Carter tries to set stage for new Vietnam

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

President Carter’s State of the Union message bore a grim message for American workers and prepare for new wars and economic hardships.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Carter demanded that labor accept “realistic pricing” of energy. He means two dollars a gallon for gas.

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

He demanded that labor “restrain pay increases in a fair fight against inflation.” He means we should settle for 7 percent wages when prices are rising at 14 percent.

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

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

Carter presented these proposals as re-
Continued on page 2

March against Klan terror in North Carolina Feb. 2

By Morris Starksy

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

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

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

Among the endorsers are Wilmington Ten defend-
Continued on page 3
In Our Opinion

VOLUME 44/NUMBER 3  FEBRUARY 1, 1980  CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 23

NYC crisis...again

One of the immediate consequences of Car­ter’s war-austerity drive is renewed attacks on social services and public employees. New York Mayor Edward Koch revealed budget proposals and layoffs that call for more cutbacks in social services and jobs for New Yorkers, who are still reeling from the massive cutbacks of 1974-75. With contract negotia­tions coming up for key city unions, the mayor is also hoping to intimidate workers into accepting more layoffs and cuts in real wages. If the Democratic city administration has its way, $750 million will be slashed from the budget for 1981 and 1982. This would mean the elimination of 13,000 jobs. The biggest cut­backs would be in education, where at least 4,000 teachers would lose their jobs and class sizes would soar.

Koch is also calling for a tax package increase of $189 million.

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

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

Now the bosses are extending their black­mail attacks to workers in basic industry—Chrysler, U.S. Steel, and railroads. “Save the city” or “save the company,” it’s the same耸nide to bail out profits at workers’ expense.

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

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

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

Sakharov’s exile

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

The goal of this move is evidently to cut Sakharov off from contact with foreigners, particularly the Western news media. (Gorky is barred to all non-citizens of the USSR.) Sakharov has used his access to the Western media as a weapon in his struggle for the expansion of political freedom in the Soviet Union. He relentlessly exposed frame-up trials against dissident artists and scientists, the use of psychiatric hospitals as prisons, the mis­treatment of non-Russian nationalities, and other abuses.

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

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

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

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

Militant Highlights This Week

Heroine of Cuban revolution dies

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

Young Socialists hold convention

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

Socialists launch leadership school

Seven leaders of the Socialist Workers Party will attend the SWP Leadership School beginning March 1. The party plans to raise $60,000 to finance the school. Page 10.
Klan. He underscored that the Klan does not represent the interests of poor children of white sharecroppers. Where was the Klan in the last century when the white farmers were evicted from their homes by the “bosses”? Where was the Klan when white workers organized into unions to fight for a living wage?

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

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

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

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

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

**Washington, D.C.**

By Enich Martel

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“Even though I face the possibility of being put in prison if I go to Greensboro on February 2,” Rev. Ben Chavis, the Wilmington Ten defendant who was recently let out of prison in North Carolina, made this pledge here to an audience of more than 500 January 23.

“Many Blacks and others had turned out for the meeting, called to mobilize support for the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration. Other speakers included Harold Fisher, president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Donald Isaac, a representative of the Laborer's International Union, Local 987; and a spokesperson for the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**San Antonio**

By Anthony Gonzalez

SAN ANTONIO—Four hundred people marched against Ku Klux Klan terror in a demonstration organized by the San Antonio Coalition Against the KKK here January 15. Demonstrators—predominantly Chicanos—chanted “Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho—KKK's got to go!”

Jaime Martinez, an international representative of the International Unio­n Movement of the United States, addressed the rally following the march. Martínez denounced the Klan as an anti­labor outfit.

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

---

**Buses roll for Greensboro March against Klan violence Feb. 2!**

זמנים in the Boston desegregation struggle.

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

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

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

---

**Norfolk, Va.**

By Jon Hillson

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

Reverend Taylor is an associate of the American Federation of Labor and was a member of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

---

**United States condemn KKK terror**

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

Because the forces of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are at the very heart of American society, and its leaders and members are responsible for the terror of the last century when white farmers were evicted from their homes by the "bosses." Where was the Klan when white workers organized into unions to fight for a living wage?

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

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

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

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

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

---

**Washington, D.C.**

By Enich Martel

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Even though I face the possibility of being put in prison if I go to Greensboro on February 2," Rev. Ben Chavis, the Wilmington Ten defendant who was recently let out of prison in North Carolina, made this pledge here to an audience of more than 500 January 23.

"Many Blacks and others had turned out for the meeting, called to mobilize support for the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration. Other speakers included Harold Fisher, president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Donald Isaac, a representative of the Laborer's International Union, Local 987; and a spokesperson for the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**San Antonio**

By Anthony Gonzalez

SAN ANTONIO—Four hundred people marched against Ku Klux Klan terror in a demonstration organized by the San Antonio Coalition Against the KKK here January 15. Demonstrators—predominantly Chicanos—chanted "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho—KKK's got to go!"

Jaime Martinez, an international representative of the International Union Movement of the United States, addressed the rally following the march. Martinez denounced the Klan as an anti-labor outfit.

Other speakers included representatives of the Texas Cane Workers; United Auto Workers; El Pueblo newspaper; and Texas Black Caucus.
By Louise Halverson

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

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

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

North Carolina's undemocratic election laws require independent parties seeking ballot status to collect the signatures of 10,000 registered voters. The Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee here is aiming for well over that number to assure its candidates a place on the ballot.

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

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

Three local television stations filmed Zimmermann's petitioning drive in several of downtown Winston-Salem. They aired interviews of Zimmermann talking about the SWP program. The Winston-Salem Journal, the daily newspaper, covered the socialist campaign rally. And a local television station came to the campaign headquarters the day after the rally to film interviews with Pulley and Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina.

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

Inspirations to socialists

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

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

The successful collection of signatures in North Carolina and the positive response the petitioners are encountering is an answer to those who say that the Socialist Workers Party has the right to be on the ballot.

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

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

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

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

February 2 anti-Klan march

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

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

"The government is deathly afraid of a real response to Klan violence," said Rebecca Finch, the SWP's candidate for U.S. Senator in North Carolina. "They are deathly afraid of the challenge that a massive, peaceful, legal demonstration on February 2 would represent—a challenge to the government's attacks against affirmative-action programs, to continued school segregation on North Carolina campuses, to the racist divisions that the employers are trying to foster to keep Black and white workers from building unions together."

Finch also denounced Governor James Hunt's call December 19 for infiltration and surveillance of "extremist" groups. Finch told the rally, "Harassment. Disruption. Provocation. These are better words for what the police agencies have in mind. Those actions are aimed against fighters for social and economic justice, not against the Klan. The ultimate target for such activity is the unfolding union struggle in this state."

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

Donations needed

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

The money pledged by participants at the rally is in addition to the $385 that was raised by socialist election campaign supporters at the beginning of the ballot drive. That means we have raised a total of $6,045 of the $2,000 goal set for the special North Carolina petitioning fund.

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

Please rush your contribution today. Use the coupon below.

Enclosed is my contribution of ________
Name
Address
City State Zip
Phone
Union/School/Org.
Make checks payable to: Socialist Workers Election Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014
A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.
A federal court ruling allows us to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.
'Glad to sign to put SWP on N.C. ballot'

By Jeff Miller

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I'm in the process of trying to say working people should run the country because we keep it running," says campaigner Kate Dahl, as she asks people to sign her petition.

"Oh yeah, I remember that. I heard your candidate on TV," one person responded. Another said, "Working people pay the taxes, we should run the country." At the predominantly Black Northside Shopping Center, another worker from the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company talked with SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann (right) petitions in Winston-Salem. (Militant/Greg Mccarten)

Shopowner helps out

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

But that isn't always true. Andrew Pulley was petitioning in front of a small fish store in a shopping mall in Winston-Salem's Black community. The store owner, who was white, came out to ask him what he was doing.

"Maybe you can help me out," said Pulley. "I need socialist campaign funds to go to Nicaragua. They're afraid to sign because they think their names might appear on some list.

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

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

--J.M.

SWP campaign fund drive goes over top

By L. Paltrineri

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

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

Here are just a few of those who contributed to the socialist presidential campaign:

Thousands of dollars poured in from SWP members working in steel mills, coal and iron mines, as well as from truckers, auto, rail and refinery workers and many others. Much of this was contributed at the August rally in Oberlin, Ohio, launching the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign.

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

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

A communications worker from Texas wrote, "This $200 is good use of holiday pay." An AFSCME member from Harrisburg sent $100. A reader from Rockville, Indiana, sent $5 and reports he is passing the Militant around to his co-workers who "love the truth" about Iran, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

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

Hundreds of dollars arrived with short notes saying, "Here's my $5. I'm fed up with the Demo­crats and Republicans," and "$10 is all I can afford right now. When will the candidates be in my area?" A retired couple sent $20 from a fixed income because they are "firm believers in a socialist Amer­ica."

The national campaign received 300 letters last fall. $500 in contributions came in this way, and thirty-seven of these people asked to join the SWP.

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

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

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

As we turn the calendar to 1980 the biggest challenges of the campaign lie ahead. We have just launched a drive to get on the ballot in thirty states. In January and February Andrew Pulley will visit Cuba and Matilde Zimmermann will visit Nicaragua.

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

We couldn't agree with her more.

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

Washington's double standard on the Olympics

By Harry Ring

"I do not wish to inject politics into the Olympics." That statement by Carter sums up his hypocrisy. He wants to force athletes from countries out of the Olympics for reasons that are as political as they are reactionary.

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

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

What the U.S. rulers are really after is to get in a position where they can undertake military aggression of the kind they've wanted for a long time.

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

Carter hopes to win some popular sympathy with a boycott. But so far, it's not going too well.

U.S. officials are mad as hell about the way they're being strong-armed. Many athletes are even making it difficult for them.

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

Anita DeFrantz, a bronze medalist in the 1976 rowing competition, said she took a leave from her job to train for the Winter games.

"Carter said 'we' are going to boycott the Olympics," she angrily declared. "I don't understand the 'we.' I assume he was talking about me when I was out there freezing my butt off! I rowed all of last year, except four weeks of the year, because I was racing for the U.S. National team.

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

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

Lieberman put her finger on Carter's game. Using the athletes as a pawn in a larger strategy is usually the way they're going to play this game.

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

For instance, back in 1968, the Olympic movement was horrified by the Hitler "peaceful coexistence" in the U.S. Olympic participation in the games, and the Roosevelt administration said, "Fine." They went anyway.

In 1968, the games were held in Mexico. Ten days before they opened, Mexican troops opened a murderous attack on peaceful student demonstrators, killing 400.

Did Washington express any concern, suggest a boycott? Not on your life. Carter said 'we' are going to boycott the Olympics."

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

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

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

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

But those people are not the target of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. There, the principal crop in the regions whose inhabitants are in revolt against the Soviet-supported government is poppy. Gage notes that poppy cultivation is "one of the largest heroin producing centers in the world," reported Gage, "it is the heroin producing center of the world." He adds in a footnote: "Afghan police are waging a vigorous campaign against the new regime, the Afghan government are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution." (1)

Carter asks us to help the dope dealers and business is booming.

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

"Although opium is illegal in Afghanistan," reported Gage, "it is the principal crop in the regions whose inhabitants are in revolt against the Soviet-supported government in that country." Gage notes that poppy cultivation is "one of the largest heroin producing centers in the world." It is "the heroin producing center of the world." He adds in a footnote: "Afghan police are waging a vigorous campaign against the new regime, the Afghan government are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution, the Afghan peasants and the U.S. military are bringing the Afghan revolution." (1)

"Fine." The games went on.

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

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

Heroin paid many of the bills for covert activities of the CIA in the Afghan revolution, the CIA organized the Afghan resistance against the anti-American war. Their job was to help the Afghan war.

"CIA-controlled Air America, using U.S. pilots, flew the heroin abroad. Much of this heroin was slated for use to support the secret war in Afghanistan."

There was also a CIA-controlled Air America, using U.S. pilots, flew the heroin abroad. Much of this heroin was slated for use to support the secret war in Afghanistan."

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

Heroin from Afghanistan will be used in the United States to make addicts of more working people and youth, especially in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

The proceeds go to help the dope dealers by helping them bring down the Afghan government. Carter says he'll be telling us "that heroin addiction is really a patriotic duty—one more sacrifice we must make to fight those Communists in Afghanistan.

But all working people have a life-and-death stake in supporting their brothers and sisters in Afghanistan, and the Soviet soldiers who are helping them wage a fight that will be the step toward ending this criminal traf-
Celia Sanchez: leader of Cuban revolution

By David Frankel

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

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

"Founder and leader of the July 26 Movement in the southern region of the old province of Oriente, she distributed History Will Absolve Me (Castro's 1953 courtroom speech denouncing the Batista regime), and organized and consolidated the Movement in Manzanil­lo, Soffia, Estrada Pauma, Calicito, Campechuela, Celia Huesca, San Ramon, Siboney, Nites, and other places," said an editorial in the January 12 issue of the Cuban daily Granma.

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

It was Sanchez who was in charge of the camouflage boats that waited for the rebels sailing to Cuba in the boat named Granma on November 30, 1956. The Granma, overloaded, antiquated, and meeting heavy weather, arrived two days late and the result was a stinging defeat. But the fighters of the July 28 Movement soon demonstrated that the dictatorship's claims of vict­ory were premature.

Raul Castro described the impor­tance of the urban underground in his November 30 speech commemorating the victorious uprising in the city of Santiago de Cuba that was meant to coincide with the landing of the Granma.

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

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

"The protest will include a service and commemorative vigil in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, near the site of the near nuclear disaster almost one year ago.

By John Hawkins

OAKLAND, Calif.—Meeting at Lan­sey College last weekend of the Western states for April 26, to coincide with the antinuclear march on Washington scheduled for the same day.

"A keenly discussed question was the role of the labor movement in the fight to shut down nuclear power plants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nicaragua tour on literacy drive

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

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

Nicaragua's government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), has set a goal of teaching 800,000 people to read and write during 1980. Nearly 200,000 students have registered, and workers will be mobilized to carry out this gi­gantic task.

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

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

Three Mile Island protest

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

The protest, by the March 28 Coalition, headquartered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, near the site of the near nuclear disaster almost one year ago, will be held on the anniversary of the near disaster at Three Mile Island, March 28-30; actions for a nuclear-free Pacific, March 2 and 3; and a Nuclear-Free Pacific Conference in Hawaii in May to bring together activists from the Pacific islands who are fighting the threat of nuclear power and weapons there.
Labor, women join forces in Va.

January 13 march opens 1980 drive

By Suzanne Haig

RICHMOND—With confidence and militancy more than 5,000 trade unionists and women's and civil rights organizations marched and rallied here Sunday, January 13, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by this session of the Virginia legislature—due to adjourn March 31.

Virginia is one of fifteen states that have not ratified the proposed Constitution Amendment by this session of the Virginia General Assembly. The ERA, which bars discrimination on account of sex, Thirty-five states have ratified and three more are expected by June 30, 1982.

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

Show of unity

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

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

Their victorious struggle for union recognition last year has become an inspiration for the entire southern labor movement in all its battles—industrial, political and legislative.

The march and rally were organized by Labor for Equal Rights Now (LERNE), a Virginia trade unionists' and women's rights organization. Its coordinators, Suzanne Haig, president of the Virginia Education Association; and Jerry Gordon, assistant director of District 2, United Food and Commercial Workers Union, each chaired sections of the rally.

Steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, and other unionists made up the largest contingents in the march.

In addition there were contingents from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Teachers; Teachers Union; United Transportation Union; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; United Mine Workers; American Postal Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; Brotherhood of Communication Workers of America; New York Public Library Guild; and others.

Local 8888 contingent broke down the states of Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Connecticut.

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

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

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

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

Clawed by the Daily World, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, were handed out.

Broad union support

The scope of labor union participation was particularly impressive, a result of the five-month education and action campaign undertaken by union activists across the country following the August 12 LERN conference of 600 in Richmond which called the action.

By Local 8888 marched members of USWA Locals 2629 and 2622, United Steelworkers, the Reckles Steel Miners Union: Point mill in Baltimore. They were easily identified by their hard hats, each with USWA January 13 ERA stickers. In addition there were steelworkers from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Kansas, and California. Local 2098 sent two women from U.S. Steel Miners, Ione Mine in Mountain Iron, Minnesota.

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

Three women from UAW Local 148 at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Lakewood, California were sent by their union and brought greetings. In the United Mine Workers contingent, miners from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Virginia and members of the Teamster Coal Employment Project, an organization that fights to get women into the mines. Miners wore their hard hats and chanted, "UWMA for the ERA."

United Electrical Workers were their union hate as did the New York City Hospital Workers from AFSCME Local 430.

Along with the prints signs were oranges made by individual members such as: "Neither rain nor snow nor cold of day can stop ERA," from a number of American Postal Workers in Philadelphia; "Defend and Expand Affirmative Action;" "Chocolate workers say pass the ERA;" from Hershey, Pennsylvania, Local 641 of the Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers Union; ERA Local 2610 from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore. They were easily identified by their hard hats, each with USWA January 5 ERA stickers. In addition there were steelworkers from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Kansas, and California.

Mrs. Anna Scott, a member of IAM Local 1133, who is fighting to get her husband's name on the union's health and welfare fund, carried a sign calling for equal pay for equal work.

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

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

West coast joins with Richmond to demand passage of ERA

By Judy White

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

Lelie Bozlee, South Coast director of Local 885 of the International Association of Machinists, extended greetings to the crowd, "We need this protective law for all workers—machinists and non-machinists, organized and unorganized," she said.

Women in five locales of the IAM initiative which was held in the union's district headquarters. Heavy leafletting at plants where the Local 885 is involved was in the days preceding the rally accounted for the high turnout of Machinists.

Also, there were contingents from the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the United Steelworkers of America, several locals of the teachers' union, Service Employees International, the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Domestic Workers, United Farm Workers, National Organization for Women, Center for Women's Studies and Service, Young Socialist Alliance, National Women's Political Caucus, and others.

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

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

Marcia Scott, a member of IAM Local 400, who is fighting to get her husband's name on the union's health and welfare fund, said he will make us heard all the way to Virginia. It will encourage more activities, more noise, to make those guys in the legislature see reality that by voting against the Equal Rights Amendment they would be voting against the majority of the country."

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

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

By Jill Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Led by Darwin Aycock, secretary-treasurer of the Arizona State AFL-CIO, 400 people marched to the state capitol, January 14, to demand ratification of the ERA.

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

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

Among those present were representatives of the Central Arizona Labor Council, United Steelworkers Local 4100, Arizona Education Association, American Postal Workers Union, Western Federation of National Organization for Women, Arizona Mobilization for Survival, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

This was the first time in Arizona that so many unionists had participated in a march for the ERA.
Many had had personal experiences which reinforced their support for ERA. Dotty Anderson, a crane operator at Sparrows Point, for example, was elected as the first female shop steward in the local. "Working all through Bethlehem, she explained, "they tried to force me to quit. They wanted me to do the work of thirty men, but they gave me, no men ever did. They were done by machine. But I stuck it out. Women get menial jobs, low pay. We want to feel like humans. We're not second class." Women commented on the support ERA was receiving from male trade unionists. Seven-year Baltimore Federation of Teachers member, said, "Anything that affects working people should be an issue of all labor. It's good for men to stand side by side with women on this."

Working women unionists stressed the connection between ERA and the fight against the state's anti-labor, open-shop laws. For USWA member Curtis Daniels, "the men," he said. "They have to support their families. After we ex-

Protesters meet talk with socialist candidates

By Nancy Cole

RICHMONDT, Va.—In front of a long, columned building, "Rally the ERA! Organize the Unorganized! Vote Sociali-

A Socialist Workers campaign hospitality suite offered protesters a chance to meet the leaders of the UNITE campaign in the state at the rally site, a two-room hotel hospitality suite. "Today we are organizing for ERA," he said. "Yes, I said then if they don't pass ERA, we'll be back in twice the number." "There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this is our country. It doesn't belong to them, it belongs to all of us. We must make it work. We must do it as one group of people because we are the haven of hope for the rest of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is.

The connection between the fight for ERA and the fight against racism, which was a theme of many rally speakers. The head of the civil rights committee of a USWA local said to steelworkers on a Pittsburgh bus, "The march today showed the power of people getting it together. But now everyone has to go to Greensboro," referring to the broad-based sponsored march against the Ku Klux Klan on February 2.[See article page 3].

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

The unity and power of this march— the recognition that it represented a giant step forward—was repeatedly stressed by the rally speakers. Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that if Martin Luther King, Jr. were alive he would be here today support-

He recalled joining one other national demonstration-in 1970 against the Vietnam war. "This [ERA] is an economic issue, and thank god that labor and the women's movement and the Black civil rights movement are united and have just began to wake up again for human rights. The eighties will again bring back the marches for human rights because we're not going to let the right wing march us back to the 1800s."

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

Noting that the march today was just a beginning, Onyango added. "Unions have to come back; not just for the march, but for standing up and supporting the ERA. Then they'll feel they have to do something." I asked Marie Anderson, who had just joined the discussion, what it had been like during the march to see a demonstration. (Two full buses came from Pittsburgh.) She explained that 59 percent of the workers on the tin mill side of the plant were wearing stickers on their hardhats that said, "USWA Pulley," a dinner next time either Pulley or I was in Pittsburgh.

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

"There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this is our country. It doesn't belong to them, it belongs to all of us. We must make it work. We must do it as one group of people because we are the haven of hope for the rest of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is.

Since members of so many unions were visible at the rally, John Kennedy, president of District 28 of the United Federation of Teachers, called on the community to thank "the working people over this land that contributed to the people's movement at this rally. We'll stand up for that contract." Labor solidarity was a big factor in the 110-day miners' strike in late 1979 and 1980.

Other speakers included: Julian Carper, president of the Virginia State AFL-CIO; Addie Wyatt, executive vice president of CLUW and vice president of the American Federation of Labor, Treas-

Addie Wyatt, executive vice-

SCLC, told a cheering crowd, "I believe the March on Washington through the Black Panther Party. This was his first national solidarity actions were held in San Francisco, Phoenix, Arizona, and Los Angeles.

The sentiment for passage of the ERA was strong. A Socialist Workers campaign event. They were delighted that it represented a giant step forward—was repeatedly stressed by the rally speakers. Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that if Martin Luther King, Jr. were alive he would be here today support-

She's been trying to get a job in the mines for the last six months, and is about to quit. She will win an ERA contract." Labor solidarity was a big factor in the 110-day miners' strike in late 1979 and 1980.

Protesters meet talk with socialist candidates

By Nancy Cole

RICHMONDT, Va.—In front of a long, columned building, "Rally the ERA! Organize the Unorganized! Vote Sociali-

A Socialist Workers campaign hospitality suite offered protesters a chance to meet the leaders of the UNITE campaign in the state at the rally site, a two-room hotel hospitality suite. "Today we are organizing for ERA," he said. "Yes, I said then if they don't pass ERA, we'll be back in twice the number." "There is still inequality in this land and we will not tolerate it, because this is our country. It doesn't belong to them, it belongs to all of us. We must make it work. We must do it as one group of people because we are the haven of hope for the rest of this world. We are the ones who have made this country what it is.

Noting that the march today was just a beginning, Onyango added. "Unions have to come back; not just for the march, but for standing up and supporting the ERA. Then they'll feel they have to do something." I asked Marie Anderson, who had just joined the discussion, what it had been like during the march to see a demonstration. (Two full buses came from Pittsburgh.) She explained that 59 percent of the workers on the tin mill side of the plant were wearing stickers on their hardhats that said, "USWA Pulley," a dinner next time either Pulley or I was in Pittsburgh.

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

"We here in Virginia are kicking against the state's anti-labor, open­
The SWP Leadership School is being set up for the party's General Convention in August 1979. In conjunction with a broader party education campaign decided upon at that time.

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

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

As part of the turn, therefore, the SWP has been developing a broad range of educational programs for all members. In these remarks made last August, Betsey Stone, a longtime leader of the SWP, outlined the basic idea of the leadership school.

There is hardly a member of our party who has not at one time or another said to himself or herself: "If only I had more time to read and study." The problem of finding time to educate ourselves is not a new one. Nor is it unique to our party. It has been present in the revolutionary workers movement from the beginning.

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

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

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

I want to contribute: $100 $200 $300 $400 $500 $100 other

Make checks payable to: SWP Leadership School Fund
Mail to: SWP Leadership School Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Name __________________________ Address __________________________
City __________________________ State __________________________ Zip

Continued on page 23
Introduction
On July 19, 1979, the people of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), finally succeeded in toppling the hated Somoza family dictatorship that had ruled over their country for more than forty years. The Somozas had been among the most brutal dictators that have ever existed, and the regime was denounced the world over for its crimes. Even the Organization of American States blasted it in November 1978 for “flagrant, persistent abuses of human rights, including summary executions, torture, arbitrary detention, indiscriminate bombing of unarmed civilians, and obstructing the humanitarian efforts of the Red Cross.”

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

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

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

A few statistics give the picture of the terrible economic situation inherited from Somoza: capital flight of $2 billion; foreign debts of $5.5 billion; material damage of $500 million; unemployment at 50 percent; and inflation at almost 40 percent.

This panorama of destruction and economic dislocation has immense effects in an undeveloped country like Nicaragua, where class disparities are so stark. Even before the recent civil war, 1971 statistics showed the bottom 50 percent of the population with a median income of only $60 per year, while the top 5 percent averaged $1,800. The poor farmers, with 43.2 percent of the farms, had only 2.2 percent of the farmland, while the big estates (1.9 percent of the farms) had 47.6 percent of the farmland.

Literacy was less than 50 percent. Infant mortality was 13 percent. Forty-seven percent of homes had no sanitary facilities.

Unemployment (including “underemployment”) was 36 percent in 1978.

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

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

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

But considerable obstacles lie ahead. The remaining capitalists and landlords have begun openly challenging the working-class orientation mapped out by the FSLN. They withhold investments and production, while the imperialists withhold aid and prepare for the eventuality of striking back militarily at the Nicaraguan revolution. A showdown is looming. Either the socialist revolution will be completed or a Chile-type disaster will result.

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

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

With this dual obligation in mind, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting January 5-9, discussed and adopted a resolution analyzing the dynamics of the revolution in Nicaragua, its importance in world politics, and suggestions for worldwide solidarity activity by the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International. The full text of the resolution begins on the next page.
The primary purpose of the following theses is to clarify (1) the class character of the Nicaraguan government today, (2) the role of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in that government, and (3) the revolutionary task of building the world party of socialism necessary to lead the toilers in the overthrow of world capitalism.

1. Between late May and July 19, 1979, there were elections in the main cities of Nicaragua—prepared by the Sandinista National Liberation Front and coordinated with an FSLN military offensive—booped the United States-backed Anastasio Somoza regime. The victory was the culmination of two months of general strikes and armed uprisings. The cities by the workers, semiproletarian masses, youth, and sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, land occupations and other mobilizations by the poor peasants and agricultural labor in the rural districts; and stepped-up guerrilla operations and a concerted military drive by the FSLN. These were the motor forces of the climactic stage in the struggle against the regime. They gave the revolution a powerful momentum.

2. Following Somoza's flight on July 17, the disintegration of the National Guard accelerated. His stand-in Francisco Ortega promised to transfer power to a five-person junta of the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN). This was supposed to pave the way for the integration of some National Guard elements into a new regular army and the appointment of a bourgeois-dominated Council of State. The former National Guard prerogatives had been announced July 9 in Costa Rica as part of the post-Somoza government. They would incorporate "soldiers and officers from the FSLN and some of the bourgeois opposition forces."

The triumph in Managua, following the victory of the FSLN and spontaneously in the period before and during the insurrection. This sharp shift in the relations of forces, especially due to the FSLN leadership, the Sandinista Workers Defense Committees (CDTS) rose in some factories and plants, the nuclei of what was to become the Sandinista Workers Federations (CST). Other mass organizations—women's groups AMPLIACION (later to become the Asociación of Nicaraguan Rural Women, who were bourgeois figures, usually serving as food distributors, health workers, etc. These organizations, with FSLN backing, have launched a campaign demanding the Council of State be restructured to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations—the CDTS, CST, ATC, women's association, Sandinista youth, etc. These organizations, with FSLN backing, have launched a campaign demanding the Council of State be restructured to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations.

3. It is now becoming obvious that the new government's power—although which important decisions of state were actually being made and implemented from the bourgeois coalition government was projected in the July 2 National Program and the Fundamental Statute—decree July 20.

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

The junta did not take the form of the usual actual government. In fact, the key elements of the new state structure fall outside the frameworks projected in the July 2 National Program. The government itself includes the FSLN leadership, the Sandinista armed forces, as well as INRA (Nicaragua's Institute of Agrarian Reform and Development, which has branches in every province of the country, was consolidated at the end of December under the revamped Ministry of Agricultural Development, which Wheelock was appointed to head (retaining the post of INRA director). The first minister of agricultural development, a landowner appointed in July, had been in a similar position to that of defense minister Larios.

Triumph over Somoza

The triumph in Managua, following the widespread support, however, Urrutia attempted to hold on to state power, and demanded the FSLN lay down its arms. The FSLN's National Directorate made clear FSLN's "bunker" was captured and Somoza's "bunker" region. This was to draft a bourgeois constitution according to which a bourgeois judicial system, headed by a Supreme Court, would be "unconstitutional" interpreted on property and other "bourgeois prerogatives."

In the first weeks following July 19, it was widely assumed that the Council of State would be rapidly installed. A tentative convocation date of September 15 was even announced. But that date came and went, and amid growing agitation by bourgeois forces for the convocation of the Council of State, the junta announced October 25 that convocation of the council was being postponed until May 4, 1980. In the intervening months it was to be "restructured" to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations—"the CDTS, CST, ATC, women's association, Sandinista youth, etc. These organizations, with FSLN backing, have launched a campaign demanding the Council of State be restructured to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations."

The junta was a collection of state power to a five-person junta of the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN). This was supposed to pave the way for the integration of some National Guard elements into a new regular army and the appointment of a bourgeois-dominated Council of State. The former National Guard prerogatives had been announced July 9 in Costa Rica as part of the post-Somoza government. They would incorporate "soldiers and officers from the FSLN and some of the bourgeois opposition forces."

The triumph in Managua, following the victory of the FSLN and spontaneously in the period before and during the insurrection. This sharp shift in the relations of forces, especially due to the FSLN leadership, the Sandinista Workers Defense Committees (CDTS) rose in some factories and plants, the nuclei of what was to become the Sandinista Workers Federations (CST). Other mass organizations—women's groups AMPLIACION (later to become the Asociación of Nicaraguan Rural Women, who were bourgeois figures, usually serving as food distributors, health workers, etc. These organizations, with FSLN backing, have launched a campaign demanding the Council of State be restructured to provide representation above all to the new mass organizations.

3. It is now becoming obvious that the new government's power—although which important decisions of state were actually being made and implemented from the bourgeois coalition government was projected in the July 2 National Program and the Fundamental Statute—decree July 20.
governing power outside the terms of the peace accords, politically modified on September 1, 1979, when, during a military parade and rally to spur up the support for the EPS, the nine members of the National Directorate were proclaimed “Comandantes de la Revolución” and took over the executive process and not simply of the army or the formal government. During this initial stage, the leadership was planned— who have played the decisive role governing together with the Sandinistas

The rising importance of new mass organizations and especially of the CDSs (named of which were contem­ plated in the GRN program) is among the most outstanding of the postlibera­ tion process and consolidation of the CDSs, the unions of workers and peasants, and SES, the Sandinista EPA, the army, and the Sandinista Army, that the authority of the FSLN is largely based. To varying degrees these organizations have out­ standing functions at the workplace, farm, town and national levels. The CDSs, the end of 1979, province-wide coordi­ nation of the CDSs was under way and many leading members of the CDSs have already been held. San­ dinista leaders have announced that a new delegates CDS congress will be held early in 1980. So the government that was consoli­ dated peace accords. Although the FSLN government that was consoli­ dated peace accords. Although

Social & economic steps

4. The accumulation of progressive social and economic measures in the first months of the revolution demon­ strates that the Nicaraguan tollers under FSLN leadership, have set off a new, radical, development path toward the expropriation of the bourgeoisie:

The new government immediately nationalized many of the richest Somoza assets in agriculture, real estate, banking, industry, commerce, transport, fishing fleets, shipyard and port equipment, and communications needed for production.

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

It launched an extensive agrarian reform on Somoza land, bringing reform on Somozaist land, bringing

education, health care, transport, fishing fleets, shipyard and port equipment, communications needed for production.

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

It launched an extensive agrarian reform on Somoza land, bringing

workers control over production in the nationalized sector.

• The FSLN is campaigning to or­ ganize workers into the ATC and workers into the CST. In addition, the Sandinistas are taking steps to further empower workers control over production in the nationalized sector.

At the beginning of November, the first major imperialist property was nationalized—the mines (domestic holdings). The FSLN (and taken over.) This further strengthens the government control over the coun­ try’s nationalized sector.

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

• Housing reconstruction aid in the development of the housing sector has been initiated by the government.

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

• Price controls have been estab­ lished on basic food items. The govern­ ment has also established a social and economic committee to establish and regulate prices.

Workers & peasants govt

5. The FSLN-led government, based on Nicaragua’s proletarian, semiprote­ stant, peasant, and radicalized petty bourgeois opposition, which is fight­ ing to defend its interests from the threats of the CDSs, the unions, and the EPS. The government has introduced a new program of social and cultural better­ ment for the Nicaraguan tollers. It has also nationalized the banks through the EPS and Sandinista police. Its radical policies have helped in the development of the agrarian organizations through the CDSs, the trade unions, and other institutional reforms. The FSLN has continued to foster mass mobilizations. The house—November 7 demonstration to honor FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador—brought over 100,000 people into the streets of Managua. It was the largest outpouring since Somoza’s fall.

The structure and direction of develop­ ment established through all these measures indicates that this new regime has not only broken the armed might of the bourgeoisie. It has displaced the political power of the capitalists, taken decisive steps to block the establish­ ment of a bourgeois government and refused to subordinate the interests of the exploiting class to the bourgeoisie’s needs either nationally or internationally.

• The FSLN is campaigning to or­ ganize workers into the ATC and workers into the CST. In addition, the Sandinistas are taking steps to further empower workers control over production in the nationalized sector.

At the beginning of November, the first major imperialist property was nationalized—the mines (domestic holdings). The FSLN (and taken over.) This further strengthens the government control over the coun­ try’s nationalized sector.

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

• Housing reconstruction aid in the development of the housing sector has been initiated by the government.

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

• Price controls have been estab­ lished on basic food items. The govern­ ment has also established a social and economic committee to establish and regulate prices.

Workers & peasants govt

All this points to the conclusion that the Sandinista-led regime in Nicaragua is neither definitively bourgeois nor proletarian, but is a new regime of the working masses against exploitation and for a new national liberation struggle. The Sandinista-led regime in Nicaragua is neither definitively bourgeois nor proletarian, but is a new regime of the working masses against exploitation and for a new national liberation struggle.
Cuba and Nicaragua

6. Although the revolutionary process in Nicaragua bears many resemblances to those which occurred under the workers and peasants governments established in Cuba and Algeria, each of these cases has its own particular characteristics. In Cuba, the initial establishment of a workers and peasants government after the fall of the dictatorship was not preceded by an unstable bourgeois coalition regime. In Cuba, as in Algeria, the nationalization of the political power and influence of bourgeois governmental figures at the outset was the result of the pressure of a much greater popular ferment than in Nicaragua. As a result, in Cuba and Algeria these bourgeois figures resented or balked at purging of the old state apparatus, in opposition to the actions of governments of this type was foreseen in the "Theses on Tactics adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and pointed to by Trotsky in the Transitional Pro-

program as a possible forerunner of the establishment of a workers state.

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

If this contradiction between workers and peasants government and bourgeois state is not resolved by a thoroughgoing expropriation of the big landowners, and the bourgeoisie, of the ownership and control over the foreign debt, the capitalists—backed up by Washington, international finance organizations, and capitalist regimes in Central and South America—will use their economic power and political leverage to resist further development of the toilers, reconstruct their own political and military power, and reverse the revolutionary processes initiated by the Nicaraguan masses led by the FSLN.

The acceleration of mass mobilizations and a steady advance of the worker's antirevolutionary political power and economic power of the bourgeoisie has certainly met with resistance from the great masses, and the bourgeoisie has tried to reverse many of the earlier progressive measures carried out by the revolution. But the mass movements have continually expressed the power of the workers and peasants, and have made the coercive measures of the bourgeois government seem increasingly out of place. The greater speed of events in Nicaragua is accounted for primarily by the leadership to move away from a broad insurrectional character of the mass mobilizations, to a workers and peasants government there than in Nicaragua today. For example, min-

eral and capitalist regimes in Central and South America—will use their economic power and political leverage to resist further development of the toilers, reconstruct their own political and military power, and reverse the revolutionary processes initiated by the Nicaraguan masses led by the FSLN.

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

Workers of FSLN trade union federation march November 7 nationwide rally.
with the experience and Marxist evolution of the Castro-Cuvara team, and the Cuban revolution. While of similar social composition to the July 26 Movement, it started out with an advantage— the ability to learn from the example of the Cuban workers and peasants who had taken power and set up a workers state in the Americas. In the first year of the revolution, the Sinbadista leadership understood the need to take power from the bourgeois classes. In addition, the FSLN had the support of the epic Cuban revolution.

Under the impact of the defeat of its guerrilla units in the early 1970s and the dramatic growth of the urban proletariat and semiproletariat population, the FSLN leadership in the early 1970s, a discussion developed in the FSLN over an assessment of its guerrilla strategy. This led in 1975 to a division of the workers movement into three separate public factions. Their differences reflected debates over the relationship of armed struggle and mass mobilizations, the respective roles of the urban and rural toilers, the relation between military and political struggles, and the purpose and acceptable limits of tactics with the opposition bourgeoisie.

In the final analysis, these differences boiled down to conflicting views on the question: How to topple Somoza and throw off imperialist domination of Nicaragua? The answer was to be given in practice before the decade was over.

The political content of these debates reflected the long-standing objective of the FSLN to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship and contribute to the overall political education and development of the three tendencies. Challenged to meet the responsibilities posed by accelerating revolutionary developments, the tendencies reached agreement on unity in action in June 1976 and reunited in December of that year. Their leadership bodies fused and old divisions in the ranks broke down, as the tasks posed by the rising class struggle resolved in life many previously disputed questions.

The actual course of the insurrection caused the FSLN the FSLN, the Nicaraguan nationalist party, and the FSLN was built in opposition to the PSN. By bypassing the opposition, the FSLN further deflated the Stalinists' claim to be the only current ever to stand at the head of revolutionary mass upsurges.

The FSLN has announced its intention to launch a vanguard party rooted in the urban and rural toilers, the relation of armed struggle and mass mobilizations; their domination of trade and economic relations in the world capitalist market; the Latin American bourgeoisie, which is in a state of transition; and the international apparatus of the Imperialist party within which the political vanities posed by accelerating tendencies. Challenged to meet the growing misery caused by the 1972 earthquake damage (Somoza stole millions of dollars in international reconstruction aid to expand his personal financial empire), by other consequences of the political situation, and by the blows of the world capitalist economic crisis. These economic problems on one hand have exacerbated an inevitable food crop shortage developed in the early months of 1980.

Taking advantage of this social and economic distortion, Washington is seeking to limit the flow of arms to Nicaragua to intensify the pressures bearing down on the FSIN-led government and on the masses of the Nicaraguan masses. The Carter administration promises credits, both loans and grants. While initially limited food aid, they have not given a single penny. At the same time, a well-known strategy of the Imperialist allies is funneled to the government but to project directly strengthening imperialist ties with the private sector, thus reinforcing the remaining bourgeois dependencies and bourgeois policy goals among American workers.

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

Imperialism's goal is to contain, destabilize, and, at the right moment, crush the Nicaraguan revolution with the combined weight of Washington, the imperialist forces, and the interests of the Latin American bourgeoisie. This reflects Washington's goal of preventing any adventurism that might undermine the revolutionary government, its ability to carry out an intransigent and intransigent struggle against Somoza, and the FSLN's will and capacity to learn from the Cuban experience and the international apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

Imperialism's tactics up until now have been an attempt to disrupt the Nicaraguan revolution. They warned the new government against radical measures and against the development of an independent foreign policy. By avoiding a public propaganda campaign against the Sandinista revolution, Washington at the same time seeks to create an image that adequate aid is being sent to Nicaragua, while exploiting the economic pressures to alienate the petty bourgeoisie, and by the blows of the imperialist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Nicaragua government.

By avoiding a public propaganda campaign against the Sandinista revolution, Washington at the same time seeks to create an image that adequate aid is being sent to Nicaragua, while exploiting the economic pressures to alienate the petty bourgeoisie, and by the blows of the imperialist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Nicaragua government.

Meanwhile, Nicaragua's aid needs are not close to being met. And there is no danger of imperialist-sponsored military intervention. It even hopes to foster the notion that nothing is happening among some radicals that if Washington isn't openly helping, then the Nicaraguan government won't be able to remain in power. Unfortunately, the petty bourgeoisie left has largely taken the bait. And the political situation in Nicaragua is one whose government poses the greatest threat to Nicaragua. Those sections that are most affected by the over-extension of the new government and demonstrate the necessary changes are seen by Washington as the low-key coverage of the bourgeois press and abstaining from solidarity efforts.

News from Nicaragua virtually disappears from the pages of the international press and broadcasts. And editors toned down their earlier dire warnings about the dangers of an FSIN-led government. Imperialism's tactics up until now have revolved around maintaining an outward appearance of fairness and friendliness toward the new government, while exploiting the economic devastation to prepare for its return to power. More than 25,000 Somoza forces were killed in the last year alone, and 100,000 refugees have sought asylum in hospitals, and social services amounted to $80 million. Agricultural production fell by 49 percent during the year.

Taking advantage of this social and economic distortion, Washington is seeking to limit the flow of arms to Nicaragua to intensify the pressures bearing down on the FSIN-led government and on the masses of the Nicaraguan masses. The Carter administration promises credits, both loans and grants. While initially limited food aid, they have not given a single penny. At the same time, a well-known strategy of the Imperialist allies is funneled to the government but to project directly strengthening imperialist ties with the private sector, thus reinforcing the remaining bourgeois dependencies and bourgeois policy goals among American workers.

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

Imperialism's goal is to contain, destabilize, and, at the right moment, crush the Nicaraguan revolution with the combined weight of Washington, the imperialist forces, and the interests of the Latin American bourgeoisie. This reflects Washington's goal of preventing any adventurism that might undermine the revolutionary government, its ability to carry out an intransigent and intransigent struggle against Somoza, and the FSLN's will and capacity to learn from the Cuban experience and the international apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

Imperialism's tactics up until now have been an attempt to disrupt the Nicaraguan revolution. They warned the new government against radical measures and against the development of an independent foreign policy. By avoiding a public propaganda campaign against the Sandinista revolution, Washington at the same time seeks to create an image that adequate aid is being sent to Nicaragua, while exploiting the economic pressures to alienate the petty bourgeoisie, and by the blows of the imperialist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Nicaragua government.

By avoiding a public propaganda campaign against the Sandinista revolution, Washington at the same time seeks to create an image that adequate aid is being sent to Nicaragua, while exploiting the economic pressures to alienate the petty bourgeoisie, and by the blows of the imperialist apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The policy of the Nicaragua government.

Meanwhile, Nicaragua's aid needs are not close to being met. And there is no danger of imperialist-sponsored military intervention. It even hopes to foster the notion that nothing is happening among some radicals that if Washington isn't openly helping, then the Nicaraguan government won't be able to remain in power. Unfortunately, the petty bourgeoisie left has largely taken the bait. And the political situation in Nicaragua is one whose government poses the greatest threat to Nicaragua. Those sections that are most affected by the over-extension of the new government and demonstrate the necessary changes are seen by Washington as the low-key coverage of the bourgeois press and abstaining from solidarity efforts.

News from Nicaragua virtually disappears from the pages of the international press and broadcasts. And editors toned down their earlier dire warnings about the dangers of an FSIN-led government. Imperialism's tactics up until now have revolved around maintaining an outward appearance of fairness and friendliness toward the new government, while exploiting the economic devastation to prepare for its return to power. More than 25,000 Somoza forces were killed in the last year alone, and 100,000 refugees have sought asylum in hospitals, and social services amounted to $80 million. Agricultural production fell by 49 percent during the year.
Washington has launched a new series of threats against Cuba in September when he announced that the "cuban Communist brigades" was stationed there. This was linked both with their attempt to discredit Cuba's leadership of the non-aligned conference and with the squeeze on Nicaragua. The Cuban government has responded with enthusiastic solidarity and material assistance to Nicaragua. It has issued an embargo challenge to the U.S. government for an emulation competition to see who can provide the most aid to reconstruct Nicaragua. Moreover, Washington knows that Cuba is aiding the Sandinistas in their fight on the island of Grenada and liberation groups throughout central America. In a September 30 interview presented for nationwide broadcast over CBS television, "90 Minutes" show in the United States, Castro was questioned about Cuban aid to the opponents of the dictatorship in El Salvador. Castro stated, "I neither confirm it nor deny it. I proclaim it as a right; furthermore, as a duty.

Above all, the U.S. rulers know that Cuba's aid to Nicaragua has crossed a line and is no longer a question of defense of Cuba's sovereignty. It is a question of the continuing survival of the Sandinistas' government. The sandinista regime is faced with another external threat - the possibility of political and military penetration from the U.S. through its own allies and agents.

The Sandinista government must continue to look for support in Latin America. That is why the Sandinista revolution is a struggle that transcends national boundaries, as demonstrated by the mobilization efforts of the FSLN (党的外歴に亘る革命 Homegrown Revolutionary).

The Sandinistas have always believed in the role of the people in their fight against imperialism. The Cuban revolution is an inspiration for the Sandinistas, and the Sandinistas are an example for the Cubans.

The Sandinistas have been able to build a new type of state based on popular participation and democracy. They have been able to resist the U.S. interventions and maintain their revolution.

In conclusion, the Cuban revolution is a struggle for socialism and democracy. It is a struggle against imperialism and capitalism. It is a struggle for the rights of the working class and the oppressed. It is a struggle for peace and international solidarity.

The Sandinistas are not alone in their struggle. They have the support of the Cuban people, the Latin American people, and the people of the world.
Those in the radical movement who advance this slogan seek to promote the false idea that the government is a bourgeois coalition regime, or that the FSLN is depriving the masses of their democratic rights in order to reconsolidate capitalist power. However, it is these sectarianists themselves who actually counterpose an unfounded schema to the process by which the Nicaraguan workers have already begun to assert their own power against that of the class enemy. It's no accident that the variations on the same theme are one of the complaints hurled by the bourgeoisie against the Sandinistas.

The FSLN's stated intention to develop the mass organizations as the class enemy and carry out crimes against the revolution.

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

Sectarian groups are wrong in their tendency to view such necessary concessions as incorrect in principle or essential to the direction of the revolution. They ignore the vital necessity in Nicaragua. At the same time, however, these organizations sometimes reflect distorted ways of sections of the masses. In order to effectively lead the masses, the revolutionary vanguard must openly explain its considerations to the workers and peasants when it believes concessions are necessary.

A very important part of this process of interaction between the masses and their vanguard is politically confronting the ultraleft sectarians and explaining what is wrong with their infantile propagandist. Repression cuts across this political clarification, and makes it more difficult to win these cadres to a genuinely revolutionary cause.

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

The FSLN's contradictory moves this fall toward the establishment of a workers state that will be an extremely important step in the revolution. The success of the FSLN, and the leadership's capacity to respond to such initiatives to drive the process forward will be a prime element in the consummation of the objectives of the revolution. The FSLN is depriving the masses of their demographic stage. Any erroneous ideas that the masses are put in motion, uncontrolled forces are being thrown into the battle.

The leadership's capacity to respond positively to such initiatives to drive the process forward will be a prime element in the consummation of the objectives of the revolution.

The battle against the capitalist power was won in the countryside. The FSLN was the main target of the counter-revolution.

The freedom of the center and the countryside, which was the main target of the counter-revolution, will be the key to the construction of a new nation.

The FSLN was the main target of the counter-revolution. It was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-backed Somoza regime. The FSLN was the main target of the American-back
Trotskyist imperialism. The development of revolutionary anti-imperialism in Nicaragua, as in Cuba, and now in Nicaragua, are thus of the greatest importance to the Fourth International and to the further development of our prospects and our revolutionary program.

As Trotsky explained, in the death agony of capitalism, the leadership of the Bolshevik Faction and its Nicaraguan sister groups had the program of Leninism, and in that process build the world proletarian party that can take on the imperialists in battle and defeat them.

Along this strategic line of march, we recognize in the leadership of the FSIN groups their desire to organize mass revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, and in that process build the world proletarian party and help push the isolation of Cuba and hastening the end of all imperialism in Central and South America and in the Caribbean.

Finally, we know that the establishment of the second workers state in the Western Hemisphere would further weaken world imperialism, inspire and educate the oppressed and exploited mass of the world, and create the political time for the workers in the advanced capitalist countries to take political power, to advance the world proletarian revolution, and to defeat all imperialist countries.

15. The outcome of the deepening confrontation of class forces in Nicaragua will profoundly affect the Cuban workers and people and provide the leadership for the future. The two revolutions are now inseparable.

The establishment of a workers state in Nicaragua will make possible the leadership of a world socialist party or, as Trotsky expressed it, "the development of revolutionary forces, and strengthen them in their conflict with Stalinist and revisionist governments and all imperialist governments and all imperialist financial institutions cancel all of Nicaragua's debts.

The Fourth International calls on the mass workers and farmers organizations throughout the world to make resources available to Nicaragua and to unite in the fight against the isolation of Cuba and hastening the end of all imperialism in Central and South America and in the Caribbean.

Aid to Nicaragua

With a 1-year subscription to 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International: Documents & Reports

Major documents and reports from the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International which have been collected in a special supplement to the international newsweekly 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor'. This important 200-page supplement will be published in a large-size book format.

The World Congress is the highest body of the Fourth International, the organization of revolutionaries from some fifty countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, Oceania and the North and South America. While the U.S. Socialist Workers Party is barred by reactionary leadership from membership in the Fourth International, it is in political solidarity with the International.

Among the documents from the recent World Congress are:
- The world congress resolution, plus reports on the international situation by Ernest Mandel and sections of the global industry by Jack Barnes.
- Resolutions on Europe and Latin America.
- The first comprehensive resolution on women's liberation in the history of the international Marxist movement.
- Majority and minority viewpoints on Indochina, Nicaragua and socialist democracy in the case of the leadership of the proletariat.
- A report on international youth movement.
- The special microfilm edition of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' which will send this important book of World Congress Documents free to all you workers, farmers, students and youth in the purchase of a one-year subscription. With a six-month subscription, the book is $2.50. Regular price is $4.50.

Enclosed is $30 for a one-year subscription.
Enclosed is $15 for a six-month subscription.
Enclosed is $14.50 for the World Congress Documents.
Enclosed is $4.50 for the World Congress Documents.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Clip and mail to 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor': P.O. Box 135, USA; 620 Second Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.
Young socialists enter '80s with optimism and spirit

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

By Nancy Cole

LOUISVILLE—As the new decade was opening, the Young Socialist Alliance marked its sixth national convention.

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

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

The convention here, attended by more than 800 delegates and observers, offered the chance to assess this initial experience on the job and in the unions, and its impact on winning young workers—as well as students—to the YSA.

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

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

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

Youth support

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

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

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

Impersonal trouble

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

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

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

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

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

"A country with justice" at a special presentation the first night of the convention here, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member Pedro Camacho provided a firsthand account of what a contrast the revolution there provided won many people to the YSA, Jayko said, and the YSA's participation in the Nicaragua aid campaign will do the same.

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

Specifically, Jayko urged participation in the February 17-28 week of nationally coordinated solidarity activities proposed by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

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

The YSA's activity in defense of Cuba and the example of the revolution in Nicaragua illustrate the YSA's decision to get into industry.

National officers elected

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

Paul Mailhot, twenty-five, was re-elected national organizational secretary. Mailhot joined the YSA in 1972 in Berkeley, California.

In 1976, he served as one of the national coordinators of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. NSCRA's main activities were in defense of busing to desegregate Boston's public schools.

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

Continued on next page
...YSA
Continued from preceding page

FSLN-led government is with the U.S. government. Camejo has been reporting
for the YSA. "For the local NBC TV affiliate and Iranian revolutions. on the job. A gas grenade was
chanted, "Love it or leave it." It was announced that Trotskyist
was indicative of the serious tension between the YSA and
the unions."

YSA members then went on a campaign against right-wing ter-
or they won significant sup-
port from unionists and civil rights activi-
ts. The success of this defense effort
was shown here by the limp protest of the
assorted right-wingers. The first day of the
YSA convention, twenty people—some of them known as
New Politics—marched outside the
gate house, site of the meeting. "Is the
Galt House Red?"

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

We have had classes on campus on Cuba, Iran, and the labor party given
by industrial members of the YSA. Without fail, students came up to us later and said how
what they really felt about Iran or nuclear power. You could see that they
were impressed that we were active in the
unions. Since the turn to industry six months ago, explained Jim Cunard,
eleven people have joined the San Diego YSA chapter-five of them col-
lege students. "They were all recruited
not just on political and programmatic agreement, but by the YSA's industrial
working-class orientation. These new YSA members, myself included, are the first of many more who realize that student struggles and the struggles of all youth can only be won by the active involvement of all.

Ties with SWP

Many observers at the convention here are members of the Socialist Worker Party. This is one sign of the close ties between the two organizations, which began with the YSA's founding twenty years ago primarily by members of the SWP. Delegates suggested ways of strengthen-
ing those ties by increasing collaboration between the two groups: establishing joint industry factions (or committees), working together on elec-
tion campaign activities, including running YSA members for local office on the SWP ticket; and jointly discuss-
ing recruitment to the socialist move-
mament.

Maeo Dixon delivered greetings to the convention on behalf of the SWP political committee: "It is going to be the youth who will lead and inspire revolutions around the world and in the heart of imperial-
ism right here in North America," Dixon said. "What everyone except the SWP and YSA is afraid of is that young workers, young women, Black girls, and students who spend their time for the battle for the evils of this society squarely where it belongs—on the opera-
tional level. And more, they're deathly afraid that, as in Nicaragua, young people led the revolution that will
replace this decayed, degenerate capital-
ism at system.

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

Historically the largest number of
Opening of Trotsky archives at Harvard

By Naomi Allen

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

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

The 17,500 letters and other items unveiled on January 20, 1980, represent more of the correspondence Trotsky conducted between 1908, when Stalin deported the leader of the Left Opposition to the island of Sakhalin, and 1940, when a Stalinist political and theoretical questionnaire that Trotsky had to purge himself of all answers to his questions and conclusions. Trotsky's papers were organized in two positions on political questions—absolutely not the opposite, as had been the practice in the Left Opposition in France.

In another letter, Trotsky urged flexibly on organizational questions and intransigence on political principles—once a public position and another private, which was different and which he kept secret.

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

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

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

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

The newly available letters, minutes, and other pieces will be useful because they will help piece together the history of the Trotsky movement and its sections. They provide information about events and individuals in the world Trotskyist movement that have been obscure until now, shedding light on why certain things happened or didn't happen and in some cases clearing up problems of party-building in a particular chapter of the movement.

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

On the afternoon of January 7, Harvard held a reception at Houghton Library that drew 120 people to celebrate the opening. It was addressed by Jean van Heijenoort, a former secretary to Trotsky who became one of the figures whose writings are now available in English.

**Seven volumes of Writings of Leon Trotsky (1989-90) plus a two-part supplement (355 each), as well as numerous collections organized by topic, are available from Pathfinder Press. For a catalog, write 410 Wall Street, New York, New York 10014.**

**Twenty volumes of Writings of Leon Trotsky (1989-90) plus a two-part supplement (355 each), as well as numerous collections organized by topic, are available from Pathfinder Press. For a catalog, write 410 Wall Street, New York, New York 10014.**

**Stickers**

*STOP NUCLEAR POWER*

Now available from the 1980 Socialist Workers campaign: 4-by-6 inch stickers for its monthly newspaper, the *Socialist Worker*, and for its monthly newsletter, *Vote SWP*. The stickers are being sold for 15 cents each or two for 25 cents.

Vote *SWP* in the January 13 ERA march in Richmond, the February 2 anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro, North Carolina; the February 17-22 week of solidarity with Nicaragua; and a national anti-nuclear protest on April 26.

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

By Ste Singer

The first strike by steelworkers in Great Britain since the 1926 general strike is gaining strength. Three unions, representing 118,000 workers, have completely shut down operations of the government-owned British Steel Corporation (BSC). The three are the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) and the General and Municipal Workers Union and the National Union of Blast furnace. Dock and railroad workers throughout England are supporting the strike. Swedish dock workers are refusing to load steel cargoes for Britain.

Just prior to the strike, BSC announced it would eliminate 55,000 jobs, cutting about one third its steel-making capacity. The strike against BSC, which produces 80 percent of the steel in Britain, began January 2. Negotiations have been going on at the same time with the privately owned steel companies whose contracts expire January 27. Fifteen thousand more workers may go on strike then.

The steel company's original offer was 2 percent plus bonuses to be in each. This is called "productivity gains." The companies also wanted to eliminate the guaranteed wage provision where workers receive 80 percent of regular pay when they are not called in to work a full week. Since the strike began, the company has dropped this take-back effort and has increased its offer to 8 percent plus a "productivity bonus." The strike has become a direct challenge to the Conservative Party (Tory) government headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Many workers are raising demands for a new election in the hope of getting a Labor Party government in office. The threatened plant closings are in the minds of all the strikers but are not included in the official union demands in the strike. According to the January 17 issue of Socialist Challenge, the strike is a direct challenge to the Conservative Party (Tory) government headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Many workers are raising demands for a new election in the hope of getting a Labor Party government in office. The threatened plant closings are in the minds of all the strikers but are not included in the official union demands Feb.

Crisis in auto production is part of capitalism

"... modern industry, which hastes after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market." —Frederick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific

By Frank Lovell

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

This law of capitalist production and distribution is illustrated today in the crisis of world capitalism, especially in the auto industry, the biggest user of U.S. capital and the dollar in the world market.

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

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

Irrevocably, the capitalist owners of industry try to popularise the false claim that "foreign competition" is the cause of their problems. The U.S. steel industry, which is in trouble in this country, is closing because Japanese steel, produced by "cheap labor," is being "dumped" on the American market.

The steel industry has persuaded the officials of the Steelworkers union to join their political campaign for the congressional enactment of high tariff laws. This boosts the price of steel, fuels inflation, raises the cost of living, and diverts public attention from the real causes of unemployment and high prices. American workers are told that the real danger is Japan and the low wages of Japanese workers, not the capitalist mode of production which prevails in both countries.

Free trade

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

Workers in GM's Tarrytown assembly plant in New York received a "New Year's message," warning them that "imports are now taking upwards of 30% of our car market. . . ." The plant manager fears that this will continue "if we don't do something about it." He urges "quality" work to convince the owners that GM can "buy an American made car, especially if it was built in Tarrytown."

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

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

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

Retrenchment

Now is the time of retrenchment in some areas, corporate mergers internationally, and the use of new labor-saving techniques worldwide. GM is trying to sell off some property and plants in Argentina. Both GM and Ford have cut production in their German subsidiaries. They have incurred their Japanese production of parts and supplies for their U.S. cars. And Ford has announced plans to build a new plastics plant in West Berlin.

The best selling Chrysler products on the American market are cars produced in Japan. American Motors and Renault of France have merged.

The German Volkswagen company is building more plants and expanding existing ones in this country. It plans to open a new factory in the Detroit area. The Honda Motor Company has announced that it will build the first Japanese passenger-car assembly plant in the United States, at a site near Columbus, Ohio, where Honda builds motorcycles.

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

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

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

No help from employers

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

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

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

**What's behind the new gold rush?**

By Dick Roberts

For a moment on January 21, the price of gold was quoted at $875 an ounce in New York. A month ago it was $475 an ounce, and a year ago it was "near" $35.

Prices are gyrating wildly as we go to press, but give or take a few dollars, the pattern is clear: gold prices are presently quadrupled in price in a year. Half the rise took place in only the past month. The world economy is summed up in the names of two countries: Iran and Afghanistan. Because the price of gold is inextricably linked to the stability of world imperialism.

The first is a name that masses hate for the backers of the shah has tied Washington's hands for more than seventy years. Iran is the place to study. Trotsky, Castro, for example.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.

In his autobiography Malcolm X tells how he taught himself to read in prison by painstakingly going through the dictionary, word by word.
GOVT ANNOUNCES WEAK-KNEEDED DRIVE ON JOB CANCER

The Labor Department's Occupational Safety and Health Administration announced new rules January 16 governing the job use of cancer-causing chemicals.

The rules were first proposed by OSHA in 1977 and have since been substantially watered down.

The agency "hopes" that the new rules will permit them to deal with ten potentially dangerous chemicals a year instead of the present two. There are hundreds of cancer-causing chemicals now in use.

Officials added that Dr. Eda Bingham advised that the new policy will not guarantee a cancer-free environment. "In ensuing regulations," she explained, "we always look at what is technologically and economically feasible."

For sure.

It's likely, she added, that chemicals will be used only when safer substitutes have been found.

The American Industrial Health Council said it would sue to keep the new regulations from taking effect.

A government study issued last week estimated that 30 percent of cancer cases are job related. Other studies put the figure even higher.

LATINOS GETTING THE SHOE END OF U.S. STICK

There are now 12 million people of Hispanic origin living in the United States, according to government statistics. An estimated 45 percent of them live in urban areas.

They are younger than other ethnic groups. An estimated 30 percent of Black and 7 percent for the general population.

Latinos have been the most discriminated against by the capitalist education system.

According to a 1978 Labor Department study, an estimated 31 percent of Latinos on the job lack a high school diploma.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights says that of every 100 Chicano students who start school, four are pushed out before graduating high school and only two make it into college.

In 1977, the average Latino family earned $11,421 compared to $16,884 for others. More than 20 percent of Latinos live below the official poverty level.

And that's just the ones they count.

OLIN-WINCHESTER STRIKE

A hard-fought six-month strike by the International Union of Operating Engineers' Union 164 at the Aurora Caterpillar factory, outside Chicago, said the contract they received after two months on the picket line was essentially a stalemate. They were able to stop the company's take-away demands, such as the attempt to weaken the union by eliminating all chief stewards, to no more than six hours off a month for union business. But they did not get any headway on the central issue of forced overtime.

By John Studer

By John Studer

CHICAGO—More than 30,000 farm equipment workers are entering their second month of a strike against International Harvester. With negotiations at a standstill, the strikers at two of the plants are standing fast, in their opposition to forced overtime, the central strike issue.

On January 19, three unionists from International Harvester Harvester plants addressed the Chicago Militant Labor Forum and outlined the line of their strike and asked for solidarity.

Ted Supaczyk, a steward from Airco Workers Local 133 at Harvester in Hinsdale, related the history of the agricultural implements company. He told the forum that "Cyrus McCormick, the inventor of the McCormick Reaper in the 1800s, was the founder of the company that is now the International Harvester. And their labor policies have not changed much in the last 100 years."

He noted that the McCormick family also founded a local in the telephone, the major daily, and this might explain the media blackout on the strike.

Al Orr, a skilled trades worker in Union 164 at the Aurora Caterpillar factory, outside Chicago, said:

If the contract they received after two months on the picket line was essentially a stalemate. They were able to stop the company's take-away demands, such as the attempt to weaken the union by eliminating all chief stewards, to no more than six hours off a month for union business. But they did not make any headway on the central issue of forced overtime.

He told the forum that "many workers felt they didn't get enough for the two months that we were on strike. Three thousand out of the 5,200 local members attended the December 17 ratification meeting. During the four-hour meeting, the tentative contract was outlined, 1,500 workers were forced to vote on the new contract passed by only two votes."

Chuck Marino, a member of the Local 6 on strike against Harvester in Melrose Park, said: "We've got to stop these companies from making superprofits and ruining our brothers in seven days and sixty hours a week."

Marino described efforts to organize and enlist strike solidarity:

"We're planning two more rallies on Friday, Jan. 25, and hope we can spread the word about our strike and get more organized. We think our strike would be a big step for getting things going for the workers of the U.S. and everywhere, for everybody and provide jobs for everyone."

Solidarity funds can be sent to: Region 4 Strike Assistance Fund, 5132 West 59th Street, Racine, Illinois 60644.

PHILA. DEFENDANTS BARE THEIR THROAT

Nine members of the Philadelphia group called Move, charged with the death of a cop, were being tried without the right to be in the courtroom or to follow the proceedings.

The trial stems from a 1978 police shootout. The cops made a murderous assault on a Move center in the Black community. A cop died in the hail of gunfire.

Move members who were wounded were savagely beaten. The judge struck the defendants from the courtroom for alleged disruption. He denied them the right to an audiovisual recording of the proceedings from their cells and then denied them written transcripts.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER STRIKERS FIGHT FORced OVERTIME

International Harvester strikers picketing at Melrose, Illinois.

A cop died in the hail of gunfire.

Move members who were wounded were savagely beaten. The judge struck the defendants from the courtroom for alleged disruption. He denied them the right to an audiovisual recording of the proceedings from their cells and then denied them written transcripts.

CHICAGO MOVEMENT PAYS HOMAGE TO CARTER ON IRAN

Among oppressed nationalities—Black, Puerto Rican, Chicanos, Asians, American Indians—there is an encouraging amount of identification with the just demand for the freedom and aspirations of the Iranian people.

Many prominent Blacks were among the first to protest Carter's attacks against Iran and Iranian civilians.

Chicano student groups helped to organize many of the demonstrations against U.S. policy in Iran. And several Chicano newspapers have commented on the common interests of Chicanos and Iranians.

La Cucaracha, the community paper published in Pueblo, Colorado, editorialized December 4, "Chicanos and other poor people in this country position must now see ourselves to be confused and manipulated by Carter and his government of the rich, over the situation in Iran."

La Cucaracha called for the shah to be sent back to stand trial and concluded, "The Iranian people are not our enemy. They have a right to self-determination, and so do all oppressed people."

In its December 18 issue, La Cucaracha quoted excerpts from the two Chicano hostages in the U.S. Embassy, William Gallegos and John彻, and ran a nationally televised interview with Gallegos that refused Carter's lies on treatment of the hostages. Gallegos also opposed Wilson's plans to send the hostages back to Iran.

La Cucaracha denounced any attempt to subject Gallegos to disciplinary action for the interview.

The paper also stated its
Minnesotans urge King holiday

By Greg Cornell

ST. PAUL, Minn.—More than 1,000 demonstrators massed at the state capitol here January 15 to demand that Martin Luther King’s birthday be made a national holiday.

The protesters, almost all Black, marched in thirty-degree weather, singing the "We Shall Overcome." About 2,000 students in Minneapolis and St. Paul, most of them Black, also stayed home from school to show their support for the demand that January 15 be a national holiday.

The actions were called by Minneapolis and St. Paul Black ministers and the Black Unity and Future Conference.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND

The January 19 Charleston, South Carolina, Chronicle, a leading Southern Black weekly, reprinted the Militant’s article on Navy racism and the KKK.

THE MILITANT

GETS AROUND

The January 14, 1980, New York Times published the article based on an interview with two Black sailors.

INOC-CMT ALA. KLANNERS FOR ASSAULT ON TWO BLACK MINISTERS

Two Alabama Ku Klux Klaunners were indicted by a federal grand jury January 10 on charges of intimidating and injuring two Black ministers who had been drinking coffee with a Southern restaurant that was described "all-white." The restaurants are located in San Antonio.

The victims of the October 29, 1979, attack were Rev. Roger Price and Rev. Ota Nelemas.

The "ministers were attacked in a parking lot after leaving the restaurant. One required hospital treatment. If convicted, the KKKers face a maximum of ten years in jail and $10,000 fine.

New facts on FBI job on Seberg

The FBI battered and smirred actress Jean Seberg for years, culminating with the poison-pen campaign that drove her to suicide last year.

At one point her name was on ten of those who the FBI would round up if the president were to declare a "national emergency." Files obtained by Los Angeles Times establish that in 1969, the FBI decided on a "discreet investigation" of Seberg, a financial supporter of the Black Panther Party which the FBI and other police agencies were working systematically to destroy.

The culmination of the FBI campaign was the planting of rumors in the media that Seberg was pregnant by a Black Panther leader. It was this that eventually drove her to suicide.

The FBI kept tabs of her bank account, kept track of her travels and logged her phone calls to the Panther headquarters which were wiretapped.

The FBI fumigated "information" on Seberg to the CIA, White House aides, FBI "legal attaches" in embassies abroad, to military intelligence units, and the Secret Service.

The reports included such foul descriptions of her as, "the alleged promiscuous and unconverted white air-"
Our Revolutionary Heritage

Since the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, Washington has been playing a double game. Formally opposing neo-intervention and even "friendship" for Nicaragua, it is at the same time making plain to the Sandinista leadership that it will use maximum pressure to contain the revolution within "safe" - that is, capitalist- -limits. But as the Nicaraguan revolution deepens, the threat of U.S. aggression will increase correspondingly.

It was the same way with Cuba.

When the Cuban revolution came to power January 1, 1959, its leadership made clear that it aimed for full independence. That could only mean an end to the decades of plundering of the island by Wall Street.

Initially, Washington responded to the Cuban revolution by professing friendship and exercising economic and political pressure on behalf of threatened U.S. business interests there.

By mid-1960 it was clear, however, that the Fidelista leadership in Havana would not knuckle under. The Eisenhower administration took the kid gloves off. It ended its import of Cuban sugar and imposed a travel ban and economic blockade in a ruthless drive to topple the new government.

That didn't work either. So in April 1961, the Kennedy administration organized a counterrevolutionary exile hired by the CIA.

The Cuban people smashed that invasion in 48 hours.

Since that time tiny Cuba has held Washington at bay, making economic and social progress in face of the continuing U.S. blockade.

But despite the frustration of its efforts, Wall Street has never put aside its determination to destroy the Cuban revolution.

A key symbol of Washington's hostility has been its refusal to yield its illegally held naval base at Cuba's Guantánamo Bay. The U.S. marine landing exercises there last October was a grim reminder of the menace this base represents to Cuba's peace and security.

From the outset, the militant has demanded that Washington get out of Guantánamo.

We raised this demand in a front-page editorial in our issue of February 1, 1960. This was at the time when the Eisenhower administration was still speaking—with a forked tongue—about its "friendship" for Cuba. The following is the text of that editorial.

At his press conference Jan. 28 Press, Eisenhower emphasized the official "no reprisal" policy of his administration toward the Castro government. "The American people," said Eisenhower, "still have the greatest affection and the greatest interest in the Cuban people. We are not going to be party to any reprisals or anything of that kind. At this moment, it is not our time to do it, and certainly we are not going to intercede in their internal affairs."

The Cuban people, however, continue to indicate profound discomfort. The distrust is justified, in our opinion. The State Department has made it a major concern to represent the interests of American capitalists and landholders who object to the social and economic reforms undertaken by the revolution swept Castro to power.

No doubt the Cuban people will listen to Eisenhower's friendly words with interest. But they will be inclined, we imagine, to demand that he be match them with deeds.

If Eisenhower really has the interests of the Cuban people at heart and is "certainly" not going to intervene in their internal affairs, he might well demonstrate this by returning the Guantánamo naval base to Cuba.

This base was obtained when the U.S. intervened in Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain. From 1899 to 1902, the U.S. imposed its military rule on the island. When the Cuban constitution was drawn up, the U.S. with a bayonet at its throat, forced the new government to "lease" naval stations.

Two strategic harbors, bearing on the approaches to Panama, were taken. Of these, the U.S. still clings to Guantánamo.

In the days of the intercontinental rocket missile, the base long ago lost whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness. Whatever military value it once had in Imperialist wars. For that matter the Panama canal has lost strategic usefulness.

We are not going to be party to any such extension of our quoted definition of Imperialism, any more than we were party to any such extension of Washington's definition of the "irredentist" claims of Imperialism. We are not going to be party to any such extension of Washington's definition of the "irredentist" claims of Imperialism.

Let's give Guantánamo back to its rightful owners!

Defends Iran stand

In the January 18 issue of the Militant, three readers expressed their sympathetic disgust with the extensive coverage on Iran which the Militant has featured.

Fran Hosen throws up the issues of women in Iran and decision the move under Khomeini toward the Middle Ages. The bourgeois press has also carried sensational accounts concerning the treatment of women under Khomeini's "iron fist" and even incited the execution of hundreds of homosexuals! A quick reflection of Western Civilization's (and the Christian Church's) treatment of women and gays makes this lugubrious display of concern all the more outrageous.

Where was the bourgeois media and Hosen when these antiwoman attacks that offend our righteous morality so deeply were carried out under the "Light of the Aryan behind the smoke-screen of "modernization" and the "white revolution?"

Princess Ashraf pushed this royal charade to a new peak of cynical hypocrisy when she presented Kameel Wadsworth with a check for two million dollars as a contribution to the International Woman's Year. I can't help but wonder: If that money came from the profits of the Princess' heroin dealings? Tom Menkin demonstrated in this one-sided class morality orgy by lumping Khomeini together with Hitler and Stalin. He suggests that the taking of an ex-king should be called "coup" and he withdraws to the confusion of liberalism by recommending that we condemn Khomeini equally as we all condemned the crimes of the CIA. The question begins itself. Which side are you on? Despite a quote from Engels which can be applied to any capitalist country, Menkin's comments lead him to crawl into bed with Khomeini and engage up with its racist Lynch mob atmosphere which it attempts.

American workers into by face-feeding on a daily diet of lies and the usual State Department drive in the local press.

The Iranian people have appealed to us over and over again. These are the workers, not the Iranian workers are not responsible for their problems. The old adage remains: "One man's enemy is my friend."

Craig McGahee
Newport News, Virginia

N. Carolina ballot drive

The January 15 Militant article about the North Carolina petition drive states: "This will be the first time that a socialist party has been on the ballot in North Carolina." This is incorrect. In 1932 the Socialist Party was on the ballot in North Carolina. In 1980 Campaign supporters that sales people would be involved in "right to work" state, obtained from Avondale Shipyards! We all condemned the crimes of Imperialism, we all condemned Khomeini equally as we all condemned the crimes of the CIA. The question begins itself. Which side are you on? Despite a quote from Engels which can be applied to any capitalist country, Menkin's comments lead him to crawl into bed with Khomeini and engage up with its racist Lynch mob atmosphere which it attempts.

American workers into by face-feeding on a daily diet of lies and the usual State Department drive in the local press.

The Iranian people have appealed to us over and over again. These are the workers, not the Iranian workers are not responsible for their problems. The old adage remains: "One man's enemy is my friend."

Craig McGahee
Newport News, Virginia

Defends Iran stand

In the January 18 issue of the Militant, three readers expressed their sympathetic disgust with the extensive coverage on Iran which the Militant has featured.

Fran Hosen throws up the issues of women in Iran and decision the move under Khomeini toward the Middle Ages. The bourgeois press has also carried sensational accounts concerning the treatment of women under Khomeini's "iron fist" and even incited the execution of hundreds of homosexuals! A quick reflection of Western Civilization's (and the Christian Church's) treatment of women and gays makes this lugubrious display of concern all the more outrageous.

Where was the bourgeois media and Hosen when these antiwoman attacks that offend our righteous morality so deeply were carried out under the "Light of the Aryan behind the smoke-screen of "modernization" and the "white revolution?"

Princess Ashraf pushed this royal charade to a new peak of cynical hypocrisy when she presented Kameel Wadsworth with a check for two million dollars as a contribution to the International Woman's Year. I can't help but wonder: If that money came from the profits of the Princess' heroin dealings? Tom Menkin demonstrated in this one-sided class morality orgy by lumping Khomeini together with Hitler and Stalin. He suggests that the taking of an ex-king should be called "coup" and he withdraws to the confusion of liberalism by recommending that we condemn Khomeini equally as we all condemned the crimes of the CIA. The question begins itself. Which side are you on? Despite a quote from Engels which can be applied to any capitalist country, Menkin's comments lead him to crawl into bed with Khomeini and engage up with its racist Lynch mob atmosphere which it attempts.

American workers into by face-feeding on a daily diet of lies and the usual State Department drive in the local press.

The Iranian people have appealed to us over and over again. These are the workers, not the Iranian workers are not responsible for their problems. The old adage remains: "One man's enemy is my friend."

Craig McGahee
Newport News, Virginia

N. Carolina ballot drive

The January 15 Militant article about the North Carolina petition drive states: "This will be the first time that a socialist party has been on the ballot in North Carolina." This is incorrect. In 1932 the Socialist Party was on the ballot in North Carolina. In 1980 Campaign supporters that sales people would be involved in "right to work" state, obtained from Avondale Shipyards! We all condemned the crimes of Imperialism, we all condemned Khomeini equally as we all condemned the crimes of the CIA. The question begins itself. Which side are you on? Despite a quote from Engels which can be applied to any capitalist country, Menkin's comments lead him to crawl into bed with Khomeini and engage up with its racist Lynch mob atmosphere which it attempts.

American workers into by face-feeding on a daily diet of lies and the usual State Department drive in the local press.

The Iranian people have appealed to us over and over again. These are the workers, not the Iranian workers are not responsible for their problems. The old adage remains: "One man's enemy is my friend."

Craig McGahee
Newport News, Virginia

Suggestion about crisis

I'd like to share with the Militant a letter that appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle a few days ago. It lays out the whole of suspicion under the confusion the general public
Learning About Socialism

Afghanistan and self-determination

"Poor little Afghanistan!" is the cry of the U.S. government and its allies around the world. To hear them tell it, Afghanistan is being crushed by Soviet troops and tanks. Its right to self-determination is being violated.

When Carter means about self-determination, working people have reason to become sceptical. Carter made no mention of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Afghan people. In mid-1979, in order to head off a popular rebellion, the French troops carried out a coup that replaced one reactionary dictator with another.

French troops still occupy the Central African Republic. But there are no threats from Carter to cut off trade with France over the war. Carter's postureing about self-determination is hypocritical.

The capitalist rulers of this country derive much of their wealth and power from depriving people all over the world of their right to self-determination. And they haven't any intention of letting the working people of Afghanistan decide their own fate.

The working people of Afghanistan have been fighting for self-determination for a century—but not against the Soviet Union. The struggle was that of the majority of Afghans, foreign imperialism, which established control in the 1870s, and later against U.S. imperialism as well.

Imperialist domination preserved the backward social and economic conditions of Afghanistan, and even worsened the grinding poverty of the masses. The imperialists saw it as a tool to end those conditions, as is shown by the traditional ruling classes, which supported U.S. and British dominance, and to investments throughout Southwest Asia and the Middle East.

The fact is that there are two Afghani just as there are two Americas. There is the Afghanistan of the workers, farmers, the unemployed, youth, and women. And there is the Afghanistan of the landlords, capitalists, heroin merchants, and money lenders. These two Afghanistan have been in conflict for a long time, and that conflict erupted in civil war after 1978.

In April 1978 the people of Afghanistan surged into the streets in huge numbers, demanding an end to the old regime's undemocratic methods of changing the government, some of whom wanted to get rid of the U.S. and British domination, and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. Focusing on the Afghan people, Carter and the capitalist media want it to appear that all Afghans speak with one reactionary voice. It is worth keeping this background in mind when listening to the imperialist talk of self-determination.

But the Afghan government continued to defend the progressive acts and has been able, with Soviet help, to push back the pro-imperialist landlords' rebellion. For the Afghan workers and peasants, this far outweighs in importance the imperialist attempts to get rid of the new government and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. Focusing on the Afghan people, Carter and the capitalist media want it to appear that all Afghans speak with one reactionary voice. That is the trick they use to put over the chant that the reactionary guerrillas are defending Afghanistan's right of self-determination.

From the beginning of the revolution in April 1978, the Soviet Union provided substantial economic and military aid (including many advisers) to the government. Without such aid, the struggle for social progress in Afghanistan would have been doomed to failure.

But the Afghan government proved too weak to protect much of the countryside from right-wing rebels. It made frequent appeals to the US for more military help. Many workers and peasants became demobilized, fearing a right-wing victory was inevitable.

Moscow, deciding it could not allow the counterrevolution to succeed, sent in a group of troops to block an imperialist-backed drive for power.

While carrying out this progressive act, the Sovets made an the right-wing rebels were defeated, and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. Focusing on the Afghan people, Carter and the capitalist media want it to appear that all Afghans speak with one reactionary voice. That is the trick they use to put over the chant that the reactionary guerrillas are defending Afghanistan's right of self-determination.

The imperialists, fearing that social change will come to Afghanistan, are determined to keep the country as an imperialist base in the region. They have already made frequent attempts to overthrow the government and replace him with Babrak Karmal. Focusing on the Afghan people, Carter and the capitalist media want it to appear that all Afghans speak with one reactionary voice. That is the trick they use to put over the chant that the reactionary guerrillas are defending Afghanistan's right of self-determination.

Far from harming the interests of the Afghan people, however, the Soviet intervention has so far helped the great majority of Afghans. It created an atmosphere of favorable conditions for them to continue their battle for independence and socialism, and for a life without exploitation and oppression.

—Fred Feldman

If You Like This, Look Up Us

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers.

Please be concise, keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1005 26th Ave. N. Tel: (205) 329-4803. Send mail to P.O. Box 36072.


CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, 3040 Adeline St. Berkeley, Calif. (415) 446-5273. Send mail to P.O. Box 2204.


FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, 8171 NE 2nd Ave., Miami, Fla. (305) 442-8282.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, 50 Piedmont St., Atlanta, Ga. (404) 524-2208.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, 4501 W. Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill. (312) 283-2077.

INDIANA: Indianapolis: SWP, 4840 E. College Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. (317) 261-0120.

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, 5501 University Ave., Des Moines, Iowa. (515) 267-6727.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, 131 W. Main St., Louisville, Ky. (502) 587-8418.


MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rick Drozd, 230 East Chestnut, Amherst, Mass. (413) 253-7012.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenspring Ave., Baltimore, Md. (301) 252-5000.


MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 2420 1st Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn. (612) 876-4874.


NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave., Newark, N.J. (201) 643-3341.


OHIO: Cleveland: SWP, 128 16th St., Cleveland, Ohio. (216) 972-3000.


PENNSYLVANIA: Erie: SWP, 103 9th St., Erie, Pa. (412) 367-7700.


TEXAS: Austin: SWP, 2401 Guadalupe St., Austin, Texas. (512) 476-9954.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, 64 N. Oxford, Salt Lake City, Utah. (801) 577-2799.

VIRGINIA: Richmond: SWP, 1611 E. Franklin St., Richmond, Va. (804) 358-3200.


WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 360 N. 27th St., Milwaukee, Wis. (414) 447-0050.
By R. Sylvain
SAN SALVADOR, January 22—More than 200,000 people marched through the streets of San Salvador today to protest government repression and to support workers demands. The immense crowd stretched for several miles. It was one of the largest demonstrations in El Salvador's history, and had been called by a newly formed democratic organizations, with the backing of all the main trade union federations.

When the head of the march neared the cathedral, police and ultrarightist snipers who had been posted on the roof of the National Palace and the bank of El Salvador opened fire on the front ranks of the demonstration, leaving scores dead and wounded. Demonstrators in the rear of the march tried to maintain ranks, but they too were attacked by police gunfire.

In the hours that followed, police units patrolled the streets; people still picketed. The radio has broadcast very little news so far, but it reported that more than 200,000 people had arrived to take part in the demonstrations, composed of the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), a Communist Party-backed group, was one of the four main sponsors of the march, along with the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPDR), the United Front for People's Action (FAPU), and the February 28 People's League (LP-28).

The situation is exceedingly tense. With the dictatorship already in crisis, the need becomes ever more urgent for a massive international solidarity movement to prevent any intervention by Washington and the other imperialist powers.

NEW YORK, January 22—Three days of mourning have been called in El Salvador for the victims of the January 22 massacre. News reaching the Militant via Memoria Today that public transportation and commerce had been brought to a halt in the capital city, San Salvador, as the appeal, issued by the four groups that called the January 22 demonstration, took effect.

As of today, at least sixteen are known dead and ninety wounded in the police attack.

Adán Chica, general secretary of the United Federation of Salvadoran Workers (CUTS), also held the government news agency placed responsibility for the clash on the demonstration—"without any kind of provocation"—and she urged international protests against the repression.

THE MILITANT

200,000 protest in El Salvador; gov't opens fire

By Stu Singer

Oil strikers gaining solidarity

By Mitch Rosenberg

Firefighters denounce scab threat

Frank Fitzsimmons to Robert Goss, president of OCAW. It says in part:

"This is to confirm that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America will assist and support your strike for a just economic settlement... We sincerely hope that through trade union solidarity and cooperation, your strike will shortly end rains and an open valve" were blamed for the accident. While the scab operators are not to blame for the rain, the open valve is another matter.

This week we continue the strike diary by OCAW member Jana Palmuch in Houston. It appears on page 28 in the "Union Talk" column.