

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Trust

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Mao Tsetung

VOLUME IV, no. 8

WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST)

POB 1297 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

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25¢

MINERS REJECT MILLER'S CONTRACT

AN OUTRAGEOUS PROPOSAL!

By a vote of 33-3, the United Mine Workers (UMW) Bargaining Council overwhelmingly rejected the proposed new coal contract. The rank and file has made it more than clear that it will also refuse to accept the sell out agreement.

In Washington, D.C., on Friday, February 10, hundreds of angry miners demonstrated outside the UMW headquarters and the Bargaining Council, meeting inside, voted to reject the contract offered by Arnold Miller, UMW President. At the last minute, Miller postponed the meeting, boasting that he would not be intimidated. Intimidated by whom? Not by the companies, but by his own rank and file! The Bargaining Council defied Miller and met anyway, although they knew their vote wasn't official because he didn't show up. As the president of the UMW Arkansas-Oklahoma District said, "He's afraid to face the music". The angry demonstrators in Washington, D.C. last week cheered when they were told Miller might resign if the Bargaining Council rejected the contract. Twenty-two local union leaders sent Miller a telegram on Friday urging that he resign since he had shown himself incapable of representing genuine mine worker interests.

to 31% to 33% in the contracts of other major industries). Miller fails to mention that the contract also cuts wages because it eliminates the automatic cost of living allowance won in the 1974 contract.

Although the miners certainly need a pay raise if only to keep up with inflation, even more importantly the proposed contract doesn't meet their other demands for the right to strike and for improved health and safety provisions. Occupational health and safety is daily a life and death

least full restoration of the UMW pension and health plans, Miller agreed to let the coal companies convert the UMW trust funds for workers retiring after 1976 and all active miners into individual company plans. Workers would have to begin contributing to the plans, paying deductibles of \$100 to \$300 per year. The president of one large coal company said that replacing the present industry wide plan with a private plan for his company will cut his health benefit costs by 25-35%.

in wildcats--with no right to the grievance procedure! Moreover, a worker would be fined \$20 for each day of work he missed during a wildcat strike and after 10 days his health care benefits would be cut off.

In addition, Miller agreed to other provisions which would increase profits for the mine owners and exploitation for the mine workers. These include permitting mine operation 7 days a week (the past contract limited production to 6 days a week), giving the companies the sole authority to change workers' starting times, and allowing "incentive productivity" plans.

MINERS BATTLE CAPITALISTS

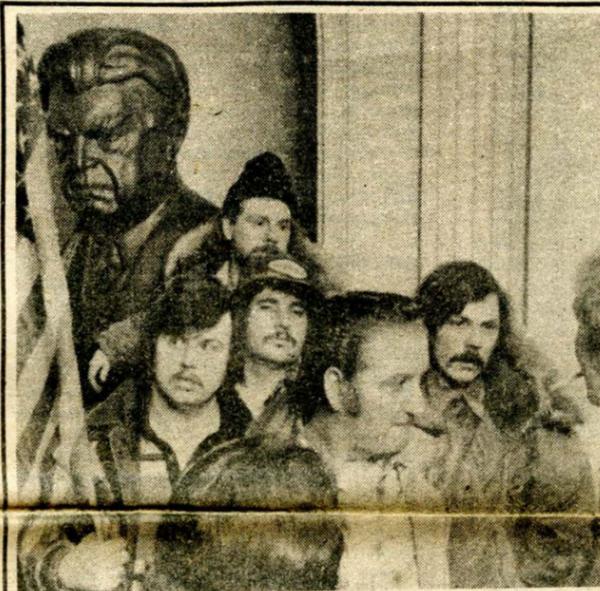
While Miller has been collaborating with the coal operators, the striking miners have been putting pressure on them, drastically cutting coal production and damaging bourgeois plans to rely heavily on increased coal production. Coal supplies, now revealed to have been smaller than first claimed, are dwindling as the strike enters its 11th week, the longest strike in UMW history. In many parts of the country, utility companies have only a month's supply of coal left. As the beginning of the strike, UMW strikers stopped 40% of coal production, and now 75% has been stopped, according to the US Department of Energy--almost one-half of non-union production.

The miners are setting an inspiring example for the entire working class with their resolve to continue this strike under the adverse conditions of no strike fund, health benefits cut off when the strike began, pension payments

CONTINUED ON P.2

MILLER'S PROPOSED CONTRACT IS OUTRAGEOUS

Calling the contract "by far the best agreement negotiated in any major industry in the last two years", Miller defends his concessions to the mine owners with the offer of a wage increase of \$2.35 over the next three years and a package of wage and fringe benefits that is an increase of 37% over the last contract (compared



As hundreds of angry miners demonstrated outside of United Mine Workers headquarters on Friday, February 10, they demanded Miller's ouster and posed new contract.

issue in the mines. In 1976, for example, there were 141 workers killed in mines and 14,000 injured.

HEALTH BENEFITS CUT

Instead of insisting on at

MILLER PROMISES LABOR STABILITY

But most important is Miller's support for a treacherous "labor stability clause" which gives the coal operators the authority to suspend or fire workers who go out

UPHOLD THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE

February 28 marks the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Shanghai communique between the US government and the government of the People's Republic of China. This document was a historic turning point in the relations between the US and People's China. It is also a powerful weapon in the struggle against superpower hegemonism.

Today, almost 30 years after the liberation of China in 1949, and despite the obligations undertaken in the Shanghai communique, the US government still does not recognize the People's Republic. Instead it continues to recognize the puppet Kuomintang regime which, with the support of US imperialism, has usurped power on the island province of Taiwan. The Shanghai communique pledges the US government to change this situation and to normalize relations with the government of the People's Republic. Yet while there have been increased contacts between the US and Chinese people in the six years since the communique was adopted, there has been no progress towards the establishment of diplomatic relations.

THE FAILURE OF US POLICY TOWARDS CHINA

For over a generation the US pursued a policy of attempting to isolate People's China. This policy, however, has run counter to the irresistible trend of history and as the prestige and in-

CONTINUED ON P.4

300,000 WORKERS STRIKE MASSES REBEL IN NICARAGUA

The struggle of the Nicaraguan people for national independence reached a new level last month as mass demonstrations swept the country. Tens of thousands took to the street to demand the ouster of long hated dictator and puppet of US imperialism, Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Scores of cars and businesses burned throughout the capital city of Managua as groups of protestors blocked firefighters from reaching the blazes. Branches of the Citibank of New York and the Bank of Central America were among those buildings razed. National guardsmen resorted to teargas in a futile attempt to break the demonstrators' revolutionary spirit. Most businesses and factories closed their doors in the most wide spread anti-government movement in this country's history.

The catalyst for the unprecedented mass popular upsurge was the assassination Jan. 10 of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal. Chamorro was editor of Nicaragua's only opposition paper and outspoken opponent of the dictatorship of Somoza. For years Chamorro had waged an anti-Somoza campaign. He was exiled to Mexico in 1944 for his anti-Somoza activities and imprisoned several times since then. In 1956 Chamorro led an unsuccessful invasion force based in Costa Rica against the Somoza dictatorship. And in 1974 he was instrumental in forming the Union Democratica de Liberacion (UDEL), a coalition of anti-Somoza forces.

Nearly 40,000 people escorted Chamorro's coffin through the streets of Managua shouting, "Viva la Libertad!" and singing the Nicaraguan national anthem.

The widespread rebellions culminated in a general nation wide strike aimed at forcing Somoza's resignation. On Jan. 23, 300,000 Nicaraguan workers went on strike. That same day over 75% of all shops, offices, and factories in Nicaragua's ten major cities closed down in sympathy with the workers strike, bringing the economy to a virtual standstill.

On Jan. 30, 200 women protested outside the local UN office demanding the resignation of Somoza while ten peasant women remained inside to protest the arrests of their husbands and sons in northeast Nicaragua, the site of stepped up guerilla activities in the countryside over the past two years. Later that day 200 guardsmen moved into the University of Managua sealing off roads and using teargas to break up an all day demonstration.

The Nicaraguan Development Institute, Nicaragua's largest business organization, also endorsed the demand for Somoza's resignation. Even the Nicaraguan Roman Catholic hierarchy "gave its approval" to the strike.

The recent popular upsurge reflects a long tradition of struggle by the Nicaraguan people. Over the years they have consistently resisted imperialist plunder of their country. Between 1913 and 1924 no less than 10 armed uprisings occurred. Several major strikes have been waged against US corporations, especially among the organized workers in the US owned banana and lumber companies. Since 1974, guerrilla activity in the countryside has steadily increased, with armed struggle occurring in the northern mountainous region, stronghold of resistance, and site of Sandino's base nearly 45 years

ago. Political opposition from sectors of the bourgeoisie, liberal parties and the Church have also steadily risen.

The current upsurge also reflects the broad character of Nicaraguan resistance which virtually encompasses every sector of society. In the face of this massive protest, Somoza was forced to retreat to his seaside estate at Montelimar, with "crack units of the National Guard" now protecting him. He's even transforming sugar plantations beside his home into an airport capable of taking jet aircraft...presumably for a quick "getaway" if the need arises.

What is the source of this widespread anti-Somoza rebellion?

SOMOZA - AGENT OF US IMPERIALISM

The Somoza dictatorship was created by US imperialism in 1933 when direct intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua failed. Since that time the Somoza family's rule has been propped up by US imperialism. The outcome of this cozy relationship is that today US monopoly capital controls 80% of foreign investments in basic industries such as food, forest products, mining, transportation, banking and tourism. And as tribute for his unwavering support of US imperialism, the Somoza family fortune is one of the largest in Central America. By 1975, his investments in Nicaragua alone were estimated at \$500 million and upward. His family property "stretches from the 'national' air and shipping lines, a newspaper and a television station, to construction companies, banks, farms, mines, a brewery, a hotel, and even the local Mer-

CONTINUED ON P.3

AFL-CIO PROMOTES CHAUVINIST FILM

The "Price of Peace and Freedom" is a chauvinist film currently being circulated before local union halls and other community audiences. Produced by the right wing American Security Council Education Foundation in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, its purpose is to promote US imperialist military preparations for a new world war.

In graphic detail complete with up-to-date statistical charts, the film records the Soviet military buildup in the recent period. The significant development of Soviet conventional forces, the increasing number of long range missiles and bombers, the modernization of naval forces and other Soviet military advances detail the significance of the Soviet threat.

The message of the film is straightforward. Statements by Henry Kissinger, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the commander-in-chief of NATO, John F. Kennedy and others are used to promote the necessity for a US military buildup. Local TV audiences, church groups, veterans groups, service clubs, fraternal groups, schools, etc., all of which are targets of the film, are being encouraged to support the buildup of the costly US war machine as the only genuine deterrent to the growing threat of Soviet aggression.

In fact a US military buildup is not a deterrent to war but a reflection of superpower rivalry that will inevitably lead to war. As long as imperialism exists both superpowers must strive for greater and greater spheres of world domination. The film is one more sign of the sharpening contention between the two superpowers for worldwide economic and political hegemony. The "Price of Peace and Freedom" is part of the ideological propaganda needed to build mass support for imperialist war.

The Soviet military buildup depicted in the film definitely reflects the growing danger of a new world war, but not a war between capitalist and socialist countries.

The blatant anti-communism of the film is misplaced. Capitalism has been restored in the USSR and the Brezhnev clique in power represents a new bourgeoisie engaged in

the brutal exploitation of the Soviet working people and the ruthless oppression of nations both within the USSR and throughout the world. The USSR is a social imperialist superpower subject, like the US, to the laws of imperialism. It is these laws which are leading the US and the USSR to war. The inevitable clash they are preparing for will be a war between predatory imperialist powers for a redivision of the world.

NATIONAL DEFENSE OF HEGEMONISM

While the Soviet military buildup depicted in the film definitely reflects the growing danger of a new world war, the issue for the US people is not a matter of national defense. The ruling monopoly capitalist group in each imperialist giant seeks global supremacy. We definitely need to prepare the masses of US people for this war, but we will not prepare them to die for the global ambitions of US imperialism.

Stalin once said that men do not accumulate swords in order to sit on them and neither will the two superpowers. Military might is an integral part of US global hegemonist policies. Between 1966 and 1976 it exported arms valued at 34.9 billion dollars. Thus military arms are a source of huge profits as well as a means by which to dominate the customer countries. The US has some 400,000 troops stationed in foreign lands such as Europe, the Philippines, Korea, etc. It has turned the territories of these countries and others into US military bases through military treaties. It is with its military machine that US imperialism creates and maintains the "peaceful climate" necessary for extracting superprofits worldwide. "According to US official statistics, in 1976 it recouped profits, earnings from patents included, amounting to 22.7 billion dollars from its direct private investments overseas, the rate of profit exceeding 16 per cent. Such is the sordid record of how US monopoly capital sucks the blood of the people of the world." (Peking Review, #45 1977, p.20)

It is the protection of these profits and defense of US imper-

ialism's right to superexploit the oppressed nations and peoples of the world that is the essence of the call to build up the costly US war machine.

ROLE OF TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY

The role of the AFL-CIO leadership in promoting and distributing this film reflects their own interest in preserving the US empire. Their whole existence depends on the great power super-exploitation of oppressed nations. The trade union bureaucracy has been ideologically, politically, and materially bribed with a crumbs share of the superprofits. To protect their own privileges they will make the working masses cannon-fodder for US imperialism. History shows that the foreign policy of the AFL-CIO is class collaboration all down the line.

If we are to lead the working class in a revolutionary direction we must fiercely expose every effort by the trade union bureaucracy to build support in our union locals for imperialism. "The proletarian trade union movement here must be made uncompromisingly anti-imperialist. Within ... all trade unions we must win the masses to see that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat here is nothing without firm support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations against imperialism." (THE COMMUNIST Vol IV #4, Chavez Supports Marcos Regime") Exploitation of the third world is a means by which an imperialist bourgeoisie strengthens its ability to suppress the revolutionary struggle of its own proletariat. At the same time, the revolutionary struggle against imperialism by the oppressed nations intensifies capitalist crisis and creates favorable conditions for the proletarian movement.

OPPOSE APPEASEMENT

Our propaganda and agitation must show that our struggle is against the war preparations of both superpowers. In exposing the efforts of US imperialism to build mass support for imperialist war we must be vigilant against falling into the trap of supporting the appeasement policies of the liberal reformists and revisionists. For example, we will not oppose the "Price of Peace and Freedom" by belittling the danger of war and of the Soviet military buildup.

Appeasement uses the peoples' desires for peace to foster hopes of avoiding war. However, it succeeds only in mentally and materially disarming the US people.

We must be clear that our opposition to national defense is not on that basis. In particular we must oppose the appeasement efforts of the revisionist Communist Party's (USA) left center coalition in the trade unions, (See THE COMMUNIST Vol IV #3) which promotes the Soviet doctrine of detente. Facts show that the main current of Soviet military policy is arms buildup and not detente. Detente is a smokescreen for imperialist war.

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST POLICY

Our policy toward the "Price of Peace and Freedom" and its line on national defense is that we oppose any buildup of the US war machine because it means the intensification of exploitation and oppression of the US people. "As each frenziedly strengthens its costly war machine, the Soviet Union and the US are bound to intensify their oppression and exploitation of the people at home and thus aggravate contradictions in their economies and the internal contradictions between the different classes and nationalities." (Peking Review 45, 1977 p.34)

While we do not belittle the danger of war, to promote or fail to struggle against the build up of the costly US war machine under the guise of opposing appeasement would be collaboration in the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the US people. More than ever we need an independent communist policy. We must attack all those who would oppose the costly war machine because they are appeasers while at the same time opposing any step taken to strengthen the US military machine. We oppose US troops in Central Europe, military research, arms buildup, bases overseas, and sophisticated weapons systems like the Cruise missile and the B-1 bomber.

In opposition to the film's anti-communism we must carry out patient education to show that it is the communist parties of the world, and in particular the Communist Party of China, that have done the most to warn of the danger of a new war, and that have boldly taken up the task of preparing for such a conflict in calling for a united front against superpower hegemonism. In solidarity with the countries and peoples of the third world, which are the main force, and of the second world, we must do our utmost to strengthen this united front. This will postpone a new imperialist war. Should war break out, our job is to turn imperialist war into a civil war of the US proletariat against US monopoly capital.

CONTINUED FROM P.1

MINERS STRUGGLE

reduced and then cut off completely in February, the continual intervention of the state to protect strike breakers and keep the mines open, and the traitorous "leadership" of the UMW bureaucracy. They continue to militantly battle to stop production. For example, refusing to be intimidated by armed guards and strikebreakers, striking miners in Petersburg, Indiana lost one of their union brothers in a gun battle early this month at a operating non-union mine. And, when one thousand strikers surrounded seven scabs hiding in a house near a mine in Oakman, Alabama, it took 200 state troopers to free the strikebreakers.

ON THE OTHER HAND, MILLER COLLABORATES WITH CAPITALISTS

The miners' struggle to stop production has laid the basis to win concessions from the coal operators. Miller has betrayed their struggle.

When the strike began, Miller loudly proclaimed he would insist on a contract clause guaranteeing the local right to strike. He quickly dropped that demand and

has been collaborating with the capitalists for the past four months to find ways to stop wildcats, raise worker productivity and cut production costs.

The major goal of the coal operators in the current contract negotiations has been to strengthen their coercive apparatus to achieve "labor stability", stopping strikes and absenteeism. All along, Miller has collaborated with the coal companies, which are largely owned by oil, steel and other monopoly interests, helping them to protect their profits in the current crisis and to prepare for imperialist war by ensuring domestic energy supplies and tight control over the labor force.

MINERS REJECT SELL OUT

The miners are not buying Miller's contract. It doesn't meet their basic minimum demands for the right to strike and restoration of full health and pension benefits. Miller has already found out that the Bargaining Council won't just rubber stamp his traitorous work.

Nor are mine workers going to be intimidated by Miller's threats of a Taft Hartley injunction. Under the Taft Hartley Act, the federal government can seek a court injunction in cases of national emergency--like coal shortages--to try to force striking workers back into the mines for a 80 day "cooling off period".

Miller masqueraded as a fierce militant and supporter of trade union democracy when he ran against Tony Boyle in 1972. After 6 years of failing to give leadership to the mine workers' struggles, he now is openly attacking the right to strike, cutting health and pension benefits, and even threatening workers with a Taft Hartley injunction. His biggest problem now is that he can't control the UMW rank and file for the capitalists. His actions clearly expose the class interests of even militant sounding trade union bureaucrats. Mine-workers instead need to develop fighting class conscious leadership for their union. Miller's outrageous proposal is a slap in the face of striking miners. And



they are letting him know what they think of class traitors like him. There is no way they will accept his contract.

DEFEND CHAIRMAN MAO'S THEORY OF THREE WORLDS

CHICAGO, ILL.

SUNDAY, MARCH 5TH

2:00 PM

THIRD UNITARIAN CHURCH

301 N. MAYFIELD

A FORUM BY THE WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST)

- 1) 3 Worlds Theory: basis for correct strategy
- 2) 2 superpowers: the main enemy
- 3) 3rd World: the main force
- 4) 2nd World: a force that can be united with
- 5) Build the United Front Against Superpower Hegemonism

WASHINGTON D.C.

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The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

MINERS AT STEARNS FIGHT FOR UNION

"Today in the coal fields, the decisive factor is the rising spontaneous struggle of the miners. It is a struggle whose limits have not been reached and whose potential is awesome, particularly to the bourgeoisie which is well aware of the consequences of such a movement at this time. It stands as the decisive obstacle at this point to a complete sell-out by Miller on the national contract. It has brought sharp divisions into all levels of the union, even among the bureaucrats themselves. It has begun to raise new questions of strategy and tactics, of overall objectives, on demarcating friends and enemies, on the scope and character of various levels of activities to the miners in general and particularly to the advanced elements. Because of the significance of the coal industry

and the history of the miners, all these questions become generalized for the whole of the trade union movement.

One particular area of the miners strike gives us some insight into the qualities of this massive spontaneous movement. In Stearns, Kentucky, 150 miners have been on strike now for over 19 months in their effort to gain union recognition as members of the UMW. In many respects it has the qualities, the strengths and weaknesses that the movement as a whole has—qualities which may spell out the doom of traitors like Miller and any others who will pursue the policy of class collaboration. Within it lies also the challenge to those who struggle for proletarian revolution of whether or not we can rise to the actual leadership of the bitter and determined strug-

gle these miners and their families are waging and give it a conscious, planned character, or whether our movement will fall to the wayside, like others who have called themselves Marxist, crippled by amateurishness, by opportunism, by narrowness and by passivity.

The struggle in Stearns began in the 1930's and 1940's when the mines were first organized by the UMW. By 1953, the slump in the coal fields was already very deep and UMW leadership had been passified. When the miners in Stearns went on strike, they were left without help by the UMW and the strike was lost. At the same time the union was crushed. In its place the company formed an independent company union which was to represent the interests of the workers. This kind of situation emerged again and again, particularly in the East Kentucky coal fields, and by the early 1960's, the union there had been almost completely busted. Without basic union organization, veteran miners had to tolerate the vicious exploitation and

hazards of deep coal mining. In the 1970's, however, mining began to pick up in an unprecedented way. At the same time a number of mining companies were consolidated. The Blue Diamond Coal company, which owns the mine in Scotia where 28 miners lost their lives, bought out the Stearns mine. Shortly after this, and right after the Scotia incident, the miners in Stearns again organized to join the UMW which was starting to expand with the boom in industry. Although the union qualified as the bargaining agent of the miners under NLRB rules and was accepted by the NLRB, the Blue Diamond Company refused recognition. As a result, the miners struck.

To get an idea of the militancy and determination of the miners, all one has to do is to look at where they picket everyday. It is on a small piece of land that the miners themselves have bought which is on the edge of the land owned by Blue Diamond. On the land,

CONTINUED ON P. 4

NICARAGUA

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

cedes-Benz distribution co." In sharp contrast to the wealth these imperialists and their agents have robbed from the masses stands the poverty of the overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans.

In Managua, where the demonstrations began, most of the people live in temporary shacks and tents. 80% of the houses lack running water. In the "new Managua", rebuilt in the outskirts of the city since the earthquake in 1972, the rich live comfortably in their suburbs protected by the National Guard. While the privileged few shop at plush shopping centers stocked with US made goods, the majority of Nicaraguans suffer literal starvation. From a quarter to one third of the workforce is unemployed. The illiteracy rate is over 50%. And proper medical care is out of the question for the majority of working people.

The most blatant corruption and greed exist - from profiteering off AID money earmarked for earthquake relief in 1972, to the recent scandal in Somoza's Plasmaferesis Company. With malnutrition rampant, this company takes advantage of the poverty of the masses to purchase their blood and send it to Europe and the US for profit. Somoza is rich because he has literally sucked the blood of the Nicaraguan people. This filthy "business" was burned to the ground in recent demonstrations as the people expressed their righteous anger at this blood trafficking.

Militarily, US domination is shown in the National Guard (GN). Not only was the GN created by the US during its occupation from the late 1920's to the early 1930's, but its leaders have been trained at West Point and in the Panama Canal Zone (where the US conducts counter-insurgency training). The GN, which is personally controlled by the Somoza family, has ruthlessly suppressed all democratic, patriotic movements of the Nicaraguan people.

At the hands of the GN, hundreds of Nicaraguans have been imprisoned and tortured as part of Somoza's stepped up repression against patriotic forces. Since 1974, a virtual state of siege has existed, with martial law in effect throughout the country. During this period countless Nicaraguans have "disappeared".

In the recent popular upsurge wide spread brutality has been reported in the National Guard's crackdown on protest demonstrators. Venezuela intends to propose that the Organization of American States investigate alleged human right violations. Venezuela has also proposed that the current crisis in Nicaragua can only be resolved with the "departure" of Somoza.

Somoza has not only consistently supported US imperialism at the expense of the Nicaraguan peoples, but he's also opposed the struggle of the third world to unite to combat superpower hegemonism. For example, in 1974 Somoza refused to participate in discussion with other coffee producing countries concerning a coffee retention plan aimed at forcing coffee prices up. On the issue of the Panama Canal, he has attempted to play the role of intermediary, in effect supporting US imperialism rather than the struggle of the Panamanian people to protect their national sovereignty. And in March of 1974 he kept Nicaragua out of the Union of Banana Exporting

Countries (UPEB) and even went so far as to personally tell the president of Standard Fruit Co., about the internal affairs of the UPEB at which he was an observer.

When Somoza comments that "Nicaragua is aligned with the West, not a neutral country of the third world," he is defying the tide of history. These sentiments will no longer be tolerated by the people of Nicaragua. The broad based character of the popular upsurge reflects the overall desire of the people of Nicaragua to defend their national independence and state sovereignty. At the heart of the rebellion lies the irresistible historical trend of independence, liberation and revolution.

Clearly Somoza's rule has made Nicaragua a bastion of US imperialism and that is the source of the rebellion. And equally clear is the fact that this dictator wouldn't have a leg to stand on without the support of US imperialism. In the past when domestic opposition developed, the US would routinely send marines to "putdown" any insurrection. But today the US is increasingly on the defensive and unable to maintain its once strong grip over its vast holdings. Because it is overextended worldwide, the forces of resistance have been able to make gains in weakening the hegemonic strivings of this superpower.

While US imperialism is currently the main danger to Nicaragua's national independence and the main enemy of the Nicaraguan people, sharp vigilance towards the other superpower, Soviet social imperialism, must be



maintained. The Soviet Union is stepping up its influence and activity in Latin America. Latin America has long been regarded by US imperialism as its "backyard". Nevertheless, in its drive for world domina-

tion, Soviet social imperialism has inevitably set its eyes on Latin America, a continent rich in many respects. Currently it is active in the Caribbean, which borders on Nicaragua.

Using Cuba as its base, Soviet social imperialism is seeking to expand its influence in the area. For instance, it has called for the "internationalization" of the Panama Canal, thus contradicting the just demand of the Panamanian government and people for complete sovereignty over all Panamanian territory, including the Canal. As US imperialism loses its grip on the Latin American countries due to the growing strength of the third world, Soviet social imperialism is seeking to slip in, under the guise of a "natural ally", to replace US imperialism as master of these countries.

Neither superpower, however, will be able to stem the revolutionary tide of the third world for national independence and state sovereignty. The democratic and freedom loving people of Nicaragua have staunchly taken up the struggle against imperialist domination. Together with the peoples of the third world, they "are valiantly playing the role assigned to them by history as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

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(Friends in Washington D.C. have contributed in the preparation of these articles.)

HISTORY OF U.S. INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA

US imperialism has historically controlled the economic, political, and military life of Nicaragua. Having absolutely no regard for the national sovereignty of Nicaragua, the US proceeded on a bold course of outright control and interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua guided solely by its own hegemonic strivings.

Beginning in 1851, when the California gold rush made clear the need for a nearby, cheap overland route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Cornelius Vanderbilt established a railroad in Nicaragua connecting the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Strategically this region was to become important to US imperialist designs to control any trade route linking the Atlantic and Pacific. This would serve to strengthen US hegemony both in Central America as well as South America.

Later, in 1903, when the US signed the canal treaty with Panama, it still wanted to monopolize any future canal possibilities in the region. (And at this time Nicaragua was the second choice due to its narrow borders). This led to US intervention in the early 1900's in supporting the overthrow of the Zelaya government which had begun instituting reforms to develop Nicaragua, including negotiating a future canal possibility with the Japanese. Internal strife between the Conservative Party, representing the big land-owning, cattle-raising class, and the Liberal Party, representing the artisans and the rising industrialists, helped set the stage for a US supported Conservative insurrection against Zelaya.

However, after Zelaya was overthrown, unrest in Nicaragua did not subside. In 1912, 2,700 US Marines landed in Nicaragua to suppress a Liberal uprising against Conservative President Adolfo Diaz. Following the

withdrawal of the remaining troops in 1925, the Marines were called back once again in 1926, this time to intervene in civil war between the Liberals and Conservatives and protect US interests. In 1926, Augusto Cesar Sandino joined the Liberal revolt under the leadership of Juan Sacasa and was placed in charge of the Northern army.

Shortly afterwards, Sacasa was captured and a peace treaty was signed. One of the conditions of the treaty was that the Marines would remain to "keep order" and that the US would supervise elections in Nicaragua. All the Liberal Army leaders, with the exception of Sandino, agreed to this treaty. Sandino pledged to continue to fight until the US was out of Nicaragua. For the next six years, the US engaged in a major guerrilla war fighting patriotic forces, led by Sandino, in the countryside.

Because of military losses to Sandino's forces, combined with popular dissent in both Nicaragua and the US, in 1933 the US marines were forced to withdraw. Sandino naively laid down his arms, believing that Nicaragua was at long last free of foreign rule.

But the reality of the matter was that US plunder and domination of the country was to continue but now with a Nicaraguan facade, thus avoiding the "inconvenience" of direct intervention. The tool the US created was the Guardia Nacional (GN), a military police force trained and equipped by the US - a mercenary force in essence aimed at suppressing any voice of protest from the Nicaraguan peoples.

The US placed this weapon in the hands of Anastasio Somoza Garcia (grandfather of present ruling Somoza), thus ending almost seven years of revolutionary struggle, and initiating nearly a half century of dictatorial rule.

Somoza's first act to inspire confidence was his assassination of Sandino on February 24, 1934. He then proceeded to carry out a reign of terror against Sandino's nationalist supporters, virtually eliminating them.

With the help of the Somoza regime, Nicaragua soon became "easy pickings" for foreign investors. It offered the most generous treatment of foreign capital in Central America, including unlimited rights to remit profits and capital, no restrictions on the purchase of foreign exchange, and absolute secrecy regarding its operations. Thanks to the "generosity" of the Somoza dictatorship US monopoly capital has had a virtual free for all over the entire Nicaraguan economy.

Over the years Nicaragua has also played a crucial role in serving as watchdog for US imperialist interests in this region. The Somoza dictatorship has been instrumental in policing and stabilizing not only Nicaragua, but the countries of Central America as well. It has provided the base for preventing revolution and suppressing class struggle in the surrounding Central American countries - from the overthrow of the progressive Arbenz government in Guatemala - to the invasion of Costa Rica in 1965. Somoza even lent his own personal estate for CIA training of the right-wing Guatemalan exiles led by Castillo Armas, and allowed US bombers supporting the exiles to take off from Nicaragua.

But the Somoza dictatorship hasn't limited its support of US imperialism to Central America and the Caribbean region. This loyal dictator has gone above and beyond the call of duty in offering to send troops to fight in Korea in 1950, and in Vietnam in 1967. In addition, Somoza provided troops for the OAS "Peacekeeping Force" in the Dominican Republic after the 1965 invasion.

SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE

fluence of People's China grew, stubborn support of the US government for the Chiang Kai-shek clique became a measure of its own isolation. For the US, this policy toward China was a rock that it had picked up to drop on its own feet.

At first the US supported the Chiang clique in the hope that it would return to the mainland one day, carrying with it a restoration of imperialist domination over China. As a result, formal diplomatic recognition was accorded the Kuomintang regime, US troops were installed on Taiwan province and in the Taiwan straits, and a mutual defense pact was entered into pledging the US to defend the puppet government from attack.

These circumstances still exist and stand as the main barrier to normal diplomatic relations with the government of People's China. Normal diplomatic relations cannot be established as long as the US recognizes the Kuomintang government, maintains troops on Taiwan province and maintains the Mutual Defense Treaty in force.

US hopes for a return by Chiang Kai-shek to the mainland were frustrated by US defeat in the Korean War. This was the first failure of US efforts to isolate the People's Republic.

As a result, in the middle sixties, a number of US officials urged a more realistic policy towards the People's Republic. This was summed up by Vice President Humphrey in 1966 when he urged that US policy be one of "containment but not necessarily isolation." The corollary of this was a "two China policy"--while the US government would seek relations with the People's Republic, it would not forego its support for the Chiang clique. (Humphrey's point was hypocritical--China had no troops outside its borders and nothing to contain, whereas US troops remained in Korea, were mired down in the hundreds of thousands in Indochina, were stationed on the province of Taiwan and so forth!)

But the US again was outstripped by the trend of history. As Huang Hua said on China's admission to the UN in 1971, "Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution -- this has become the irresistible trend of history." This trend reflects the tremendous upsurge of third world countries in international struggle and the high tide of movements for national liberation and independence. In the face of this upsurge, US imperialism was exposed and defeated in Vietnam, Latin America and elsewhere. US interference and meddling on the question of Taiwan found little sympathy in this new climate of world affairs.

Without a doubt the US government is still involved in the search for some acceptable form of a "two China" policy. Basically, however, this policy failed with the admission of China to the UN and the expulsion of the Kuomintang clique. While US imperialism took the position that "it opposes the admission of the Peking regime into the UN at the expense of the expulsion of the Republic of China (the Chiang clique)", socialist and other third world countries led the fight for China's admission. US isolation on the question

once again deepened and the international community recognized People's China as the sole legitimate representative of the Chinese people.

Nixon's China visit in 1972 and the Shanghai communique were products of this new situation. No longer did US imperialism stand unchallenged, able to lord it over vast regions of the world as well as international organizations such as the UN. Through its consistent and principled stand with the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation, independence and sovereignty, People's China had demonstrated that it stood at the forefront of this struggle.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE

The Shanghai communique is a diplomatic document of very great importance for the US people. Among other things, it commits the US government to the following principles:

--the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence... "countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."

--the struggle against hegemonism in the Asia-Pacific region... "neither (neither party to the communique--TC) should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony."

--the struggle against dividing the world up into spheres of influence... "Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest."

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are fundamentally inconsistent with superpower striving for hegemonism. Thus they lay the basis for a struggle against superpower efforts at aggression, encroachment, bullying and control. They call for non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, and are therefore flatly inconsistent with continued US interference in the matter of Taiwan province.

In fact, in the communique, the US agreed that Taiwan province is a part of China, that the settlement of the Taiwan question is a matter to be settled by the Chinese people themselves, and that the ultimate objective of the US is withdrawal of all US forces and military installations from Taiwan:

"The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this

prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes."

For its part, the Chinese side emphasized that the matter of Taiwan is the obstacle to full diplomatic relations:

"The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of 'one China, one Taiwan', 'one China, two governments', 'two Chinas', an 'independent Taiwan' or advocate that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined.'"

These joint statements are the sound basis for the normalization of relations between the US and China. Since 1972, significant tensions in the area caused by the Indochina War have certainly diminished. Yet the US has taken no meaningful steps to remove its forces and military installations on Taiwan nor has it taken any other significant steps toward normalization of relations. Former Senate Majority leader Mike Mansfield has summed up the policy of the US government towards normalization of relations since the Shanghai communique as "a policy of avoidance." He points out that the barriers to normalization lie entirely with Washington and adds: "While there is no reason to assume that the final withdrawal of U.S. forces will lead to the use of force against Taiwan by the mainland, there is also no reason to expect China to formally renounce its possible use against what it regards as a Chinese province. Indeed to do so would be to cast a doubt on the validity of its claim to sovereignty over the island."

A POWERFUL WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONISM

US failure to implement the principles of the Shanghai communique exposes the gap between the reality and the rhetoric of US foreign policy. The US today is one of the world's two most ferocious international exploiters and oppressors. It strives for hegemony in every part of the globe, including the Asia-Pacific region, it strives to divide the world into spheres of influence in Asia and elsewhere, and it strives for aggression, interference, bullying and control of the internal affairs of other countries. All these features are inherent in its nature and cannot be wiped away with the stroke of a diplomat's pen. Proof enough is the US government's continued meddling in Chinese internal affairs on the matter of Taiwan.

What then is the significance of US commitment to the Five

Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and to the anti-hegemonist principles of the Shanghai communique?

Historical experience teaches that common struggle between the US people and peoples subject to interference and control by US imperialism, together with the forces of the worldwide united front against superpower hegemonism, can defeat US aggression, interference and striving for control. US imperialism's defeat in Indochina is an historic example.

The Shanghai communique is a weapon in that common struggle. Its principles are in accord with the objective trend of world history and are in accord with the objective interests of the US people, the Chinese people and the people of the world. On the other hand, it is the striving for hegemony, interference and spheres of influence condemned by the Shanghai communique which runs counter to the current of history.

The communique is therefore a call to take up the struggle against superpower hegemonism, and particularly against US meddling and interference in Chinese internal affairs and against hegemonism in the Asia-Pacific region. It is a document around which we can mobilize the US people together with the people of China and of the world to force the US government to live up to the pledges it made in the communique.

BUILD THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CAMPAIGN TO RECOGNIZE PEOPLE'S CHINA!

Whether or not the Shanghai communique will be implemented by the US government depends on what positions US imperialism is forced to adopt by the common struggle of the people of all countries against superpower hegemonism. It is the superpowers that today are afraid of the struggles of the peoples of the world and not the peoples of the world that are afraid of the superpowers. Whether or not the Shanghai communique is implemented by the US government depends particularly on the consciousness, initiative, organization and level of struggle of the US people--that is our special responsibility.

We must therefore take up boldly the weapon of the Shanghai communique in the struggle against superpower hegemonism and join in building the broadest possible campaign to implement its principles.

Such a campaign can reach very wide sectors of the US population, for the majority of Americans support the normalization of US-China relations. Through public meetings, rallies, demonstrations and the most varied scope of activities, we must mobilize people to demand recognition of People's China.

The normalization campaign of US-China People's Friendship Association, for example, is an important focus of activity geared to demand recognition of People's China now. The Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) wholeheartedly urges comrades and friends to give this and similar activities their full support. In every way our goal must be to unite all who can be united to demand recognition of the People's Republic of China.

RECOGNIZE PEOPLE'S CHINA!



STEARNS STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM P. 3

there is a small hill, which the miners call Victory Hill which is surrounded on two sides by trenches and sandbags. These trenches were filled regularly by the miners, particularly in the first 6 months of the strike, when they had to put their noses in the dirt for up to 2 hours at a time because of the rifle and machine gun fire coming from the guards at the mine, as well as for protection as they fired back. Since the start of the strike there has been a low level of armed struggle between the guards, scabs and the miners.

On Oct. 17, 1977, the miners made a determined effort to stop the scabs from being brought into the mine and the state intervened with the state police who arrested and beat over 100 coal miners and members of their families. After this armed effort to break the strike, the courts intervened and arrested the leaders of the strike, finally sending 11 of them to jail for 56 days and placing them under an injunction which prohibits them from even picketing. Since then, another 30 have been framed on serious felony charges. The determination of the miners however became steeled rather than crushed.

Rather than retreat, the miners have

sought to strengthen their own organization. A women's club has been organized to unite the families, to meet their basic needs, and to participate in the strike. The miners have not only stood firm in their own struggle, but have also reached out to assist others in struggle. Locally, there is a plant which makes materials for camping, etc. called Outdoor Ventures. The workers there were in a drive to organize a union and went on strike. At one point, the company brought scabs into the plant in an effort to break the strike. The miners heard there were scabs in the plant, so 150 of them went down and joined the Outdoor Venture picket line. Almost immediately, the plant manager came out and told the leader of the workers that if the miners would let the scabs leave without injury, he would sit down and negotiate and recognize the new union. They agreed. As a result, because of the intervention of the Stearns strikers, the workers obtained union recognition, a good contract and learned through their own experience the effect of working class unity.

As the strike has continued, miners have started to travel to other cities to publicize their struggle. They have gone to Bos-

ton, NY, Louisville Knoxville and elsewhere. Not only have they raised desperately needed funds and popularized the struggle, but also they have been exposed to a broader understanding of their struggle in relation to the rest of the country as well as the broad variety of forces that are in or close to the trade union struggle. The Stearns strikers are impressed with the support they have received and pledge that once they have won their struggle, their local of the UMW will give even greater support to the struggles of other workers.

The UMW has recognized the significance of the Stearns struggle, knowing that if there is a victory at Stearns, it will open up other parts of the East Kentucky fields. As a result, they have given some support to the miners. UMW organizers have been assigned to the strike and each miner now gets strike pay of \$100 a week. Despite this level of interest, Miller has only visited the area once in the past 19 months of battle. Whereas the support of the UMW has been important, it has been the determination and courage of the miners and their families which has been decisive. It is their commitment to the struggle that has sustained them and their commitment to struggle which will eventually come into conflict with the efforts of punks like

Miller to tamper with the weapon the men and women in Stearns have honed to needle-sharpness--the strike.

The struggle in Stearns has enormous strengths but it is still part of the spontaneous trade union struggle. It is not a conscious part of the struggle of the working class for state power. To the degree that it is not led by class conscious leaders, it will finally waiver, it will get caught in traps, it will become isolated, it will be misled. In the coal fields today these miners stand at the head of the struggle in many respects, and they will cause enormous difficulty for traitors within the ranks of the UMW. They serve now and will continue to serve as an inspiration to others as the struggle for a contract intensifies. No one should underestimate the capacity of the Stearns strikers to struggle and to sacrifice in the struggle for their union. They have proven it with their lives. We must support their movement through tangible acts of class solidarity. We must generalize and extoll its strengths. We must work to make our contribution to it with a scientific analysis and in this light not belittle our own tasks to divert this movement from the path of militant trade unionism to the political struggle of the proletariat for state power.