

SEPTEMBER 19, 1980 60 CENTS VOLUME 44/NUMBER 34

## THE MILITANT

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

# Polish victory shows how workers can fight back here

By Andy Rose

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—American workers can learn a lot from the victorious strikes waged by their Polish brothers and sisters, Andrew Pulley told a campaign rally here September 7.

Speaking in this "right to work" southern state, one of the lowest in the country in both unionization and wages, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate centered his remarks on the Polish example of how workers can fight and win.

He began by ridiculing the hypocrisy of James Carter and Ronald Reagan, who pretend to embrace the Polish struggle.

"Polish workers demanded free and independent unions," Pulley said, "which means, in the first place, the right to have a union at all. But Carter doesn't even let unions organize on his peanut plantation. What about union rights in Georgia, or in North Carolina? What about an end to anti-union 'right to work' laws?"

"How about unions free of government interference? Carter says he likes to see it in Poland. Why not here? Why doesn't Carter stop interfering with unions by trying to tear up their con-



ANDREW PULLEY

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

tracts whenever they win more than his 9.5 percent wage limit?

"The fundamental thrust of the Polish workers' struggle," Pulley said, "was the demand that they become masters of their factories, masters of their industries. But Carter and Rea-

gan both agree that Rockefeller should continue to be master of Standard Oil, and that the rest of the capitalists should continue to own and control industry and get rich off what we workers produce."

### Model strike

The way the Polish workers organized and conducted their strike was a model, Pulley went on.

"First, these workers didn't accept the government argument that as public employees they couldn't strike. They struck anyway, in defiance of all limits the Stalinist rulers tried to place on them.

"Second, they had a *massive* strike. This was no strike limited to three little demoralized pickets at the gate of some huge plant, like we've seen all too often here. They took over the shipyard and occupied it for three weeks. Here, union officials let the courts say how many pickets can be at the plant. There, the government authorities couldn't get into the place without a pass from the strikers!

"Third, the Polish workers had a *democratic* strike. No secret negotiations. The talks were broadcast throughout the shipyard so every proposal, every lie by the government, was

heard by thousands of workers. They had a daily strike bulletin. So everything was done with the full knowledge and participation of the average worker.

"How about applying that here?" Pulley asked.

"Democracy is a revolutionary idea," the socialist candidate declared. "There's lots of talk about it in the United States, but little implementation. To Carter and Reagan, the sight of a democratic labor movement here would be like showing a cross to Dracula. They'd run for cover."

### Political demands

Many of the Polish strikers' demands are sorely needed in this country, Pulley pointed out: automatic increase in wages whenever prices go up; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; more child-care centers; greater safety on the job, including an end to inhumane shift-work schedules.

"Their demands were political as well as economic," Pulley said. "For release of political prisoners, which the government had to concede. For free access to the airwaves for different points of view, something we certainly need and don't have in this country."

*Continued on page 4*

## FIDEL CASTRO'S JULY 26 SPEECH



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## IAM & labor party

The September 2-10 convention of the International Association of Machinists mandated the IAM leadership to initiate discussions about the possibility of forming a labor party.

This is an important step forward.

It was only one year ago—Labor Day 1979—that California AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer John Henning called for such discussions. In subsequent months his proposal was taken up by the California State Council of Carpenters union and by several AFL-CIO central labor councils in California.

The California convention of the National Organization for Women also voted to participate.

On May 24, a meeting of District 38 of the United Steelworkers of America voted to urge the national USWA leaders to take steps to establish a labor party.

The IAM is the first big national union to call for such discussions.

Far from receding after the Republican and Democratic conventions and the full-scale opening of the Carter-Reagan-Anderson campaign, the discussion of the labor party idea is deepening and involving growing numbers of workers.

That is because of the deep dissatisfaction that workers feel about the antilabor policies of the Carter administration, the Democratic Congress, and state and local governments of both parties.

It is because working people know that the two parties have given us nothing—and are not even promising us anything.

Growing hostility to the capitalist two-party fraud is based on the fact that the economic difficulties of capitalism have forced the employers to take the offensive against the jobs, living standards, unions, and basic rights of working people.

Politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties have no choice but to carry out the antilabor offensive ordered by big business. That's why both parties have moved steadily to the right, and why we get the spectacle of Carter asking for the votes of working people on the grounds that he will attack them less savagely than Reagan.

The growing dissatisfaction of workers presented with this "choice" was also reflected in the IAM's decision to refuse endorsement to Carter, Reagan, or Anderson.

The employer offensive compels union members to look for a way to bring to bear a

power that can counter the power of the employers and their parties. That power is first of all in the unions. With more than twenty million members, they are the organized bastion of the American working people.

At the IAM gathering, one criticism raised of the labor party proposal was that it might isolate trade union members from the rest of the population.

Just the opposite is true.

The political organization of 20 million union members into their own party would powerfully attract the unorganized workers and the unemployed.

After all, a labor party will not be the party of trade union members alone. It will be the party of Blacks in Liberty City in Miami who want an end to police brutality. Of youth who want jobs and who don't want to be drafted to fight for big oil. Of women whose equal rights are being denied. Of farmers ripped off by agribusiness and exploited by high interest rates. Of all the oppressed.

The labor party will be able to represent the interests of the great majority, unlike the Republicans and Democrats—parties that defend the interests of a few thousand millionaires.

The IAM's decision has opened broad possibilities for developing the labor party discussion throughout the union movement. Every thinking union member should seize this opportunity to spread the word about the importance of the labor party idea, carrying the discussion into every union convention, local, factory floor, unemployment line, and community.

## ...one way to help

One way to advance the labor party idea is to help sell the *Militant*. It provides full coverage on developments in this discussion—a discussion that is being totally blacked out in the big business press.

This week opens a drive to sell 8,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in factories and at plant gates, in neighborhoods and schools.

While Carter, Reagan, and Anderson offer nothing for American working people, one campaign is focusing on the need for American workers to forge a labor party. That is the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president.

The *Militant* is their campaign newspaper.

Join us in winning 8,000 new regular readers. Help get out the word.

## No Vietnam in El Salvador!

U.S. intervention in El Salvador is escalating as the military dictatorship there becomes more isolated. Five American military personnel have reportedly been killed in combat.

The *New York Times* reported September 9 that "the United States is preparing to give El Salvador's military-civilian Government an additional \$20 million in aid this year to offset economic sabotage by left-wing guerrillas."

This is in addition to \$72 million already approved by Congress this year. And all this "aid" is in addition to the secret supplies of weapons and advisers. It looks like a repeat of the build-up for the Vietnam War.

Under the guise of carrying out reforms, the dictatorship in El Salvador is stepping up terror throughout the country.

It faces increasing opposition.

Since January of this year at least 5,000 people have been murdered. The repression is directed increasingly against unions. Seventeen leaders of the electrical workers union were arrested recently.

U.S. money pours into El Salvador. But nearby Nicaragua, where a successful literacy campaign was completed and the government has widespread support, has not received U.S. aid. The \$75 million (\$70 million loan, \$5 million aid) approved after six months of congressional debate is held up by unsupported claims that Nicaragua is shipping arms to fighters against the dictatorship in El Salvador.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro pointed out in the July 26 speech printed in this issue of the *Militant*, "I am convinced that if the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America."

The imperialist rulers in Washington need to be reminded there is overwhelming opposition here to another Vietnam.

The union movement should be fully informed about the anti-union repression in Central America that is being financed by our taxes.

The victory of the Polish workers is raising consciousness about international solidarity.

The power of the American unions can be brought into support of the working people of El Salvador.

No aid to the junta!

U.S. hands off El Salvador!

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### Socialists fight to get on ballot

Half a million people have signed petitions supporting the Socialist Workers Party's right to be on the ballot. But officials in California and Texas are trying to deny voters the chance to choose a working-class ticket in November.

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### How many registered for draft?

The government reports 93 percent have signed up. Antidraft activists tell a different story. And 'The Boston Globe' publishes figures that challenge the official statistics. Page 5.



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Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

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

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

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

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

# Bring Klan killers to justice!

## Socialist candidate visits Greensboro trial

By Andy Rose

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Other courtroom spectators were waved through, but the pot-bellied, crew-cut North Carolina cop bristled as Andrew Pulley walked up.

"Where you think you're going?"

"To the trial," Pulley answered.

"What trial?"

"The Klan trial."

"Back up and walk through there again," the cop demanded, waving at the metal-detecting frame in the courthouse hallway.

Inside, two Nazis and four Ku Klux Klanners sat expressionless through the morning testimony September 8. They are on trial for the murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators last November.

This morning's testimony was technical. An FBI ballistics expert linked bullets and shotgun shells from the murder scene to guns seized from the defendants.

A small arsenal of shotguns, pistols, rifles, and a military-type semi-automatic rifle was piled on tables in the courtroom, a grim reminder of the fire power unleashed against the slain demonstrators.

On several occasions the FBI agent testified that certain shells or bullets had clear identifying marks but did not match any of the weapons he was given. This underlined the failure of the cops to apprehend the majority of the thirty-five or so participants in the killings or to track down all the evidence.

In testimony last week, eyewitnesses positively identified all six defendants as firing weapons at the anti-Klan protestors, members of the Communist Workers Party. Videotapes of the slaughter were also shown.

### Reporters shaken

Even though the press here goes out of its way to portray the CWPers as responsible for their own deaths, reporters seem to have been shaken up by recordings of the bloody scene.

Especially telling was evidence from Durham TV cameraman Ed Boyd. He testified he saw three of the Klan-Nazi



Andrew Pulley outside Greensboro Klan trial. He told reporters that more Blacks and trade unionists should attend trial to help build the kind of movement needed to convict Klan-Nazi murderers.

gang firing rifles or shotguns. He also saw defendant Jerry Smith, with a pistol in each hand, shoot CWP'er Cesar Cauce "at point-blank range."

Disputing Klan claims of self-defense, Boyd said the first shot came from the Klan-Nazi caravan and that he did not see any of the CWPers fire back.

Asked what the anti-Klan protesters were doing while the shooting went on, Boyd said, "They were dropping like flies, and people were running ever which way except towards the guns."

Defense lawyer Robert Cahoon said Boyd's testimony should be discounted because he is Black and harbors a "dislike" for the Klan.

"I was there," Boyd insisted. "I saw what happened, and I'll never forget it as long as I live. I've only told the truth based on what I saw."

But will the truth be honored when the verdict comes in?

Speaking to news media outside the courtroom at the morning recess, Andrew Pulley said he had "grave doubts whether justice will be done."

The Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate explained that "all you have to do is look at the jury. It's all white. And at least one of the jurors is a cop."

Pulley said he "was struck not only by the all-white jury, but also by the absence of representatives of the labor movement and Black movement observing the trial."

### Mass support needed

He recalled that when he attended the frame-up trial of Joanne Little in 1975, "there was mass support—demonstrations outside, people from all kinds of movements, all parts of the country."

"The same thing should be done here to show opposition to Klan violence and, even more important, to government complicity with the Klan and Nazis," Pulley urged. "Black leaders should come down here. Trade union leaders should come down."

Pulley pointed out that if the killers go free, "the danger is that people will become intimidated in their efforts to form unions or to oppose racism, out of fear they may also be shot down by these scum."

Shouldn't the accused racists be presumed innocent until proven guilty? one reporter demanded.

### 'Gov't stacks deck'

The real problem in this case, Pulley responded, is that "the government

can stack the deck to make sure they will be found innocent, even if they are as guilty as the devil. Like in the trial of the Miami police who killed Arthur McDuffie. The onus is on the state and the judiciary to show that they can bring about justice."

What would you do different if you were president? asked another reporter.

"First, I would order the Justice Department to immediately begin prosecution of all the KKK and Nazis involved in the murders."

"Second, I would open all the government files on the KKK, the Nazis, and the government agents who participated with them in drawing up plans for the executions—that's what they were, executions—of the demonstrators."

"And third, I would use my office to demand dropping the charges against Nelson Johnson of the CWP and the other victims of this attack who are now being framed up and being made to suffer even more."

Pulley also lashed out at the pious statements of James Carter and Ronald Reagan last week as they tried to put a little distance between themselves and the Klan. "If they're against the Klan," Pulley demanded, "why haven't they spoken out about these murders? Why haven't they come down here to demand justice? Why did Carter let his agents participate in this criminal action?"

He noted that one open Klanner is running for Congress as a Democrat in California, while another is campaigning for Congress as a Republican in Michigan.

### Bipartisan policies

"The policies of both parties—opposing affirmative-action quotas and busing for school desegregation, cutting back welfare, expanding the military budget, refusing to ratify the ERA, campaigning against undocumented workers, treating like dogs the Cubans, Mexicans, and Haitians who come here—are policies the KKK loves. When the top politicians of the two-party system are campaigning for these racist measures, Reagan more openly, Carter more cautiously, it's no wonder the KKK killers are emboldened," Pulley said.

While in the Greensboro area Pulley also released a message he sent on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to the widows of the slain CWPers and to the anti-Klan demonstrators now facing "felony riot" charges.

"You have been jailed, harassed, and framed up while most of the racist killers go free," the message said in part. "Rarely has there been so flagrant an example of racist 'justice' trying to turn victims into criminals."

It went on to call the "cover-up of Klan-Nazi violence and official complicity . . . a threat to the rights of all unionists, civil rights fighters, and defenders of democratic liberties."

## Militant editor on campaign trail

What do working people think about the socialist alternative in the 1980 elections? What's the response to Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley as he travels across the country, speaking out for a labor party, in defense of Black and women's rights, against the draft?

Militant editor Andy Rose, who has just joined Pulley on the campaign trail, will bring you weekly reports up through the November elections. Don't miss a single issue of the *Militant* as we wind up the 1980 socialist election campaign.



ANDY ROSE Militant/Arnold Weissberg

## Special offer to new readers

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# N.C. rally hails Polish workers' victory

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—After hearing Andrew Pulley's speech, the socialist campaign rally here voted to send a message to the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk, Poland, hailing the strikers' victory and pledging to spread the lessons of their struggle to workers in North Carolina.

Among those attending the rally were several workers from Bahnsen Envirotech, the plant where SWP gubernatorial candidate Douglas Cooper works. During the Polish strikes, more than twenty-five workers at the plant had signed a petition of support to the workers there.

Cooper spoke at the rally here, condemning the SWP's exclusion from a gubernatorial candidates' debate being held the next night. He pointed to the many issues that would be "ignored, avoided, or misrepresented" because of the exclusion of the SWP. These include:

- the need for jobs ("Sunbelt" North Carolina now has unemployment above the national average);
- the whitewash of the KKK-Nazi murders last November;
- compensation for textile workers suffering from brown lung;
- toxic waste time bombs (although last in wages, North Carolina is eleventh in the country in the



Andrew Pulley, at podium, and Douglas Cooper, seated right, told campaign rally of lessons of strikes in Poland for fight of workers in 'right to work' South.

production of hazardous industrial waste);

- the fight to defend Black schools;
- ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Cooper also warned against North Carolina Gov. James Hunt's public call for a step-up in cop infiltration of radical groups.

"The names of Butkovich and Dawson expose his claim the government spies won't do anything to anybody, that they'll just collect

information," Cooper said. Butkovich and Dawson were cop agents in the KKK and Nazi gang that murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators last November.

The real role of such "informers," Cooper said, "is to aid and assist right-wing thugs and racists on the one hand, and on the other to sabotage those working for progressive social change—unionists, ERA supporters, antinuclear and antidraft activists."

In response to an appeal by

Cooper, those at the rally contributed or pledged more than \$1,000 to aid the socialist campaign.

This is the first year the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket has been on the ballot in North Carolina. Campaigners here had to fight maneuvers by state officials to disqualify the party.

So it's no surprise that the rally here was angry over California Gov. Edmund Brown's attempts to keep the SWP off the ballot there.

The meeting voted to send the following message to Brown:

"North Carolina supporters of Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket, rallying in Winston-Salem September 7, demand you place SWP candidates on California ballot."

"Our party has fully complied with restrictive California election law. Your efforts to keep working-class candidates off the ballot are illegal."

"You hope to silence discussion on real alternatives to Democratic-Republican policies of war and austerity—formation of labor party based on unions."

"Inspired by example of workers from Poland to El Salvador, we condemn your antidemocratic maneuvers and vow to redouble efforts in socialist campaign."

## ... Poland

Continued from front page

For full public information on economic plans so the workers can discuss and decide them."

The struggle of the Polish workers today, Pulley explained, builds on the gains they have already made by abolishing capitalism. Industry is nationalized and the economy centrally planned. This has made possible great expansion of industry, virtual elimination of unemployment, and provision of many social services.

"In Poland the government subsidizes food and there has been no increase in food prices since 1968. Every time the government tries it, the workers rise up and the government backs down. How would you like to pay 1968 prices at the supermarket?" Pulley asked.

### Against bureaucracy

The heart of the Polish workers' fight, he said, is for an end to privilege and inequality, and for the right of the workers to democratically run industry and society. Their fight is directed

against a Stalinist bureaucracy that grabs privileges for itself while claiming to run things in the workers' interest.

Pulley compared the Polish rulers to high-paid union bureaucrats here who mislead the labor movement while claiming to represent workers.

"In my union, the United Steelworkers, as in many others in this country, we don't even have the right to vote on our union contract, much less decide union policy. Union officials are more concerned with good relations with the corporations than with the welfare of the workers. My last year at work I made about \$18,000, while the international union president made over \$80,000. I did the work; he collected the dues. It's that way in Poland."

The Stalinist bureaucrats and the U.S. union bureaucrats "act alike and they fear the workers in the same way," Pulley declared.

If workers democracy and an end to bureaucratic privilege are good for Poland, he said, aren't they good for the labor movement here too?

But in this country, Pulley went on,

"we face an even bigger problem than privileges." The difference in income between workers and union bureaucrats, he pointed out, is far overshadowed by the fabulous wealth and income of the capitalists. Even the \$100,000 or so pocketed by some top union officials pales in comparison to the billions of a Rockefeller.

"So we have further to go than the Polish workers," Pulley said. "We have to change the fundamental economic structure of the country. You can't even begin to talk of real democracy and equality here so long as the purpose of producing oil, for example, is to make Rockefeller even richer."

### Nationalize industry

"We need to nationalize the energy industry and run it for human need, not private profit. We need to nationalize auto, steel, and other industries so they will produce for society's needs. We need to have the workers controlling production so it is safe and efficient."

"The present government is not going to do that. The Democratic and Republican parties are not going to do that."

"Unions here need to build a labor party to win the kind of demands the Polish workers are fighting for. A labor party that could fight for working people to be masters of the factories and of society. A labor party that could fight against Ku Klux Klan violence. A labor party that could fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and for full equality in jobs and income for women, Blacks, and Latinos. A labor party that could take the money that now goes to the military for wars abroad and use it to solve social problems."

Finally, Pulley scoffed at the notion that the struggle in Poland shows a desire to return to capitalism. "They're not asking for Rockefellers over there. They're not asking for Reagans or Carters," he said.

"The workers in the Lenin Shipyard implemented the ideas of Lenin—for revolutionary unionism and socialist democracy. They are demanding that the workers rule the country. That's the same thing Lenin and Trotsky fought for, the same thing Marx and Engels fought for, the same thing the Socialist Workers Party is fighting for in this country today."

## Socialist vs. Klan-Democrat



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-Third District, Mark Friedman, confronted his Democratic Party opponent, Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Thomas Metzger, on NBC's "Speak Up America" show September 5.

The program included film clips of a helmeted Metzger leading a pack of club-swinging Klanners in an attack on a peaceful demonstration in Oceanside, California. Friedman called for unions, civil rights, and women's rights groups to unite to defeat the Klan.

In NBC's viewer poll at the end of the show, an overwhelming majority of TV watchers polled said they would not vote for Metzger.

Klaner Metzger is on the California ballot. But California Gov. Edmund Brown is trying to throw socialist Friedman off (see page 7).

## New Orleans SWP denounces right-wing vandalism

By John Linder

NEW ORLEANS—On the night of September 6, right-wing vandals attacked the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here.

The thugs threw a brick through the front window and smashed a plate-glass door. They taped an American flag to their brick.

When the socialists returned to the headquarters the next day, they found that their fuse box had been torn open.

At a news conference September 8, SWP senatorial candidate Naomi Bracey called on the New Orleans police department and the city administration to "arrest and prosecute these thugs before new and bolder attacks are launched."

"These thugs hope to silence and intimidate us," she continued. "They are afraid to confront our ideas, so they sneak around at night and throw bricks."

"But they are not playing. This is the seventh time in five years that the New Orleans Socialist Workers Party has been the target of right-wing violence. Never has this violence been checked by the local authorities."

Bracey announced that a public campaign would be launched to win support for the socialists' right to free speech. "Instead of being intimidated, my supporters plan to be bolder," she told the press. "Instead of being silent, we'll speak louder."



# Zimmermann blasts draft; demands aid to Nicaragua

By Dave Cahalane

INDIANAPOLIS—A September 7 victory rally for the socialist campaign here was the occasion for a hard-hitting response to the draft and to stepped-up U.S. government pressure against Nicaragua.

The rally celebrated the announcement two days earlier by Indiana Gov. Otis Bowen that the names of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, would appear on the state ballot in November.

Zimmermann was the featured speaker. Among others joining her on the speakers' platform was Gordon Shultz, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who decided not to register for the draft.

"We remember Vietnam very well," Zimmermann declared, "and don't want to see it come around again. Draft registration was supposed to show that the American people have gotten over their 'Vietnam syndrome' and are ready to be rough and tough with the rest of the world."

"But American youth voted on Carter's registration with their feet. Hundreds of thousands of young people stood up to the threat of jail and fines and said no. Many of those who registered did so under protest."

Zimmermann challenged the government's assertion that 93 percent of those ordered to register did so. "This runs counter to estimates from post offices and independent observers when registration was actually going on."

She lashed out at the government's continued

stalling on \$75 million in aid to Nicaragua, which is struggling to recover from the devastating civil war that ousted the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship last year.

The aid is now being withheld until Carter is satisfied that the new government is not "aiding, abetting, or supporting acts of violence or terrorism in other countries."

"They want to use this aid as a club to keep the Nicaraguan people and their leaders from expressing solidarity with their brothers and sisters in El Salvador and elsewhere," Zimmermann charged. "And they want to use the unproven claim that Nicaragua is sending arms to El Salvador freedom fighters as a pretext for opposing the literacy campaign and other progressive steps that have taken place in Nicaragua."

"I for one would like to see a lot of unemployed Indiana and other American workers back at work making tractors, trucks, and machinery to help Nicaragua," Zimmermann said.

"I would like to see the government buy up the produce of Indiana farmers at good prices and help feed hungry people in Central America."

"I think that aiding Nicaragua is far more popular with the American working people than sending arms and advisers to the brutal military regime in El Salvador, far more popular than getting involved in some new Vietnam-style war in Central America. We know it will be working people and the poor who will do the fighting in a new war, not the politicians in Congress or the generals in the Pentagon."



Zimmermann: 'American workers would rather send aid to Nicaragua, not arms to El Salvador junta.'

Militant/Larry Lukehart

## New gov't draft figures disputed

By Osborne Hart

The Selective Service reported September 3 that their figures would show more than 80 percent of the males eligible for draft registration complied with the government order.

The following day, Selective Service officials announced that 93 percent of the draft-age youth had registered. They claim that 87 percent of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds registered on time and the other 6 percent signed up later.

Many opponents of the draft believe the government is lying.

It wouldn't be the first time.

Barry Lynn of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft said that the registration "had been unsuccessful on its own terms."

A national survey of post offices conducted by *The Boston Globe* confirms Lynn's and other draft opponents' point.

The *Globe* reports that "the registration order was in fact defied or ignored by approximately 25 percent" or "one million of the 4,076,000 civilian American males born in 1960 and 1961."

The *Globe* released its survey in a front-page feature August 27—a week before the Selective Service announcement. The *Globe* concluded that "the registration program suffered major short falls nearly everywhere."

The *Globe's* base population figure of 4.076 million eligible men contradicts the government's 3.88 million. The *Globe* explains that their figure is based on the 1970 census estimate and "no one has accused the Census Bureau of overcounting."

The survey covered "registration figures from large postal districts that cover more than 10 percent of the nation's population."

The *Globe's* findings included:

- Forty-seven percent of the nineteen- and

twenty-year-olds did not register in Peoria, Illinois.

- In Chicago, "32 percent stayed away, while in Chicago's suburban and outlying districts, an area covering 4.6 million people, the refusal rate amounted to 27 percent."

- "For Nashville and the middle half of Tennessee, the rate was 32 percent."

- In seventy-two eastern Massachusetts cities and towns 30 percent did not sign up.

When the *Globe* asked the Selective Service about the results of their survey, Joan Lamb, Selective Service public affairs officer, asserted that it was invalid and incomplete. "They're [draft age youth] a mobile group and didn't have to register in their area," Lamb told the *Globe*. "There's a tremendous amount of controversy over the census data. For those two reasons it's not a valid data base and you cannot draw any valid conclusions from it."

The *Globe* also points out some additional factors that could be used to "mask" or "minimize" the percentage of those who did not register:

"Estimates of the men required to sign up were not corrected for alleged census undercounts. An undercount, however, would tend to mask noncompliance. Nor do the estimates of eligible men include resident aliens—including illegal aliens—although they were required to register and many undoubtedly did. (Even the Cubans in refugee camps were given registration forms to fill out.) Again, this factor would tend to minimize estimates of noncompliance."

The fact that non-registration is a felony offense with a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine compelled many youths to sign up who may otherwise not have. The number of falsified and bogus forms signed in protest of registration are difficult to determine. The government, however, claims that only 1.8 percent registered under protest.

## 'Militant' circulation drive opens this week

By Nancy Rosenstock

This issue marks the opening of the fall drive to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance plan to sell 8,000 new subscriptions during the ten-week drive, which coincides with the last weeks of the SWP presidential campaign.

This week we are publishing a scoreboard showing the goals each area has for the drive.

Supporters of SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley got off to an early start in Atlanta. During the first week of September, while Pulley was touring their city, socialists sold twenty-three subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Organizing the subscription drive in conjunction with the campaign tour proved to be an effective way to introduce people to the revolutionary press. Four people who attended Pulley's rally in Atlanta left with introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Atlanta socialists placed a lot of emphasis during the week on getting out and talking to as many people as possible about what the SWP campaign stands for and why they should read the candidates' newspaper. The time spent insured positive results.

Socialists in Pittsburgh had a similar experience. They printed tickets for a recent campaign picnic and sold them to co-workers. Included in the price of the ticket was an introductory *Militant* subscription. It was worth the effort: seventeen new subscriptions were sold.

## Subscription goals

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	PM GOAL	TOTAL
Albuquerque	60	20	80
Atlanta	90	10	100
Baltimore	115	5	120
Birmingham	50	0	50
Boston	210	40	250
Brooklyn	300	100	400
Capital District NY	100	20	120
Chicago	300	50	350
Cincinnati	120	0	120
Cleveland	100	30	130
Dallas	75	25	100
Denver	85	15	100
Detroit	185	15	200
Gary	85	15	100
Houston	105	35	140
Indianapolis	120	0	120
Iron Range	90	0	90
Kansas City	80	10	90
Los Angeles	200	150	350
Louisville	100	0	100
Manhattan	300	200	500
Miami	90	0	90
Milwaukee	100	20	120
Morgantown	100	0	100
New Orleans	90	10	100
Newark	280	70	350
Oakland	125	50	175
Philadelphia	115	35	150
Phoenix	55	20	75
Piedmont	100	0	100
Pittsburgh	165	10	175
Portland	95	0	95
Salt Lake City	90	10	100
San Antonio	60	30	90
San Diego	70	30	100
San Francisco	100	100	200
San Jose	100	50	150
Seattle	210	15	225
St. Louis	120	0	120
Tidewater	120	0	120
Toledo	60	0	60
Twin Cities	190	10	200
Washington, D.C.	85	45	130
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5390</b>	<b>1245</b>	<b>6635</b>
Miscellaneous			365
National Teams			1000
<b>TOTAL NATIONAL GOAL</b>			<b>8000</b>

# Socialist Workers Party

## How socialists won a major victory in Missouri

By Chuck Petrin

ST. LOUIS—With an impressive show of labor support highlighting a major public outreach campaign, the Socialist Workers Party has won the fight here for a place on the Missouri state ballot.

Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick officially certified the SWP August 28. In addition to presidential candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the party is running Martin Anderson, a steelworker, for governor, and Martha Pettit, an auto worker, for U.S. Senate.

This is the first time ever that the SWP has gained statewide ballot status in Missouri. And it is the first time in twenty-eight years that any socialist has done so.

Speaking to reporters August 28, Martin Anderson explained: "This is an historic victory, and not just for the Socialist Workers Party.

"It is a victory for all those in the labor movement and elsewhere who spoke up in support for our right to be on the ballot; for the nearly 33,000 people who signed our nominating petition; and, most important, for the workers of this state who are fed up with Democratic and Republican rule and who want a chance to vote for a workers party."

The secretary of state said the Socialist Workers Party was certified for ballot status because it met all the legal requirements.

True enough.

Campaign volunteers—the majority of them industrial workers with full-time jobs—spent countless hours collecting and processing petition signatures. Some 18,000 were needed, spread among five of the state's ten congressional districts, but close to double that number were filed—well before the deadline.

That is only part of the story, however.

Twice before, in 1974 and 1976, the SWP had also made an exhaustive effort to meet these requirements, and yet, it was denied ballot status both times.

### Changing political climate

The difference lies in the changing political climate. More and more working people are attracted today to a socialist platform that speaks for their interests.

The present state election laws, first enacted in 1953, were carefully designed to give the Democrats and Republicans a monopoly on the ballot. Costly, time-consuming petitioning requirements were expected to discourage small parties with limited resources from even trying. But in any case the secretary of state would have final authority to certify or not certify as he saw fit.

So it was that in 1968, George Wallace, running at the head of the right-wing American Independent Party ticket, filed a batch of petitions that no one even bothered to look at before he was certified on the ballot.

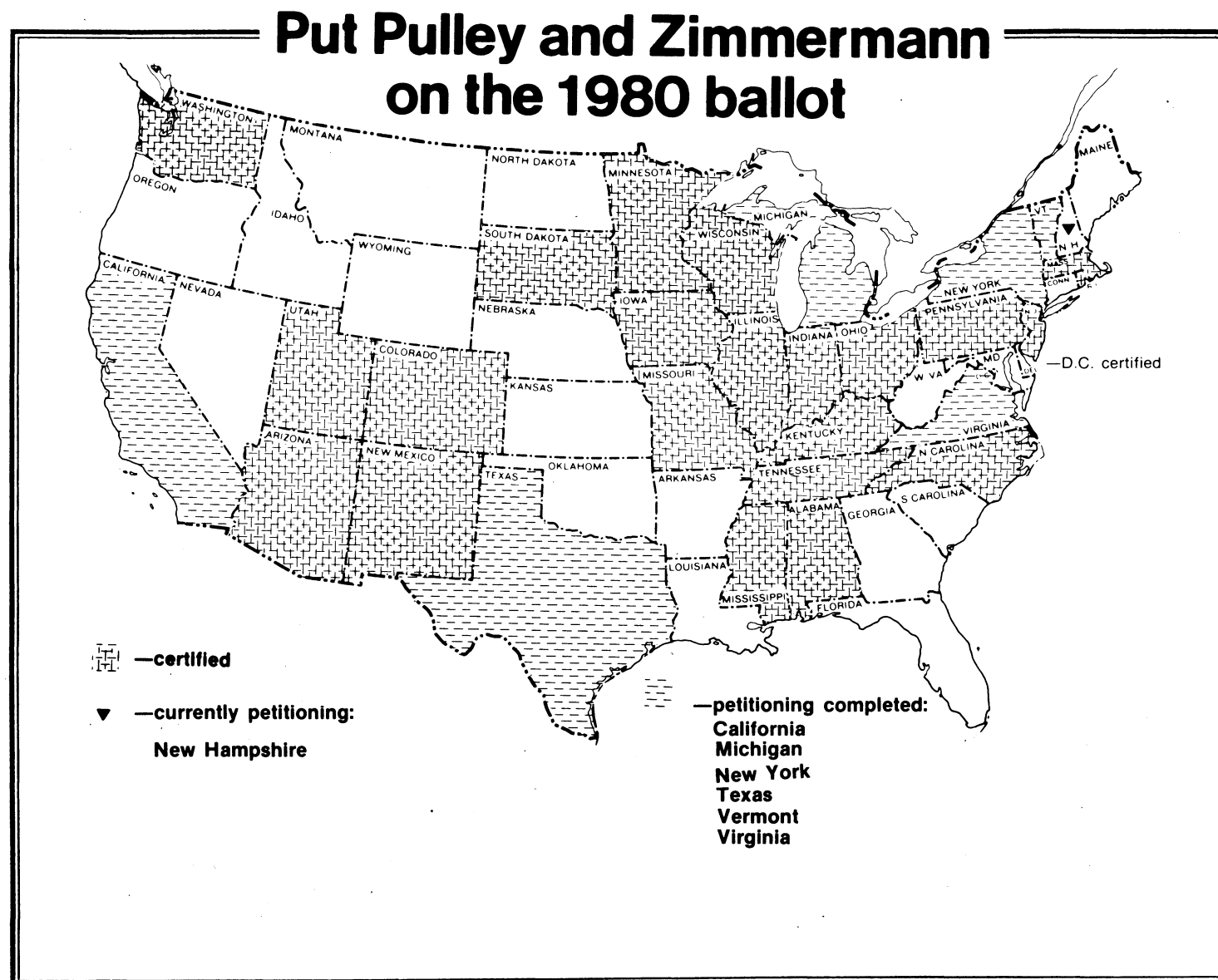
Likewise, proponents of an anti-labor "right to work" initiative in 1978 breezed through the certification process without a hitch.

### Special treatment

The SWP, on the other hand, got the full treatment. In 1974, for instance, the secretary of state's office admitted making at least 366 telephone calls to employers, landlords, neighbors, and relatives of those who had either signed or circulated party nominating petitions—purely for purposes of intimidation.

When all else failed, valid signatures were simply disqualified by the thousands.

With this in mind, Missouri social-



ists devised a two-pronged strategy for the 1980 ballot drive: one, to petition; and two, to transform the petitioning process itself into a massive public outreach campaign, with the goal of talking to tens of thousands of working people about the socialist alternative in the election.

This was crucial. The main prop of the government's case for denying the SWP ballot status is to project the illusion that socialists are a "fringe" element, "out of the mainstream," and generally not to be taken seriously.

The truth is, however, that the SWP's views on many issues—against the draft, for the Equal Rights Amendment, against nuclear power, for a cut in the workweek with no cut in pay to combat unemployment, for school desegregation, for strengthening the unions against government and big-business attempts to destroy them—are shared by millions.

The central plank of the party's plat-

form—for a labor party based on the unions—coincides with a growing sentiment among working people for an independent alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

By making its views known to as wide an audience as possible, the SWP stood to gain many new supporters—all the while undermining the credibility of any attack on the party's democratic rights. If the State of Missouri wanted to keep the SWP off the ballot in 1980, it could do so only at the risk of exposing its real purpose.

### American 'democracy'

"Face it, they don't want you running around telling ordinary people we can run things better than they can." That's how one young foundry worker expressed it as he signed a petition, adding: "America's a democracy, you know, but only up to a point."

At the same time, the SWP began to seek support for its ballot rights among prominent individuals. Among those who spoke out were Linda Woody, president of the Missouri State National Organization for Women; state representatives DeVerne Calloway and Elbert Walton, Jr.; Frank Chapman, a national board member of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Kenneth Zinn, a leader of the St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft.

But the most decisive support came from the labor movement. This reflected both the increased support for the SWP, as a party rooted in the unions and supportive of labor struggles, and the changes in attitudes taking place among workers.

Labor officials who endorsed the SWP's right to be on the ballot included: Harold Gibbons, international vice-president of the Teamsters; Robert Tibbs, business manager of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 5-6; Anthony Toliver, acting president of Firefighters Local 42; Bonnie Daniels, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 325; Gus Lumpe, editor of the *Missouri Teamster*; Earl Graham, vice-

president of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 30; and Mike Backus vice-president of United Steelworkers Local 67.

On May 14 the SWP filed 26,000 signatures with the secretary of state in Jefferson City. The party demanded that state officials act promptly in validating the petitions and certifying the party for ballot status.

### Media backing

Two of the state major daily newspapers, the *Kansas City Times* and the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, editorialized in favor of fair access to the ballot. The *Post-Dispatch* characterized the filing of the party's petitions as "a test of how well Missouri is prepared to implement the democratic process," putting the secretary of state on notice that this influential paper would be watching things closely.

On June 23, the first test came. The secretary of state issued a preliminary report stating that, according to the count by local election officials, the party's nominating petition was insufficient. Some 12,000 signatures were deemed invalid, without explanation or proof.

The party immediately called a news conference to respond, demanding that the state make the petitions and current lists of registered voters available to campaign supporters to verify the count themselves. A joint statement by several labor leaders was issued supporting this demand, noting that "perhaps state officials have something to hide."

The news reporters followed up, persistently asking the secretary of state for an explanation as to why he refused this simple request. At that point the secretary of state conceded to allow the party to review the petitions, after his office checked first.

### Papers skeptical

The press reported the situation sympathetically. The *Post-Dispatch* carried another editorial expressing skepticism about the large number of signa-



Missouri socialists petitioned a second time to secure right to ballot.



# fighters to get on the ballot

## Calif. Democrats deny voters' rights

By Sara Gates

OAKLAND, Calif.—The Democratic Party administration of Gov. Edmund Brown is trying to keep the Socialist Workers Party candidates off the 1980 California ballot. This is an attack on the right of all Californians to a choice in this election and is aimed at discouraging attempts by the California labor movement to run its own candidates.

### Send telegrams

Letters and telegrams protesting the attempt to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the California ballot should be sent to Gov. Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814. Copies should be sent to the California Socialist Workers 1980 Campaign Committee, 2864 Telegraph, Oakland, California 94609.

During the months of June and July hundreds of socialist campaigners were on the streets of California petitioning to get the SWP candidates on the ballot. The SWP is running a steelworker, Andrew Pulley, for president, along with Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president; auto worker George Johnson for U.S. Senate; and machinist Mark Friedman for Congress in the Forty-third C.D.

Socialists found unprecedented sup-

port for their right to be on the ballot. Many working people are fed up with the performance of the Democratic and Republican parties and see no choice between them. They welcomed the opportunity to have an alternative on the ballot.

Socialist petitioners explained what the SWP candidates stand for:

- a labor party based on the unions;
- no draft, no war, no nuclear power;
- nationalization of the energy industry;
- for the ERA and equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans;
- for solidarity with the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada who have freed their countries from exploitation and oppression.

People in the Forty-third C.D. were especially anxious to put congressional candidate Mark Friedman on the ballot because the Democratic Party's candidate is Thomas Metzger, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

### Double standard

In order to qualify for the ballot, the SWP was required to get 101,300 signatures of registered voters for its presidential ticket, 101,300 signatures for its senatorial candidate and 11,000 signatures for Friedman. Here's how that compares to the signature requirements for the Democrats and Republicans:

Democrat Jimmy Carter: 0  
Republican Ronald Reagan: 0

Democratic senatorial candidate Alan Cranston: 65

Republican senatorial candidate Paul Gann: 65

Republican congressional candidate Clair Burgener: 40

Democratic congressional candidate Thomas Metzger: 40

Despite the double standard, the SWP far exceeded the burdensome signature requirements for each of its candidates, amassing 311,000 signatures altogether. Yet Brown's administration refuses to certify the SWP for the ballot, claiming that the party does not have enough valid signatures to qualify.

The Brown administration claims that only 40 percent of the SWP's signatures are valid. To bolster that claim, the state resorted to widespread violations of the election code.

According to state law, county clerks must check to see if the nominating petitions turned in by an independent party contain the required number of registered voters. They must do so within ten days of receiving the petitions so that an independent party has time to gather more signatures, if it falls short of the requirement.

Yet the state officials refused to check the SWP's signatures within ten days, taking forty-two days to notify the SWP of their claim that the party has insufficient "valid" signatures.

State officials invalidated thousands of signatures of bona fide registered

*Continued on next page*

tures invalidated.

When the secretary of state's office reviewed the petitions it conceded that there were many errors, and counted an additional 1,200 signatures as valid. But this only fueled speculation that there was something wrong.

The secretary of state then withdrew his approval for campaign supporters to look at lists of registered voters. He attempted to stonewall it. But the SWP proceeded to copy 3,100 names invalidated and succeeded in pressing local officials in St. Louis to provide registration lists.

The results were compelling. At least one of every three invalidated signatures could be proven valid.

Meanwhile the party decided to step up its public outreach to the get the SWP campaign known.

Senatorial candidate Martha Pettit toured Aurora, site of chemical dumping. The statewide *Missouri Times* ran a two-page feature of interviews with Martha Pettit and Martin Anderson. Wire services had picked up stories on the ballot fight and local papers throughout the state were running coverage.

### New petition drive

And the party decided to resume petitioning with the goal of reaching thousands more working people, as well as collecting additional signatures to force the state's hand.

For most campaign supporters this was the most difficult but most gratifying leg of the ballot drive. During a brutal heat wave, with temperatures rising above 100 for weeks, the SWP concentrated on unemployment offices in St. Louis, the city where the bulk of the signatures were needed, meeting thousands of laid-off auto workers from General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler plants. More and more people were now familiar with the SWP, and were looking forward to the chance to vote for a workers party for the first time.

Both the Kansas City and St. Louis campaign centers stepped up a program of public activities to reach new people. These included classes on the party's proposal for a labor party, forums on school desegregation and on revolutionary developments in the Caribbean.

A special tour in Missouri was organized for SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. She was joined on the platform in St. Louis by OCAW official Robert Tibbs, who expressed his union's support for the ballot fight.

Zimmermann's tour coincided with the opening of draft registration, and she participated in a St. Louis rally which received wide publicity.

On July 31, the SWP filed an additional 7,000 signatures in Jefferson City, much to the surprise of election officials who had counted on stalling the party out.

### Last trial balloon

Two weeks later the secretary of state floated one last trial balloon. He said that the petition was now 500 signatures short, according to local officials, leaving him the option to overrule.

Again the party responded immediately and the news media pressed the secretary of state for answers and proof.

As the SWP prepared a news conference for August 28, top state officials met in Jefferson City to make a final decision.

It was clear the SWP, and the many people supporting its rights, were not going to give up the battle.

Instead, the state officials had to yield. The SWP was placed on the ballot.

## Texas SWP campaigns for ballot spot

By Susie Winsten

HOUSTON—On the night of September 7 the headquarters here of the Texas Socialist Workers campaign was ransacked and burglarized.

Supporters found financial records, mailing lists, and legal papers of the election campaign committee strewn everywhere. A small amount of money was missing, yet valuable office equipment was left untouched.

At a well-attended news conference on September 8, Rich Finkel, Texas state campaign chairperson, demanded the arrest and prosecution of the burglars.

He noted that the break-in occurred in the middle of the SWP's fight to be on the state ballot.

"On August 19 Secretary of State George Strake, Jr., ruled the SWP off the ballot. We collected 38,000 signatures, well over the 23,700 required, yet the state has illegally challenged our ballot status," charged Finkel.

Campaign supporters have organized the Texas Fair Ballot Committee, a political rights committee, to gather support for SWP ballot rights.

Already many prominent Texans have raised their voices in protest of the SWP exclusion, including: Richard Cobb, Rodney Dargin, and Jerry Foster, executive board members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227; Dallas County National Organization for Women; and Georgina Minor, president, San Antonio NOW.

Also, Pancho Medrano, international representative, United Auto Workers; Luis Mier, editor of *La Prensa*; José Angel Gutiérrez, Zavala County judge; Gertrude Barnstone, former member, Houston School Board; Sister Victoria Vuniga, Hermanes; Bernardo Eureses, San Antonio city council member; and the presidents of the American Civil Liberties Union in Dallas and San Antonio.

Socialist campaigners have found information proving deliberate fraud by the state of Texas in order to prevent socialist candidates from being heard this fall.

The Texas code requires that one percent of submitted signatures be checked to determine if they are names of registered voters. This undemocratic method means that the vast majority of signatures are never checked.

Moreover, state officials did not go by their own rules in checking the SWP's petitions. State regulations require that officials check every hundredth name. But campaign supporters found that officials chose 389 names arbitrarily out of the 38,000 signatures.

Thus officials reported a valid registration rate of only 48 percent. Using state guidelines, campaign supporters found a validity rate of well over 64 percent.

In addition, numerous discrepancies have been found in the registration rolls themselves.

Lea Sherman, SWP congressional candidate from Dallas, has a wrong address listed by her name, although she informed the state two years ago of a change of address and has voted at the new address.

The decision by the state to attempt to keep the SWP off the ballot follows the most successful petitioning effort ever carried out in the state. Tens of thousands not only thought socialists had a democratic right to be on the ballot, but were interested in a campaign that speaks out against the draft, demands ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and promotes the idea that working people should form a labor party based on the power of the unions.

Messages of protest can be sent to Honorable George W. Strake, Jr., Secretary of State, Capital Station, Austin, Texas 78711, with a copy to the Texas Fair Ballot Committee, P.O. Box 61678, Houston, Texas 77208. Funds are urgently needed.



Rich Finkel, Texas SWP chairperson, at September 8 news conference.

Militant/Susie Winsten



# IAM calls for discussions on Union refuses to endorse 'lesser-evil' Carter

By Fred Feldman

CINCINNATI—The discussion of labor's need for its own party to fight the antilabor policies of the Republicans and Democrats took a big step forward here.

The more than 2,100 delegates at the September 2-10 convention of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers voted overwhelmingly for resolutions withholding endorsement from any presidential candidate and mandating the IAM leadership to "join with other progressive and liberal groups in our society to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party. . . ."

You may not have heard about this development. It has been virtually blacked out in the big-business media, which want to create the impression that the unions are 100 percent behind Carter in 1980.

Not the million-member IAM.

The overwhelming voice vote to refuse endorsement of either Carter, Reagan, or Anderson came on September 3, the second day of the gathering. At

the same time, the delegates voted to continue the policy of supporting Democratic candidates for Congress and to endorse the Democratic Party platform—in spite of the antilabor record piled up by Democratic-controlled congresses over twenty-six years.

These moves were in line with the policy advocated by IAM President William Winpisinger. At the Democratic National Convention in New York City last month, Winpisinger led a walkout by about 85 IAM members who had been elected as delegates.

Winpisinger also cast the sole "no" vote when the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed Carter. Three other Executive Council members abstained, including Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The convention decision came in the face of pleas from top Democrats for the IAM to stick with Carter. On the day of the vote, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Senator Edward Kennedy spoke to this.

Kennedy, who was supported for the Democratic presidential nomination by Winpisinger and the IAM, made a

particularly impassioned appeal. Kennedy personally got an enthusiastic reception, including several standing ovations and an organized demonstration featuring placards proclaiming "Kennedy in 1984."

But as soon as he left the platform, a motion to refuse endorsement to any presidential candidate was made, seconded, and adopted after a brief discussion.

"I for one am sick and tired," declared Winpisinger, in supporting the motion, "of having us revisited time after time with a candidate who is presented from his own podium and his own convention as the lesser of two evils."

The following day a resolution submitted by Local Lodge 707 of North Haven, Connecticut, came up for discussion. It called for the IAM to "initiate and solicit other AFL-CIO Unions to form an independent labor party thereby giving workers the representation in government that they have worked these many years to achieve."

The reporter from the Resolutions Committee was critical of the resolu-

tion, although he noted, "In view of the failure of either the Democratic or Republican Parties to offer candidates worthy of our support, the idea of a Labor Party attracts many good trade unionists."

After arguing that the formation of a labor party would be premature, he asserted that "we are not opposed to the main thrust" of the resolution. He proposed the substitute language mandating the IAM leaders to initiate preparatory discussions about forming "an independent pro-labor party."

The delegates of Local Lodge 707 indicated that they accepted this change and the resolution was adopted.

Coupled with the refusal to endorse Carter, the vote to initiate discussions of the labor party is a big step forward for the whole labor movement. The IAM is the first major national union to take this stand in recent years.

The transcript of the convention discussion on the labor party is reprinted on the facing page. A full report on the convention will appear in a future issue.

## ... ballot

Continued from preceding page

voters who had moved since the last election. By California law, a voter who has moved does not have to notify the county of an address change until twenty-nine days before an election—that is, until October 5, 1980, for this election.

Yet state officials have ruled the signatures of thousands of such voters invalid, violating their right to participate in the electoral process and the right of the SWP to be on the ballot.

### Tampering

As if these violations were not enough, state officials have illegally tampered with the random sample count they are supposed to employ. The random sample method is supposed to work like this: First you hand in the signatures in the county in which they were collected. For example, the SWP handed in 29,000 signatures for its presidential ticket in Alameda County.

The officials were supposed to number the signatures from 1 to 29,000 in sequence and then check 5 percent of them to see if they are valid.

They are supposed to determine which of the 29,000 signatures to check by looking at a series of "random sample numbers" given to them by the secretary of state and matching the "random sample numbers" with the number previously assigned to the signatures on the actual petition.

The SWP has documented evidence

that the Alameda County authorities inserted "random sample numbers" out of sequence, matching them up with non-valid signatures.

For example, check out the photocopy of an actual petition reproduced on this page. Look at the numbers on the right-hand side. According to law the eighteen signatures should have been numbered in order. But there are three numbers out of order. After 3331, where the number 3332 should have been, all of a sudden there is 3260; where 3338 should be there is 3273; and where 3345 should be there is 3278.

This misplaced numbers turn out to be "random sample numbers," and all the signatures by the misplaced numbers turn out to be invalid signatures.

But there is more. State officials have also been counting blank lines as "not registered" voters! In addition, crossed out names were also counted as "not registered."

Why does the Democratic Party of California want to prevent socialists from being on the ballot?

The answer can be found by looking at American politics today. More and more workers are beginning to realize there is no difference between the Democrats and Republicans. This is because both parties are run by big business. Both parties have brought us higher prices, lower real wages, and worse working and living conditions.

Both parties are trying to prepare the American people for new Vietnam-style wars to protect U.S. big-business profits from workers and farmers who want to run their own countries. Both parties are waging attacks on the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women here at home.

And both parties want very much to maintain the fiction that the only way to change things is through the two-party system. But that idea is being challenged.

### Labor party discussion

In a 1979 Labor Day speech, John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, declared that working people were being increasingly sold out by the "friends" they had helped elect in the Democratic and Republican parties.

It was necessary, Henning said, for the organized labor movement to begin discussing the idea of breaking with the two-party system and building a labor party.

Since then, the discussion proposed by Brother Henning has deepened and the labor party idea has won the

NAME (As registered to vote) NOMBRE (Como inscrito para votar)	RESIDENCE (As registered to vote) RESIDENCIA (Como inscrita para votar)	Clerk use only (Solamente para uso del Archivero)	
		Verification Verificación	Prescript (Optional) Recinto (Opcional)
EXAMPLE Sign-Forma Example Print-Letras de molde NAME W. DOE City or Town-Ciudad o pueblo ANY TOWN, CA.	Street & Number-Calle y número 100 MAIN STREET City or Town-Ciudad o pueblo ANY TOWN, CA.		
19 Emma Loscher	Oakland Cal		3329
20 Alan R. Butler	2348 Palo Alto Way Oakland, Cal.		3330
21 Patsy Everett	2416 West Oak Oak		3331
22 Emma Loscher	2925 E 15th Ave Oakland, Cal.	NR	3260
23 Josephine Reyes	451 - C 38th St Oakland, Cal.		3333
24 Yolanda F. (Wright)	2333 9th Ave Oakland, Cal.		3334
25 Teresa G. McMillan	2542 12th Ave Oakland, Cal. 94605		3335
26 John Sawyer	4185 PARK BLVD Oak		3336
27 Melba Smith	4151 34th Ave. Oak. Cal.		3337
28 Gladys Johnson	1058 14th Ave Oakland, Cal.	NR	3273
29 Louis B. Butler	1114 83rd Ave Oak		3338
30 Leleorah Wright	6655 Haverhill Ave Oak		3339
31 Ron Pinkard	555 O'Farrell San Francisco		3341
32 John B. Williams	8730 E St. Oak Cal.		3342
33 Betty Williams	6918 Locoy Ave Oak		3343
34 Carolana Williams	1001 - W. Oak Oak		3344
35 Carolana Williams	8036 Greenridge Dr Oak Cal. 94605	NR	3278

**DIRTY TRICKS:** page from socialists' petition shows how officials took random sample numbers (see arrows) and substituted them for sequential numbers to match with non-registered ('NR') voters.

approval of a series of union bodies up and down the state. It's an idea that strikes a responsive chord among working people.

And it strikes fear into the hearts of the Democratic and Republican politicians. That's why they want to prevent a socialist steelworker who talks up the idea of a labor party from being on the ballot in this election. They want to discourage the whole labor movement from breaking from the Democratic Party and running its own candidates.

That is why the Democrats and Republicans go to such great lengths to maintain their two-party monopoly.

That is why they pass such patently unfair and restrictive election laws. And that is why they are trying to fraudulently keep the Socialist Workers Party candidates off the ballot.

### Socialist lawsuit

The Socialist Workers Party has filed suit in Superior Court in San Francisco to force the state to certify SWP candidates for the ballot. The attorney is noted civil rights advocate Howard Moore.

Supporters of the SWP's right to ballot status include Mel Mason, city council member in Seaside, California; Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley; Supervisor John George of Alameda County; John Perez, United Steelworkers District 38, Subdistrict One; Daniel Flores, president, USWA Local 5504; and John Day, coordinator, Los Angeles Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy.

Also, Frank Wilkinson, chair, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Service Employees International Union Local 535; Ramona Ripston, executive director, Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Stephen Coony, general manager, SEIU Local 660; and Stanley Sheinbaum of the ACLU Foundation of Southern California.

In addition to the mounting California protests, a national campaign of telegrams and letters is needed to win ballot status for the Socialist Workers candidates. Working people across the country have a big stake in the California battle for democratic rights.

## Nat'l NOW conference

The National Organization for Women, the country's largest women's rights organization, will hold its thirteenth annual National Conference October 3-5, at the Hilton Palacio del Rio and the Convention Center in San Antonio, Texas.

This conference is the major decision-making body of the organization and will set NOW's goals for the upcoming year. Discussion on the elections, the draft, ERA, abortion rights, nuclear power and other issues is planned.

For more information contact NOW at 425 13 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. or phone (202) 347-2279.

# forming labor party

## What delegates said on labor party proposal

The following is a transcript of the discussion on the labor party that took place September 4 at the convention of the International Association of Machinists. The transcript is reprinted from the proceedings of the convention published by the IAM.

The resolution was reported on by Delegate Auvis Green of Lodge 12 in Houston, representing the convention Resolutions Committee. His comments on the resolution were read from the report of the Resolutions Committee.

DELEGATE GREEN: Resolution No. 37, page 10

### RESOLUTION NO. 37

**Subject: Formation of an Independent Labor Party**  
(Preferred to Resolutions Committee)  
Submitted by Lodge 707

WHEREAS experience has shown that the two (2) major political parties in the United States use organized labor to their own advantage and not to the advantage of our membership.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers will initiate and solicit other AFL-CIO Unions to form an independent labor party thereby giving workers the representation in government that they have worked these many years to achieve.

MARY-ALICE MORAN

Recording Secretary, Lodge 707

This resolution reflects the frustration most of us feel about the kind of choices we are being given at the polls by the two major parties.

In more and more political contests voters are being denied any meaningful alternatives.

This is especially true in the current Presidential contest—where the choice for working people ranges from the conservatism of Carter to the reaction of Reagan.

But it is also true in far too many Senatorial, Congressional and Local Elections.

In view of the failure of either the Democratic or Republican Parties to offer candidates worthy of our support, the idea of a Labor Party attracts many good trade unionists.

However, the American labor movement has been successful over the long run because it has the capacity of tempering idealism with realism.

We suggest it is only realistic to recognize that any support a Labor Party might gain from 20% of the electorate that belongs to unions would be cancelled out by the indifference or antagonism of the 80% who do not.

Even in Canada, where organized labor formally joined in the foundation of a new party some years ago, it was decided that workers could achieve more through an independent party that was pro-labor than through one that was strictly labor.

Even so it has taken the new Democratic Party almost 20 years to make effective inroads on the strength of the two traditional major parties in Canada.

In pointing out these facts, we are not opposed to the main thrust of Resolution No. 37.

But we do not think the IAM should, as it suggests, take primary responsibility for organizing and launching a new party.

We should keep our options open.

We should be ready to support any grass roots political movement that holds promise for a better deal for working people.

But let us not squander our resources tilting at windmills in hopeless causes.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we offer the following substitute for the Resolve in Resolution No. 37.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers join with other progressive and liberal groups in our society to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to principles of social democracy.

With this amendment, Mr. Chairman, we recommend concurrence with Resolution 37.

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: The motion is for concurrence with the substitute Resolved of the resolution. Is there a second?

... The motion was duly seconded ...

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: It has been seconded. Is there discussion? The delegate at mike 6.

DELEGATE GILBERT (Lodge 707): I stand to say that while we propose the original motion, that we wholeheartedly accept the substitute amendment.

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: Thank you, Brother Gilbert. The delegate at mike 9.

BROTHER SMITH (Lodge 1005): Brothers and Sisters to this Convention: As pointed out to us, many of the problems facing organized labor are focused on the

you will all agree that scabs are not noted for their courage or idealism.

Let us not forget that the Democratic-controlled Congress now is in power and they control the interest rates as they escalate. We need to build the picket lines like they did in the thirties; we must demand our constitutional rights; we must return to the solidarity of the thirties; we must have the right to strike in our contracts; we must have the picket lines where we control who crosses these lines, not management. We have to stop the scabs. Show the unions our militancy and determination and people will flock to the IAM as they did to the CIO in the thirties. Show this militancy and the people will flock to the IAM as the Polish workers rallied to the leadership of the shipyard workers.

We are not going to dump the Taft Hartley Law and other laws by supporting the

Let us stand together as the Polish workers did and we will gain victory. We must have a labor party and must stand building it today.

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: You timed that well, Brother. When you said the last word the five-minute light went on. Thank you very much, and let me assure you that any time this organization has an opportunity to grasp any of those objectives we will not be found wanting.

I will recognize the delegate at mike 7.

DELEGATE HARDIN (Lodge 1265): I rise in support of the amendment. I feel that in the Democratic Party there is room to work the changes if we do our work.

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: Thank you, Brother. Is there further discussion? I have another delegate at mike 8.

DELEGATE KELLY (Lodge 79): The working men and women of this country



**'What would happen to the labor laws in this country if all of the Machinists on this continent were to lay down their tools at the same time? All we have to do is put our hands in our pockets and stand firm like the Polish workers did.'**

problems of health and safety; of our OSHA laws under attack; on the attempts to contain the rising costs of living by halting deregulation of oil; containing the cost of health care and limiting interest rates; our problems in organizing and the need to reform our labor laws. We can see the problems of inflation and a tax system that undermines and nullifies our struggles for higher wages. We see the problems of automation and the new computerized technology that threatens to eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs in the very near future.

All of these problems are serious problems and they will not be easily solved. They demand that we find new and creative solutions.

In the past our approach to politics has been to support the Democratic Party. What good has this done us? Are they really our friends.

Let us not forget that every time a piece of antilabor legislation was passed, the Democrats were in control. They were in control when our constitutional right to protest and peaceably picket were taken away from us by the Taft Hartley Law. How can they limit our pickets to three or four at a plant gate. When a scab crosses our picket lines we want them to know we don't like it; we want them to know we are not going to stand for it. It doesn't take too much courage to cross a picket line where there is only one picket there, but a picket line of hundreds or even thousands is a different story and I think

Democrats. The Democrats and Republicans both are parties of big business. We have to form our own party, a party of working people, like those here in this room today. We have to get all of organized labor together to hammer out our own political program. We have to create a platform that all of the working people can support. We have to have politicians that will stick to what they say and stick to a platform and if they don't we will throw them out just as the British workers threw out the party of Prime Minister Heath in England.

Learn from our Polish brothers and sisters; occupy the plants when you see they are going to close down. What would happen to the labor laws in this country if all of the Machinists on this continent were to lay down their tools at the same time? All we have to do is put our hands in our pockets and stand firm like the Polish workers did. Our Polish counterparts now have more legal rights than we do and they live in a communist country. Our coal miners, just a couple of years ago, stood firm. They fought for the right to strike during a contract, fought for a pension for retired workers and fought against every injunction.

When Carter invoked Taft Hartley, they ignored it. While they were striking the railroads, the barges carried in scab coal. The miners built the CIO. Eighty percent of the finances for the CIO came from the miners.

have been consistently given less and less choice of political candidates, as exemplified this year by big business controlling Reagan and the so-called lesser evil, Carter, and the United States is the only major country in the world where the working men and women do not have their own political parties that function on a day to day basis, leading and fighting for their interests in the community and the political arena. The IAM should take the initiative to build an independent labor party. We should empower President Winpisinger and Secretary Glover to call a conference for the purpose of building a working people's party and that this Convention should call upon all of organized labor in the United States to join in building an independent American labor party. If we do not start now, we will not have a labor party. (Applause)

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: Thank you. I will recognize the delegate at mike 10.

DELEGATE MEINELL (Lodge 777): I move the previous question.

PRESIDENT WINPISINGER: The previous question has been called for. Are there a sufficient number? Raise your hands if you are ready to vote. There is a sufficient number.

The motion is for concurrence with the report of the committee on a substitute resolution for Resolution 37. All those in favor please signify by saying aye; those opposed. The ayes have it and such will be the order.



## Polish masses chalk up more advances

By Fred Feldman

When it became apparent that the Polish government was going to have to yield to the demands of hundreds of thousands of Polish workers for the right to form worker-controlled trade unions, strike leader Florian Wisniewski predicted that the movement would "roll across Poland like a thunderstorm."

And so it has.

Far from putting a stop to struggles, the concessions inspired a burgeoning of self-confidence and independent organization by the working class and its allies—farmers, students, professionals, and others.

Their strength was indicated by the release of twenty-eight political prisoners who had been jailed for supporting their cause.

Strikes continue, and the new unions are growing at a fast clip.

Correspondent John Vinocur reported in the September 9 *New York Times* that delegates from more than 150 Warsaw factories have visited an office where a group of intellectuals, with links to the Gdansk shipyard workers, are helping workers organize new unions. The workers have consulted about "how to announce the formation of a union to management, how to establish an organizing committee and how to request that union dues be deducted from salaries."

The scope of the union movement is such that *Trybuna Ludu*, the Communist Party newspaper published in Warsaw, urged Communist Party members to join the new unions, while remaining in the old ones.

In Gdansk, the new worker-controlled union has opened a public headquarters. It is led by the same workers who provided the core of the Interfactory Strike Committee, which negotiated the final settlement with the government.

Lech Walesa, the most prominent leader of the Gdansk shipyard workers, has emerged as a figure of great nationwide popularity. Walesa is a former shipyard worker who was active in the workers' revolts of 1970

and 1976. Fired for his protest activities, he was working as an electrician for the Elektromontaz engineering plant when the shipyard workers went on strike in August.

In the September 1 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, a correspondent described the moral authority Walesa has won among the workers by his leadership role. "The question was put to Walesa why he became the leader of the uprising. He asked the workers to answer it themselves. A chorus arose: 'Because we trust Leszek.' 'Because we'll never let him down, no matter what happens.'"

"Walesa is a real tribune of the people. He is surrounded by the enthusiasm of the people," the reporter added. "The workers follow him unconditionally."

The Catholic church hierarchy, which angered many of Poland's workers by calling for an end to the strike, is trying to repair the damage to its reputation by rushing to hail Walesa after the victory.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski said a private mass for Walesa September 7, embracing and kissing the leader of the workers. (Walesa, like the great majority of Poles, is a Catholic.)

Workers are not the only Poles who are organizing to fight for their rights. The idea of independent unions is everywhere.

"Scientists at a government institute of electronics, for example, voted to form an independent trade union," wrote Jonathan Spivak from Warsaw in the September 5 *Wall Street Journal*. "Painters and sculptors met to demand an end to censorship of their works. University students plan to free their activities from the party apparatus. And professors are demanding the right to name university administrators instead of the government's naming them."

Radio and television reports indicate that farmers—30 percent of Poland's population—have also begun organizing their own unions.

The result is a challenge to the very foundations of Stalinist bureaucratic

rule in Poland, one which no one expects to be resolved without big confrontations in the future.

"There will be a struggle," one intellectual told Spivak. "I can't remember one example when our authorities gave up anything without being forced."

But the regime is in a poor position to stage a crackdown. "Open disdain for the party and the government apparatus is met everywhere."

That disdain was deepened by the case of Maciej Szczepanski, who was removed August 24 as head of the State Radio-TV committee. He was one of Poland's top censors. The aftermath of his fall has lifted the curtain on some of what the Polish censors have been trying to hide.

Szczepanski was reported to have ten lavish residences at his disposal. They included a foresters' hut with a million dollars worth of furnishings, a sheep farm, and a five-room villa complete with a glass-bottomed swimming pool and four prostitutes.

Szczepanski is also said to have raked off a million dollars from a deal between British and Polish television, depositing the money in a London bank.

A September 4 dispatch in the *New York Times* reported, "An editor at a major [Polish] newspaper expressed concern in an interview yesterday that the Szczepanski affair could create unrest among high party officials who have accumulated their own riches and privileges."

Such gross inequalities and corruption have been major targets of the workers.

The advances of the Polish working people put an end to the political career of Edward Gierek. He was replaced September 6 as party chief by Stanislaw Kania. Kania's accession was hailed by both Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, who hoped that he might be able to slam a lid on the developing revolutionary upsurge.

Those hopes are being dashed. In an effort to prevent new and bigger explosions, Kania has been compelled to

tour the country repeatedly, swearing allegiance to the agreements made with the workers and promising further democratic gains.

The Kremlin bureaucrats have been placed in a bind by the Polish workers' victory—the biggest victory by working people over a Stalinist government since Stalin rose to power in the Soviet Union after Lenin's death in 1924. Neither they nor their Polish junior partners can tolerate the massive, independent organization of the Polish masses.

But an invasion by Soviet troops—the method used to crush struggles for workers democracy in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968—would be extremely costly to Moscow. The Kremlin rulers would be isolated as never before in the eyes of the toiling masses around the world.

And Poland—largest of the East European workers states with more than 35 million people—would put up a bitter fight that Moscow could not be sure of winning.

The challenge the Polish masses are raising to Stalinist rule is a blow to Washington and Wall Street as well. The gains of Polish workers—including promises of union rights, the right to strike, escalator clauses, a freeze on food prices, more child care centers, a shorter work week, and extended maternity leave—run directly against the sacrifices that the capitalists in the United States and Western Europe are trying to impose on working people.

Some in the U.S. ruling class are weighing stepped up economic pressure against Poland, in order to wear down the morale of the workers and prod Moscow and Warsaw to stronger repressive action.

The *New York Times* advocated in a September 9 editorial that capitalist governments and banks "not rush to underwrite the Polish settlement."

"Poland is not now a promising investment," the *Times* explained. "The prospects for restraining consumption are nil."

## Pulley joins N.Y. Caribbean Day festival

By Osborne Hart

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley brought his campaign and supporters to the annual Caribbean Day festival here September 1.

As a traditional Labor Day celebration, tens of thousands of people from the West Indian community jam a two-mile stretch of Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway for a day of food, drink, and music.

The overwhelming majority of the participants are nationals from the various Caribbean islands, including Grenada, Antigua, Martinique, Barbados, Trinidad-Tobago, Aruba, Haiti, Jamaica, and the Virgin Islands.

Defending the revolutionary movements in the Caribbean is a central aspect of the Socialist Workers campaign.

Pulley recently returned from a fact-finding tour of Grenada and has been speaking about the social and economic gains being made by the workers and farmers there since they overthrew the U.S.-backed regime of Eric Gairy.

Standing in front of the huge "Aid and Defend the Revolutions in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua" banner, Pulley talked with people attracted to the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance campaign table.

"Hi, I'm running for president of the U.S.," Pulley remarked to one young man.

"A Black man running for president!

Right on. We need somebody new," the youth responded.

"Where's the man on that button?" asked a woman, pointing to a Pulley button on the table. Taking a piece of campaign literature, she said, "There's no way I'm going to vote for Carter or Reagan."

Pulley, along with several local SWP candidates from several cities, passed out campaign material and sold socialist literature. They also engaged in lively discussions about the Grenadian revolution and how important it is for Blacks and other working people in the U.S. to extend their solidarity.

An item that generated discussion was the feature interview with Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of Grenada and leader of the New Jewel Movement, in the September 5 issue of the *Militant*.

More than 400 copies and twenty-seven subscriptions of the *Militant* were sold during the day. In addition, 100 buttons against U.S. intervention in the Caribbean, and \$170 worth of Pathfinder literature was purchased.

A young Grenadian student came up to the table and said he was "glad to see people in the U.S. who support the Grenadian revolution." He said he plans to return to the island after he completes his studies, but "if there's an intervention by [Gairy's] mercenaries" he would go back immediately to help defend the revolution.

Support for the Grenadian revolution was quite apparent here. Several peo-



Young Socialist Alliance table attracted many participants in Caribbean Day Festival.

ple wore T-shirts or buttons expressing their solidarity with Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government.

"Long Live the PRG of Free Grenada," written in red, black, and green, colors, was the slogan on a shirt donned by one Grenadian.

"I support what the New Jewel Movement is doing," a Grenadian woman told Pulley. But she expressed concern about "what the Cubans are doing" in her country.

Pulley explained how vital the doctors and technicians from Cuba have

been for Grenada. "Unlike the U.S. government, which has been hostile to Grenada since the revolution and has only offered \$5,000 with strings attached, the Cuban government is giving unconditional aid," he said.

During the course of Caribbean Day and at a "Meet the Candidates" open house sponsored by the Brooklyn Socialist Workers campaign committee, thirty-five people signed up to join the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.



# Fidel on July 26: Revolution is gaining

By David Frankel

"New things are in the air," Cuban President Fidel Castro declared in his July 26 speech on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison. The "new things," Castro explained, are the extension of the socialist revolution into other Latin American countries and the prospects for further victories over imperialism.

Castro's speech took the form of a report to the Cuban people on his trip to Nicaragua the week before for the celebration of the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, and of an explanation of some of the conclusions the Cuban leadership has drawn from the recent struggles in Latin America.

Taking up the extension of the socialist revolution, Castro pointed out, "In this hemisphere, there are now not two but three of us because Grenada has to be included, too."

"Naturally, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are not the only progressive countries. There are other progressive governments; friendly with Cuba . . . But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all, and it is a historical imperative that one day we'll all be free."

Speaking of the situation in Nicaragua, Castro said, "Nicaragua does not have a socialist system. What it has is a mixed economy. There's even a multiparty system. There's the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, and why not? there are also several right-wing parties."

While capitalist parties and capitalist economic relations continue to exist in Nicaragua, Castro stressed that the organization of the Nicaraguan masses after only one year of the revolution exceeds what existed in Cuba the first year after its revolution.

"There's no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua," Castro declared. "In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the population. That people's revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the right thing can be done at the right moment."

## No repeat of Chile

Answering those who question the character of the Nicaraguan revolution or who argue that the pace of change there is not rapid enough, Castro said:

"What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power, because the people have the weapons. Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country's real and objective conditions."

Along with the attempt of the Sandinista leadership to get the capitalists to contribute to Nicaragua's reconstruction, Castro also took up the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the revolution there. He said:

"Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important."

An ultraleft attitude toward the church, Castro warned, would be a disastrous mistake. "If the revolution in Latin America were to take on an antireligious character it would split the people."

Castro gave as an example the case of El Salvador, "where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united." He noted that the reactionaries there go to church every Sunday, but "do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They'd murder the Pope if they could."

Castro continued:

"But not only in El Salvador; there's Guatemala, where there's also constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous priests who are on the side of the revolution."

While in Nicaragua, Castro said, he met with about 100 leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to discuss the experiences of the Cuban revolution. Castro stressed that his meeting had been requested by the FSLN, as had his visit to Nicaragua. He told the huge crowd at the July 26 celebration:

"Our Revolution wants to be an example; it does not want to be hegemonic. Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary Latin America and Caribbean. What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples."

## Confidence in Sandinistas

Continuing with his report to the Cuban people, Castro said:

"I'm explaining all these things so that nobody will be confused and in order to express our confidence in the Sandinista Revolution, to express our opinion that what they are doing they are doing exceptionally well, in a very correct fashion. They have power in their hands, and they can plan their future. No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons."

A big part of Castro's speech dealt with the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, and the murderous, U.S.-backed repression in those countries. "The imperialists and the reactionaries are alarmed over what may happen in Guatemala and El Salvador and all the other places. We are not alarmed," Castro expressed his conviction that "bourgeois society already belongs to the past."

But in the meantime, Castro declared, "Genocide is not only being committed in El Salvador, but in Guatemala as well. Corpses of workers, students, professionals, even priests,



appear daily. . . . And I ask myself if the peoples can go on accepting this state of affairs.

"The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one path: revolution! That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle!"

Capitalist democracy, Castro insisted, offers the toiling masses no solution. When the masses "vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, or even a democratic one, there's a coup d'etat. Like in Chile, in Bolivia. And the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula."

Cuba's support for the extension of the socialist revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean has resulted in new imperialist threats against it. Castro asked: "Should we lose our sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years?"

Nevertheless, Castro said, "We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world."

He condemned Washington's "warmongering policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible."

## U.S. presidential election

Taking up the Republican Party platform, Castro declared:

"That platform must be denounced and world opinion has to be aware of this. It is essential that world opinion react to such a political program. Names are not important to us; we don't care who becomes the next president of the United States; we do not intend to get mixed up in that. But we

are interested in a situation that derives from the existence of a U.S. party program that threatens the world with war."

Castro explained that "we do not believe that there's anything or anybody in the world capable of turning the clock back historically. But we would be naive, very naive, we would be unrealistic, not to be aware of the dangers."

Cuba's economic tasks were placed within this broader international context by Castro. He pointed out that Cuba's economic achievements have allowed it to send "more than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans" to "do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries."

He noted that "we are not only able to care for our own health and maintain the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries."

"And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, and they will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist teachers, and more internationalist technicians. . . ."

"As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us a great deal. The Soviet worker who grows wheat in the Ukraine or extracts oil in Siberia and ships it to the ports and from the ports to Cuba has helped us tremendously. So have the technicians from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the arms we've received to defend ourselves so that we can today feel secure and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States."

Castro called on the Cuban people to "continue to prepare ourselves and continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

# Fidel Castro's

The following speech was made by Cuban President Fidel Castro before a crowd of more than 100,000 in Ciego de Avila on July 26, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks. One section of the speech, in which he discusses Cuba's agricultural productivity, has for reasons of space been summarized at that point in the text.

This translation has been taken from the August 3 issue of Cuba's English-language weekly, 'Granma.'

Distinguished Guests:

People of Ciego de Avila;

Compatriots: (APPLAUSE)

New things are in the air. Last year, we celebrated our 26th of July one week after the great Sandinista victory, and a large number of Nicaraguan guerrilla commanders attended the festivities. As a result, our 26th of July celebration of 1979 turned into a Sandinista celebration. (APPLAUSE)

And again this year, a close relationship was established between the Nicaraguan people and the Cuban people, (APPLAUSE) because, as fate would have it, and as a result of the struggle of the peoples, both dates are in the same month. But something else. Since there is a seven-day difference between the two dates, not only do we always have in July a 19th and a 26th, it also happens that if the 19th is a Saturday, so is the 26th (APPLAUSE) and if the 19th is a Monday, so is the 26th, (APPLAUSE) and we have just come back from Nicaragua.

It is inevitable that we say something about Nicaragua. It is of interest to us, all of us. Not only we Cubans, but all Latin Americans.

I'm sure you all realize what it means, the impression, the happiness, the enthusiasm, the optimism, the emotion involved in arriving at the second Latin American country to free itself of imperialism. (APPLAUSE) In this hemisphere, there are now not two but three of us because Grenada has to be included, too. (APPLAUSE)

Naturally, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are not the only progressive countries. There are other progressive governments, friendly with Cuba. We could mention, for example, the Government of Mexico, (APPLAUSE) and we will soon have the great honor of welcoming the president of the sister Republic of Mexico. (APPLAUSE) There are governments like that of our dear friend Manley, in Jamaica; (APPLAUSE) There are governments like that of Panama. (APPLAUSE) But three of us have shaken the yoke of

imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all (APPLAUSE) and it is a historical imperative that one day we'll all be free. (APPLAUSE) We'll either be free or we will cease to exist (APPLAUSE) because one day the battle cries of "Patria libre o morir" and "Patria o muerte" will be the battle cries of all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. (APPLAUSE)

What we saw in Nicaragua was really stimulating and encouraging. We visited practically the entire country in only a few days, on a series of tours lasting as much as sixteen and a half hours non-stop. We were in Estelí, León, Matagalpa, Masaya, Granada, Rivas and the Southern Front. First of all, Managua and also Bluefields, on the Atlantic coast. You're probably wondering why it's called Bluefields. This is because the English were there at a time when the English and the Yankees were vying for the territory and wanted to have control over the area where they could build a canal. So the English built a sort of empire there among the Indian communities and for a time controlled practically the entire Nicaraguan Atlantic coast.

Nicaragua's land area is larger than Cuba's. The most developed area is the central and the western part, the Pacific side, that is. The Atlantic side, while more than half the country, is practically undeveloped.

## Nicaragua's resources

Nicaragua is a country that, we might say, has more natural resources than Cuba. It has great water resources, which means vast possibilities to produce all the electric power it needs. They also have geothermal energy, which can be obtained from the volcanoes. They have large forests and large tracts of very fertile land. They have large lakes capable of producing food for the population. They have a large source of marine products all along their coast, a large shelf rich in every species of seafood and fish fit for human consumption. Therefore, the population, which is quite small—approximately one fourth of that of Cuba—has sufficient natural resources for great development in the future.

Needless to say, Somoza ran Nicaragua like a sort of private hacienda. Somoza owned the largest estates, most industry and production, so simply by confiscating the property of Somoza and his followers, the Sandinistas got control of a large percentage of the country's industry and agriculture.

Nicaragua does not have a socialist system. What it has is a mixed econ-

omy. There's even a multiparty system. There's the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, and why not? there are also several right-wing parties. Therefore, we can't imagine Nicaragua's situation as exactly like that of Cuba.

In Nicaragua there's a new revolutionary project, in the sense that what they have in mind at this stage is national reconstruction with the cooperation of everybody. As they announced on July 19, they also aim to put into effect an agrarian reform covering lands standing idle, but they're also trying to stimulate private industrialists who have remained in the country and middle level farmers—who were capitalist farmers—to contribute the utmost to national reconstruction. This in itself is a new experience in Latin America.

## Wise course

From our point of view and in the light of the international situation and the Nicaraguan reality, this project they have worked out is the best, the wisest at this moment.

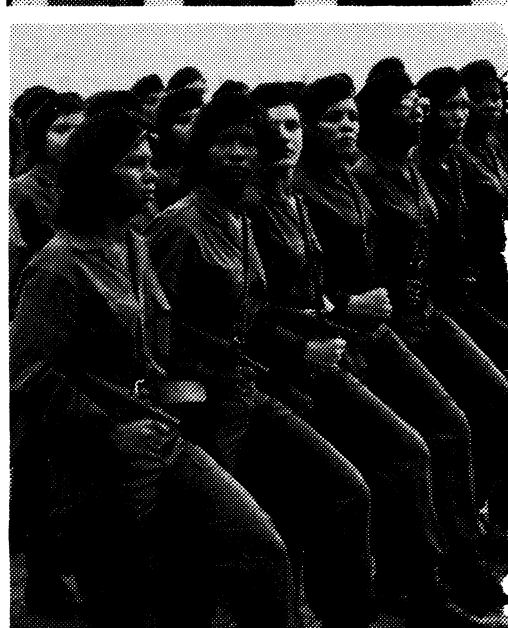
We met with the people in many parts, in many places. We could see they are a very radical people, a very revolutionary people, a people who, in spite of the illiteracy there, are extremely courteous and educated. They're a very hospitable, very warm, very enthusiastic, very disciplined, very intelligent, very aware and very revolutionary people. (APPLAUSE) It is impressive to see what the people of Nicaragua are like one year after their victory.

Of course, everywhere you go you see the signs of the struggle that was waged there, particularly the last battles for the liberation of the cities. All that destruction, the damage caused by the artillery shells, but the bombs, the marks left by the bullets must be seen to have a clear idea of the intensity of the struggle there.

The sight of Managua in ruins is also most impressive. The downtown section was completely destroyed by the earthquake. Therefore, Managua was rebuilt and goes on developing around the section that was destroyed by the earthquake.

However, in Nicaragua there were two earthquakes: the one that destroyed Managua and Somozaism, that destroyed the country. And whereas the quake that devastated Managua had its toll of 10,000 dead, the earthquake of Somozaism had 50,000 dead. It is difficult to find a family in Nicaragua that hasn't lost a son, a brother or some other close relative.

What the Sandinistas have been able



Militant/Fred Murphy

## 'What happened in Chile can never happen in



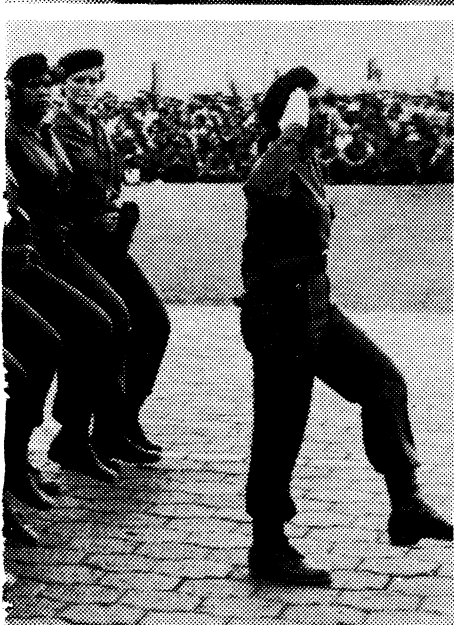
Starting from top, Fidel and Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock embrace during Nicaragua's celebration of anniversary of revolution; contingent of women militia members march during celebration; picture of ex-dictator Somoza with terse inscription, "dog." Left, a scene from the military coup in Chile, which Fidel emphasized could not be repeated in Nicaragua. Right, children at Cuban Pioneer camp in Cienfuegos province. Tens of thousands of young Cubans attend such camps, free, each year.



# July 26 speech



Militant/Fred Murphy



Militant/Fred Murphy



to do in the reconstruction of the country in the first year of revolution is really impressive. They even have things that we didn't have in our first year. For example, they have the masses already organized; the trade unions, the Sandinista Defense Committees, the women, the young people, the Sandinista Children's Associations, somewhat like our Pioneers, and they have the Sandinista National Liberation Front, well organized throughout the country and which is like the revolutionary Party and the vanguard of Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE) They have a collective leadership composed of a group of guerrilla fighters, with a long record, with great prestige and a lot of experience who, in spite of the long years of struggle, are still a very young group, but with the advantage of being both experienced and mature.

They have a Government of National Reconstruction composed of experienced, capable men. There's a close relationship between the Sandinista Front and the Government of National Reconstruction; there's great unity among the Sandinistas, in the Sandinista ranks and in the Sandinista leadership. Therefore, all the conditions exist for the revolutionary process to continue successfully.

The Sandinista struggle earned great sympathy and great international solidarity, not only in Latin America but throughout the world. The broad form of government they have set up is without a doubt very favorable for continuing to have the broadest international support.

Last year we challenged the Western world to show who would help the Nicaraguan people the most, a sort of emulation in assistance. We stated our willingness to cooperate to the best of our possibilities, and we asked all other countries—capitalist, oil producing and socialist countries alike—to give the Nicaraguan Revolution their utmost support, because it really needed it.

## Bourgeois revolution?

Now, then, is there a revolution in Nicaragua or not? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") There is a real revolution in Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE). And does the existence of the bourgeoisie, of private property in Nicaragua mean that there's a bourgeois revolution there? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") No! There's no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua. In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the

population. That people's revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the right thing be done at the right moment.

The fundamental thing in a revolution, the fundamental thing to be able to speak of a revolution, a people's revolution, is to have the people and the weapons.

What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power, (APPLAUSE) because the people have the weapons. (APPLAUSE) Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country's real and objective conditions.

My meetings were not limited to the people. I also met with almost 400 trade union leaders, explaining our experiences in every field. I also met with a large number of priests and progressive religious leaders who are on the side of the revolution and give it their full support. (APPLAUSE)

Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important.

## Need for alliance

In Chile once, and also in Jamaica, we spoke of the strategic alliance between Christians and Marxist-Leninists. (APPLAUSE) If the revolution in Latin America were to take on an antireligious character, it would split the people. In our country, the Church was, generally speaking, the Church of the bourgeoisie, of the wealthy, of the landowners. This is not the case in many countries in Latin America, where religion and the Church have deep roots among the people. The reactionary classes have tried to use religion against progress, against revolution, and, in effect, they achieved their objective for quite a long time. However, times change, and imperialism, the oligarchy and reaction are finding it more and more difficult to use the Church against revolution.

Many religious leaders have stopped talking exclusively about rewards in the other world and happiness in the other world and are talking about the needs of this world and happiness in this world. (APPLAUSE) For they see the hunger of the people, the poverty, the unhealthy conditions, the ignorance, suffering and pain.

If we bear in mind that Christianity was, in the beginning, the religion of the poor, that in the days of the Roman Empire it was the religion of the slaves, because it was based on pro-

found human precepts, there is no doubt that the revolutionary movement, the socialist movement, the communist movement, the Marxist-Leninist movement, would benefit a great deal from honest leaders of the Catholic Church and other religions returning to the Christian spirit of the days of the Roman slaves. (APPLAUSE) What's more, Christianity would also benefit, along with socialism and communism. (APPLAUSE)

And some religious leaders in Nicaragua asked us why strategic alliance, why only strategic alliance; why not speak of unity between Marxist-Leninists and Christians. (APPLAUSE)

## Explosive formula

I don't know what the imperialists think about this. But I'm absolutely convinced the formula is highly explosive. (APPLAUSE). It exists not only in Nicaragua but also in El Salvador, where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united.

Look how reaction and fascism are constantly murdering priests, how the archbishop of El Salvador was brutally assassinated. This is because reactionaries and fascists—many of whom go to church every Sunday—when they see their interests affected, endangered, do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They'd murder the Pope if they could. (APPLAUSE)

But not only in El Salvador; there's Guatemala, where there's also constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous priests who are on the side of the revolution.

I'm telling you this so you'll have an idea of how situations change, how different they are in each country, and therefore we cannot be thinking of a strictly Cuban formula, because that formula is specifically for us. Of course, many of the other formulas have many of the ingredients that ours has, (APPLAUSE) but they'll never be completely alike.

We also met with the leaders of the Sandinista Front, about 100 of them. They requested this meeting, and we explained our experiences to them. And I want to tell you that in those meetings I was very critical of our Revolution, because I believe that honesty is worth more than anything else in the world and we cannot be arrogant, or vain, or consider ourselves as savants. I do believe we are wise; but we are wise because we know how to recognize our own shortcomings, (APPLAUSE)

*Continued on next page*

## Nicaragua'





Continued from preceding page

PLAUSE) because we know how to learn from our mistakes, (APPLAUSE) and we are wise because we are self-critical, (APPLAUSE) because we are modest (APPLAUSE). And we sincerely believe that extraordinary experiences can be drawn from our Revolution.

If you were to ask us what we'd do if we were to start all over again, I would tell you that we'd do exactly the same thing and we would arrive at this point where we are today, exactly the same way. (APPLAUSE) Except that there's no doubt that we'd do it much better! (APPLAUSE)

### Came to learn

When I spoke in Revolution Square in Managua, I wasn't there to give advice. I said I wasn't there to teach but learn; that I wasn't going to influence anybody, that I was there to be influenced. Any student of history who is really interested in politico-revolutionary processes will learn a great deal from every new revolution. (APPLAUSE)

There were some people who were worried about Fidel visiting Nicaragua and were wondering if the visit might not be harmful to the Nicaraguans. The Nicaraguans knew full well that I never mentioned visiting Nicaragua and that I never invited myself to go there. They knew full well that I was ready to visit Nicaragua the day and the time that suited them, (APPLAUSE) be it the first year, the second, the third, or the next ten or 20 years, or never. Because we have no use for any vanity, (APPLAUSE) for any kind of chauvinism, (APPLAUSE) or for any kind of hegemonism. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution wants to be an example; it does not want to be hegemonic. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary Latin America and Caribbean. (APPLAUSE) What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples. And this is why, when we went to Nicaragua it wasn't because the Sandinistas invited us but because they demanded that we visit Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE)

I'm saying this as a warning to those who think we are conceited and that we are trying to make a big show of ourselves. Our friendship with the Sandinistas wasn't born yesterday, or a year back, but 20 years ago. (APPLAUSE) And we have very close relations, but based on mutual respect and confidence.

### Like seeing devil

The imperialists and the reactionaries are alarmed over what may happen in Guatemala and El Salvador and all the other places. We are not alarmed. The imperialists are alarmed when there are Marxist-Leninists; they are horrified. To them, the sight of a Marxist is like seeing a ghost, like seeing the Devil himself; they lose sleep over it. But we are not alarmed when we see the bourgeoisie, (APPLAUSE) we laugh. When the reactionaries see a socialist, a Communist, a Marxist-Leninist, they think that's the end of the bourgeoisie; but when we see a member of the bourgeoisie we never think that socialism and communism are coming to an end. (APPLAUSE) This is because bourgeois society already belongs to the past, as do slave society and feudal society. The time will come when people will ask, "What was that madness called capitalism?" "What was it good for?" Capitalism will then be a past stage, here and elsewhere.

I'm explaining all these things so that nobody will be confused and in order to express our confidence in the Sandinista Revolution, to express our opinion that what they are doing they are doing exceptionally well, in a very correct fashion. (APPLAUSE) They have power in their hands, and they can plan their future. No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be

any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons. (APPLAUSE) What happened in Chile can't happen there, what happened in Bolivia can't happen there.

This shows what the reactionaries, the capitalists and the imperialists are capable of doing. They talk of parliament, constitutions and democracy. What kind of lousy democracy is it (APPLAUSE) when the people don't count, when an election is held, the people vote and elect a progressive government, and then there's a fascist coup d'etat and the repression starts? The same thing happened in El Salvador. As soon as the revolutionary movement grew in strength, there was a coup d'etat. In El Salvador the fascist military, allied with Christian Democracy—which has nothing left of democracy and is certainly not Chris-



Reagan has been outspoken among capitalist politicians in favoring two-fisted approach to Central America. But workers like these in Guatemala City Arrow Shirt factory are proving to be no pushover.

tian—have established a genocidal regime. An average of 50 people a day are murdered in El Salvador.

### Silent on El Salvador

I would like to ask those governments that raised such a hue and cry over the scum why they don't say a single word about the dozens of crimes that are being committed against the people every day in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) They got very concerned over some odd lumpen here, (SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL" AND APPLAUSE) over common criminals, loafers and parasites who were never once harmed, hadn't a single hair on their head touched. Well, to tell the truth, they had to be protected so their hair wouldn't be mussed, (LAUGHTER) and we had to call on our people several times to refrain from liquidating the lumpen; but what counts is that they weren't harmed. They all

wanted to go to the Yankee paradise, to the paradise of prostitution, narcotics, gambling, etc. In a nutshell, scum! Those governments became very concerned over that lot and started all kinds of campaigns, and now here we are in the presence of a monstrous genocide . . . monstrous! The fascists' plans are to assassinate 200,000 Salvadorans in an attempt to crush the revolution; and they are murdering men, women and children, innocent people, in order to sow terror.

Why aren't there democratic voices speaking up to defend this heroic people's most elementary right to live? And what are they speaking of? Aha, possible interventions!

I don't want to mention governments, although I know full well which they are. I don't want to mention them because sometimes it's better not to stir things up, given the special situation that exists on the continent at the moment; given the fact that a coup has just taken place in Bolivia, a coup which has been widely condemned. But some of those who condemn the coup in Bolivia, where they have unleashed fierce repression against the workers, peasants and students, in turn support the genocidal government of the fascist Christian Democratic junta in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) And the United States sends instructors, sends arms and offers economic aid to the fascist Christian Democratic junta. And they speak about intervention; let's see what happens if they intervene in El Salvador. The people of El Salvador should not be underestimated. The imperialists should not underestimate the people of El Salvador, nor should they underestimate feelings throughout Latin America with respect to El Salvador. (APPLAUSE)

We saw the unanimous, total solidarity the Nicaraguan people have for El Salvador. I am convinced that if the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America. (APPLAUSE)

Moreover, the Yankee imperialists supported Somoza, because they were the ones that put him there. I didn't want to talk about these things when I spoke at the main rally there, because there was a U.S. delegation present, and I was a visitor and didn't think I had the right to speak on such a subject, but here I think I have some right to bring it up. (APPLAUSE) The imperialists put Somoza there; they intervened directly in Nicaragua for many years; they created the Somoza National Guard, which brought Somoza to power, the first Somoza dynasty, because there have been at least three monarchs there. They are the ones responsible for the death of Sandino; they are the ones responsible for 50 years of tyranny that took the lives of over 100,000 Nicaraguans; and they supported that tyranny to the very end. They also created the idea of an inter-American peace-keeping force, with the objective of intervening to snatch victory from the Sandinistas. They failed, because even the OAS [Organization of American States], the famous OAS, rebelled when they tried to put this plan into effect; otherwise, they would have tried to do what they did in Santo Domingo.

Well, the Sandinistas triumphed and the U.S. declared itself ready to cooperate, to be friendly. We were pleased about that, because a policy of cooperation seems much more sensible than a policy of hostility; a policy of cooperation and not a policy of aggression.

### Didn't like medicine

Of course, the imperialists have already learned something from the Cuban Revolution, and from their plans of aggression, their blockade and their hostility against Cuba. They apparently didn't want to take two doses of the same medicine.

Well, we are glad they don't put a blockade on Nicaragua, that there is no economic or any other kind of aggression against Nicaragua, that there are no subversive plans against

Nicaragua; this is what we demand of imperialism. And it's the imperialists' basic moral obligation to cooperate economically, since they exploited the Nicaraguan people and were responsible for the 50 years of tyranny they suffered. We are by no means opposed, but happy to see the imperialists cooperate economically with Nicaragua. But they have spent a year debating a 75-million-dollar credit. Finally, after much discussion, which was at times humiliating for the receiving country, the credit was approved. Of course, the major part of it goes to private enterprise and is not at the free disposal of the Government of National Reconstruction. That is, the imperialists, after the triumph of the Sandinistas, want to build, support and stimulate capitalism in Nicaragua. Their intentions are clear, but we are happy, very happy, that they have granted credit and are cooperating economically with Nicaragua.

We have very eloquent proof of the ties between Somozaism and imperialism: the mercenary invasion at Playa Girón [Bay of Pigs]. Because the mercenaries trained in Guatemala were sent to Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua, and from Puerto Cabezas—as if it were CIA property—they were sent to Cuba. The B-26 bombers that attacked our air bases, that attacked our people, left from Puerto Cabezas. All the ships and the entire mercenary expedition left from Puerto Cabezas. These were the kind of ties between Somoza and imperialism.

Genocide is not only being committed in El Salvador, but in Guatemala as well. Corpses of workers, students, professionals, even priests, appear daily. It is a repressive, genocidal regime. Here with us is our friend Toriello, who was foreign minister during the time of Arbenz. (APPLAUSE) He witnessed the Yankee intervention, an expedition like that of Girón, which overthrew the democratic Government of Guatemala more than 20 years ago to establish a mercenary government, a mercenary government that has cost Guatemala 60,000 lives in the past 20 years. And I ask myself if the peoples can go on accepting this state of affairs.

The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one path: revolution! (APPLAUSE) That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle! (APPLAUSE) That is the thesis Cuba defended when it said to the people: they're deceiving you.

### Only road

The oligarchy, reaction and imperialism use all these so-called constitutional mechanisms, the so-called representative democracy, to deceive the peoples. Even when the overwhelming majority of people through the democratic, or so-called democratic mechanisms, vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, or even a democratic one, there's a coup d'etat. Like in Chile, in Bolivia. And the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula.

Now then, the imperialists are threatening us with intervention. Should we lose our sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years? The peoples will not give up fighting. The example of Nicaragua is eloquent proof of what a people can do, for they liquidated the Somoza army almost unarmed. The peoples already know that there are possibilities for fighting not only in the mountains, not only in the rural areas, but also in the cities. (APPLAUSE) They know how to dig tunnels, tear down walls, connect some houses with others on the same block, and turn rebellious cities into fortresses. And when one sees the image of how it happened in Nicaragua, one realizes that no army could have countered that action. The peoples already know that the myth, the old myth

dating back to the times of Mussolini, to the effect that the revolution can be made with or without the army but never against the army, is a lie.

For we already have here in our own hemisphere three revolutions against three armies! (APPLAUSE)

### Dangerous moments

We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world. Analysts, statesmen, men given to calm thinking, understand and realize how somber the world's prospects are in the next few years: the energy problems facing the world, particularly the underdeveloped world; the food problems; the problems of uncontrolled population growth; the educational problems; the health problems; the

situation of the United States, its warring policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible.

### Dangerous platform

Now then, the Republican Party Convention was recently held in the United States, and its candidate has drawn up and approved a political platform of an extremely dangerous and extremely reactionary nature. At times one gets the impression that we are living through days similar to

ing the Panama Canal accords, annexing Puerto Rico. Mention has even been made of a naval blockade against Cuba, there is the most reactionary talk of aggressive policies in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East, of a rearmament policy, of a policy to achieve military superiority over the socialist camp.

I know that there are some in the United States who would prefer us Cubans not to attack that platform. They say that owing to certain U.S. public opinion trends to the right, any criticism leveled at that program may help its authors, since we are looked upon as enemies and it might be considered a merit if Cuba should attack that program. Very well, I can understand that point of view. But what's in the cards here is not a U.S. presiden-

We have lived through 21 years of such risks, we have had to endure everything: economic blockade, subversion, sabotage, counterrevolutionary bands, plans to murder us all. The fact that we are still alive evidences how inefficient imperialism is, for everybody knows about the plans they made; and in all fairness it also evidences how efficient our State Security organs are. (APPLAUSE) Mercenary invasions, pirate attacks, plans for direct aggression. Wasn't all that what led to nuclear missiles being stationed in Cuba? Why did we agree with that? Simply to counter U.S. plans of direct aggression against Cuba.

Many of us lived through that experience, a great many people who are here—perhaps not the boys and girls who won first place among the junior high schools—but there were times here when we had nuclear missiles, and when there were many nuclear weapons also pointed against us. And everybody will recall that during those critical October days no one here was intimidated, or frightened, or lost any sleep. A time even came when we were willing to disappear from the map rather than yield one iota to the imperialists' demands. (APPLAUSE)

Subsequently I explained to the 1st Congress of the Party our current appreciation of the solution given to the crisis that ensued, and I said, in all frankness and all honesty, that in the light of history, in the light of the nearly 20 years that have elapsed since then, the solution seems to us to have been a correct one.

### Threats won't work

But if I bring this up today, when there are new threats looming on the horizon, I do so to make it quite clear to the Republican clique, to Mr. Reagan, or Regan, or however you pronounce it—and to his advisers, that threats against Cuba will be of no avail, (SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL," AND "FIDEL, GIVE THEM HELL; LET'S MAKE 'EM RESPECT US WELL") to warn the imperialists that we are not going to lose any sleep over it. Our people is a tempered, veteran people and is sufficiently brave as not to be intimidated by anyone.

We don't know what's going to happen. It also often happens that one thing is the electoral platform and something else is what presumed lunatics do when they're in power. Maybe all that is just demagogic waffle, but in our opinion it is dangerous because we think that they are saying what they feel, that they are saying what they think.

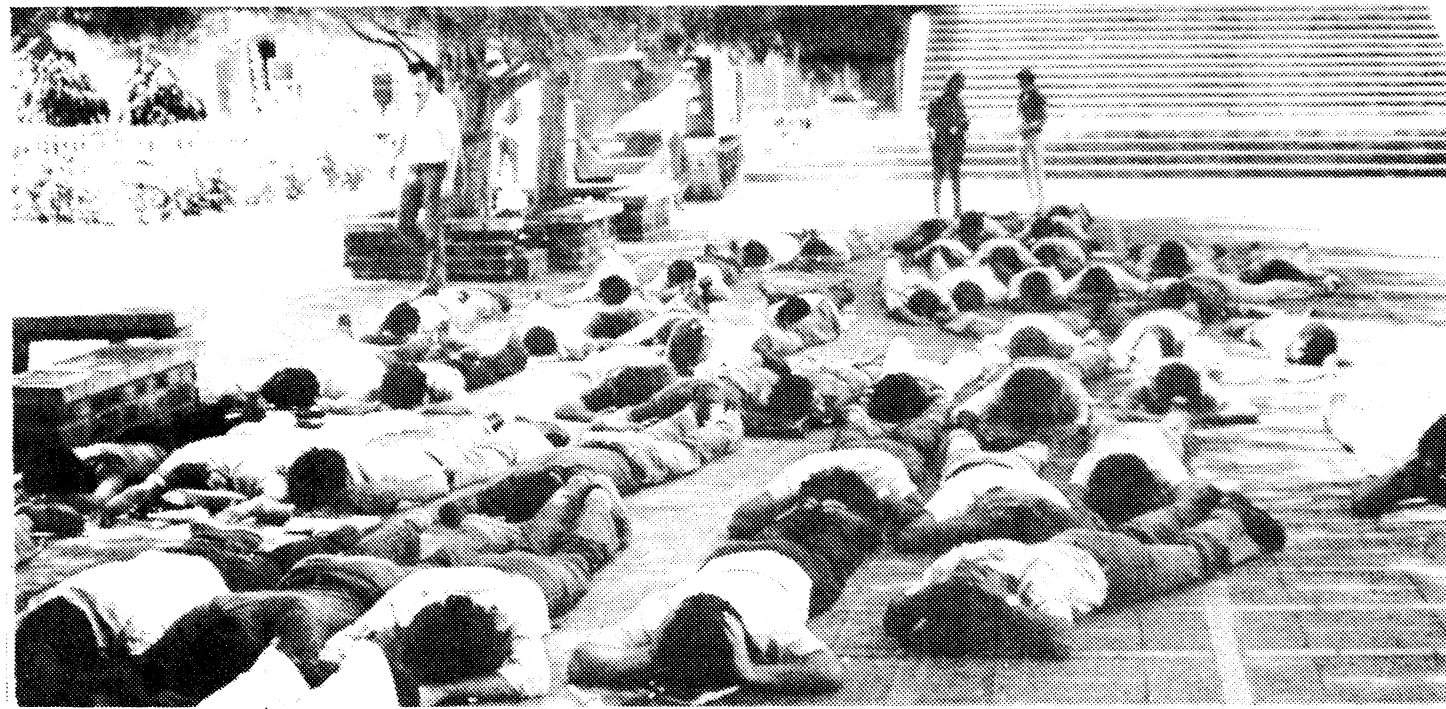
We should analyze these problems and our people must be warned. I think it is one more reason for us to improve our work, develop our strength, develop our defenses, and, above all, develop our awareness.

If a platform of this nature is carried into practice, there will be war between the United States and the Latin American peoples, because it is impossible to take this continent back to the times of the big stick. And our people—a highly educated and politically aware people—must be kept posted of these realities, must be conscious of these realities.

### Can't turn back clock

We are not pessimists, we have never been pessimists: on the contrary, we have been and still are optimists. That's why we attach so much importance to international public opinion and the people's opinion, because there's no possible way, there are no ways to bring the world, or to attempt to bring the world under the yoke of fascism, the yoke of colonialism, the yoke of neocolonialism, the yoke of oppression, without first wiping out humanity. In other words, we do not believe that there's anything or anybody in the world capable of turning the clock back historically. But we would be naive, very naive, we would be unrealistic, not to be aware of the dangers.

*Continued on next page*



**If the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America . . .**



**Government forces (top) stage bloody raid at University of El Salvador. Meanwhile, militant workers occupy factory. The massive repression has failed to stem the struggles of the workers, peasants, and students.**

ecological problems, that is, not only the destruction of the landscape, but also the gradual poisoning of the water and the atmosphere. Even if you can prevent war from breaking out, the effort that must be made to tackle these problems is truly impressive, and they could not be solved at all without international collaboration—we need not only a climate of peace but one of collaboration.

Now the world finds itself anew on the brink of cold war, of the arms race, at a time when the underdeveloped countries of the world are shouldering a debt of 300,000 million dollars and it is estimated that it will be 700,000 million by 1985. This means that the world is on the verge of an unprecedented economic and financial catastrophe. And faced with this situation that undoubtedly calls for a supreme effort for peace, coexistence and collaboration among all nations of the world, we find ourselves with the present

those that preceded Hitler's election as chancellor of Germany.

I do not mean to say that both situations are exactly the same. Back then a lunatic like Hitler could start a war with the hope of winning it and without the risk of humanity being wiped out. I think that lunatics nowadays have a different straitjacket, which are the changes that have taken place in the world, the current world balance of forces; and we still hope that these lunatics will use some common sense.

But at this moment there's a real possibility of the party that approved such a platform winning the U.S. elections. And of course its views on Latin America couldn't be more gloomy. It is in favor of cutting all aid to Nicaragua and getting rid of revolution there as much as one would get rid of a cyst, blocking all progressive change in Central America, practically helping fascist governments, repudiating

tial election; what's in the cards may be the fate of humanity, the fate of the world, maybe peace and war. (APPLAUSE)

### International issue

That platform must be denounced and world opinion has to be aware of this. It is essential that world opinion react to such a political program. Names are not important to us; we don't care who becomes the president of the United States; we do not intend to get mixed up in that. But we are interested in a situation that derives from the existence of a U.S. party program that threatens the world with war. (APPLAUSE) What is involved here is not just a national but an international question. What is involved here is not just concern for our country but concern for humanity.

As a revolutionary country, we are aware of the risks we have run ever since we decided to make a revolution.



Continued from preceding page

I think there are a lot of people in the world—not only socialists, not only Marxist-Leninists, but also democrats, liberals, bourgeois, bourgeois intellectuals, religious sectors, statesmen, even from the capitalist world, even from the industrialized capitalist world, who are aware, must be aware, of these dangers. We know that there are many people warning of this, and these sensible, fundamentally sensible opinions must surely prevail.

That's why our duty is to struggle for peace while at the same time being ready for anything. (APPLAUSE) That should be our stand: to struggle for peace, work for peace, defend peace and, at the same time, be ready for anything. (APPLAUSE)

It was decided that this year's 26th of July celebrations be held in the new province of Ciego de Avila.\* (APPLAUSE) This was our Party's recognition for the province's enthusiastic, efficient, brilliant work. (APPLAUSE) I know how happy this decision made you, I know how hard you worked since the decision was announced 54 days ago, all you have created in just a few weeks: this square, these avenues, the bypass, the works you have completed—even a movie theater scheduled for December was completed in nearly 45 days; (APPLAUSE) how you have repaired the city, painted everything, all you have done so that Ciego de Avila could host the 26th of July celebrations, be host to all the delegations that have arrived here. (APPLAUSE) For we are now commemorating the 26th of July precisely in our country's smallest provincial capital. (APPLAUSE)

This rally, its organization, its size, is all very impressive. We also know how long you have been mobilizing for this, how long it took you to get here, the hours you have waited in this square. We know about the huge effort which has been made in agriculture, in

\*The province of Ciego de Avila, originally part of Camagüey Province, was established in 1976 during a geographic and administrative reorganization.

the planting and weeding of cane. (APPLAUSE)

[Here Fidel saluted the accomplishments of the people of Ciego de Avila in agriculture. A major sugar producing area, it earlier had required the allocation of thousands of workers from other provinces for planting and harvesting crops.

[But productivity has increased so much that now the people of the province are able to handle the crop virtually alone.

[Fidel also cited figures to show how agricultural productivity has risen since the revolution. In 1952, he said, a canecutter annually cut an average of 1.74 tons. In 1979, the average was 3.68 tons.

[Nationally, he said, the prodigious efforts of the workers are overcoming the ruinous consequences of blights that hit the sugar and tobacco crops. The added efforts, coupled with the expansion and improvement of sugar refining facilities, will do much to cut the losses.]

When we talk about the efforts of our workers in recent months, it is important on a day like this to remember and praise the tens of thousands of our countrymen who are working as workers, technicians, teachers, doctors, and fighters in diverse parts of the world. (APPLAUSE)

Right now there are Cuban doctors and technical personnel in more than 30 countries. This, we do not feel ashamed of still having a little bit of scum left, which we are certainly sweeping up and sending to the perfect garbage dump, (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) when more than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans elevate the name of our homeland and do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries. (APPLAUSE) These and other examples demonstrate what our homeland is, what our Revolution has forged!

When Nicaragua asked us for teachers, teachers with years of experience, 29,500 volunteered; (APPLAUSE) during the internationalist missions to Angola and Ethiopia,

hundreds of thousands of members of our Armed Forces and reserves volunteered. (APPLAUSE) When we send a group of construction workers, no matter where, to what part of the world, there are always more than enough Cubans ready to go on the mission. (APPLAUSE)

### Volunteers in Nicaragua

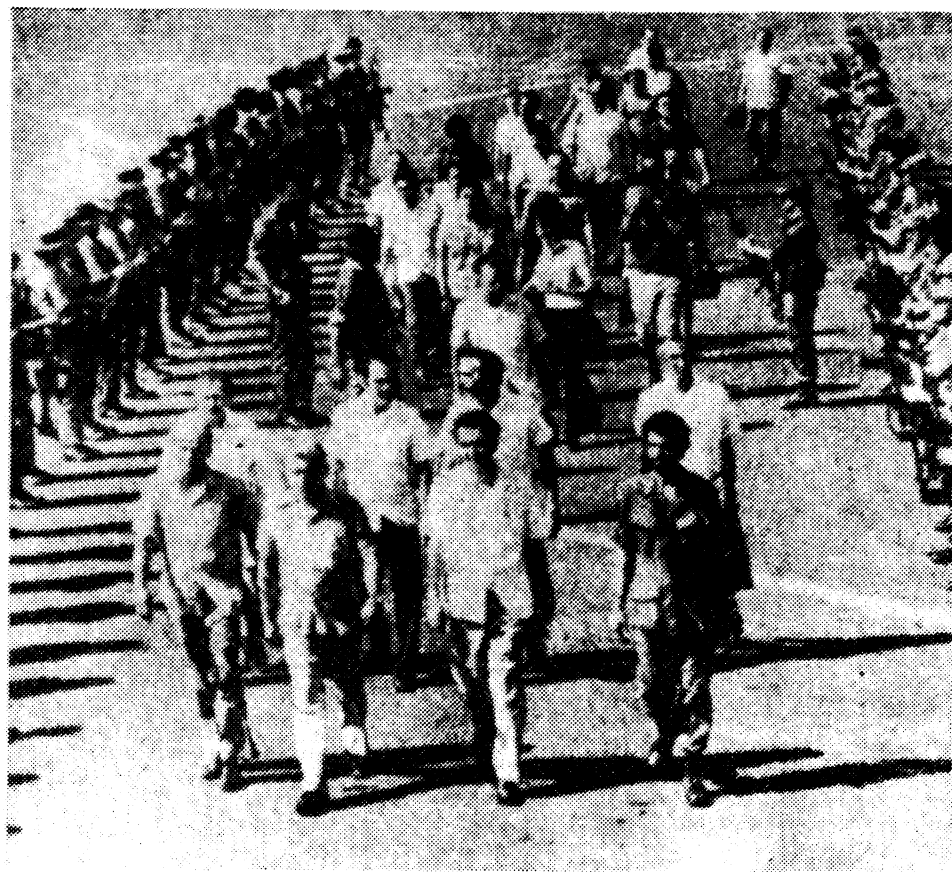
I had the opportunity in Nicaragua to see the work being done by Cuban doctors, nurses, and health workers. In less than a year, they have done thousands and thousands of surgical operations and have seen more than a million patients. More than a million! (APPLAUSE) That gives an idea of what a handful of our compatriots, a handful of revolutionary technicians can accomplish. I could also evaluate the work of the teachers, through all the information that I collected, how they have taught tens on tens of thousands of Nicaraguan children and adults to read and write. (APPLAUSE) Of course, I forgot to mention that the literacy campaign is a great success, and in one year—in one year!—they will almost eradicate illiteracy, which

children not going to school?" "Well, we estimate about 25 percent," they answered. I say, "We are ready to send them even more teachers." (APPLAUSE)

And doctors? Do you remember when 3,000 out of 6,000 doctors left the country? Well, now we have more than 15,000 doctors, and good doctors! (APPLAUSE) More than 4,000 students entering the universities each year to study medicine, and we are building medical schools in all the provinces. Besides having the highest level of health of all the underdeveloped countries in the world, or the countries known as the Third World; and we also have the highest level of education.

Now we are reaping the benefits of our efforts in these last few years. It is a satisfaction to think that we have one doctor for every 750 residents, and we do not just take care of our own medical needs. There are countries in the world that have a doctor for every 300,000 people, for example, Ethiopia has 125 doctors for 34 million inhabitants; but we have sent doctors to Ethiopia, about 150 doctors. (APPLAUSE) More than 1,500 Cuban

## To be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity . . .



Granma  
Cuban health workers arrive in Nicaragua where absence of medical care was almost universal. Cubans regard this as an internationalist responsibility.



Strong bonds developed between Cuban and Angolan soldiers as they together drove back racist South African invaders of Angola.

was running at about 60 percent. (APPLAUSE)

Over there, in very remote areas, I found many young Nicaraguan literacy brigade members working with a spirit that reminded us of the members of our literacy brigades in 1961. (APPLAUSE) Our teachers have gone to some of the most remote parts of the jungle and the mountains. That contingent returns to Nicaragua in September; but this time, instead of 1,200 Cuban teachers in Nicaragua, there will be 2,000. (APPLAUSE) And that will not leave us short of teachers.

When I entered this area this afternoon, I saw the dazzling building of the primary teachers' school in Ciego de Avila. We now have schools for primary school teachers in every province, with more than 30,000 students. We have students in different stages to become teachers, and we have a large number studying for degrees in primary education. Altogether there are 152,000 education workers studying at the various levels. We will not lack teachers, we will not lack teachers! (APPLAUSE) Do you remember when 70 percent of our primary school teachers were not accredited? Now 100 percent of our teachers are accredited. (APPLAUSE)

### More teachers

And we asked the comrades in the Sandinista leadership, "Are there still

doctors and dentists are working in other countries. Thus, we are not only able to care for our own health and maintain the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries.

### More will be needed

And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, (APPLAUSE) and they will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist teachers, and more internationalist technicians. (APPLAUSE)

I believe I reflect the sentiments of our people when I say that that should be our consciousness and that should be our conduct, (APPLAUSE) without any chauvinism, without any national selfishness.

It is right that we work and continue to work for our welfare, it is right that we work and continue to work for better standards of living, to solve many of the problems that we still have; but we can share some of the fruits of our efforts and our Revolution.

As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, (APPLAUSE) because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us a great deal. (APPLAUSE) The Soviet worker who





Citizens of Ciego de Avila rally July 26 to hear Fidel's assessment of revolutionary situation in Caribbean.

Militant/Fred Murphy

grows wheat in the Ukraine or extracts oil in Siberia and ships it to the ports and from the ports to Cuba has helped us tremendously. (APPLAUSE) So have the technicians from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the arms we've received to defend ourselves so that we can today feel secure and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

Thanks to internationalism, our country is secure, our energy needs and many raw materials are guaranteed, and we are assured of steady, fair trade. (APPLAUSE)

We don't have great material resources, but we do have great human resources—our doctors are our human resources, our teachers are our human resources, (APPLAUSE) our technicians, our construction workers are our human resources. This we have, and of extraordinary quality! (APPLAUSE)

#### What revolution can do

Universities with more than 150,000 students, tens of thousands of workers studying in higher education, tens of thousands of workers already completing ninth grade, almost all our workers having completed the minimum of sixth grade—these are truly impressive advances. And I think we will go even farther, since the workers organizations have already proposed making ninth grade the minimum for all workers. (APPLAUSE) And the two Latin American peoples to eradicate illiteracy are Cuba, first, and now Nicaragua (APPLAUSE)—this is what the revolution means, what the revolution is capable of doing.

So we must continue to prepare ourselves and continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples.

Speaking of this date, of the men who died on this day, of the martyrs of the Revolution, of those who shed their blood on a day like today which is a symbol of other dates, a symbol of those who died after, in the clandestine struggle, a symbol of those who died in the landing of the *Granma* or in the eastern or Escambray mountains or fighting the saboteurs and counterrevolutionaries on any front, or completing internationalist missions—I think that all these men and women would be happy with this country as it is today, with this dignity, with this people. Nothing could have made them prouder than the idea that the people who 27 years ago lived under the

darkest, most infamous oppression are what they are today; (APPLAUSE) that this Revolution is what it is today. (APPLAUSE) That is why I said at the beginning that we were wiser, because we have learned a great deal in these 27 years. We have learned from experience, we have learned from mistakes, we have always been open and honest, ready to correct ourselves whenever necessary. Whoever says he was born wise is a liar, whoever says he knows everything is an egoist who knows nothing. There is no better teacher than the Revolution itself, (APPLAUSE) and we correct our mistakes as soon as we recognize them.

#### Stronger than ever

I sincerely believe that our revolutionary process today is strong, very strong, stronger than ever! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKES HELL!")

What have we gained today in comparison with that 26th of July, 27 years ago? First of all, a great Party, (APPLAUSE) with hundreds of thousands of communist members coming from the heart of our people. (APPLAUSE) We have powerful mass organizations to which the immense majority of our population belongs (APPLAUSE)—the unions, the CDRs [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution], the Federation of Cuban Women, the peasant associations, the student and Pioneer associations. (APPLAUSE) Forging new Party members, we have the powerful organization of our Young Communist League. (APPLAUSE) We have the socialist state and People's Power. (APPLAUSE) We have our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces (APPLAUSE) and our members of the Ministry of the Interior. (APPLAUSE) We have tens of thousands of veterans and experienced cadres everywhere—in the Party, the mass organizations and the state. (APPLAUSE)

We should not be afraid to face the future, no matter what the prospects. We continue to hope for a world of peace, a world of cooperation between the peoples, regardless of political systems. We are prepared to take on the task of development, to work for long-term plans, (APPLAUSE) to think of the year '85, the year '90 and the year 2000. We are already working on the next five-year plan, and on the plans for the year 2000. We hope to considerably improve our economic efficiency, with the help of the economic management and planning system; (AP-

PLAUSE) that is, we are applying the experience accumulated by socialist revolutions, applying science to economic planning and management.

We will not achieve victory and success only by applying a system, applying an experience, applying science to planning and management. Behind all this there must be the people. (APPLAUSE) We will unite science, experience and consciousness. (APPLAUSE) We will not abandon


voluntary work. (APPLAUSE) because, although we are in the phase of the construction of socialism and it is necessary to apply the principle of distribution according to work, we are and aspire to be Communists. (APPLAUSE) Other generations will live in communism, but from now on we must begin to forge not only socialist men and women, but communist men and women. (APPLAUSE)

#### Millions of communists

When I ask myself what is a Communist I think of a doctor in Bluefields, a woman who is both wife and mother, capable of leaving her family to save lives thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) I think of a teacher in a remote area of the world; I think of a Cuban fighter ready to die in another country to defend a just cause thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) And I say to myself, these are communist men and women. I think of one of these Heroes of Labor; (APPLAUSE) I think of one of these canecutters who, for months at a time, work ten, 12, even 14 hours a day to complete our harvests; (APPLAUSE) I think of the hundreds of thousands of devoted compatriots—manual and intellectual workers—who dedicate their lives to their work and duty, and thanks to whom there is a homeland and a revolution. (APPLAUSE) Not only does our Party have hundreds of thousands of members, but in the heart of our people there are millions of Communists. (APPLAUSE)

I think we have ample reason to be optimistic, we have ample reason to proudly celebrate this 26th of July (APPLAUSE), as an affirmation that the blood shed 27 years ago and the blood shed throughout these 27 years has not been in vain! (APPLAUSE)

Patria o muerte!  
Venceremos! (SHOUTS OF "VENCEREMOS!")  
(OVATION)



# VISIT CUBA!

## Nov. 15-29

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

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

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

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

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

# 'Castro Connection' doesn't quite connect

NBC took a half-page ad in the *New York Times* to plug its September 3 "white paper," "The Castro Connection." It shows Fidel in the center of a line of tumbling dominoes. The headline declares: "This man is playing with dominoes. The most dangerous game in Central America."

That conveys the tone of the film.

Only, surprisingly, it doesn't quite make it. Despite NBC's best intentions, it doesn't really persuade you that the sinister figure, Castro, is responsible for the turmoil in Central America. In fact, Fidel comes out looking pretty good.

Narrated by Marvin Kalb, the film sets out to do a job on Cuba and Nicaragua. Yet, what's actually seen by the viewer in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala tends to refute a lot of what's being said.

One reason is that the producers tried for a "sophisticated" approach—tell a bit of truth to make the lies more plausible. But here even a bit of the truth is more powerful than all the lies they come up with.

Which is only a reflection of their basic problem. The case for revolution in Central America is so evidently righteous that their arguments don't carry much weight.

For instance, how much anti-Cuba hysteria can you whip up by pointing to the fact that Cuba has sent 200 doctors to practice in remote regions of Nicaragua where medical care was virtually unknown?

Or, equally subversive, that Cuba sent 1,200



'Castro Connection' asserts Sandinistas 'run' Nicaraguan people. These Nicaraguans celebrating literacy drive seem happily oblivious of this. Militant/Fred Murphy

filmmakers visit a San Salvador barrio. No paving, no drainage. Shanties. No utilities. Emaciated children everywhere.

Plus a murderous dictatorship.

The guerrillas are recruiting in El Salvador, Marvin Kalb confirms, because of the "repression and brutality and, indeed, outright murder committed by the government security troops."

This is illustrated with a truly horrifying scene. It alone is sufficient to indict Washington for the crime of arming and financing the tyranny there.

During a bloody June 25 raid on the University of El Salvador, government forces invaded a nearby high school.

A camera follows. There is a group of students with their hands up. One is forced to lie face down on the floor. A barrage of bullets is fired into his back. With the camera still focused on him, the student screams in agony until he bleeds to death.

Hard to pin that on Castro.

The "white paper" advises that the outlook for Washington is equally dim in Guatemala.

There, it seems, the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer.

The Indians are joining up with the guerrillas, and "there is little doubt that guerrilla warfare is now raging" in the country.

And, to make matters worse, "Castro is taking full advantage of the situation."

A question must occur to the viewer: Why is only Fidel "taking advantage" of the situation in Central America? Why doesn't Washington compete?

There's the rub.

The "white paper" presents a purported "conflict" of U.S. political opinions on how to deal with the

situation.

One alleged pole is presented by Reagan. Asked if he favors sending in troops to crush revolutions in Central America, he allows that he'd "never say never."

The Carter administration—seemingly—present a different approach. The U.S. ambassador to El Salvador explains, quite correctly, that the struggle in the area is "uncontainable. Irrepressible." To avoid going down with the right, or, perish the thought, winding up with the left, he then asserts Washington has to look for "viable alternatives."

The hitch being that there are none.

There is, of course, one obvious alternative for Washington. Get out of these countries and let the people determine their own destinies.

But with all the wind about "conflicting views" in Washington, that's one view that's never heard there. Never.

That's why the "debate" on Central America is a fraud.

Reagan may speak more candidly about military intervention. But Carter's recently created Caribbean military command post at Key West speaks louder.

"The era of the Banana Republic is over," says Marvin Kalb. "The era of the radical Marxist republic is now dawning, with the U.S. standing on the sidelines, uncertain."

Yes, it is hard to hold back the dawn. But Washington will keep trying. That's the nature of the beast.

Happily, as this film somewhat inadvertently testifies, it's not doing too well.

—Harry Ring

## Television

teachers to help Nicaragua carry through its literacy drive? And another 600 to help alleviate the shortage in the elementary schools?

The camera shifts to Havana. There are problems, it's reported. Affected by the shortages, a lot of people took the boatlift to Miami.

But Jon Alpert, who filmed the Havana sequence, is that rarity, an honest reporter who gets to tell a bit of what he found.

He interviews Mario, a Havana cab driver. Tourism has fallen off recently and Mario isn't working every day. So he doesn't make the seventy pesos a week that he did when commissions were at a peak. But the government guarantees him fifty pesos weekly whether he works every day or not.

The camera goes into Mario's comfortable-looking apartment. It pans in on the evening meal, which doesn't look a bit skimpy.

And, the family explains, since 1969, the rent's been abolished on their apartment. It's theirs, free.

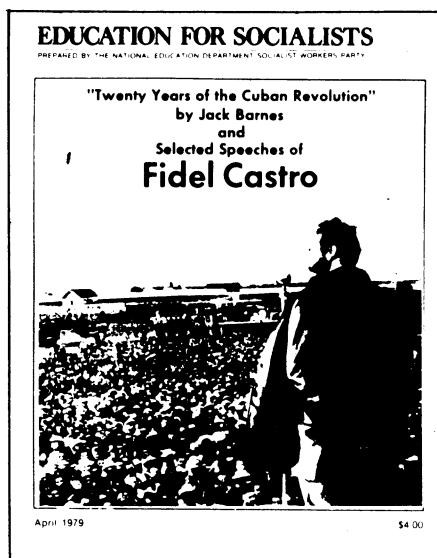
"Most Cubans still support the revolution," Alpert states. "They're proud of what they've accomplished. And, with all their problems, they lead pretty normal lives."

When the camera takes us to Guatemala and El Salvador, Cuba—with its difficulties—begins to look like the promised land.

The contrast is particularly powerful when the

books and pamphlets

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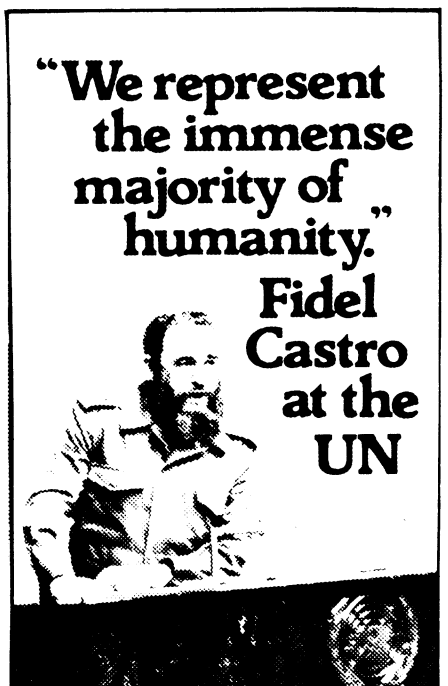
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# Copper strike stops Kennecott takebacks

By Rob Roper

PHOENIX, Sept. 9—Union leaders representing 9,000 striking copper workers reached agreement on wage and benefit issues with the country's largest copper company, Kennecott, at the end of August. Today, the last of the local unions representing Kennecott workers, International Association of Machinists Lodge 568 at the giant complex outside Salt Lake City, voted to accept the local issues agreement. This ends the strike against Kennecott.

But 30,000 other copper workers remain on strike against nine other companies.

The strike, which is centered in the Southwest, began July 1 and involves twenty-six international unions. Bargaining was conducted under the leadership of the largest union, the United Steelworkers of America, through the National Non-Ferrous Industry Coordinating Committee.

The settlement with Kennecott is a defeat for the company's takeback effort. The union members will retain their cost-of-living (COLA) quarterly raise, which Kennecott wanted to with-

hold.

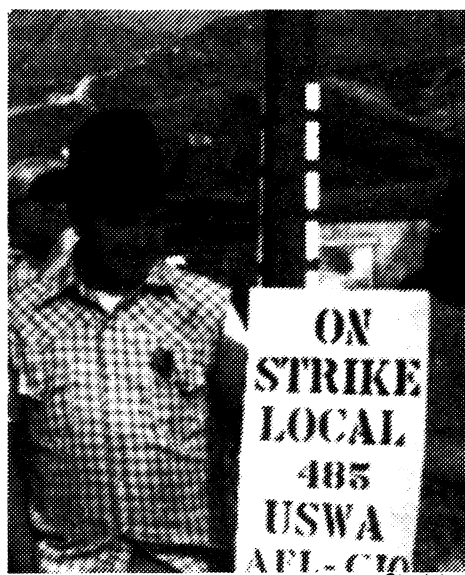
This success of the copper strike contrasts with the same takeback that Steelworkers union officials agreed to in the basic steel contract negotiated last spring under a no-strike pledge.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Steelworkers copper strike spokesperson Cass Alvin called the Kennecott agreement "a victory, considering the present climate of recession and unemployment, which prevented the unions from applying their full power."

Alvin attributed the victory to "the solidarity among the copper unions, and the members' willingness to sacrifice by holding out eight weeks."

Alvin said that the unions' negotiating committee will not settle for anything less than the Kennecott settlement with the other companies. "In fact," he pointed out, "we hope that the militancy of the workers will allow us to hold out and get more from the others than we got from Kennecott." In the past, other contracts were inferior to the ones at Kennecott.

Alvin predicted that "the greed of the other companies will force them to



Striking miner on picket line at entrance of Bingham Open Pit mine in Salt Lake City, Utah.

settle soon," since they do not want Kennecott taking their business. "But these bastards aren't going to give a penny more than they have to."

During the strike, the companies brought in non-union contractors to do maintenance and construction work at the mines. They managed to drive up the price of copper, making extra profits on their stockpiles.

At the same time the companies have made life as difficult as possible for the workers. They stopped paying insurance premiums, jeopardizing the health of the strikers and their families. Democratic and Republican politicians and government agencies have all made clear their support for the companies by denying strikers food stamps and other public assistance.

In at least one company town, Morenci, Arizona, Phelps-Dodge cut off credit to strikers at the large company-owned grocery and department store.

Copper workers have traditionally had to go on strike every three years to maintain any contract gains at all. The power of these unions is shown by the fact that none of the companies has dared try to open a struck mine with scab labor, even though the mines are almost all located in anti-union "right to work" states.

## U.S. gov't responsible for Haitian drownings

By Vivian Sahner

At least three Haitians drowned on September 7 when a small sailboat carrying them and more than 100 other refugees capsized 120 miles south of Florida. Others had died during the two-week trip.

On September 9 a sunken twenty-five-foot Haitian sailboat and the bodies of six more Haitians were discovered.

These are the latest in a growing number of deaths that can be directly attributed to the racist and imperialist policies of the U.S. government.

The Haitian people are kept in poverty by a tyrannical regime that jails, tortures and murders those who dissent.

The unbridled corruption and wanton brutality of Haiti's "president for life," Jean-Claude Duvalier is

staunchly defended by the government. In 1978, for example, this regime received 40 percent of Washington's military aid in the Caribbean.

Confronted by this repression, thousands have risked their lives by fleeing in flimsy, overcrowded boats to seek asylum in the United States.

Once in the U.S. these refugees are often slapped into jails or, like the survivors of the September 7 tragedy, sent to unsanitary, overcrowded detention centers.

Those who avoid the authorities are not much better off. Discrimination against them because they are Black and French speaking compound their difficulties in finding jobs and housing.

The threat of deportation to Haiti and almost certain death at the hands of the Duvalier regime hangs over their heads.



A body of a Haitian refugee who drowned is removed from Coast Guard ship.

## Philadelphia mayor attacks teachers strike

By Haskell Berman

PHILADELPHIA—As of September 9 Philadelphia Federation of Teachers Local 3 was still out on strike against this city's board of education. It appears that negotiators are far from reaching a settlement.

The strike began on September 1, when the previous contract expired. Seven thousand PFT members met at the Civic Center on August 27 and unanimously passed a no contract-no work resolution.

On Labor Day a quickly assembled

picket of 300 demonstrated at the board of education's administrative building. The next day 1,000 strikers blocked the building's four entrances and barred administrative personnel from entering to organize reopening of the schools.

In response, the city obtained a court injunction against mass picketing and postponed the date of school opening from September 5 to September 8.

On the first day of classes only 30,000 of the 220,000 students and 200 of the 20,000 teachers went into the

schools while large pickets of strikers marched outside. The city then backed down and indefinitely cancelled all school sessions.

On September 4 negotiators for the teachers and board were summoned to city hall by Democratic Mayor William Green. Green torpedoed the talks by insisting that the proposed contract provide the board with unilateral rights to fire school employees for budgetary reasons at any time during the two-year contract.

The mayor's giveback demand would

not only be an attack on the union but would jeopardize the education of the children.

Teachers are also fighting for the rehiring of some 2,000 school workers who were laid off in June, retention of teacher preparation time, and a class size limit of thirty-three.

In contracts with other city unions, Mayor Green has imposed a pay-cut salary formula of no wage increase in the first year, 10 percent the second year, and a one percent medical fringe benefit. This formula would represent a big wage loss for the teachers.

## Cop kills Black woman in Mississippi

By Osborne Hart

Carrying placards declaring "We want justice now," more than 100 Blacks demonstrated in the streets of Jackson, Mississippi, September 6 protesting the murder of a Black woman by a white cop.

Dorothy Brown, four months pregnant, was shot to death by officer Gary King on August 29.

King shot Brown four times. The police claim Brown threatened King and his partner with a .22-caliber pistol.

King has been put on leave—with pay—pending the results of an investigation.

The Jackson branch of the NAACP conducted its own investigation and concluded that the cops were not provoked by Brown.

Commenting on the demands of the Black community, Fred Banks, local NAACP president, told the *New York Times*, "We want some straightforward answers from City Hall."

Banks said that Blacks were marching for "simple justice."

## Black student protest called

By Osborne Hart

The survival of Black colleges and universities—both private and public—has become a rallying issue among Black students.

With cutbacks in federal and state funds, and attempts to close down Black colleges under the guise of "integrating" them into predominantly white state university systems, the existence of the 107 Black campuses is in jeopardy.

On September 29, in Washington, D.C., a Black College Day '80 march and rally will be held. Called by the Project '80 Coalition for Black Colleges, the demonstra-

tion will focus on the plight of Black schools.

The march will assemble at 9:00 a.m. at the Elipse, where a short rally will begin at 9:30 a.m. At noon, the march will proceed from the Elipse down E Street to Pennsylvania Avenue to the west front of the Capitol. The main rally will begin at 2:00 p.m.

The demonstration will be preceded by a day of workshops on Black schools September 28 at Blackburn University Center, Howard University.

For more information on Black College Day '80, call (212) 575-0876.

# Shipbuilders union sponsors debate on nukes

By Marian Nelson

BATH, Maine—Bath Iron Works is the largest workplace in the state of Maine. Above the clockhouse where most of its 6,000 employees enter for work is a sign: "Through these gates pass the best shipbuilders in the world."

Today many of these workers are involved in the intense statewide debate about whether to close down the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant. On September 23, Maine residents will vote on a referendum to shut down Maine Yankee and prohibit the building of any new nuclear power plants in the state.

The owners of Bath Iron Works have been among the most vocal in opposing the referendum. Several months ago the company magazine, which is sent to all employees, featured a lengthy cover article promoting nuclear power.

But hundreds of BIW workers had already decided that the dangers of nuclear power were too great. Even though they come to work in Bath from all over the state, while they are at work they are only eight miles from Maine Yankee.

Several BIW workers approached the local referendum committee for materials, and one morning passed out 1,800 copies of a basic antinuclear brochure at the shipyard. The brochure outlined the health and safety problems of nuclear power and the accident record of Maine Yankee since 1972, and answered the economic arguments raised by Central Maine Power, the state utility, and BIW.

Unlike everything else that gets

handed out at the gates in the morning, copies of the brochure were hardly to be seen littering the ground around the clockhouse. All day long, and in the weeks afterward, groups of workers were discussing nuclear power. Many were convinced to vote "yes" on the referendum.

"Close Maine Yankee" and other slogans began to appear scrawled on the bulkheads of the ships, and "No nukes" stickers are now worn on hundreds of hard hats throughout the yard.

Local 6 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America represents the 4,400 production workers at BIW. Realizing the importance of the September 23 referendum, the union's Committee on Political Education (COPE) sponsored a public debate in Bath the evening of September 4.

The largest meeting hall in town was packed with 220. Ray Shadis, the initiator of the antinuclear referendum, and Pat Garrett, a former Army engineer, presented information about the dangers and costs of nuclear power. Businessman John Menario and BIW executive Abbot Fletcher argued the case for continued dependence on nuclear power.

Fletcher's remarks were particularly offensive to many union members in the audience. He stated that pro-referendum speakers were just using "scare tactics" to intimidate people into voting against their own economic interest in "cheap power."

Then he proceeded, speaking for BIW management, to threaten pro-



Antinuclear leader Ray Shadis, left, debates Abbot Fletcher, Bath shipyard boss

duction workers with the loss of their jobs, claiming the shipyard's energy costs would increase if Maine Yankee were closed, and the company would be "forced" to lay off workers.

When members of the audience rose to ask questions, those who supported nuclear power turned out to be only a couple of Central Maine Power engineers and a National Guard recruiter. Other speakers were all either opposed to the plant or undecided. A common sentiment was the one expressed by a local small businessman. He felt he was in a bind, choosing between the threat of higher power bills or leaving a legacy of unknown risk to his

grandchildren.

The pronuclear speakers blandly asserted that the Maine Yankee plant operates safely and that the technology exists to dispose safely of its wastes. But they were unable to describe how they plan to handle wastes or why Maine Yankee is desperately trying to get permission from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to expand its "temporary" spent fuel storage area. When all else failed, they repeatedly blamed the government for interfering and overregulating the industry.

Antinuclear speakers countered many of these deliberate lies with hard facts about the hazards of nuclear power.

## ... Maine

Continued from back page

The tourists asked the right questions.

Except for the absence of the cooling towers, Maine Yankee is the same basic design and generation as Three Mile Island, only a few years older. It has been operating since 1972.

Though it boasts one of the best operating records in the country, Maine Yankee filed 27 incident reports in 1979 alone during which public health and safety were endangered.

In February 1973, the Emergency Core Cooling System froze during an ice storm. Later that year, environmental studies revealed excessive releases of Iodine-131 which later contaminated seaweed and shellfish along a nearby river.

Six years after the reactor design was approved on the basis that the area was one of low seismic risk, an earthquake fault was discovered a few hundred yards from the plant.

On April 17, 1979, an earthquake (4.1

on the Richter scale) shook the area though it originated some ten miles away. Buildings in the vicinity of the plant shook violently.

So it's no wonder Maine citizens are organizing to shut the plant down. Or that the September 23 referendum has become a big political issue in the state.

Ray and Patricia Shadis live on a small farm just two miles from the plant. They are among the principal organizers of the Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, which succeeded in getting the issue onto the ballot.

"For a while we sat around waiting for someone to do something and then when no one did, we started writing letters to the editor," Patricia Shadis said. "Then, when nothing still happened, we rented the town hall for a meeting and between 750 and 1000 people showed up in the pouring rain." In August 1979, the couple led a march of thousands on the state house in Augusta to kick off the petition drive.

Big business was quick to respond. A Committee to Save Maine Yankee was set up, dominated by corporations. This Committee has raised more than \$500,000 to finance a highly organized media drive for a "no" vote on the referendum.

Eighty percent of the pro-nuclear ("no" vote) financing comes from out-of-state corporate sources: utilities; New York and Boston investment firms and banks; as well as "local" companies like General Electric of South Portland; Scott Paper; L.L. Bean, Inc. of Freeport; and Main Yankee Atomic Power Co. itself.

The pro-nuclear campaign is designed to scare voters with the threat of loss of jobs, a 33 percent hike in utility bills, and brownouts and rolling blackouts if Maine Yankee is shut down. The Democratic governor, Joseph E. Brennan, opposes shutting down the plant, despite the fact that the state Democratic convention called for a "yes" vote on the referendum.

The recent state AFL-CIO convention voted to allow local unions to decide their own stand on the referen-

dum. The convention itself took a neutral stand.

The referendum has won significant support among shipyard workers at Bath Iron Works, the largest workplace in the state. (See story above). The Bath shipyard workers are setting a good example for labor, unlike some officials from the Plumbers and Steamfitters unions, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, who have come out against the referendum.

The Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee has put out highly effective literature to explain to working people the dangers of nuclear power.

A blue brochure entitled, "A Decision Our Grandchildren Will Have to Live With," is filled with facts. It points out that only one third of the power Maine

Yankee produces is consumed in the state (accounting for only 30 percent of Maine's energy); the rest is used by the New England Power Pool which enjoyed a 45 percent excess of power above peak demand in 1979.

Antinuclear activists in Maine are providing a powerful example of how to build the movement to stop nuclear power. Regardless of how the vote turns out September 23, thousands of Maine workers and farmers have been reached with educational literature on the dangers of nuclear power. Trade unionists and others have gotten involved in the campaign.

Antinuclear activists in other states can learn from the Maine referendum drive. To obtain literature, write to: Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, RD Box 346, Edgecomb, Maine 04556. Telephone: (207) 882-7801.

## Socialist backs effort

Nelson González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Massachusetts, visited Maine in July to express his support for the campaign against nuclear power. He visited the Maine Yankee plant and met with antinuclear activists, including shipyard workers in Bath.

"Every 'yes' vote cast on the antinuclear referendum September 23 will be a warning to the energy corporations that the movement against their reckless profit drive is growing," González said. "I intend to spread the word through my campaign in Massachusetts. We can learn a lot from what antinuclear groups have accomplished in Maine."

## El Salvador speak-out

By Steve Thomas

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 80 people attended an emergency meeting here August 31 to demand an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The meeting was sponsored by the recently-formed Salvadoran Peoples Solidarity Committee.

Frank Guzman, an activist in the Chicano community and a founding member of the committee, chaired the event, held at the Centro Cultural Chicano.

Guzman, a member of the board of the National Chicano Alliance, told the meeting, "We want to get out the facts about Carter's secret war in El Salvador."

Yusef Mgeni, director of the Malcolm X Pan-African Union, was the first speaker. "I want to express the support of the Black community for the struggles of the oppressed in Central America," he said.

Vernon Bellecourt, a national leader of the American Indian Movement, tied the struggle of Indians in the United States to the fight for justice by Indians and other workers and peas-

ants in El Salvador and the rest of Latin America.

Julio Quan, a visiting professor from Guatemala, denounced the U.S. military aid given to Central America's bloody dictatorships while children die of starvation.

Bill Peterson, representing the Salvadoran Peoples Solidarity Committee, warned that the U.S. government may be contemplating sending large numbers of troops to El Salvador.

Opposition to U.S. war threats was also underscored by Jean Kirgiss of Women for Racial and Economic Equality and Don Olson of the Stop the Draft Committee.

A first-hand account of the revolution in Nicaragua was given by Mark Zimmerman, of the local Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, who recently returned from an extensive stay in Nicaragua. Zimmerman linked the struggle in El Salvador to the victory in Nicaragua.

Claudio Vargas of the Chile Resistance Committee declared: "El Salvador will set an example for all Latin America, just like Cuba and Nicaragua."





**Reasonable fellow**—"I don't think you can ask for an employer to give more than he has."—Albert Shanker, who knocks down \$86,682 a year plus, as president of the American Federation of Teachers.

**G'wan, take the day off**—In case you didn't notice, Carter proclaimed the Sunday before Labor Day as Working Mothers Day.

**Whoopee!**—Susan Bennis/Warren Edwards have opened a new, bigger New York shoe store. Prices range from \$175 for "simple heels," to \$1,100

for ostrich boots. Exudes co-owner Bennis: "This is the greatest, richest country in the world. When my customers tell me they're addicted to my shoes, I tell them there are worse addictions. And they say, OK, let's have another pair."

**Election special**—Macy's is offering a Jimmy Carter sponge doll. And it's already been reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.25.

**Dining tip**—When your next unemployment check comes in, try the Palace in New York. Offering French

fare, the five-course special is \$50, a seven-course meal is \$95, and a ten-course version (The gut-stuffer?), \$150. Mineral water is \$5 a glass, and that's cheap compared to the wine. The *New York Times* recommends it.

**Just create one**—What with the Supreme Court decision upholding the right to patent new forms of life, there will be keen competition for experienced staff in the industry, says the president of Bethesda Research Labs.

**Sociology dep't**—The syndicated columnist, "Miss Manners," who usu-

ally arbitrates such issues as which side of the bedsheet should be up, recently opined that democracy is a fine thing, "provided it does not give the help funny ideas. It is difficult to feel the proper patriotic passion for equality while being sassed by one's inferiors."

**A real turkey**—The pork industry complains that the label "turkey ham" is misleading and cites a federal study which found that only 40 percent of those queried realized that products so labeled contain only turkey, no ham.

## Women in Revolt

### Suzanne Haig



## Union women on the move

On August 21 Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, was appointed to the executive council of the AFL-CIO, the Federation's highest leadership body.

She will be the first woman to serve on the council since the AFL and CIO united twenty-five years ago.

Miller's appointment reflects the growing strength of women in the labor movement. It also reflects the increasing significance in the labor movement of CLUW.

CLUW is the only national organization of trade union women and spans more than sixty unions. Its members belong to the major industrial unions, as well as many others. It involves many Black women in its leadership and membership.

Founded in 1974 at a conference of 3,200 women unionists in Chicago, CLUW's roots lie in the massive influx of women into the workforce in recent years, coinciding with the rise of women's liberation struggles. These have combined to produce a new self-awareness among working women.

CLUW's statement of purpose outlines four goals:

organizing the unorganized; affirmative action in the workplace; political action and legislation; and participation of women within their unions.

The growing involvement of trade unions in the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is one important example of the success in getting the power of the union movement behind women's demands and making women's rights a labor cause.

CLUW chapters helped build the May 10 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Chicago, sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

Oakland CLUW helped build the annual San Francisco Day in the Park for Women's Rights this year.

Chapters have gotten involved in the fight against the Hyde Amendment that cuts off Medicaid funds for abortion. At its national convention last September, CLUW reaffirmed its strong stand on reproductive rights.

CLUW seeks to convince working women that belonging to a union is vital for them in their battle for equal pay and opportunities, and an end to discriminatory layoffs and sexual harassment on

the job.

Currently 86 percent, or 38 million women in the workforce, are not in trade unions.

In line with its firm commitment to organizing the unorganized, CLUW has called a national conference to address the issue of organizing women. It will be held November 14-16 in Arlington, Texas.

Women unionists who want to join CLUW and find out more about the chapter nearest them, or about the upcoming conference, can write to National CLUW at 15 Union Square, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 777-5330.

CLUW has available a pamphlet called *Working Women Today* that includes valuable statistics and information on the situation of women in the workforce. Copies can be obtained from the CLUW national office for 25 cents each or 20 cents each for orders of 50 or more.

You can subscribe to *CLUW News*, the organization's quarterly newsletter, by writing to the national office. Subscriptions are free with membership dues, or \$5 a year for nonmembers of CLUW.

If a woman's place is in her union, a trade union woman's place is in CLUW!

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA

#### SAN DIEGO

**CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BARBEQUE.** Speaker, Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Congress. Sun., Sept. 14, 1 p.m. Golden Hill Park, A Street and 25th. Donation: \$2. Ausp: San Diego SWP Campaign. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

**REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY.** Speakers: Kara Obradović, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Fri., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. (across from City College). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

**THE STRIKERS IN POLAND AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.** Speaker: Bruce Landau, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 26, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. (across from City College). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### GEORGIA

#### ATLANTA

**THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA TODAY.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

### MARYLAND

#### BALTIMORE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND DINNER.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Geoff Mirelowitz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Maryland. Sat., Sept. 20, 6 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. rally. St. John's Church, 27th and St. Paul St. Donation: \$4 (includes dinner), \$2 rally only. Ausp: Maryland SWP Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MINNESOTA

#### IRON RANGE

**THE STRIKE IN POLAND.** Fri., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m., Solidarity Bookstore, 1012 Second Ave. S., Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

#### TWIN CITIES

**GRENADA: BLACK REVOLUTION IN THE CARIBBEAN.** Speakers: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party; Yusef Mgeni, co-director Malcolm X Pan-African Institute; member of Grenada Friendship Committee. Sun., Sept. 21, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### KANSAS CITY

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Martin Anderson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Martha Pettit, SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Kansas City SWP Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW YORK

#### SCHENECTADY

**GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS HEADQUARTERS.** Speaker: Pat Mayberry, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., Sept. 20, 6 p.m. 323 State St., 2nd floor, Schenectady. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**VICTORY OF THE POLISH WORKERS.** Speaker: Mike Kozak, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St., 2nd floor, Schenectady.

Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### OHIO

#### CLEVELAND

**POLISH WORKERS STRIKE: THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.** Speaker: Andy Pollack, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Sept. 14, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### PHILADELPHIA

**CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET.** Featuring Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and Linda Mohrbacher, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Sept. 21, 6 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. banquet and rally. AFSCME District Council 33 Banquet Room, 3001 Walnut St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Eastern Pennsylvania SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## Socialist campaign rallies

### SEATTLE

#### HEAR THE SOCIALIST

#### WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATES

Matilde Zimmermann, for vice-president

Jim Levitt, for U.S. Senate

Mary Nell Bockman, for governor

Saturday, September 20

7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally

4th and Olive Way

Mayflower Park Hotel

Donation: \$3.50

Sponsored by Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

#### LOUISVILLE SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY

Speaker:

Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president

Wednesday, September 7

Reception 6 p.m., Rally 7 p.m.

131 W. Main #102

Donation: \$3.00, rally only \$1.50

For more information call

(502) 587-8418

Sponsored by 1980 Kentucky Socialist Workers Campaign.

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## First workers international

On September 28, 1864, the founding conference of the International Working Men's Association was held in London. This movement was later called the First International.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were founding members and leaders of the First International. Marx drafted its founding program. Below are excerpts from Marx's inaugural address presenting a program for "the emancipation of the working class," which, Marx says, "must be the work of the working class itself."

In these excerpts Marx points to the victory in the fight of British workers for the ten-hour day as an inspiring example for all workers.

He also explains that the foreign policy of workers must not be based on nation against nation, but class against class. Workers must fight an international battle to defend their rights against the capitalists and landlords.

The role of the workers movement then, Marx explains, is to reach out in solidarity with workers around the world. He cites the role of the British workers in blocking European intervention on the side of the slaveholders in the U.S. Civil War.

Marx calls for solidarity among all workers against the Russian czar. Feudal Russia, under the rule of the czar, was the main counterrevolutionary force of that time.

\* \* \*

After a thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentous split between the landlords and money-lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill. The immense physical, moral and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides.

But besides its practical import, there was something else to exalt the marvelous successes of this working men's measure. Through their most notorious organs of science . . . the middle class had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour must sound the death knell of British industry which, vampire like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too.

This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class.

Hence the Ten Hours' Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the

political economy of the working class.

The lords of the land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defense and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labor.

To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganization of the working men's party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggle for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?

It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.

The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, Unite!

### 'Majority' rally

More than 250 feminists, trade unionists, and antiwar and community activists rallied in Dallas August 21 to protest the National Affairs Briefing, a two-day conference called by the Religious RoundTable, an organization of right-wing politicians and religious fundamentalists.

Some of the speakers at the conference included Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, Equal Rights Amendment foe Phyllis Schlafly, U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms, and well-known evangelist and leader of the "religious right wing" James Robison.

The Thinking Majority, a broad-based coalition coordinated by the Dallas County National Organization for Women, in a few weeks organized a broad list of endorsers and speakers for their counter-rally.

Speakers at the Thinking Majority rally included Texas NOW state coordinator Phyllis Tucker; Pancho Medrano, a United Auto Workers international representative; Dwight Norris, president of Local 2444 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Paul Hunter of the Religious Society of Friends; and Don Baker, president of the Dallas Gay Political Caucus.

The Thinking Majority, through continued actions, educational activities, and press conferences, plans to continue to let the ruling class know that its ideas are not supported by the majority of Americans.

K.R.

Dallas, Texas

### Plight of elderly

I have read and viewed on TV about the aid for low-income and elderly people in paying high utility bills due to extensive heat.

We will both be eighty-two years old in a few months. My husband recently spent eleven

days in the hospital and is confined to the house, therefore we must keep the house cool.

We live on a fixed income of Social Security. Since his last illness and hospital stay his medicine alone costs about sixty dollars a month. Electricity, gas, water, phone, and garbage runs almost one-third of our checks.

This is not meant for a hard-luck story, but with an income of \$631.40 for the two of us, I only want what is right.

R.H.

Spring, Texas

### Irish solidarity

Boston was the site of a protest August 23 in solidarity with the Irish Freedom Struggle and with the Irish political prisoners in H-Block (where men are resisting their criminal status by going "on the blanket") and at Armagh jail (where women are being similarly mistreated) in Northern Ireland.

Forty people—from Worcester, Amherst, and Boston—marched in front of the Prudential Center, which houses the British consulate. As we picketed and chanted ("Smash H-Block, Smash Armagh, British out of Ireland") two men also participated wrapped in blankets to symbolize the plight of the H-Block prisoners who are being subjected to torture and inhuman conditions in their cells.

The Irish Solidarity Committee in Worcester and Amherst organized the protest.

Their press release said, in part, "Today's picket on the British Consulate is designed to focus public attention on continuing British terrorism in Ireland; and specifically to focus American attention on the inhuman conditions imposed on Irish political prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh Prison and Armagh Jail, Northern Ireland. . . .

Eleven years ago this month the British Army was sent in to Northern Ireland, supposedly

## Shipyard workers on Poland

I work at Avondale shipyard in New Orleans. Other workers and I have been discussing the situation in Poland.

Avondale is the largest non-union shipyard in the U.S. Nine thousand of us have to put up with the arbitrary discipline and restrictions on our freedom, to say nothing of the non-union wages and dangerous working conditions forced on us by the company. Avondale helped lead the fight to establish the anti-union "right to work" law in Louisiana in 1976.

The fight led by shipyard workers in Poland made people compare it to our own situation, especially to the union organizing drive by the United Steelworkers Union.

One union supporter here remarked: "It shows what you can do when you have some unity. When you've got enough organization, you can do anything you want. You know, they locked themselves in. They're sitting

tight in there. Ain't nobody going in or out."

Referring to the U.S. and Avondale, he said, "They call this a democracy, but it's the same system. They just call it something different."

An older Black worker said, "That's the only way they'll bet more money. . . . But it won't happen here." He was doubtful that the union organizing drive at Avondale would be successful.

An older white worker said, "They're better organized than workers here."

An older worker who had been following the Poland strike with interest commented that we don't have either a union or free speech at Avondale.

A young white worker said, "They've got the whole place shut down. . . . It'll happen over here soon. You can't buy a house today, can't buy a car even—it'll happen here."

L.S.

New Orleans, Louisiana

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# Learning About Socialism

## Polish workers and the church

on a peacekeeping mission. Today it is clear what their mission was all about. The only peace they have brought to N. Ireland is the peace of the grave and the peace of the concentration camp.

Since August 1969 over 2,000 people in N. Ireland have been killed and over 5,000 imprisoned for political reasons. British torture has been proven internationally at the European Court of Human Rights. . . . Victory to the Blanketmen! Victory to the women in Armagh! Brits Out!!!"

*Richard Cahalane  
Boston, Massachusetts*

### Support farmworkers

The Texas Farm Workers Union has been engaged in a strike in the Panhandle area, mainly in Hereford, Texas, which is a small town with a population of 16,000. This area is mostly agricultural and cattle raising. Many of you might be aware that this is one of the areas where farmworkers are not paid the minimum wage. Rich agribusinesses such as La Mantia (Texas Global Enterprises), Griffin, and Brand have operations here and are the most frequent violators of federal law, yet when farmworkers strike for decent wages and working conditions they call it un-American.

These agri-businesses have hired a "patriotic all-American sheriff." According to him and those who pull his strings, Sheriff McPherson, an FBI academy trainee, is nothing else than a vicious anti-farmworker sheriff whose main concern is insuring that the labor force in this area is kept under control, intimidated, and repressed if they speak out against the injustice done to the workers.

Friends, we are faced with the situation where McPherson and his deputies are provoking violence. We feel that if you call or write letters to Sheriff McPherson and his department and county prosecutor informing them that you are aware of the situation and want nothing to happen to the TFWU strikers, this will help tremendously and prevent violence from occurring against us.

Your letters and calls should be centered around the following:

Stop the harassment of strikers; stop police officers from antagonizing farmworkers; stop the violation of our civil rights.

Send to Sheriff McPherson, Deaf Smith Courthouse, Hereford, Texas 79045 Tel: (806) 364-2311; or Roland Saul, Deaf Smith Courthouse, Hereford, Texas 79045 Tel: (806) 364-8100.

*Texas Farm Workers Union  
P.O. Box 876  
San Juan, Texas*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?

We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The demand was also justified as a *political* move to broaden support for the workers' struggle.

The separation of church and state is not at issue here. At issue is the political influence of the church, which cannot be abolished by decree or by official restrictions on the circulation of the hierarchy's views.

In Cuba, the church stood in open opposition to the progressive demands of the workers and farmers. While guaranteeing religious freedom, the revolutionary Castro leadership was able to isolate the hierarchy, crush the open counterrevolutionists in it, and compel the church officialdom to stop fighting the revolution. In this battle, the Castro government retained the unwavering support of the Cuban people.

In Poland, the repressive role of Stalinism produced a different situation.

Seventy percent of Poles are Catholic. The peasants, who make up 30 percent of the population, tend to be the most religious.

In the first years of the Stalinist regime the church came under repression. The bureaucracy sought to consolidate its rule by eliminating all potential oppositional leadership and shutting off all avenues through which working people might voice opposition.

Cardinal Wyszynski, for example, was in jail until 1956. Attacks on the church became a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights by the Soviet and Polish bureaucrats.

The church hierarchy has attempted to preserve its base by identifying with the workers' hatred of these violations of human rights. It does not openly call for the reinstitution of capitalism, and claims to accept the existing economic order.

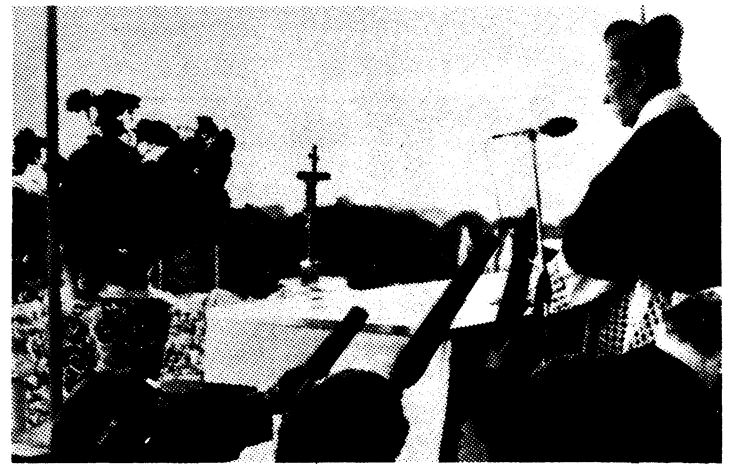
Undemocratic restrictions on the Catholic church imposed by the Polish authorities did not end religious beliefs. They lent a progressive veneer to the reactionary politics of Wyszynski and other top church officials.

In 1956 the Polish workers revolted, forcing concessions from the government. In an effort to stabilize Stalinist rule, the new government turned to the church. In exchange for support from the Catholic hierarchy, the government agreed to give the church certain privileges in education and more freedom of action.

And in the pinches, the hierarchy has lent its support to the Stalinist bureaucrats ever since. In 1970 and 1976, when government attempts to raise prices triggered revolts, the church condemned the strikers, extolling sacrifice as "a Christian virtue."

Even though the church was given more leeway after 1956, it is still seen as a semi-oppositional group in Poland. It often criticizes violations of individual rights. The election of a Polish pope was also popularly seen as a victory for the Polish nation.

In the recent strike wave the workers have sought to gain church support for their struggle. The demand that religious groups be given access to the media added to the sympathy for the strike among peasants and among workers in regions that were not yet on strike. It identified the move-



Since 1956, Cardinal Wyszynski has used his influence to back regime against workers at critical turning points.

ment with opposition to bureaucratic censorship of religious views and practices. It was linked to the workers' demand for abolition of all censorship.

The Catholic hierarchy's response was highly educational for the workers. It urged the workers to drop this demand. After a twelve-year ban from television, Cardinal Wyszynski took to the airwaves to tell them to return to work. The appeal was a flop.

"It was clearly a mistake," said Jeczek Wejroch, a writer on political affairs for the monthly *Wież*, an independent publication close to the hierarchy. "Reaction to it was very bad among workers."

The strikers did not bow. They held firm, forcing the government to grant big concessions. Wyszynski lost standing. He found that the new workers organizations were as independent of the hierarchy as they are of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

The masses saw that the strikers were more determined defenders of democratic rights—including those of Catholic believers—than the church officials.

This shows once again that though many oppressed people may have religious beliefs and illusions about the role of the church, this does not prevent them from struggling against oppression.

This initial step in the exposure of Cardinal Wyszynski's real role as an opponent of the workers' aspirations was made possible precisely because the antidemocratic restriction on his access to the media was lifted.

We can assume that in Poland, as elsewhere, the church is not a monolith. No doubt there are more than a few priests who genuinely sympathize with the workers. The government's restrictions on democratic rights help block such progressive divisions from coming to the surface.

In Poland it is neither liberating nor politically realistic to deny the right of the Catholic majority to hear the views of the church.

Only experience with the role of the church hierarchy in the class struggle will convince the Polish working masses of its fundamentally reactionary, anti-working-class outlook.

—Vivian Sahner

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

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# THE MILITANT

## Antinuclear referendum on Sept. 23 Maine ballot

By Richard Cahalane

On September 23, Maine residents will vote on a referendum to shut down the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant in Wiscasset and ban all future construction of such facilities. The referendum is on the ballot in a special election as a result of a statewide effort that collected 80,000 signatures on petitions.

Two years ago, Montana residents voted to prohibit construction of new nuclear plants, but the Maine referendum is the first attempt to close down an operating facility.

The Maine Yankee plant is built on a beautiful estuary, common to the coastal region, and draws its coolant water from the sea. There is an impressive

tourist center next to the plant, complete with scale models, multi-media displays, simulated plutonium pellets (which you can take home) and geiger counters to show you how radiation is "everywhere."

When this reporter visited the plant, some tourists asked the plant guide such questions as: what about the plant's impact on the environment; is there much routine venting of radioactive gas?; and how much more on-site waste disposal capacity remains? Only a few hundred yards away the giant turbines of the 840 megawatt plant could be felt through the vibrating floors.

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STATE OF MAINE  
IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY

**AN ACT to Prohibit the Generation of Electric Power by Means of Nuclear Fission.**

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Maine, as follows:

10 MRSA c. 4, sub-c. II is enacted to read:

**SUBCHAPTER II  
NUCLEAR FISSION CONTROL ACT**

**§ 260. Title**  
This subchapter shall be known as the Nuclear Fission Control Act.

**§ 261. Policy and purpose**  
The people of the State of Maine declare:

A. That the generation of electric power at nuclear fission thermal power plants presents an inherent and unreasonable risk of economic, physical and mental harm to the people of the State of Maine;

B. That the magnitude of risk inherent in the continued or expanded operation of nuclear fission power plants substantially exceeds the degree of risk attending the production of electric power by alternative energy technologies;

C. That the construction and operation of nuclear fission power plants has been premature in the face of a technology which has not adequately resolved the issues of real cost; radioactive waste disposal; low-level radioactive emissions; plant security; plant decommissioning; fuel-rod reprocessing; air pollution; transportation of radioactive by-products and evacuation.

**§ 262. Prohibition**  
The generation of electric power by nuclear fission thermal power plants in the State of Maine is hereby prohibited.

**§ 263. Application**  
This subchapter shall apply to the generation of power at existing as well as proposed nuclear power plant facilities.

**STATEMENT OF FACT**

The purpose of this legislation is to protect the economic, physical and mental interests of the people of the State of Maine from per se unreasonable risks which presently attend the process of nuclear fission due to deficient technology and planning.

**Text of antinuclear bill before Maine voters**

## Union officials back labor safe energy meeting

The Labor Outreach Committee of Citizens Against Nuclear Power held a news conference in Chicago August 28 to build the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. The national conference will be held in Pittsburgh at the Hilton Hotel October 10-12.

The Chicago news conference featured officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and

the United Mine Workers (UMWA) plus representatives of two United Steelworkers (USWA) locals in the Chicago-Gary area.

IAM representative Charles F. Williams told the news conference that "the two most serious problems facing American workers today are unemployment and the energy crisis."

Williams is a Grand Lodge representative and State Legislative and COPE

coordinator for the IAM. He called for the development of safe energy programs and said, "Three Mile Island demonstrates that nuclear power is not the answer to our energy problems."

The IAM is one of the sponsors of the October national conference. International IAM President William Winpisinger is a scheduled speaker.

United Mine Workers District 12 Legislative Representative Gerald

Hawkins also spoke at the news conference. District 12 represents more than 20,000 Illinois coal miners.

"As a coal miner," Hawkins said, "I feel particularly qualified to come here today to urge my brother and sister trade unionists to join me, my International Union, and eight other international labor bodies" at the national conference.

Hawkins pointed out that Illinois has the largest reserves of bituminous coal in the United States but "over 1,400 coal miners are laid off and another 1,100 are working shortened work weeks."

At the same time, Illinois has the largest number of operating nuclear power plants in the country.

"Those nuclear power plants currently operating represent over 5,000 coal mining jobs—far more than the number of trade unionists employed at the nuclear facilities."

The mine union leader went on to say, "If the federal government devoted . . . as much financial support for cleaning coal as it does for developing nuclear power, coal could be safely burned in all areas of the United States."

Hawkins outlined the position on nuclear power of the United Mine Workers. The UMWA opposes nuclear power use "until adequate safeguards against radiation poisoning are developed; until safe, permanent waste sites are created; and until protection against catastrophic nuclear power plant accidents is assured."

UMWA President Sam Church is scheduled to address the Pittsburgh conference.

All trade union members are urged to attend the conference. The Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is at 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 265-7190.

## Near nuclear disaster kills 3 in W. Va.

By Joe Ryan

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—A train wreck September 6 almost became a nuclear disaster.

Two Norfolk and Western Railroad trains collided on a trestle near the town of Welch, West Virginia.

The collision killed three rail workers. It involved an empty coal train and a freight with two cars hauling containers of highly radioactive Uranium 235.

Witnesses to the accident said there was a gigantic explosion when 10,000 gallons of diesel fuel spilled out of the locomotive and ignited.

The explosion could be heard a mile away.

Railroad officials promptly announced that the cars containing nuclear material were not affected and that there were no leaks.

But one fire fighter on the scene said a minor leak was detected in one of the containers.

Uranium 235 is used in reactors and bombs.

Local press coverage of the near catastrophic accident has been minimal and vague.

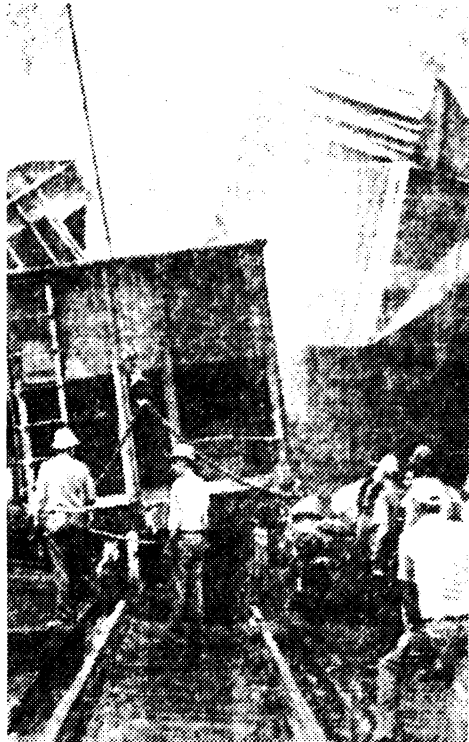
Railroad officials are intimating that the accident was the fault of crew members who were supposedly asleep. But local rail workers say the switch signal involved had been defective for weeks and that there have been five or six near collisions at this site recently.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia, Tom Moriarty, released a statement expressing condolences to the widows and children of the rail union brothers killed.

He said, "The lives of these brothers were lost to unsafe practices of profit-hungry corporations."

"Our unions should conduct their own investigation of this accident."

"We have already won a ban in West Virginia against nuclear plant operation. We need to extend that to prohibiting the transportation and storage of nuclear materials."



Railroad officials denied it, but one fire fighter claimed nuclear container did leak in crash.