

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

In all, Zardis writes, "more than a third of [Vietnam's] forestland would be sprayed at least once, while at least 15 percent of the croplands also was doused."

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

Agent Orange got its name from the orange markings on its shipping barrels. Steve Zardis, inset, a Vietnam veteran exposed to deadly herbicide, has been told by his doctors that he has less than two years to live.
After nuclear tests in 1950s, army told Gis nearby that some radiation could be brushed away with a broom.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the first symptoms were coughing, wheezing, runny eyes, itching and rashes. It would get into jungle rot sores and make the condition even more unbearable. Few GIs were removed from the field if they complained or showed symptoms.

Steve Zardis was a forward observer in Tay Ninh province near the Kampuchean border from 1968 through 1999. It was the most heavily saturated area of the war, and he was there when it was being defoliated the most. He suffered throat paralysis for seven days, but was sent back into action when it "cleaned up."

"As early as 1984, reports of liver cancer, miscarriages, illnesses and birth defects among the Vietnamese rose to nearly epidemic proportions, according to Dr. Ton Thai Tung, one of Vietnam's most prominent surgeons, who practices in Hanoi."

Dr. Tung's medical surveys, which his American colleagues term only "interesting" or "suggestive," reveal a tenfold increase in the cancer rate, especially for liver cancer. There was a two-fold rise in birth defects, such as the absence of the brain or spinal cord, abnormal smallness of the head, and congenital absence of the eyes. Dr. Tung's interviews with North Vietnamese army regulars who served in the south turn up the same medical problems as American GIs who were exposed to dioxin.

These findings and others will be the subject of a soon-to-be-released film documentary, "Agent Orange: The War From Vietnam." As Agent Orange was phased out in Vietnam, domestic use rose to at least 6 million pounds a year. Chief culprits were railroads, utility firms, paper manufacturers and agriculture.

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

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

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

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

In the summer of 1979, rural residents of Dennyville, Maine, and Aalsea, Oregon, were exposed to massive amounts of the herbicide. Dr. Glenn L. Ayres, of the Maine Department of Health and Environment, said he found levels over 50 times higher than those banned in the United States by the EPA in the vicinity of the spraying.

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

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

Class Action Suit
Agent Orange Victims International (AOVI) was founded in Oregon to support a Vietnam veteran who developed symptoms of dioxin poisoning. In October, 1977 he was diagnosed as having terminal liver and intestinal cancer. For a year he fought for the federal Veterans Administration to recognize the correlation between exposure to Agent Orange and the medical problems he had. Before he died a year ago, his lawyer, Victor Yannaccon, of New York, filed a class action suit on behalf of Vietnam veterans. The defendants in the suit are the companies that manufactured the herbicides: Dow, Union Carbide and Hercules.

The Dioxin Trail: History of the Deadly Herbicide

Herbicides were developed at the end of World War II as an outgrowth of plant hormone research. In 1948, 2,4-D was put into domestic use as a weed killer. Until recently most research into dioxin poisoning in humans came from three sources: environmental exposures due to misuse; industrial accidents; and routine workplace exposure. But a thorough epidemiological study—one that defines and explains the interactions of the host, agent and environment in causing disease—has yet to be done.

In 1949 an explosion at a Dow Chemical plant in Nitro, West Virginia, which was producing 2,4,5-T resulted in 228 workers becoming afflicted with chloracne, fatigue, and muscle weakness, as well as shortness of breath, nervousness and irritability. The first military application of 2,4,5-T was in Malaysia in the early 1950s, when the British army used it to clear communication lines.

Throughout the 1950s, chloracne was reported by workers producing 2,4,5-T in Europe. Studies began in 1966 under the sponsorship of the U.S. government that revealed that TCDD—the dioxin component of 2,4,5-T—causes monstrous birth defects. Experiments on animals conducted by the National Cancer Institute and a followup investigation by the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences both confirmed the fetal-deforming effects. The latter report led the Surgeon General of the United States in April 1970 to restrict domestic use of 2,4,5-T and helped convince the Department of Defense to cease its spraying in Vietnam.

The FDA discovered in 1978 that TCDD concentrations much higher than those banned in the United States by the EPA had contaminated a nearby pub in Massachusetts.

Continued on page 16/12
Nicaragua's Struggle for Freedom

By Tomás Borge Martínez

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

Tomás Borge Martínez is minister of the interior and one of nine Commanders of the Revolution in the Nicaraguan government. He is the last survivor of the guerrilla fighters who, under the leadership of Carlos Fonseca Amador, founded the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional.

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

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

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

The title, ‘Carlos, the dawn is no longer a temptation’ is a response to Fonseca’s description of the origins and political outlook of the FSLN and its leaders. These lines nevertheless have one merit. Almost entirely written in jail, they are possessed by the god of rage and the demon of tenderness.

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

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

It was the hour of Teresita, with the big freckles, black eyes, to whisper perhaps on Bolivar’s birthday: “If there’s any enemy of freedom here, the earth will swallow him up. Bolivar is about to come with a whip in hand to drive him out of the temple.”

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

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

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

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

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

It was the hour of Teresita, with the big freckles, black eyes, to whisper perhaps on Bolivar's birthday: “If there’s any enemy of freedom here, the earth will swallow him up. Bolivar is about to come with a whip in hand to drive him out of the temple.”

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

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

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

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

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

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1934

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

From that moment, our people had no alternative of struggle. Neither organization, leadership, or revolutionary consciousness existed in the country. The traditional parties held hegemony over political life in Nicaragua.
Then Carlos Fonseca appeared. He came to us with his direct, blunt eyes, blue and myopic; serious and cordial, with his expansive gestures and white pantaloons. Top grad student at the Institute in Algebra, French, and the rest; in the street, with his long, fast legs, he was a letter carrier to help out his mother Dona Justina. With a book under his arm for breaks, he didn't wait to see the expression common to all recipients of mail who look at the return address.

The first meetings were in the patio of the Lala, with shadows of birds, palm trees, and orchids. Soon we discovered Tomas More, John Steinbeck; later we found Marx and Engels in the dusty bookstores of the poet Samuel Mena. Lenin was lost in the darkness, a difficult and distant bibliographic allusion.

In those afternoons interrupted by glasses of milk, with pinball-Galo played naturally without proposing to do so, our first efforts to understand something different from what they told us in the classrooms, in the magazines, in the churches.

A couple of years before he had wanted to be a priest—a so he told me later in the inevitable questioning. We as well as him make his first communion in a ceremony of poor children and white candles with gold paper candle holders. His mother granted them in a big wooden box under the tree the treasures of the child who grew clearer and more imperious every day.

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

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

III

When we arrived at the University, Carlos came in. And who didn't? The University was a roof, some walls, indifferent oases, and bookstores, reeking with the stink from the dissection of subversive posters wall-to-wall; and student and white puddle-jumper pants. Top grad student in agriculture, he became part of the political current.

Almost immediately, El Universitario (The University Student) came out. In two colors and without boundless battle, it published statistics without metonymies. Some 200,000 children of school age had no schools or teachers (now it's 400,000). Money coming in, but 2% was taxed only 5% of exported gold. They are exempted from even that for farm and mine machinery, cars, electrical matters, and so on.

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

1944

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

IV

By this time we were half recruited to the Partido Socialista [pre-Moscow Communist Party]. Carlos, the first of the group who left Nicaraguan university students: Silvio Mayorga was one of the three members.

A person from Leon who had lived in Mexico joined our discussions. We never knew if he was a burro (bureaucrat) or a Marxist militant.

Sandino, Carlos once said, is a kind of path for the country pays foreigners who exploit the subversive messages, so full of tenderness, by heart, even though my memory is not so good.

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

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

At the University he is the permanent representative of the subversives in these days before the Sandinista Front is formed. He is leader of the student gatherings, in the university organization, and in the Sandinista movement.

1956

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

V

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

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

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VI

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

The movement undertakes the opening of a publishing house, New Nicaragua. It publishes the works of some revolutionary writers.

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

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

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

*Victor Haya de la Torre (1908-1979) founded the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance), also called the Apristas Party.

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

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

With the approach of World War II, Haya de la Torre dropped his opposition to Washington and APRA lost its anti-imperialist character. In 1962 he was elected president of Peru but a military coup blocked him from taking office. He remained a leading figure in Peruvian politics until his death. —IRE.
Neighborhoods where our compatriots repaired shoes and memories. Silvio Mayorga, hero and martyr of Pancasan, was with Carlos then, as he was earlier and later.

Carlos travels to Guatemala and Venezuela; he enters Nicaragua, for the first time in secret. He travels from San José to the Costa Rican banana zone, North American territory inhabited by Nicaraguans and some Costa Ricans; from the house where we were sheltered in San José, to the house where we were in the North American embassy in Tegucigalpa.

In 1980, the victory of the armed struggle in Cuba, more than a joy, was the drawing back of innumerable curtains, a powder flash that shed light from afar on the naive and tiresome dogmas of the moment. The Cuban Revolution certainly set a shiver of terror through the ruling classes of Latin America.

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

We leave the country and organize the Revolutionary Nicaraguan Youth in Costa Rica. Carlos, who was also crying, said shortly: "Don't aim sure as an arrow to lift the heart?". His face, which was crying like an ignorant honest man, brought us the news of his decision between Modesto's closely knit brows. Colonel Santos López was a member of Coro de Angeles, a combat unit in Sandino's war.

The relationship between Carlos and Colonel Santos López was not casual. The older and new Sandinistas sought among them the conditions to analyze correctly the political and economic conjuncture.

The old Sandinistas related their experiences to us, and their ideas fell on soil hungry for these seeds and for new perspectives. In reality, what was happening was the replacement of knowledge from books about Sandino with the flesh and the bones through the words of these survivors, who were the ones who were participants in that expedition. We had serious differences with Mr. Guerrero, who prevented Fonseca's participation in the guerrilla column. He was forced to go secretly into the interior of Nicaragua.

The guerrillas of Patuca later raided along the banks of the Coco River, the guerrilla column that was treacherously massacred in El Chaparral. A bullet from an M-1 rifle pierces his lung. Because he doesn't cry out, the old Sandinistas related their experiences to us, and their ideas fell on soil hungry for these seeds and for new perspectives. In reality, what was happening was the replacement of knowledge from books about Sandino with the flesh and the bones through the words of these survivors.

Some encounter with the enemy, comrades fall who later become points of reference among the Sandinista militants, of generosity, heroism, happiness, and sacrifice. How could Jorge Navarro, who didn't stretch out his hand except to give part of his rations to weaker ones. Only one-time military veterans died. We had serious differences with Mr. Guerrero, who prevented Fonseca's participation in the guerrilla column. He was forced to go secretly into the interior of Nicaragua.

The first to make incursions into the Patuca River, who the guerrilla column was trained, were Carlos Fonseca and Colon Sandino. Carlos, who was also crying, said shortly: "Don't aim sure as an arrow to lift the heart?". His face, which was crying like an ignorant honest man, brought us the news of his decision between Modesto's closely knit brows. Colonel Santos López was a member of Coro de Angeles, a combat unit in Sandino's war.

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formed in Managua and León and the first nucleus of peasants formed in Chinandega, Matagalpa, Estelí, Somoto, and Ocoital.

In the interior of the country, concretely in Managua and Matagalpa, Carlos and Jorge Navarro (who walked so as not to spend money on the bus when he had 35,000 córdobas of the organization in his bag) organized the first Sandinista cell and the first armed group in the mountains of Matagalpa (which was discovered in Caratanos). Jorge Navarro, under the direction of Fonseca, planned and carried out the first act of recover­ ing the national wealth in a bank branch office: the 35,000 córdobas that he carried un­ touched to the mountains and a message on Radio Mundial—filled with enthusiasm and unskilled violence—edited by Carlos. Navarro later set up the guerrilla group of Bocay.

1963

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

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

On June 23 the town of Hátiz was occupied by an FSLN guerrilla unit that distributed food and clothes to the people in the area expropriating the commissaries. The town of Guasquilzún was taken. They fight in Seng Seng, where Silvio Mayorga is wounded and a National Guard officer and several soldiers die. Jorge Navarro, Francesco Buitrago, Iván Sánchez, Bealazar Santamarìa, Modesto Durante, and Francisco Ruiz fell in these actions. Pablo Ubeda, with help from the people, got to the Las Bayas region in the mountains. Jorge read a message on Radio Mundial—edited by Fidel Castro—"about the victory of the first outstretched hands to the factories, the neighborhoods, the University, the regions of Matagalpa, Managua, Ocoital, and Chinandega. When we arrived in Nicaragua in Victor Tirado's company, after the campaign of 1963, there were three cells of workers in Managua and repeated contacts with the city's agricultural periphery. Silvio had arrived in Chinandega when we were in Patacua, thanks to certain political work accomplished in the area of El Viejo. The armed group in Matagalpa was not the child of chance; and in Wiwili several families were waiting for the arrival of the guerrilla column. It is true that the column was removed to an unknown area inhabited by a small, marginal population without political perspectives. How­ ever, this was a logical error for a guerrilla leadership of a young revolutionary organization that had not absorbed its class orientation and practices.

This thesis was confirmed—Carlos main­ tained—since the FSLN survived the severe setbacks of 1963 and 1967, in contrast to other guerrilla forces in Latin America, which disap­ peared, leaving only their heroic footprints as keepakes after being militarily defeated.

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

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

1964

The work in the mountains grew under the direction of Rígoberto Cruz—the legendary Pablo Fonseca.* A force is a definite, more or less permanent, rural base camp for the guerrillas, as distinguished from permanently mobile columns or urban guerrillas. In the debates of the 1960s over strategy and tactics among Latin American revolutionists, focistas held that even a small group could and should maintain a permanent base camp if it was in a sufficiently isolated region with natural protection from sudden military attacks. Critics said that a guerrilla group could and should maintain a permanent or urban guerrillas. In the work in the mountains grew under the direction of Rígoberto Cruz—the legendary Pablo Fonseca.* A force is a definite, more or less permanent, rural base camp for the guerrillas, as distinguished from permanently mobile columns or urban guerrillas. In the debates of the 1960s over strategy and tactics among Latin American revolutionists, focistas held that even a small group could and should maintain a permanent base camp if it was in a sufficiently isolated region with natural protection from sudden military attacks. Critics said that a guerrilla group could and should maintain a permanent

* Nicaragua hora cera (Nicaragua. The Zero Hour) by Carlos Fonseca. Authorized language edition of Tricontinental, no. 14, 1969, pub­ lished in Havana. This work has not been able to locate an English-language edition of this issue of Tricontin­ ental.—ISR.

XI

Carlos maintained in his writings that the guerrilla experience in Bocay and Río Coco wasn't a guerrilla foco.* The FSLN, he said, was born linked to the exploited classes like a baby to its placenta.

Actually, the FSLN extended the wealth of its first outstretched hands to factories, the neighborhoods, the University, the regions of Matagalpa, Managua, Ocoital, and Chinandega. When we arrived in Nicaragua in Victor Tirado's company, after the campaign of 1963, there were three cells of workers in Managua and repeated contacts with the city's agricultural periphery. Silvio had arrived in Chinandega when we were in Patacua, thanks to certain political work accomplished in the area of El Viejo. The armed group in Matagalpa was not the child of chance; and in Wiwili several families were waiting for the arrival of the guerrilla column. It is true that the column was removed to an unknown area inhabited by a small, marginal population without political perspectives. However, this was a logical error for a guerrilla leadership of a young revolutionary organization that had not absorbed its class orientation and practices.

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Armando Flores, a young (the Tiger of Cerro Colorado), fell in combat after his five sons were tortured and killed.
The armed movement was being prepared in regard to organized work in comparison with the armed movement of the Sandinista Front became conscious of the defeat that had taken place after the defeats of 1963. The Front proceeded to prepare the guerrilla battle in Nicaragua. Although these preparations constituted progress in regard to organized work in comparison with the armed movement of the FSLN in 1965, the Front didn't represent serious progress in military and political tactics.
There was a notable organizational step forward. In 1972 Carlos was wounded or dead. Nobody could know because he was the type who didn't moan. Just the possibility of his death crushed us, it couldn't be, not this magnificent one. At least not right now, or ever—we were too green. Besides, he was a friend, a comrade, and exemplary leader.

XV
We received the news at six in the evening. Carlos had been lost after a military encounter with a landlord-bailiff. The guide who had been leading us left to search with Velia for a place to hide. We found an abandoned house where the rats were moving about.
In the area of the Duranese Range, the FSLN worked on forming a guerrilla base. The bank recovery operations continued and a communications center, the Sandinista Front announced that the electoral race was over.

XVI
The military defeat of Panchacan, which naturally forced a new retreat, showed that the FSLN was a historical political party, a necessary symptom to more than 100 years of popular struggle.
The police authority of the FSLN acquires more significance if one considers that after Panchacan the ebb tide of the armed struggle in Latin America began: a few days after the battle of Panchacan commandante Ernesto Guevara dies heroically in Bolivia.
Javier Heredia, teenager poet who left his name in the literature of his country—another Leonel Rumea—in the mountains of Peru, "among birds and trees," fulfilling the promise of a beautiful people.
Teacher for Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade holds class session in Eladian, a farm near Acaoyagua. A popular slogan for literacy drive says "En cada albañalizador Carlos Fonseca Amador" (Each literacy teacher should be like Carlos Fonseca Amador).
XVII
All the houses were burned. Lesbia, who knew the last safe hiding place, was taken prisoner. We found an abandoned house where the rats were moving about. In Costa Rica, through joint activities of the Security organism of that country and of Nicaraguan Sandinista leaders, including Carlos Fonseca, Oscar Turcios, Humberto Ortega, Henry Ruiz, and Tomas Borge, are captured.
On July 14, the home of national leader of the FSLN Julio Buitrago is discovered and attacked by more than 400 troops of the National Guard, backed by artillery and air cover. Julio Buitrago resists until death, for more than three hours. It was an attempt at a counter-attack against an army. Referring to this action, it was said that there could be men in the world as heroic as he, but not more heroic than Julio Buitrago.
That same day, Marco Antonio Rivero, Anibal Castelli, and Alessio Blandino fall in action. This event provokes admiration and a profound respect for the FSLN. Numerous youth ask to join the Sandinista ranks.
On December 23, two Sandinista squads attack the Alajuela barracks in Costa Rica and manage to liberate Carlos Fonseca, but after various armed confrontations with the repressive forces the action is not a great hit.
working class and the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie, that ever since the FMLN was born more than a name—and even before—we have maintained that the working class is destined by history to lead the victorious revolution. What is even more important, despite the limitations imposed by the economic development of the country, our organization always sought, and often found a base for itself in the factories and other centers of production.

Understanding the role of the peasants—in this country of abused, hungry, and diapassioned peasants, with a tradition of armed struggle—who would be, in practice, to remake revolution, in violence, to seek an easy transition to legality, to give in to the enemy, to rest on the blood of our martyrs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1970

A considerable number of Sandinistas meet in the small mountainous region of El Bijao, in the department of Matagalpa. On January 2, a Sandinista squad led by the poet Leonel Ragana, in which participate Régé Núñez and Mauricio Hernández, amongst other fighters, execute out an action of economic recovery against the bank branch of El Arbiolo, in Managua.

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

The three Sandinistas with their simple weapons fight heroically, and the battle of the machine guns and the shots of the tanks do not silence the songs of war and the shouts of combat until they die riddled with wounds in the midst of smoking ruins. Thousands of people support the guerrillas with the cry of "Patria Libra"—meaning "my homeland or my death".

In February, at the time of another anniversary of the assassination of the national hero Augusto César Sandino, Sandinista squads spread off explosive devices in the homes of military leaders and Somocista politicians. On February 21, in El Matalto River, two hundred National Guard troops penetrate into the mountains and send three patrols from different directions to capture the guerrillas that were there. One, a patrol of forty members of the National Guard that had entered by the district of Las Vallas, is stopped by the fire of a Sandinista reservist stationed a short distance from the dwellings. The enemy suffers one wounded.

The second patrol, led by the guerrillas and the women and children that accompany them. The bulk of the guerrillas reunite in the mountains of El Bijao, where the leader Oscar Terrero is present.

The enemy carries out an intense campaign of surveillance and repression against the peasant population. Local police agents assassinate the Sandinista fighters Luis "Cabo" Hernández and Jesús Márquez, both peasants.

A National Guard patrol executes nineteen members of the Moncada family in Wamblán. In Bilambil they assassinate Alfonso Tórres and two workers and rape two peasant girls of the Martinez family.

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

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

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

In the city of León, on April 3, Sandinista fighters bring the chief of investigations of the National Guard to justice. The enemy launches a repressive operation in that city, finding the Sandinistas Luisa Amanda Espinoza and Enriqueta Loreto, who fight to the death various enemy patrols supported by helicopters.

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

In July, in the city of Jinotepe, the young peasant Sandinista Efrén Ortega, who acted as a messenger, is assassinated; they were going to establish contact in the mountains, the Sandinistas Edwin Méndez, Orlando Cárdenas, and Noel Angüites are ambushed.

In the city of Esteli, various repressive agents are brought to justice. In the mountains of the department of Matagalpa, the Sandinista fighter primar­ily, balfi­llaf­fla­r­dors­s, who had denounced the peasant unionists, are brought to justice.

September 3, in a solid action in which the FMLN with the just cause of the Arab peoples, the Sandinista fighter Patricio Argüello falls mortally wounded. He tried, along with his Sandinista guerrillas, to hijack a Zionist plane in the skies over France. A later hijacking, once again over European skies and in which Juan José Quezada participated, manages to recover the body of Patricio Argüello and liberate a Palestinian guerrilla.

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

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

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

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

1971

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

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

"Impeachable in combat, generous in victory," stated a Sandinista public document. This sen­tence synthesized a whole conception with respect to the relationship of the workers with the guerrilla combat of the FMLN, such precision as to be the way to be, the limitless generosity of Carlos Fonseca.

Victory has brought us complete happiness, therefore, is the inheritance of future generations. It is for them that we wage war, he said, and to all we. We must not bear in mind the neces­sary sacrifices, saving blood and tears.

The soldiers of the National Guard, as individ­uals, are part of our people. They are revolutionaries, unfortunately, of the inhuman oligarchy and its foreign bosses. If a soldier of the National Guard falls into the hands of the enemy, we must treat him as one of our own brothers. It is better to err on the side of generosity, and not of rigorous justice. What is important, as Fidel said once, is to eliminate the sin, leaving the sinner safely behind.
Undoubtedly, some of those who were happy at his arrival, gave their lives to our leader, who always had persuasive words ready to contain extreme punishments, inspired by repugnance for the crimes and abuses of the enemy. If we let ourselves be guided by our personal sentiments—by anger, by the understandable impulse of fighting fire with fire, we would fall into the same snares as those we are fighting against. If we want to build a new society in Nicaragua, don't we have to look at new men? If we murder, if we abuse a prisoner, how are we different from our enemies?

XXIV

He didn't want us to shoot him. The young peasant had deserted, taking with him the first peasant hut and the first guerrilla war in the mountains. Under the leadership of Henry Ruiz and Carlos Aguirre intensifies. The repression is extended and deepened: martial law and permanent military courts are established.

XXV

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

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

At the same time, a militant who has had exclusively peasant experience cannot carry out certain tasks in the student milieu. This is crucial for the Sandinistas. It is crucial for the Sandinista movement. Carlos, wherever he be, is being connected in some way with the life of the working people.

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

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

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

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

At the same time he would stress: We must not hide the weaknesses of the organization, even though we must close our ears before the insinuations that many try to keep us loyal to objectivity, renouncing the use of evasions, since these latter often contribute only to aggravating the problems instead of being ways to resolve them.

Finally, he asserts:

Considering the dangers and weaknesses that we have done away with, we must say that the balance drawn over the twenty years since September 21, 1961, when we reaffirmed the decision to struggle among hands, is a positive one. The balance of the labors carried out by the Sandinista People's Revolutionary Army is positive.

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

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

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

XXIX

He could not walk. He had sores on his feet and the nail of the big toe of his right foot was gangrenous. We returned to the camp site and we did not have anesthesia. Carlos put a banana in his mouth; we immobilized the foot, and Ruperto, with a razor, drew pus, the nail, and a few moans. Carlos sweated, as we all did. He had to rest. The march started at four o'clock on the next day, at a slow pace, with a lame chief impossible. El Chinito said to me softly: What a tough guy the comandante is.

XXX

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

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

XXXI

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

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

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

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

XXII

Our brother fell fighting in a chance encounter. Little by little we have received information about the circumstances of his death. A group of compañeros was walking towards Modesto's camp. A little after dusk, under a rain on one of these roads where the trail is always suspicious, they hear three revolver shots. The group retreates into the woods. Claudia, the beautiful and spirited compañera Carlos examined. We learned of her death. Everyone listens to the shock of someone intoxicated.

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...Agent Orange
Continued from page 19A

Chemical Co. of Midland, Michigan; Hercules, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware; Thompson-Hayward Co. of Kansas City, Kansas; Diamond-Shamrock Corp. of Cleveland, Ohio; and Monsanto Co. of St. Louis, Missouri. It became the largest product liability suit in history.

The plaintiffs include about 3,000 American and New Zealand veterans who recently joined the suit. Steve Zardis explained: "We were struggling to alert the American and Vietnam veterans to the effects of dioxin poisoning, and also to gain recognition and substantiation for our claims."

All along the legal path, the national seeking health benefits for the veterans who are still alive; compensation for the survivors of those who are deceased; a medical future generations who may require treatment and care; and the initiation of an epidemiological study to determine the effects of dioxin poisoning.

The magnitude of this undertaking is enormous, but VA officials have so far refused comment."

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

Dow: 'Dioxin Is Safe'

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

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

Earl B. Barnes, Dow's chairman of the board, said in a letter prior to a stockholders meeting:

The hostility raised toward this product by the aftermath of the Vietnam War gave it a high profile and a monicker picked up by a lot of extreme activists among the environmentalists who are opposed to using any kind of chemical for agriculture."

This statement neatly sidesteps the issue of dioxin's use as a war weapon and tries to portray increased expenditures for chemical warfare, to try to tie up the legal and moral issues that have so far managed to avoid initiating a major study.

Compounding the cover-up, the VA prohibits physicians at their heribical clinics from conducting tests that could provide conclusive proof of poisoning. Chromosome analyses, sperm counts, and fat biopsies are all banned. Instead, veterans are asked questions from a five-page form and given a routine physical exam."

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

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

Evidence suppressed

A low-profile investigation by the VA issued a preliminary report stating that dioxin was found in the fatty tissue of at least 10 men of a 35-member test group, 22 of whom had been exposed to Agent Orange. The VA refused to release any more information.

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

Until 1976, Dr. Bogen had not even heard of Agent Orange. But after veterans began asking him questions, he did some research on Vietnam veterans who claimed exposure and had children with birth defects, three have died of cancer and several more have been seeing some very bizarre breaks, gaps and rearrangements of chromosomes," Dr. Bogen said.

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

At the VA Mauve DeVictor discovered what looked like 70 dioxin-related cancer cases before she was ordered by her superiors to stop gathering statistics.

She returned to a Chicago television station, and the resulting publicity broke through the smokecreen at the VA. "At first I was encouraged to make a study," she said. "Then they abruptly told me to stop. If a claims counselor can find that many cases, what are the doctors doing?"

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

'A Little Bitter at Max'

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

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

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

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

Most GI veterans would no doubt agree.

More GI Guinea Pigs?

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

Terry Warken, however, that just as their efforts seem to be bearing fruit, just as public awareness is beginning to grow, the government is rushing to determine its use of new GI guinea pigs in war.

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

"Tonight's discussion," he concluded, "is a vivid part of the new war in the making. Expos- ing Agent Orange serves both as an indictment of past U.S. war crimes and as an example of the kind of education and action that can tie up the government's new war plans."

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

When the representatives of this egotistical and brutal system are told about the historical references; when no one remembers the things that happen to them during wartime.

The colonel says to us:

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

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The victims of Agent Orange—Americans, Vietnamese, Australians, New Zealanders, and others—have much to tell us about the history of war and its perpetrators and of the courage and humanity of those who struggle for justice, no matter what the odds.
The following interview with Hugo Blanco, presidential candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), was done in Lima on May 15 by Priscilla Schenk. The translation is by "Intercontinental Press/Inprecor."  

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

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

There are various alternatives being presented by the right-wing parties, the most important being the APRA, the PFC, and the AP.* They represent the demands of the big imperialist companies. These three parties have the aim of replacing the military dictatorship with a civilian government, so that what happened in Cuba and in Nicaragua does not happen here. Here, the people rose up against dictatorships that did not want to leave and swept away not only the dictatorships but also imperialist domination.  

**Meet needs of people**  

So, what we have to show the people is that there really is a way out of the crisis—not one based on the interests of the big companies but one that goes against the needs of the big companies. That means socializing the economy, orienting it toward meeting the needs of the majority of the population. It means breaking up the huge economic monopolies and public offices that have accumulated in the capital, forcing the people to migrate to the countryside.  

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

**Cuban 'refugees'**  

Q. In April a great many supposed "refugees" arrived in Peru from Cuba—those who had sought asylum in the Peruvian embassy in Havana. What is the PRT's position on these "refugees"?  

A. In the first place, we view this whole affair as a part of the general strategy of U.S. imperialism for smashing the revolution in Central America. It represents a move in the U.S. class game in which the Peruvian government has had more than one pawn. This maneuver has also been used by the Peruvian government and the right wing to discredit a socialized economy, to discredit a workers government. However, this has not turned out too well, since the majority of these "refugees" wanted to go to the United States and not remain in Peru. Certainly in Cuba there are still great limitations, owing fundamentally to the economic backwardness of the country at the time of the revolution—backwardness caused by the imperialist deformation of the economy. And it is important to point out that the U.S. blockade, Cuba has not yet been able to overcome all those economic difficulties. This means that in some respects a Cuban can live better in the United States than in Cuba. But it is also certain that living standards in Cuba are far, far higher than in Bolivia's time, much higher than those of any other Latin American country. These Cubans want to go to the United States, I don't think they want to stay here.  

**Backfires on government**  

I was saying that this didn't turn out too well for the government because while they may have been able to discredit the Cuban workers state before the masses, some statements by the refugees have also made people see that things are better in Cuba. For example, there was a complaint that in Cuba one could only eat meat three times a week. The Peruvian people are used to eat meat three times a week—only the upper classes can do that. It's well known that here in Peru large part of the population of the marginal neighborhoods lives on things like Nicou­vitas—a type of bean—that is harmful to human beings.  

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

It was said by another Cuban that because education is free, people have to study a lot and work hard. And that seems like hard work here, where the majority of people cannot learn because of the high cost of education and where those with the highest population are unemployed or underemployed.  

**Question.** Is there anything you would like to say to our readers abroad about this election campaign?  

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

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

Hugo Blanco casts ballot in May election

By Priscilla Schenk

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

Elected to the presidency was Fernando Belaunde Terry, the candidate of the Popular Action Party, who received 42 percent of the vote. The minimum needed to be elected president.

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

In the capital, Blanco became well-known for his leadership in the struggle of poor Quechua-speaking farmers fighting for land and human rights. His popularity among the masses as a fighter against oppression and exploitation has been reflected in his support as president in the election.  

More than 170,000 people cast their votes for Blanco—president, senator, and Chamber of Deputies—for the PRT. According to the PRT, Blanco received votes "that were more for a party than for a personality; more than for a strike call, they were for the battle cry of 'Workers to Power.'"  

Other leftist candidates elected to Congress were Hipolito Enriquez, a metalworkers leader, Enrique Fernandez of the Peruvian Socialist Workers Party (PST), and Ricardo Napurt of the Peruvian Communist Workers Party (POMR). The PST and POMR are affiliates of the so-called Party Committee for the Reorganization (Recon­stitution) of the Fourth International. They supported Blanco's candidacy and were allowed to present some congressional candidates on the PRT's slate.

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

However, the PRT warned, Belaunde offers no solutions to the problems facing Peruvian working people and poor farmers. Despite his campaign promise to "create 1 million jobs in a year's time," Belaunde will continue the savage austerity program implemented by his predecessors. "Achieving their objectives," the PRT predicted, "will actually require sinking the wages of the Peruvian proletariat to starvation levels."  

Belaunde won support in the election by clinging to military rule and support democratic rights.

Another factor in Belaunde's victory was the inability of the left candidates to present a united slate for the elections. Earlier this year the PRT united with other political groups behind the candidacy of Hugo Blanco for president. This alliance subsequently broke apart and the PRT entered Blanco as a candidate under the party's name. Despite this setback, the PRT claimed some major advances during the campaign. In two months of campaigning, the PRT held fifty rallies throughout the country, attended by some 250,000 people. The PRT's final rally in Lima's San Martin Plaza on May 12 was attended by 50,000 people.

Everywhere Blanco spoke he popularized the need for Peruvian workers to organize themselves independently of the capitalists and generals. He explained that only a workers government could solve the problems of Per­u's workers and small farmers.  

Blanco encouraged his supporters to become organizers of the masses. More than 4,000 reportedly responded to his appeal and are now attending weekly PRT meetings and education­als.

Blanco received a large number of votes in the working-class areas of Lima and the provinces of Arequipa and Tacna Province, where Blanco was tried in a 1965 murder frame-up, he received 15 percent of the vote.

"We are today a party of nationwide scope," the PRT said. "We have made the slogan 'Workers to power without generals' or coordination into reality. We have transformed sympathy for an individual into active support for a revolutionary party. . . . We are preparing the conditions for launching a struggle that will win the support of the masses of Peruvians in revolutionary struggle against the new bourgeois government. In the midst of all this, we are building a party—more and more we are PRT militants throughout the country. Of that we are certain."
By Greg Nelson

NEW ORLEANS — The 2000 alumi-
num industry contract, signed May 30, of-
ters a grim example of union retreat in an in-
dustry enjoying record profits.
The three-year package negotiated by
the United Steelworkers of America and
the aluminum industry includes a 1¢
beginning-of-the-year wage increase,
but no improvement in the cost-of-
living formula.

The first new aluminum workers got
in a company flyer announc-
ing a "substantial settlement" at the
Kaiser plant in Chalmette, Louisiana.

Aluminum workers in the Steel-
workers union do not have the right to
ratify their contract. It is decided by top
union officials.

This new contract provides wage
increases of twenty-five cents an hour
in the first year, twenty cents in the
second, and fifteen cents in the third.

This is less than 2 percent a year.

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

The auto workers did win such an
improvement in their last contract, but
the steelworkers got no change in the
basic steel contract signed two months ago.

The steelworkers media reports
aluminum workers did not actually get an
increase.

To quote from the contract summary:
"Beginning in the third year of the new
Agreement the formula will be 1¢ for
each of the 3 points . . . . Because of
this significant increase, the new formula
would further compress the wage struc-
ture. . . . It was, therefore agreed that
on a quarterly basis, the excess gener-
at by the new formula would be allo-
cated to the increments between
job classes . . ."

Increasing the job class increments
means more pay for the workers who
already make the most. A decision like
this by the Steelworkers is approved by
the majority of workers in the
bottom job classes.

According to who is talking, differ-
ent figures are used to describe the
wage settlement. The Carter adminis-
tration's Council on Wage and Price
Stability declared the contract in com-
pliance with the 7.5 to 9.5 percent
range of "allowable increases . . . ." The
New York Times continued its
campaign to blame inflation on union
wage gains by running an editorial
denouncing what it calls 11 percent a
year wage hikes for aluminum work-
kers.

As usual, neither the government
nor the big-business media say anything about company profits. Oper-
ating profits for the big three aluminum
companies were over $174 million
in the second quarter of 1980 for
"people doing nothing."

And, as usual, soon after the contract
was signed, the aluminum companies
took their profits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Union safety committees won the
right to demand air and noise samples,
information on toxic substances, and
tests done on any new material in
question. A significant improvement is
the closing of a medic section near a
foreman or anybody else unless you
give them written permission to see
them. But such language is usually
easy to negotiate and tough to enforce.

One of the worst features of the new
contract was the sale of five locals
where the contract had been signed.

The international union agreed these
plants would get only 25 percent of the
COIA and pension benefits.

It was reported to our local, but not
printed in the contract summary,
that new hire workers would be given
from thirty calendar days to sixty
working days. During probation,
workers have little union protection.

The companies use this time to get rid
of workers hired to fulfill affirmative
action hiring goals.

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

By Friday morning all was forgiven;
the "substantial improvement" was
signed. Most workers I spoke with
were shocked at the "Friday morning
circle . . . ."

The response to the contract could
be summed up with this piece of graffiti
written on a smokestack in our plant
after the terms were announced:
"We have so few done so little for so
many . . . ."

By Greg Nelson

Nearby, the Kaiser Aluminum plant
in Chalmette, Louisiana was
the Socialist Workers Party
candidate for governor of Louisiana in 1979.

Greg Nelson is a member of
Steelworkers Local 13000 at Kaiser Aluminum.

The old pot operator was tired. He
wouldn't play checkers and he wouldn't
get in the water, he said. He went
rolling off his face as he sat in front of
a fan after finishing a run.

"I am going to have to work here
forty-five years to get a half-decent
pension," he told me. He was refer-
ing to the new contract pension plan.

With twenty-seven and a half
years of service in the potroom depart-
ment, the grim reality of his and his
co-workers' lot was hitting him.

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

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

—G.N.
UAW's 'changing of the guard'

By Frank Lovell

(first of two parts)

Less happened at the United Auto Workers convention last month than most of the 3,000 delegates expected. More than 300,000 UAW members were out of work. Some locals of the union had been dismantled by plant closings.

In the past the top leadership has usually offered some sort of "plan" to meet such grave emergencies. This time there was nothing . . . or worse than nothing.

Partly on this account the election of three new vice-presidents and a new secretary-treasurer attracted more than ordinary attention. The new officers succeeded to these top posts as the result of attrition. Their predecessors reached retirement age.

There was no contest for the vacancies.

No delegate thought the new officers would be much different or any better than those they replaced. But that absence of new faces prompted speculation. Has the policy of the old leaders failed? Will the new officers rise to the challenge of new times? Who do to help solve the economic problems of its 1.5 million members?

These are urgent questions for the UAW membership to consider. After a serious search for answers must take into account the history of this union and the evaluation of its leadership.

A false image of union militancy and rank-and-file solidarity has been nurtured by UAW officials for more than three decades. Part of the myth is that today's departing "old guard" is the last remnant of the pioneers who organized the union.

How they rose

Emil Mazey, the longtime secretary-treasurer and associate of former UAW president Walter Reuther, was there when the union began. The three vice-presidents elected this year—Ken Bannon, Irving BLuestone, and Pat Greathouse—were not.

Bannon was a young auto worker in 1936. But he was at the Ford辺iant plant and had no part in the class battles that established the union at the time. His first union activity was in the 1941 UAW organizing campaign at the Rouge.

A UAW biographical sketch says, "Bannon traded in the Ford plant in Highland Park after the UAW's Buffalo convention of 1943. If he was a New Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus 'thinks picket lines are needed. R. J. Thomas, incumbent Addes-Frankensteep. slate. R. J. Thomas, under the anti-socialist faction, who now replace the most recent retirees are no different.

Raymond Majerus, Mazey's fifty-five-year-old replacement as secretary-treasurer, is a product of the UAW's own bureaucratic system. As punishment for his part in the movement, Mazey was always a contender in these struggles.

He fought first against the bureaucratic edict of Homer Martin, who was ousted as UAW international president in 1939; and always against the Stalinist faction, which he opposed politically.

Usually allied with the Reuther faction, Mazey was young leader of the Unemployed Citizen's League.

There is another difference. In his youth Mazey was a socialist, a member of the Proletarian Party. He studied Marxism and was dedicated to the working-class struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This distinguished most of the pioneer leaders of the 1930's, like Reuther brothers and Woodcock, who later presided over the bureaucrati-

ization of the union and the suppression of its early democracy. None of them, most notably Mazey, at least under the term "socialism when they decided that cooperation with the auto corporations. They denounced socialism who now replace the most recent retirees are no different.

Raymond Majerus, Mazey's fifty-five-year-old re- placement as secretary-treasurer, is a product of the UAW bureaucracy. He heads the controversial UAW union-management advertising effort to explain new price hikes.

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Usually allied with the Reuther faction, Mazey was joined in the struggle militancy of his youth for the class-collection policy that marked his long tenure in "the second highest office in the International union.

In recent years there has been a rapid turnover of UAW executive officers and regional directors. The replacements have all been carefully selected and the only new-class-collaborationist mold. Those who now replace the most recent retirees are no different.

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Owen Bieber, the new director of the General Motors Department, has been on the union payroll for nearly twenty years. And Donald Ephlin was an assistant to both Woodcock and Bluestone, his qualifications for his new job as UAW vice-president in charge of the union's Ford Department.

Steven Yokich, at forty-four the youngest UAW vice-president, takes over the job held by Greathouse for many years, director of the Agricultural Implement Department. Yokich understands his new assignment, and the young leader of the Unemployed Citizen's League.

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By William Gottlieb
(last of a series)

The capitalists make little secret of their view that the present recession is a good thing and the only problem is that it should come sooner. They would have it to keep it going.

This position for continued recession was forthrightly laid out in June—after unemployment had already risen to 10%—by the 1.7 million member blue-ribbon “Committee to Fight Inflation.” The committee is headed by Arthur Burns, former Federal Reserve Board chairman. It includes the former treasury secretaries of presidents Carter, Ford, Nixon, Johnson, and Kennedy, as well as former top-level Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Truly a bipartisan consensus!

Budget cuts & tight money

These authoritative representatives of big business called for continued tight money policies and budget cuts. They argue that the short-run costs of inflation—will be incurred by some, perhaps many, of our citizens.” To make it clear who should bear these costs, they also call for weakening cost-of-living provisions for the elderly and sick, for cutting or abolishing the minimum wage, for reducing business taxes every year, and for faster decontrol of all prices.

The Carter administration is doing its best to comply. Even in an election year, it is trying to hold the line as long as possible against any creation of jobs or any economic stimulus. The bosses and their government say this crisis is needed to fight inflation. What they really mean is that the slump is needed to fight overproduction. That is, the capitalists want the current economic nosedive to continue until production is again reduced to the limits of the market, the limits that are inflationary in addition, they hope, to use mass unemployment as a club to beat down wages and strengthen “discipline” in the plants, paving the way for still greater profits.

The only thing that restrains the capitalists and their government from going all the way with “harm again Hooverism” is fear of the working class, the fear that working people simply won’t tolerate a repeat of the 1930s.

There are, however, severe limits to the ability of the capitalist government to deal with economic crisis. The nervous zig-zags of economic policy that we’ve seen in the 1970s showed. To protect against inflation, the unions can fight for the interests of working people, regardless the effect on profits or the profit system. To the extent that the unions follow a course of collaboration with the capitalists and their government—as top union officials are doing today—the bosses will only be encouraged to push ahead with harsher attacks. And they will take advantage of both unemployment and inflation to further weaken the unions. The ultimate result will not be renewed prosperity but the destruction of the unions. We would be thrown back to the wretched conditions of the nineteenth century if not worse.

Class-struggle alternative

There is an alternative. If the men and women working in the factories, mines, and mills take over the means of production, the capitalists and their government, periodic depressions are inevitable as long as capitalism survives.

Coal strike, 1977-78. Winning strategy for labor must defend workers’ interests regardless of effect on profits.

All these proposals for sacrifices by working people aim to increase profits. But “our system” is based on profits, the capitalists more and more openly proclaim, so increasing profits at the expense of wages is the way out of the crisis.

This argument ignores one crucial fact. Profits depend not only on the rate of exploitation of the working class, but also on the ability of the capitalists to find buyers for their products. Reductions in the buying power of the working class can worsen a crisis by constricting the market.

The truth is that no matter what policies are followed by the capitalists and their government, periodic depressions are inevitable as long as capitalism survives.

What is not inevitable is the degree to which the working people have to bear the brunt of these crises.

To the extent that the unions follow a course of collaboration with the capitalists and their government—as top union officials are doing today—the bosses will only be encouraged to push ahead with harsher attacks. And they will take advantage of both unemployment and inflation to further weaken the unions. The ultimate result will not be renewed prosperity but the destruction of the unions. We would be thrown back to the wretched conditions of the nineteenth century if not worse.

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To protect against inflation, the unions can fight for the interests of working people, regardless the effect on profits or the profit system. To begin with, the unions should fight to abolish compulsory overtime while millions of workers aim to increase profits. But “our system” is based on profits, the capitalists more and more openly proclaim, so increasing profits at the expense of wages is the way out of the crisis.

One of the most scandalous features of the crisis is the bosses’ use of forced overtime while millions are out of work. In some auto plants, for example, workers are still forced to put in fifty-eight hours a week, while 300,000 auto workers are unemployed. Banning compulsory overtime, and reducing the general work week to thirty hours with no cut in pay, would spread the available work and create millions of jobs.

Unemployment can also be combated by demanding that the government launch a massive public works program to rebuild communities such as New York City’s South Bronx, restore the environment, and meet the needs of working people for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit. Such programs to provide jobs and meet social needs can be financed by eliminating the $150 billion war budget, which finances only corporate profit interests.

Public ownership of industry

What about the plant shutdowns that are devastating whole cities? To begin with, the unions should fight to abolish business secrets, to open the books and records of the corporations to public inspection. The bosses claim they can’t afford to keep these plants open. But let’s see the truth about their profits, tax rip-offs, bribes, and hidden plans to reorganize industry at workers’ expense.

The interests of the vast majority of society require that the energy industry and other basic industries of this country be nationalized and placed under public ownership. There are great needs for energy, steel, efficient transportation equipment, and countless other products. There are millions of workers ready and willing to produce them. Only private ownership—which requires that nothing be produced unless it is profitable for the capitalists—stands in the way.

Control over production—work speed, automation, hiring and firing, etc.—would have to be in the hands of the workers themselves through their unions or committees. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards, whose meetings and records are open to all.

Demands like these cannot be won without militant struggle. And they cannot be won through supporting the parties and politicians of the bosses, whether Democrats, Republicans, or procapitalist “independents” like Anderson.

Already a big discussion has broken out in the labor movement over the futility of relying on the Democrats and Republicans, and the need for the unions to launch an independent labor party. Such a party could rally the strength of the organized workers, the unemployed, Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth to confront the parties of the corporations on all economic, social, and political issues.

Formation of a labor party would be a gigantic step toward the only real solution to the capitalist economic crisis—the bringing to power of a workers government in this country. A workers government, relying on the mobilized power of the workers and farmers, could move toward a planned economy based on public ownership of all basic industry.

Unlike the capitalist economy, which is governed by the struggle for private profit, this economy would be governed by a social plan arrived at through democratic deliberations of the working people as a whole. This would abolish at its root the cause of capitalist crises and all the other evils of the capitalist exploitation of wage labor.
Just what they need — A Los Angeles research chemist insists the volatile metal stuns Mt. St. Helens can be developed into a new kind of porcelain to make bathtubs, sinks and Quonset huts that won't leak. "It's a wonder," he enthused, "is providing Washington with an instant industry."

Market research? — Seagram's, the world's biggest whiskey maker, gave a $5 million research grant to study why some people are more prone to alcoholism than others.

Boil and bubble — Protests from religious groups forced German Chancellor Schmidt to cancel a party where guests were to come out decked as "American-Liberians." Actually, it was set up in 1822, again with a white as head of state. Liberia was made the country an outpost unfailingly sympathetic toward the US for nearly a century and a half. Liberia has the largest rubber plantation in the world, its flag flies over more than a quarter of the world's shipping tonnage. Oil tankers make up the bulk.

U.S. officials and shipping companies wrote Liberia's shipping laws in 1848 and subsequently administered them so that Liberia could be used as a "flag of convenience" for U.S. shipping — thus evading taxes, labor costs, and pollution control regulations that would apply if they flew the U.S. flag.

To maximize their profits, the oil and shipping barons pay Liberia only $11 million a year for this privilege.

With the subservient old regime gone, U.S. big business is worried because Liberia has the legal right to increase rates, impose regulations, and even seize ships if necessary.

Anyway, my point is that U.S. "concerns" don't care (as usual) with the needs and aspirations of the Liberian masses.

It is clear that the U.S. would like to keep Liberia-ships, rubber plantation, CIA base et al.—under its imperial wing. Regardless of the political course Sergeant Doe pursues, U.S. intervention — military, political, or otherwise — must be opposed. The Liberian people have the right to determine their destiny.

City who did eighteen months in the federal pen for extorting kickbacks, has been hired by the city to do PR work. His function is to improve the city's image.

Harlyy retrain themselves — John Runcie, a sociology professor, spent five months on a Flint auto assembly line. He reports that, despite the monotony, many people love their work. "Boring as hell, yes," he enthused. "But it just amazed me, the number of people who said, 'I'm going to put in my thirty years and stay until it's time to take my pension.'"

It gets sticky — An informer for the Los Angeles police was convicted of trying to peddle cocaine to a number of police. The neighbor was an informer for the feds.

Sparkling pedestal — Sporting group-sized pearls, diamond earrings and a diamond-insetted bracelet, Mrs. Vincent Astor told a reporter that she always dresses that way when she checks out one of her philanthropy projects up in Harlem or down on the East Side. "If I'm not dressed up or not wearing my jewelry," she explained, "people think I'm talking down to them."

Thought for the week — "Before this recession is over, there are going to be an awful lot of people down on our system." — The president of a Brooklyn auto parts company which has laid off 40 percent of its workers.

Why 'freeze' against Liberia?

Since the April overthrow of the regime of Liberian President William Tolbert by dissident army troops headed by Master Sgt. Samuel Doe, the U.S. government has expressed "concern" over the direction of the new government.

Concern was heightened when key figures from the old, corrupt, and brutally repressive governing group were executed — to the evident satisfaction of the masses of Liberians.

Officially, U.S. diplomatic relations are "frozen." There is no word yet of any warming up as a result of the visit to Washington of five officials of Doe's government.

Washington's "concern" does not stem from any interest — moral or otherwise — in the well-being of the 1.8 million Liberians.

Rather, Washington fears that Doe's government — which is under tremendous pressure from Liberians who want to see real changes — will not have control as his predecessor did.

Liberia has been a de facto U.S. colony since its founding 133 years ago. Unlike the rest of Africa, it was never colonized by a European country. A common myth or half truth about Liberia is that it was established by freed U.S. slaves known as "Américo-Liberians." Actually, it was founded in 1821 by the American Colonization Society with the help of the U.S. government.

The society was a group of white philanthropists who organized the return of ex-slaves to the motherland. The idea was to prevent the growth of a community of free Blacks in the United States. The first freed slave community in Liberia was founded in 1822 by two whites. The first governor was Thomas Buchanan, cousin of the fifteenth U.S. president.

Liberia became an "independent" republic in 1846, again with a white as head of state. From that point on the U.S. rulers have dominated Liberia economically and politically.

Its currency is the dollar. The government and constitution were patterned after the U.S. system. The descendants of U.S. slaves serve as the surrogate de facto colonial masters.

The American-Liberians are only 3 percent of the population but control 80 percent of the wealth. They discriminate against the indigenous population. (Sergeant Doe is an indigenous Liberian.) The right to vote was not extended to them until 1947 and only to those who owned property. The minimum wage is $1.50 a day.

As Christian Science Monitor reporter Geoffrey Goddell explained, "This early US connection with Liberia has made this country an outpost unfailingly sympathetic toward the US for nearly a century and a half." Liberia has the largest CIA base in Africa.

And U.S. corporations have been making huge profits. Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, until recently the primary employer, owns the world's largest rubber plantation there, stretching for more than a mile across.

NEW YORK CITY

Largest rubber plantation there, stretching for more than a mile across.


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EL SALVADOR: REVOLUTION OR REPRESSION? Speaker: Santiago Alvarez, member, MACH-DEV, Central America Labor secretariat, 633 SE Main, Portland. 7:30 p.m. evenings Sun., July 11, 13, 15, 17, 19. For more information call (212) 924-7777.

THE MILITANT/JULY 11, 1980

25
Cuban troops in Angola

More than any government in recent history, revolutionary Cuba has set the example in extending support and solidarity to the oppressed of other countries.

An outstanding example of this internationalism took place in 1979. That year, Cuba responded to the request of MPLA (Movimiento Popular de Liberación de Angola—People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola) leader Agostinho Neto by sending Cuban troops and other personnel to aid in the fight for Angolan independence against the U.S.-backed military intervention of the South African regime.

Based on interviews conducted in Cuba, Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez wrote an extended account of the Cuban involvement in the Angolan civil war.

García Márquez’s article was published by Prensa Latina, the official Cuban news agency, in 1977. It detailed how Havana made the decision to send troops to Angola. García Márquez summarized some of the political factors that influenced the Cuban decision:

"The possibility that the United States might intervene openly, rather than through the mercenaries and South Africa as it had been doing for some time, was obvious to most of the leading newspapers and politicians in Havana, who thought it likely that at least Washington would think twice about doing so."

"In the eyes of the American public, the war in Angola was being portrayed as a crusade against a totalitarian Africa to be fought with support from the CIA. The Cuban government knew that at least Washington would think twice about doing so.

"It was decided itself from the nonexistence of the Vietnamese and the Watergate scandal. It had a President no one had elected. The CIA was under fire in Congress and low-rated in public opinion. The United States needed to avoid seeming—not only in the eyes of African countries but especially in the eyes of African Americans—to ally itself with racist South Africa. Beyond all this it was in the midst of an election campaign in its Bicentennial year."

"Furthermore, Cuba was sure it could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, although it was also aware of the impressive American economic power. It also held the Soviet promise of peaceful coexistence and international detente.

"It was a decision of irreversible consequences, too large and complex to be resolved in 24 hours. Nonetheless, the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba had only 24 hours to decide and then explain, in a large, calm meeting on Nov. 5. Far from what had often been said, it was an independent and responsible act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed.”

García Márquez described some of Washington’s hidden moves to block Cuban participation in Angola, including the Ford administration’s threat to bombard the airport in Georgetown, Guyana, if Cuban troop plans continued to be allowed to refuel there on route to Angola. He showed Castro’s intense interest in the progress of the campaign in Angola:

"Fidel Castro himself was keeping up to date in person on the situation of the war. He was at the sendoff for each troop ship, and before it sailed he would call together the combat units in the theater at the Cuban [Hotel]. He sought out the commanders of the special forces battalion that went on the first flight, and drove them to the steps of the plane in his Soviet-made jeep. It is probable that then and in every one of the other farewells, Castro had to hide an envy for those going off to a war he could not be in.

"By then, there was not a spot on the map of Angola that he could not identify, not a quick of the land that he did not know by heart. So intensely and meticulously did he follow the war that he could cite any statistic of Angola as if he were talking about Cuba. He spoke of Angola’s cities, its customs and its people as if he had lived there all his life.”

"Tens of thousands of Cubans volunteered to go to Angola to join the fight for independence. They saw their role in Africa as an opportunity to defend and extend the gains of their own revolution. And Cuban support was maintained up until the military victory won by the nationalist freedom fighters.

"Following the MPLA victory in the war, Castro and Neto met in Conakry, Guinea, to discuss a program for the withdrawal of Cuban troops: "They decided that the withdrawal would be unilateral but that as many Cubans as needed would remain in Angola as long as needed to build a modern economy which guarantees the future internal security and independence of the country without outside help."

"In the face of stepped-up attacks by South Africa, it is clear that the presence of thousands of Cuban troops still plays an important role in defending and consolidating Angola’s independence."

—Nan Bailey

Palestinian rally

Palestinian-Americans held a public demonstration in San Diego against the Israeli terrorist attacks against two Palestinian mayors. Called by the Arab-American Society, the demonstration attracted about sixty people.

Fumi Kheuri, chairperson of the society, opened the demonstration by citing many examples of the preponderance of the government’s harassment of Palestinians. He blasted the Carter administration for its continued military support to Israel.

Also speaking was Daniela Dixon, representing the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. She was very well received when she pledged support to the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people.

"In addition," she said, "we must organize in this country against repressive measures of the draft, to send back the shah with all the wealth he stole from the Iranian people, and to prevent any U.S. military aggression against Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador.”

Written greetings were read from the National Lawyers Guild, and the Black Federation also pledged its support. The activity was widely covered by the media. Mark Friedman

San Diego, California

Cancel subscription

I would like to cancel my subscription to the Militant. I cannot understand or accept your analysis of the USSR invasion of Afghanistan. No one in Afghanistan supports the Soviets. No one in the Third World or the Fourth World supports the Russians. Why do you?

Tom Ellis
Albany, New York

Speed-up at PP

I work at PP Industries in Lexington, North Carolina. Over the past few days, the company has forced a speed-up on the workers, by combining jobs, upping production quotas, and generally forcing us to work faster.

—David Trade

Letters

Every day for ten minutes before work, we have what's called "preshift," which is a cross between seventh grade homeroom and Sunday school. At preshift the other day, our foreman asked us what's the cause of inflation and how each of us could contribute to solving it by not extending our breaks and not wasting time.

He explained that if we are paid fifty cents an hour, our money is not recovered by selling our product, fiberglass, and that thus causes inflation. He said we should look in the mirror and ask ourselves, what have I done to stop inflation today?

I had a few good discussions with coworkers about how speed-up is not the answer to inflation. They didn't realize that the government's war spending is the major cause of inflation, but they sensed that what the "bossman" said wasn't right.

Since PPG is talking of a big layoff next month, perhaps they think that stopping the recession by having fewer workers wasting time.

L.N.
Lexington, North Carolina

Encouraging news

I wish to tell you that I really am happy to subscribe to the Militant. The reporting is excellent. Coverage of U.S. and international events encourages me no end.

I was particularly pleased with "New Rise in the World Class Struggle" (June 20 issue). This article cleared up some misconceptions I had regarding the Caribbean and contained valuable lessons to be learned.

Also, I am glad to see the Palley-Zimmermann campaign news. I distribute photocopies of Socialist Workers Party pamphlets at my workplace.

Please continue the accurate socialist news, and let me know if I can help.

Tom Dixon
Eugene, Oregon

Union treasury looted

For many years I have been attached to the American Maritime Union of America (AFL-CIO), having once been

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

I want to join the SWP.

Send me copies of Prospects for Socialism in America at $3.95 each. Enclosed is $.

Please send me more information.

Press lies on Afghanistan

In the local Toronto newspapers there have been daily reports of big battles between Soviet troops and Afghan rebels. However, an enlightening article regarding the "guerrilla offensive" appeared in the June 17 Toronto Globe and Mail.

Jacques Burkill, a French journalist from the magazine L'Express, visited the town of Paghman north-west of Kabul where "Indian press reports spoke of Soviet aircraft and artillery causing a widespread devastation through the mountains."

But Bicknall provided no evidence that a battle had been waged. The town was normal and there were no soldiers in sight.

The article goes on, "Another European traveller said he was in Paghman during the weekend and that he had heard nothing about such a major guerrilla offensive. Western reports of a fierce battle appear baseless, he said. "Soviet troops were also deployed around Kabul but I doubt this is widespread popular opposition to their presence. However, if I was a military commander I would regard the reports as completely distorting the real situation in Afghanistan and printing outright falsehoods."
Learning About Socialism

Marx and Engels on the U.S.

Today there is growing interest in labor history. Frequently the question is asked, "What should I read?" Studying labor history can be a first step toward a Marxist perspective. The following are some of the main works on the subject.


Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Sta Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

—Paul Montauk
Democrats and Republicans - on the incumbent Clair Burgener. He as its candidate in the 43rd June 3.

The fact that a notorious leader of the Ku Klux Klan in southern California, won a narrow Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in 1980.

"That racist, antilabor drive must be stopped. That's why there was no cry of alarm from Democratic Party high councils when Metzger entered the race. Kaiser strategists, for their part, have said that they intend to repeat Metzger-style campaigns.

For years," Friedman said, "the top Democrats and Republicans have been sowing hatred of undocumented workers. Metzger expresses the very same hatred - just in a cruder, more extreme style.

The conventional Democrats and Republicans breed racists and fascists. That has always been their history. That's why there is no cry of alarm from Democratic Party high councils when Metzger entered the race.

From the beginning, the SWP planned to open up an even wider offensive. "That racist, antilabor drive must be stopped," the socialist candidate declared. "This is possible replication of the Klan election campaign would be if the labor movement launched an emergency effort to field its own independent candidates.

It's why I decided to enter the race," the 28-year-old machinist explained. "To show what should be done. Working people need a real alternative to the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

The fact that a notorious leader of the Klan could run openly on the Democratic Party ticket, he said, "should lay to rest any belief that the Democrats are different from the Republicans.

"In fact, the antilabor, anti-Black, and anti-Chicano policies of both the Democrats and Republicans create a fertile culture medium for the most rabid racists like the Klan to develop."

As an example, Friedman pointed out how Metzger made a big pitch around virulent hatred of undocumented workers, a notorious style that won him many of his votes, according to media analysts.

On June 30, after eight days of petitioning, Illinois campaign supporters had gathered 21,750 signatures to place the party's presidential slate and senatorial candidate Lee Arnt on the ballot.

The party expects to meet its goal of 32,000 signatures well ahead of the scheduled four-week deadline.