

Reagan pushes ahead with war on Central America

Nicaraguans predict invasion

BY FRED MURPHY

The Reagan administration is trying to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua, Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction, charged in an interview printed in the August 29 *New York Times*.

"We are expecting an air attack and an attack by land" from Honduras, Ortega told *Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner. "To the extent that there exists in the United States Government the desire to provoke this war, it is becoming practically impossible to avoid it."

It is not only Nicaraguan government leaders who are issuing such warnings.

"I believe that the danger is real of a war between Honduras and Nicaragua," Iowa Congressman Tom Harkin said August 11 in arguing against the appropriation of \$21 million for military airfields in Honduras. The Reagan administration and the Honduran regime, Harkin continued, "want places to unload supplies, places to deploy American troops. Let us not have any illusions about what this \$21 million is for. It is for pushing the Honduran military, with our active assistance, into a regional war."

A considerable amount of evidence has accumulated to demonstrate the truth of these warnings.

- U.S. military transport planes have ferried Honduran troops and equipment to a major new air base at Durzuna, just 25 miles from the Nicaraguan border. This is one of three airfields for which Congress has voted funds.

- Six hundred U.S. Marines landed at the Honduran port of Tela in early August, in preparation for larger joint maneuvers set for November.

U.S. admiral in Honduras

- During the same period, Adm. Harry Train, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, visited Honduras and inspected port facilities at Tela, Puerto Castilla, and Puerto Lempira. While Train was in the country, Honduran authorities announced plans to build two new naval bases.

- U.S. radio facilities on two Honduran islands — Amapala in the Gulf of Fonseca and Swan in the Caribbean — are being used to disrupt communications between Nicaraguan army and militia units that are combating counterrevolutionary terrorists in northern Nicaragua. Swan Island served as a radio base for the CIA-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

- A second U.S. naval destroyer has been sighted 10 miles off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast near the main port of Corinto. Another destroyer, the U.S.S. *Trippe*, has been operating in the Gulf of Fonseca between Nicaragua and Honduras for several months. Both warships regularly violate Nicaragua's territorial waters.

- The CIA-funded gangs of right-wing Nicaraguan terrorists that operate

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Draft objector jailed for antiwar stand

BY SYLVIA HANSEN

SAN DIEGO — Ben Sasway, the first man indicted for failure to register for the draft, was found guilty on August 26 in U.S. District Court here. Sasway has been jailed without bail until sentencing in October, a decision that he plans to immediately appeal.

Sasway's conviction came just nine days after Enten Eller was found guilty on the same charge in Roanoke, Virginia. Eller was given three months to register. If he refuses, he faces a prison term.

When Sasway was indicted, he explained that his opposition to the draft is based on his opposition to the unjust wars being pursued by the U.S. government. In an interview with the *Militant* in July he said, "The draft is closely connected to arms and militarism in the sense that it enables a leader to easily send people into a foreign interventionist war."

Citing "Nicaragua or Beirut or wherever it is this week," Sasway pointed out: "I think the youth of America, meaning those turning 18 and my generation, remember Vietnam very well."

However, despite repeated attempts on Sasway's part to explain his antiwar point of view to the jury, the judge refused to allow such testimony.

Sasway's conviction followed a three-day trial in which the prosecuting attorney, Yesmin Annen, argued that "the law has not asked him to do anything unreasonable. All we asked him to do was fill out a card, leave it at the post office, and go home."

Annen stressed that the charge was

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Calif. socialists challenge court ruling on ballot rights

BY DAVE PRINCE
AND JUDY STRANAHAN

OAKLAND, Calif. — On August 25 the California Supreme Court, by a 4-3 vote, refused to have a hearing on a lawsuit brought by independent gubernatorial candidate Mel Mason. The suit was filed to force Secretary of State March Fong Eu to place him on the November ballot. In refusing to hear the case the justices ruled that Mason must go before a lower court.

Secretary of State Eu has ruled that only 88,157 of the 214,699 signatures Mason's supporters submitted are valid. Eu's figures place Mason 25,453 short of the 113,610 needed to qualify.

In response to the supreme court ruling the Mason campaign planned to file suit August 31 in the Superior Court of California in Los Angeles, requesting an immediate hearing. In addition Mason's attorneys will call for a restraining order to prevent the state from printing



U.S. "adviser" (right) training Honduran troops. Washington is carrying out major military buildup in Honduras, aimed at Nicaraguan revolution.

Poland: thousands march in streets for Solidarity

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Defying government threats and massive displays of police might, tens of thousands of people turned out in cities throughout Poland August 31 for demonstrations of support for the Solidarity union movement.

The date was the second anniversary of the end of the Lenin Shipyard strike in Gdansk in 1980, which led to the formation of Solidarity.

The turnout — particularly in face of the government's repeated threats to crush the demonstrations with force — showed Solidarity's continued massive support among working people, more than eight months after its activities

were outlawed by the imposition of martial law last December.

Rallies and marches took place in more than a dozen cities, according to initial reports, including Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow, Wroclaw, Lubin, Szczecin, Nowa Huta, Przemyśl, Rzeszow, and Czestochowa.

Two demonstrators were killed in Lubin and more than a dozen wounded when riot police shot into a crowd of protesters.

In Wroclaw, crowds of up to 20,000 rallied in the downtown area. Elite paratroop regiments were flown in to help the local riot police disperse the demonstrators. A curfew was imposed.

In Warsaw, the capital, thousands of people rallied at several different sites, despite the presence of large numbers of riot police — known as the ZOMO — water cannon, and armored vehicles.

When a crowd of several thousand in front of the Palace of Culture and Science in central Warsaw began shouting "Solidarity!" and "We want Lech" — a reference to the union's imprisoned national chairperson, Lech Walesa — the ZOMO started to fire hundreds of tear-gas canisters and sprayed the crowd with high-powered water cannon.

In the industrial suburb of Nowa Huta, near Krakow, several thousand workers from the giant steelworks there marched toward the town center. They were attacked by the ZOMO, leading to clashes. Street clashes were also reported in Krakow itself.

The commemoration of the anniversary in Gdansk began just outside the Lenin Shipyard, at a monument to workers killed there during strikes in 1970. Workers leaving the shipyard laid flowers at the monument, and thousands of people gathered to sing songs and listen to speeches by union activists.

After an hour, when the crowd began to thin, the ZOMO attacked. Street

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W. Va. socialists on ballot, but state bars one candidate

BY JOAN LEVITT

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Working people in West Virginia will have a real choice when they go to the polls in November.

On August 2, Bill Hovland, a coal miner and member of United Mine Workers (UMWA) Local 2095 at the Republic Steel mine in Phillippi, was certified as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Hovland, the first socialist to win a spot on the West Virginia ballot since 1936, will oppose Democratic incumbent Senator Robert Byrd and Republican Cleve Benedict.

The widely publicized announcement of Hovland's certification caps a battle in which socialist campaigners have repeatedly come up against the refusal of state officials to respect the decision of the 13,359 West Virginians who signed nominating petitions to place Hovland and his running-mate Adrienne Benjamin on the ballot. And the battle is not over yet.

On August 4 Benjamin, the SWP candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the 3rd Congressional District, was ruled off the ballot.

Benjamin is a coal miner at Exxon's Monterrey Mine in Wayne County and a member of UMWA Local 2423. Secretary of State A. James Manchin claims she is 217-336 signatures short of the legal requirement for ballot status.

In fact, Benjamin supporters collected 3,944 signatures on nominating petitions, more than twice the 1,796 required. Of these signatures, 773 were later fraudulently discarded or "dis-

appeared" by the secretary of state's office.

A news conference was held on August 13 to protest Benjamin's exclusion from the ballot. Five community activists joined Benjamin and Hovland before TV, radio, and newspaper reporters as Trudy Herod Solomon of the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union announced that her organization would file a lawsuit to overturn Manchin's ruling.

In addition to Solomon, speakers at the press conference included Bettijane Burger, a leading activist for women's rights in Charleston; Dave Evans, a disabled Vietnam veteran and former Democratic candidate for West Virginia House of Delegates; Clifton Bryant, retired coal miner and steelworker; and Gene Murray, a former steelworker and Democratic candidate for the House of Delegates.

Strong statements of support for Benjamin's right to ballot status were distributed from the West Virginia Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; Charleston attorney Larry Harless; and Emile Molle, retired glassworker.

Adrienne Benjamin explained the real reason she was ruled off the ballot. "I'm a working woman, a coal miner, and my campaign offers socialist solutions to the disastrous policies of the Democrats and Republicans. I say, human needs must come before corporate profits."

Benjamin pointed out that both of her opponents support the wars being waged by the U.S. government against the people of Central America, along

with the huge \$1.5 trillion dollar military budget.

"The decision by state officials to deny ballot status to my campaign is a political maneuver designed to prevent West Virginians from having a working-class alternative on the ballot," she said.

Feminist Bettijane Burger declared that while she herself is a Democrat, she believes that the Socialist Workers Party raises "uncomfortable questions about the disappointments many of us have had from the two major parties in this country."

"Many women," she said, "as shown in numerous polls, are becoming disenchanted with the two political parties, who seem to have betrayed us."

Which is exactly why the politicians of these two parties want to bar Benjamin from the ballot, and why they continue to try to prevent Hovland from being heard, despite his certification.

Hovland has already been denied participation in the first of the major debates between the senatorial candidates, to be held at the Greenbrier Hotel on September 3. When pressed to explain this action, John Hurd, president of the state chamber of commerce, a sponsoring organization, replied, "We just think it [Hovland's exclusion] would make for a smoother program."

Hovland discussed the Greenbrier debate in his statement at the August 13 news conference. He pointed out, "Every thinking person knows that the Democrats and Republicans have no real answers to unemployment and infla-



Adrienne Benjamin, SWP candidate for Congress, was ruled off ballot.

tion. Their big-business program means a lower standard of living, less jobs, less social services, weaker unions, more military spending, more Vietnam-type wars, and the threat of nuclear annihilation."

Hovland explained that he had been excluded from the Greenbrier "debate" because the Democrats and Republicans are afraid to debate the real issues. For instance, "Byrd and Benedict will not debate the Israeli invasion of Lebanon because they both support Reagan's proposal to send the marines into Lebanon, while 69 percent of the people of West Virginia disagree with this."

"If I were on the platform with them I would explain the right of Palestinians to a homeland. I would denounce the brutal, genocidal war against the Palestinians, and I would show how the U.S. government supports this war. I would call on the U.S. government to sever all economic and military ties to the Zionist regime in Israel."

The press conference received extensive coverage in the next day's TV, radio, and newspaper reports, which focused on both the suit for Benjamin's ballot rights and on Hovland's denunciation of the U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon.

Less than a week after the press conference, the state supreme court agreed to hear arguments in the ballot suit on September 14, a decision which again brought widespread news coverage.

Meanwhile, the League of Women Voters has decided to invite Hovland to participate in the televised debate it is sponsoring between the senatorial candidates on Oct. 22.

Calif. socialists challenge ballot ruling

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wars all over the globe. It is only one step away from sending American troops into Central America. So it doesn't want a candidate on the ballot who has a program that shows working people the way to defeat the warmakers in Washington.

"That's why March Fong Eu has de-

Burlington mayor backs ballot fight

The following message was sent to California Secretary of State March Fong Eu by Burlington, Vermont, mayor Bernard Sanders.

To March Fong Eu, Secretary of State, Sacramento, California:

I am deeply disturbed to hear that the state of California may deny Mel Mason a place on the ballot in the coming gubernatorial elections. As an independent socialist elected official, I know full well how difficult it is to get a hearing while running for office in this country. I hope that you recognize that the will of the 200,000 citizens of California who want Mel Mason on the ballot must be respected.

Sincerely yours,
Bernard Sanders
Mayor, Burlington, Vermont

cided to rule me off the ballot."

The socialist candidate said that Eu was serving "as henchwoman for the ruling class."

"I think that it is interesting that there was a split in the supreme court as to whether or not my case should be heard. I think this shows our ballot fight is a volatile political issue," he added.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley and Republican George Deukmejian are automatically on the ballot because they are the candidates of the parties representing big business. Independent working-class candidates however have to devote huge resources and funds towards petitioning for ballot status.

Mason's lawsuit, prepared by attorneys Robin Maisel and Ann Menasche, explains that if the intent of the petitioning requirements is to show that a candidate has support, then the 214,699 filed — 100,000 over the requirement — is more than compliance with the election laws.

The suit charges and documents that, in fact, the rulers of California manipulated the election procedure to keep Mason off the ballot. A reverend was disqualified who put "Rev" on the nominating petition but not on the original registration card. So was a person who left out their middle initial. The legal brief

contains evidence of massive disqualification of registered voters.

Mason declared that "the attempts to get me off the ballot will not stop my campaign. Now more than ever it is important for all supporters of democratic rights to show their support by sending messages to Secretary of State Eu demanding she place me on the ballot."

Letters and telegrams should be sent to: Secretary of State March Fong Eu, 1230 "J" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95814. Send copies to Mel Mason for Governor Committee, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609.



Mel Mason

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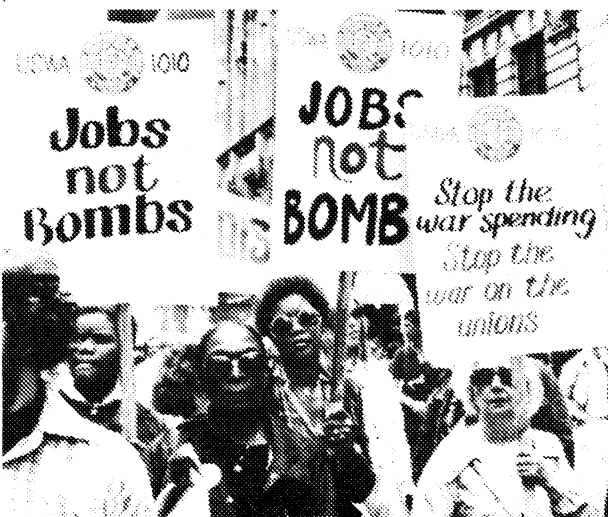
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San Antonio rally to protest deportations

BY JAMES CRANDALL

SAN ANTONIO — A group of San Antonio union and community leaders has called a rally September 4 to protest both the proposed Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill now before Congress and the massive raids along the Texas-Mexico border by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), also known as *la migra*.

The increase in immigration from Mexico, brought on by the economic crisis in that country, and the dramatic increase in deportations by *la migra* have evoked a response in important sectors of the San Antonio labor movement and Chicano community.

Speaking for organizers of the September 4 rally, Antonio Cabral, vice-president of Local 3320 of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), told the *Militant*: "This bill will be used to further the injustices not only against the undocumented, but also against visa-holding immigrant families and Chicano workers. It represents a serious political attack on the labor movement in this country."

Speakers at the rally are to include San Antonio City Councilman Bernardo Euseste; Filip Aguirre, president of AFGE Local 3320; Rudy Rodríguez, president of Local 780 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); and Manuel Muñoz, district president of the League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC).

The rally is officially endorsed by the San Antonio LULAC Council; City Councilwoman María Antoinetta; Berrio Zaval, of the AFGE Local 1617; Jaime Martínez, IUE business agent; and the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally is sponsored by *El Pueblo*, a bilingual Chicano community newspaper.

The rally is an important response by the labor movement and Chicano community to the new wave of racist attacks by *la migra* across Texas. On August 25, more than 1,200 workers were deported to Mexico by the INS in El Paso. The huge increase in deportations was the result of sweeps through downtown El Paso by INS cops, who stationed themselves outside movie theaters, shopping centers, and restaurants in the Chicano community. Reports from other Texas cities also indicate increased deportations. The Border Patrol in Laredo said it had averaged more than 160 deportations per day for the last two weeks.

In recent weeks major garment factories in San Antonio have also been targets of INS raids, as have local supermarkets and bus stations.

The dramatic increase in deportations, coupled with racist anti-immigrant hysteria in the media, is timed to facilitate congressional approval of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. "That's the way politics is done, the way bills are passed," said State Rep. Paul Moreno, a Democrat from El Paso who chairs the Mexican-American Legislative Caucus in the Texas House of Representatives.

The current economic crisis in Mexico, including the devaluation of the peso, has caused an increase in immigration from Mexico into Texas cities. Devaluation has been a catastrophe for workers and farmers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border. Mexican Construction Industry Council President José Salinas stated, "Due to the 50-60 percent increases in cost of materials, construction of thousands of buildings has been suspended. This has caused the firing of roughly 500,000 workers."

The General Motors assembly plant in Cohauila will close September 5 following the announcement of a 32,000-unit reduction for the 1982-1983 model

year, according to autoworkers union leader Joaquín Zapata.

The Mexican economic crisis and the resulting increase in immigration to the United States have brought about a campaign of racist hysteria against Latinos in Texas. Articles have appeared in the Texas press by local congressmen, especially Rep. Henry Gonzales of San Antonio, about "the threat of violence" by "illegal aliens."

A statement issued in support of the September 4 rally by Socialist Workers Party candidates Shirley Peña (for Congress, 20th C.D.) and Steve Warschell (for Texas governor) said, "We add our voices to those in the labor and Chicano movements who are protesting the racist deportations and the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. We call for a halt to the deportations of Mexican and Latin American workers from this country, and demand full human and civil rights for these workers."

Suit filed against immigration cops

BY HARRY RING

A federal suit has been filed against the Immigration and Naturalization Service, challenging the factory raids the INS made during and after its "Project Jobs" operation last April.

The suit was filed in the U.S. district court in San Francisco by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and other civil rights groups.

Under the pretext of "creating more jobs for U.S. workers," INS cops swooped down on factories in a number of cities.

The suit against them charges the INS cops surrounded factories, blocked all exits, and entered without consent or warrant. Inside, they singled out workers they decided looked like Latinos. These workers were not informed of their legal rights, including the right to remain silent or to obtain the help of a lawyer.

More than 5,000 people were arrested across the country and many were summarily deported. Those arrested included a number of people who were, in fact, U.S. citizens or legal residents.

The suit demands an injunction barring such illegal activity by the INS. It would have the agency prohibited from detaining and grilling people on the basis of race, language, or national origin. It also would bar the detaining or questioning of aliens without advising them of their right to remain silent, obtain counsel, or leave the factory premises. It would also bar the INS from entering plants without consent or a warrant.

In addition, damages will be sought by individual workers in the suit who were among those illegally detained, as well as by employers who suffered property damage and lost production during the illegal entry into their plants.

According to MALDEF attorney Susan Brown, within a week after the suit was filed on August 10, two of the factories that are party to the suit were raided again in the same illegal way.

Another plaintiff in the suit is the International Molders and Allied Workers Union, Local 1964.

The suit comes on the heels of a ruling against the INS won by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Los Angeles (ILGWU).

That suit had been filed in 1978 in response to periodic sweeps of Los Angeles garment shops by the INS, particularly shops where organizing drives or strikes were under way.

On July 15, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court ruling that the raids — which were conducted without warrants — were a violation of the Fourth Amendment right barring illegal search and seizure.

Shortly after the ruling, however, the INS announced new "guidelines" which purported to conform to the court order but which were in fact designed to flout the order.



Border patrol arresting workers in El Paso, Texas. Recent weeks have seen big increase in deportations.

MALDEF attorney Brown said the present suit would give teeth to the ruling in the ILGWU case and go beyond it. In a telephone interview, Brown said she did not think the "Project Jobs" raids were seriously intended to create jobs for U.S. workers but were conducted to help whip up anti-immigrant sentiment and build support for the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. This anti-immigrant statute has already been approved by the Senate, and is pending in the House.

John Huerta, associate counsel of MALDEF, declared that the raids were "part of the racist scapegoating of aliens for the high unemployment problems at a time when the government hasn't provided a real solution."

A victory in this suit would be a big

blow against the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. The bill would beef up the border patrol, promote discrimination in hiring by penalizing employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers, and would require that all U.S. workers carry "counterfeit-proof" identity cards in order to obtain a job. Such an "internal passport" could be the basis for a national blacklist of militant unionists and political dissidents.

In addition to MALDEF, the present suit is being conducted by California attorneys for the National Lawyers' Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Asian Law Caucus, California Rural Legal Assistance, and the Constitutional Law and Immigration Law Clinics of Golden Gate University in San Francisco.

Louisville socialist backs Sept. 4 Civil Rights Rally

On September 4, a Civil Rights Rally will take place in Louisville to protest an antibusing rally planned for the same day by the Ku Klux Klan. The following is a statement released on the eve of the anti-Klan rally by Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 3rd Congressional District.

Jefferson County Ku Klux Klan organizations are bringing national Klan leader Bill Wilkinson here to lead an antibusing, prosegregation rally at Valley High School on September 4. The Jefferson County Board of Education is granting them permission for the use of the school, despite deep opposition in this city.

The purpose of the Klan's rally is to incite physical and verbal attacks on Black students and their right to attend desegregated schools. It is no coincidence that the Klan rally coincides with the first week of school.

Free speech for the Klan is *not* the issue here. The issue is the rights of Black students.

This is why I wholeheartedly support the Civil Rights Rally at Grace Hope Presbyterian Church on September 4. It is an opportunity to show that powerful majority support exists for Black rights.

The school board administered a Jim Crow school system for decades. They refused to implement school desegregation until 1975. They stand by while the Junior Klan attacks and intimidates Black students at Valley and other schools. By sanctioning a Klan event on school property, the board is denying Blacks their democratic rights and attacking desegregation.

The attack on desegregation comes at a time when the ruling rich and their

government are demanding concessions from the unions, gutting social programs, pouring money into the war budget, closing plants, and denying women equal rights.

In their drive against working people, the employers have especially singled out desegregation, claiming this is a cause of the deterioration of the country's school system. But it is the massive cutbacks in education carried out at the local, state, and federal level, while the war budget is increased, that is destroying our schools. Desegregation — and busing, the only means by which to effectively desegregate — has been an advance not only for Black students, but for the working class as a whole.

That's why labor as a whole has a stake in defending desegregation and opposing the Klan and city officials who act in collusion with them.

The role of Democratic and Republican officials in encouraging Klan violence also points to another step we must take.

We need to completely break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party, based on a revitalized union movement. A labor party would fight for a government that represents our interests, a workers and farmers government.

Such a government would take aggressive steps to eliminate the effects of centuries of racist discrimination, ordering affirmative action programs in every workplace and desegregating all the schools. Instead of spending billions on war, it would put the resources of this country to work creating jobs for the millions of unemployed, building schools, hospitals, and all the other things we need.

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Indians slaughtered by Guatemalan Army

Reagan campaigns for resumption of military aid to dictatorship



Helicopter-borne Guatemalan Army gunner strafes a village "suspected of harboring guerrillas."

BY FRED MURPHY

The United States should play "essentially the same role" in Guatemala as it does in El Salvador, says Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting, head of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama.

In Guatemala, the Pentagon's chief military officer in Latin America told the *New York Times*, "the population is larger, the economy is stronger, the geographical position is more critically located in a strategic sense."

"The implications of a Marxist takeover in Guatemala are a lot more serious than in El Salvador," Nutting declared.

Nutting's remarks were part of a campaign by the Reagan administration to justify restoring U.S. military aid to the Guatemalan dictatorship. No such aid has been publicly given since 1977, when the Guatemalan regime rejected it owing to some State Department criticisms of human-rights violations.

What the U.S. imperialists fear in Guatemala is an armed revolutionary movement involving thousands of seasoned fighters, based on and supported by much of the country's Indian peasant population. Especially in the highland provinces of the northwest, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) has proven capable over the past year of dealing serious blows to the regime's armed forces.

Since taking over in a coup last March, the current dictator, Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, has escalated army terror against the Indians.

Under the state of siege Ríos Montt declared on July 1, some 10,000 troops have been sent into the provinces of El Quiché, San Marcos, Huehuetenango, Sololá, Alta Verapaz, and Baja Verapaz. The army has been expanded through the forced reenlistment of all ex-soldiers aged 19 to 36. Rigorous press censorship has been imposed to prevent reporting on the army's scorched-earth campaigns.

Even before the state of siege, horrible deeds were being committed by the regime's forces. According to a chart compiled by the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission from information printed in the Guatemalan press, some 90 villages suffered massacres between March 23 (the date of Ríos Montt's coup) and the end of June. The victims totaled some 3,550. Among the commission's terse descriptions of the army's actions were the following:

- "Burned houses and 1,000 hundred-weight of corn";
- "Machine-gunned women and children, then burned bodies";
- "Children thrown onto rocks in river";
- "Burned alive, tied to their houses";
- "Majority women and children; bodies left hanging from trees";
- "Shut in their houses and burned alive";
- "Women raped."

In addition to the wholesale slaughter of entire villages, the army systematically destroys food supplies, cornfields, and livestock.

Huge sections of forest have been burned to the ground to prevent the Indians from finding shelter after fleeing

their villages. Abandoned houses are destroyed, mined, or booby-trapped to prevent their occupants from returning. Survivors are rounded up and placed in what Ríos Montt calls "model villages" — surrounded by barbed wire.

"A total of 22,000 peasants, mostly Indians, have been displaced from their areas of residence by the policy of terror and genocide practiced by the regime," the Costa Rican solidarity bulletin *Informador de Guatemala* reported in its July issue.

"Guatemalan refugees first began crossing into Mexico 14 months ago, although some chose only to sleep in Mexico and others would occasionally return home to work their fields," a dispatch from Mexico City to the August 18 *New York Times* reported. "Recently, however, the pattern has apparently changed. 'At the beginning of the year, more refugees would go back and forth,' said a local representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 'but since June, the fear is greater and people are not returning.'"

The *Times* cited an aid worker, Angela Berryman of the American Friends Service Committee, who told a U.S. congressional hearing August 5: "It

was a unanimous conviction, based on experience among all the refugees I spoke to, that it is the Guatemalan Army which is directly responsible for the violence which the Indian people are suffering."

Berryman quoted one refugee as saying: "We left Guatemala suddenly because in our community there was a massacre of 14 people. In the same area, there was another massacre of eight people. The military is doing these massacres. The army says it is burning our houses and massacring our people because it is we who are the guerrillas."

Ríos Montt terms his policy toward the Indians *fusiles y frijoles* — guns and beans. Some food is being distributed to the villagers who escape the massacres, and new housing, schools, and clinics are supposedly going to be built in the areas now being devastated.

The Guatemalan people have demonstrated time and again their ability to survive the rulers' terror and persist in their struggles for democratic rights and social justice. The Reagan administration's impatience to resume military aid to the regime indicates its own lack of confidence that the current strategy can succeed.

From Intercontinental Press

Nicaraguans predict Honduran invasion

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from southern Honduras have steadily increased their attacks.

'You win by killing'

Typical of these gangsters is José Francisco Cardenal, who has been named by columnist Jack Anderson as "the principal beneficiary of the reported \$19 million in covert CIA funds that President Reagan approved to destabilize Nicaragua." Cardenal is chief of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Force, which slaughtered 14 Nicaraguans in the town of San Francisco del Norte in mid-July.

"You don't win a war by talking, you win it by killing," Cardenal boasted in Anderson's August 25 column, "and that is what we are doing, every day, inside Nicaragua."

• The U.S. Congress passed the Symms resolution in mid-August, declaring Washington's determination "to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending by force or the threat of force its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere." Sen. Charles Percy termed this "a Gulf of Tonkin resolution for Cuba" — an apt allusion to the measure that served as the legal fig leaf for Washington's war against the Vietnamese people.

• A series of high Honduran officials have made statements to the effect that they would welcome the intervention of U.S. troops in their country "to defend the region against international communism."

Key to the preparation of a major move against Nicaragua is Washing-

ton's propaganda campaign to paint the Sandinista government as a totalitarian regime and a menace to its neighbors. Thus Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders told a gathering at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco August 20 that Nicaragua has become "the preserve of a small, Cuban-advised elite of Marxist-Leninists, disposing of growing military power and hostile to all forms of social life but those they dominate."

Nicaraguan leader Ortega responded to the U.S. attacks in his interview with the *New York Times*:

"Calling the Enders speech a 'spectacular message,' Mr. Ortega said that it was designed to create in the public opinion of North America and internationally 'the favorable conditions for an aggressive action against Nicaragua which will come very soon.'

"It is a matter of trying to create the impression that the Sandinist regime is totalitarian," he said. "Then it is logical" that Nicaragua will be invaded, and the Honduran Air Force, the most potent in Central America, "will feel obligated to bomb military objectives because they are said to be a threat."

"And when Nicaragua responds, Mr. Ortega said, the United States will say that 'it has the right to send troops to support its friends.'"

'Remember Vietnam'

Washington's course toward counter-revolutionary war in Central America has also been pointed to by the freedom fighters in El Salvador.

"U.S. imperialism's political decision to intervene directly and massively in the area was made some time ago," the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front warned in their weekly bulletin from Mexico for August 9-15. "The technical, logistic, and personnel preparations for war are now nearly complete. The necessary political conditions for such an adventure do not yet fully exist, but the Reagan administration is working in an accelerated fashion to create them."

For its part, the Cuban revolutionary leadership responded to the new threats in a front-page editorial in the August 26 issue of the Havana daily *Granma*. The real source of the liberation struggles in Central America, *Granma* declared, is not Cuba but "the inhuman

economic, social, and political conditions that persist there — unemployment, poverty, inequality, injustice, landlessness, and the pitiless exploitation by the multinational corporations.

"Those in Washington who are toying with the idea of a Yankee military intervention in Central America would do well to remember the lesson U.S. troops received in Vietnam."

Dissident Honduran colonel confirms plans for aggression

Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega's warnings of the danger of a U.S.-provoked Honduran attack on Nicaragua received fresh confirmation August 31 when a top Honduran military officer held a news conference in Mexico City.

Col. Leonidas Torres Arias, a former head of military intelligence who was sent into "diplomatic exile" last May, charged that Honduran armed forces chief Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martínez is leading Honduras toward military confrontation with Nicaragua.

General Alvarez is planning an "adventure of madness" that Honduras cannot win, Torres said. The general, he continued, threatens to "lead the people of Honduras along the road of blood and fratricidal struggle."

Under Alvarez, the exiled officer told the *New York Times*, for the first time in recent Honduran history, there have been cases of disappearances and political murder. "Clandestine cemeteries" have been discovered in the last five months, Torres said.

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Reagan rolls out red carpet for Philippine tyrant Marcos

BY FRED MURPHY

President Ferdinand Marcos, dictator of the Philippines, is preparing for a long-awaited state visit to Washington. The trip has reportedly been set for mid-September.

Marcos's principal aim in coming to the United States at this time is to seek the aid of the Philippines' former colonial rulers in dealing with the massive unrest and opposition that confronts his regime. Strikes and street demonstrations have become a constant feature in the cities. More and more peasants are joining a widespread guerrilla struggle in the countryside. In the south, the oppressed Moro people persist in a decade-long rebellion. Students, intellectuals, and sectors of the Catholic church are taking an active part in the opposition to the dictatorship.

Crackdown on unions

To dramatize the situation for Washington and to try to head off protests at home during his absence from the Philippines, Marcos announced August 8 the discovery of a supposed plot against his regime. "Intelligence reports," he claimed, had revealed "a plan for a nationwide strike, which will be accompanied by nationwide bombings and assassinations."

A few days later, 14 leaders of the May 1 Movement (KMU) and other trade unionists were thrown in jail. Marcos then announced that the whole plot had been "aborted" through this "pre-emptive action." KMU leader Felixberto Olalia, 79 years old, and an aide, Crispin Beltran, were confined to a military stockade and charged with "inciting sedition and rebellion."

The KMU, with its half-million-strong membership, is the most militant of the Philippines' trade-union federations. It has been in the forefront of a massive wave of strikes that has swept the country since Marcos lifted martial law in January 1981.

Martial law had been in effect since September 1972. It was extensively applied to repress working-class struggles and crush opposition to the regime. But this failed to stem the radicalization. In lifting martial law, Marcos sought to relieve some of the pressure on his regime and blunt growing criticism from abroad of human-rights violations. The move was largely cosmetic, however — virtually all the repressive legislation decreed under martial law remained in force.

The years of martial law brought sharp reductions in workers' living standards. Real wages have fallen by 40 percent since 1972. It was the effort to recover some of these losses that brought on the big strikes of the past year and a half. In 1981, there were 260 strikes involving losses to employers of 1.8 million worker-hours. In just the first four months of this year, the 1981 strike figure was surpassed, and the number of lost worker-hours topped 3.4 million.

Economic crisis

Now, in addition to the erosion of wage levels, Philippine workers are facing massive layoffs as the worldwide crisis of capitalism bears down on the country's industries.

In the first half of 1981 alone, slumping businesses laid off nearly 200,000 workers. Labor Ministry figures put the 1981 unemployment rate at 14.6 percent, up from 6.5 percent in 1979. Other government data put metropolitan Manila joblessness at nearly 26 percent. All these figures have since risen further, and were undoubtedly too optimistic to begin with.

The industrial crisis is but one component of the major difficulties now besetting the Philippine economy. World-market prices for all the country's major exports — coconut products, copper,

timber, and sugar — have dropped precipitously in recent years. At the same time, the prices of vital imports — especially oil and parts and raw materials for industry — have shot upward. The result is the same as that facing many other semicolonial countries: a balance-of-payments crisis, mounting foreign debt, and austerity measures by the regime that strike the workers and peasants the hardest.

Farmers join guerrillas

Small farmers ruined by the coconut crisis, along with others hit by rising production costs and declining prices, form an important part of the large and growing base of support for the rural guerrilla war being waged against Marcos by the New People's Army (NPA).*

According to the April 1982 *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, the NPA has 27 guerrilla fronts covering more than 400 municipalities in 47 provinces. These fronts "cover a full quarter of the Philippine rural population. An estimated half of those under the front's influence, an eighth of the total rural population, give active support."

In areas where the NPA is strong, the rebels have been able to implement their own land-reform programs — distributing idle holdings, forcing landowners to reduce rents, establishing co-operatives of both producers and consumers, conducting literacy campaigns, and setting up armed peasant militias.

One area where the NPA has made particularly important gains in the past year is the southern island of Mindanao, the second largest of the archipelago. The August 13 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported on a secret cable sent to Washington by the U.S. consul in Cebu who visited Mindanao several times over a three-month period. "Whatever is good there may only be temporary," Consul G.H. Sheinbaum warned. "And whatever is bad may only get worse."

"All observers with whom we spoke," Sheinbaum reported, "said that the poor economic conditions of the past two years in eastern Mindanao (perhaps the worst part of the country in that regard because of the heavy dependence on coconuts) have been the root cause of dissatisfaction and therefore the most helpful argument for NPA propagandists."

The NPA's strongholds are mainly in the eastern part of Mindanao. To the west, and on the smaller islands that stretch south toward Borneo, Marcos's armed forces are still engaged in suppressing a longstanding rebellion by the Moro people. The Moros, an oppressed Muslim population, make up some 5 to 10 percent of Filipinos. Since 1972 the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) has been fighting to achieve self-rule for this people.

Despite the large-scale civilian massacres perpetrated by government forces, and the displacement of more than one-third of the Moro population when the war was at its height in 1974-75, Manila has still not "pacified" the region.

Massive radicalization

Added to the strikes and struggles of urban workers and the rural insurgencies in many parts of the Philippines is the overall radicalization under way throughout the country. High school and college students, teachers, health-care employees, journalists, lawyers, Catholic priests and nuns, and Protestant ministers have all become increas-

* The NPA is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was reorganized as a pro-Peking current in 1968. More recently, the CPP has taken its distance from the current Chinese regime on such international questions as the Nicaraguan and Iranian revolutions. The CPP hailed those victories, which were viewed by Peking as gains for "Soviet social-imperialism."

ingly involved in actions against the dictatorship.

More and more, the radicalization is being channeled and organized by the National Democratic Front (NDF), a broad opposition bloc with close ties to the NPA and the Communist Party of the Philippines. It was the NDF that initiated and led the successful boycott of Marcos's phony presidential election in June 1981.

At the same time, the traditional bourgeois opposition, organized in the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), is losing ground and facing a crisis of perspectives.

Marcos's capitalist opponents have always looked to Washington to back them up, presenting themselves as the "democratic" alternative to the dictator. With the Reagan administration standing foursquare behind Marcos, the ex-senators, congressmen, and other bourgeois figures who make up UNIDO see little hope.

"People like me are irrelevant," ex-Senator Jose Diokno lamented to a *Miami Herald* reporter last April. "No one has faith in the ballot. Now, it's the bullet."

High stakes for Washington

The U.S. imperialists cannot help but be alarmed at the rising ferment among the Philippine masses. A social upheaval in the Philippines, one of the largest countries of Southeast Asia, would have immediate repercussions throughout the region, especially in neighboring Indonesia and Malaysia. A major challenge to the Marcos dictatorship would contribute greatly to the defense and deepening of the revolutions in Indochina, now under attack by Washington.

U.S. corporations have some \$3 billion invested in the Philippines, and U.S. banks hold much of the Marcos regime's \$15.8 billion foreign debt. Also high in Washington's calculations is the strategic value of the Philippines to the Pentagon. Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base (housing some 17,000 U.S. troops) are among the largest U.S. military installations in the world.

As a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a U.S.-sponsored military pact, the Philippines is today a linchpin of Washington's plans to counter the advancing revolutionary struggles in Asia, from Indochina to Iran.

It is these considerations that underlie the Reagan administration's support for Marcos's dictatorship. "We stand with the Philippines," Vice-president George Bush cynically told Marcos in Manila in June 1981. "We love your adherence to democratic principles and



Dictator Ferdinand Marcos

democratic processes. We will not leave you in isolation."

Oppose the Marcos visit!

In the United States, a broad formation called the National Committee to Oppose the Marcos State Visit has been preparing for almost a year to protest the dictator's presence. It includes both progressive Filipino organizations and a wide array of U.S. human-rights and solidarity groups.

In an August statement, the committee noted the mounting harassment that anti-Marcos Filipinos have been facing from the U.S. government and its police agencies — including the threat of extradition to stand trial in Marcos's kangaroo courts. The statement appealed to U.S. working people in the following terms:

"The burden of fortifying repressive regimes like the Marcos dictatorship . . . and the murderous Salvadoran oligarchy is placed on the working class of this country, and especially its Black and Third World minorities, who are currently being stripped of basic social and economic services by the transfer of billions of dollars from the social budget to the ever-escalating defense budget. Indeed the brutal assault on basic human and political rights being carried out in the Third World by U.S.-backed dictatorships is but the other side of the coin of the massive attack on the fundamental economic and social rights of the people by this administration.

"Ferdinand Marcos' visit is a brazen challenge flung at all of us. It is a tangible symbol of the intersection of U.S. support to repressive regimes abroad and increasing repression at home. We repudiate this cynical attempt to paint this bloody dictator as a committed democrat. We repudiate the political attack on persons whose only crime is to exercise their right to oppose repression in their homeland. We urge you to join the growing nationwide opposition to the state visit of Philippine dictator Marcos."

From Intercontinental Press

Protests slated for Marcos visit

Protests are planned against the visit by Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos to the United States in mid-September.

The National Committee to Oppose the Marcos State Visit is urging East Coast residents to join in a rally at the White House Ellipse in Washington on September 16, the day Reagan is scheduled to receive the dictator. The rally will begin at 11 a.m.

In New York, a rally will be held on September 20 at the United Nations, First Avenue and 43rd Street, at 9 a.m. A teach-in on the Philippines will be held at the Community Church of New York, 40 East 35th Street, at 6 p.m. on September 18.

Anti-Marcos activists also hope to hold picket lines at other sites to be visited by the dictator. As the *Militant* went to press, however, Marcos's itinerary had still not been made public.

In addition to demanding a halt to U.S. support for the Marcos dictatorship, the planned demonstrations will also call on the U.S. Senate to reject ratification of a U.S.-Philippines treaty authorizing the extradition from this country of Filipinos accused of crimes by the Marcos regime.

Already some 40 Filipino exiles have been indicted in Manila and could be handed over to the dictator's torturers if the treaty is ratified. Among these are ex-Senator Benigno Aquino and Rene Cruz, editor of *Ang Katipunan*, a Filipino socialist monthly published in Oakland, California.

For further information, contact the National Committee to Oppose the Marcos State Visit, c/o Congress Task Force, 1322 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone (202) 223-5611.

Arab world hails heroic PLO fighters



Palestinian liberation fighters leave Beirut, saluted by Palestinian and Lebanese residents.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Having held off the powerful Israeli army in West Beirut for more than two and a half months, the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are being hailed as heroes throughout the Arab world.

In West Beirut itself — despite the massive devastation of the Israeli bombings — tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese turned out to pay tribute to the departing PLO fighters. The route the fighters took to the West Beirut harbor was lined with supporters, hundreds of whom fired automatic weapons into the air in a salute to their courage.

In retreating from West Beirut, the PLO liberation fighters left with dignity and with the conviction that their struggle for national self-determination will ultimately triumph.

An Associated Press dispatch from Beirut on August 21, the first day of the PLO's withdrawal, reported:

"The guerrillas arrived in the port in a 13-truck convoy, flashing 'V' for victory signs and brandishing portraits of PLO chief Yasser Arafat on the muzzles of their guns. They waved red, white, green and black Palestinian flags and chanted 'Revolution, Revolution Until Victory' and 'I Love Palestine' on their two-mile truck trip from West Beirut's municipal stadium to the harbor."

'Palestine or Bust'

The scene the next day was similar. *Washington Post* correspondent Loren Jenkins reported: "Well-wishers carried the message of a PLO victory on hand-scrolled posters that said, 'All Roads Lead to Jerusalem' and 'Palestine or Bust,' while groups of teary-eyed Palestinian women dressed in their traditional long gowns, chanted Palestinian slogans."

"With Palestinian flags streaming from the cabs of their military trucks, the departing guerrillas were showered with rice and flower blossoms as they held aloft pictures of Arafat."

These outpourings of tribute to the PLO in West Beirut fly in the face of the repeated charges by the Israeli and U.S. governments that the PLO is a band of "terrorists" that has held Lebanon "hostage" for years.

The PLO is certainly hated by Lebanon's ruling class. But its support among the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese working people is deep and widespread.

Without that support, the PLO would never have been able to hold off the Israeli troops and tanks for so long. Even the massive Israeli bombing raids and the repeated use of cluster and phosphorous bombs was not able to break that mass base of support.

In deciding to withdraw from West Beirut, the PLO explained that the only alternative would have been an even bloodier Israeli massacre of West Beirut's Lebanese and Palestinian inhabitants.

But the retreat from Beirut has not been accompanied by any political re-

treat. The PLO has expressed its determination to continue fighting for the Palestinians' right to regain their homeland.

"We shall pursue our struggle from any Arab land on which we are present," Saleh Khalef, one of the top PLO leaders, said in a statement published in several newspapers in Beirut on the day the withdrawal began.

Brig. Abdul Razzaq Yahia, the head of the PLO's political department for Syria and Jordan, stated in an interview in Amman that the withdrawal from Beirut would open a new "more complicated and difficult" phase for the organization. But he also expressed the confidence that the PLO would be able to "adapt to the new conditions."

Massive welcome rallies

One factor that will help the Palestinian struggle in these new conditions is the massive support for the PLO among working people throughout the region. That support has been expressed in enthusiastic welcomes to greet the Palestinians arriving from Beirut.

White House welcomes butcher Sharon

Continued from Page 16

tack the Syrian capital itself. "Our troops and artillery in the Bekaa Valley are in the range of 25 kilometers from Damascus. This means that we can shell Damascus any moment," he said.

Poland

Continued from Page 1

clashes then followed in many parts of the city, including the Old Town and the working-class residential areas to the north. Barricades were erected across roadways.

Seven army trucks with soldiers accompanied by a bulldozer pulled up to one barricade to push it aside. The protesters shouted, "The military with us! The military with us!" The trucks then turned around, leaving the barricade untouched, while one soldier flashed a "V" sign at the protesters.

The determination of Solidarity's supporters to turn out in such numbers in defiance of the government's threats shows that the union is not a handful of "extremists," as the authorities charge, but a movement deeply rooted in Poland's working class.

The demonstrations were called by the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) of Solidarity, which is functioning as a national leadership.

In a major strategy document issued at the same time as the demonstration call, the TKK noted that the population had to be prepared to carry out a "long-term" struggle for its aims: "freedom for the political prisoners and internees, an end to the state of war, and the reactivation of the independent union movement."

The first ship carrying the PLO fighters arrived in the port of Larnaca, in Cyprus. On the route from the port to the airport, where they boarded planes for Jordan and Iraq, the PLO members were cheered by crowds of Cypriots.

Upon the arrival of the first Palestinian fighters in Syria, at the port of Tartus, they were greeted by tens of thousands of Syrians and Palestinians. Many had come from Damascus in hundreds of buses and cars.

According to an August 26 dispatch from Damascus by the Palestinian news agency, Wafa: "A rapturous scene ensued, with the fighters, their weapons raised over their heads, descending from the ship led by a commando holding a portrait of Yasser Arafat and followed by several others carrying Palestinian flags."

"The crowds soon burst through the gates of the port and embraced the returning heroes, who were swept away in a huge burst of emotion from the Syrian and Palestinian well-wishers."

The first ship carrying some of the PLO units to Yemen crossed the Suez Canal in Egypt August 24. They were greeted with demonstrations all along the route, in the Egyptian ports of Port Said, Al Qantara, Ismailiya, and Port Tawfiq.

In Port Said, the ship was met by an official delegation and by large crowds that lined up along one and a half kilometers of the port's entrance. They waved Palestinian flags and sang the Palestinian national anthem along with the PLO fighters.

At the next stop, Al Qantara, thousands more were waiting for the ship. "Popular revolution in all the Arab nation!" they chanted.

Two days later, a second ship of Palestinian fighters passed through the Suez Canal. According to a Wafa dispatch, "The convoy of cars going to meet the ship from Cairo flew Palestinian flags and was repeatedly stopped on the way by crowds of people, while bystanders flashed V-signs and Egyptian soldiers raised their weapons in salute."

This deep popular support for the PLO has made a number of the PLO's new "host" governments more than a little anxious.

In an August 17 dispatch from Amman, Jordan, *New York Times* correspondent Colin Campbell noted that "sympathy for the Palestine Liberation Organization is widespread, even among many non-Palestinians, and it has grown since the Israeli bombardment of Beirut." More than 60 percent of Jordan's population is Palestinian.

Because of this sentiment, King Hussein himself was compelled to greet the arriving PLO fighters and to praise their courage — 12 years after he drove the PLO out of Jordan at the conclusion of the 1970 civil war there.

But Hussein was very careful to limit any active expressions of popular support for the PLO. The general public was not allowed to attend the arrival ceremony, which was held at the Jordanian Air Force base at Mafraq, in the desert 40 miles northeast of Amman. Nevertheless, private celebrations for the PLO fighters were held throughout Amman.

While the Syrian regime did allow mass demonstrations to greet the Palestinians, it has disclosed that the PLO fighters will not be allowed to settle near the capital. The entire contingent of PLO fighters that arrived from Beirut is to be housed in a desert area far to the southeast of Damascus.

The PLO has noted the different responses of the Arab governments and masses. It has frequently criticized the Arab regimes for not coming to the aid of the Palestinians during the Israeli invasion, attacking their "inactivity" and "somnia."

An August 25 Wafa dispatch from Beirut concluded, "As they [the PLO fighters] go to these Arab states, with a warm farewell behind them, and an enthusiastic popular welcome awaiting them, they will remain a standing reproach to the Arab governments, pointing out by their example to the Arab peoples the path they must follow."

From Intercontinental Press

To emphasize the seriousness of these threats, Israeli forces shot down a Syrian reconnaissance plane over Beirut August 31.

At the same time, the Israeli invaders and the rightist regime of Bashir Gemayel are threatening new attacks against the predominantly Muslim population of West Beirut.

On August 29, Lt. Gen. Rafael Eytan, the Israeli military chief of staff, warned that the Israeli forces would not allow the Mourabitoun militia forces to remain in West Beirut. The Mourabitoun is one of the largest of the leftist and Muslim groups that fought alongside the PLO during the siege of West Beirut.

Preparing the pretext for an attack on

West Beirut, U.S. and Israeli officials have charged that these militia forces have received the heavy weapons left behind by the PLO, claiming that they should have been turned over to the Lebanese army.

Such a move would have left the half-million inhabitants of West Beirut defenseless in face of Gemayel's Phalangist killers and the Lebanese army itself, which is dominated by the Maronite Christian minority.

"As long as our country is occupied by the Israelis," Mourabitoun leader Ibrahim Kolehlat said in an interview, "as Lebanese we reserve the right to stay armed as long as our country is under occupation and our people are threatened."

Sharon visit protested in D.C.

BY ALAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was met by more than 550 picketers when he addressed a meeting of the Israel Bond Organization in Washington on August 28. The picket was sponsored by the Washington, D.C., chapter of the November 29 Coalition.

A separate, smaller picket of Sharon's visit was sponsored by Washington-area Jews Opposed to the Israeli Invasion.

Protesters from the November 29 Coalition chanted "Hey, Sharon, You Can't Hide, We Charge

You With Genocide." Many passing motorists honked their horns in support of the demonstrators.

Lawyer Mark Lane addressed the protesters, explaining his opposition as an American Jew to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Dr. Hatem Husseini of the Palestine Liberation Organization also spoke to the crowd, stating: "We know we are not only fighting against Israel. We're fighting the United States government as well. But we will continue to struggle until we achieve a democratic and secular state in Palestine, where Jews, Muslims, and Christians can live together."

Fidel Castro salutes battle waged by PLO

Letter to Yassir Arafat

The following letter from Fidel Castro to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yassir Arafat was published on the front page of the August 24 Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

Dear Comrade Arafat:

Once more the Palestinian people have demonstrated their integrity and valor. The Palestinian combatants supported by the Lebanese patriots were besieged by a technologically and numerically superior enemy endowed with the most sophisticated war-matériel, an enemy armed and advised by the United States of America and accustomed to explosively unleashing the blitzkrieg. But the Palestinian people were able to resist with unequalled dignity, and to hold back the machinery of destruction and death marshaled by the Zionists. From the ruins of West Beirut, under cross-fire from Israeli naval bombardment, artillery, and warplanes, the military response of the Palestinian fighters, supported by the Lebanese patriots, never let up for an instant.

With astonishment and admiration, the whole world watched the courageous example provided by the Palestinian people in defense of their inalienable rights, under the sure guidance of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and with the invaluable inspiration of your presence in the front line of battle.

In taking the road of exile, the Palestinian troops did so singing their anthems and with their flags flying, their weapons and heads held high.

Such an army has not been defeated. Such an army has added new glory to the glory it already has.

The blood that has been spilled in Lebanon must now be added to the record of the present U.S. administration. That administration, which supported the Zionists while making huge political efforts to achieve negotiated solutions favorable to its interests and those of the Tel Aviv regime, can undoubtedly be viewed as the inspirer of this genocide, which it knew about well in advance and to which it gave its full support and consent.

A new stage has opened before the Palestinian people and their leaders, and it will be no less complex and difficult than those stages already completed in your long struggle to realize your trampled-upon rights.

Now it will be more necessary than ever to call upon the reserves of energy and capacity for mobilization, organization, and discipline of the leading cadres, of the fighters, and of the Palestinian people as a whole. This will be necessary in order to reorganize the struggle in whatever forms it may take, and to carry out the battle with the same heroism shown in Beirut and elsewhere in Lebanon.

It will be more necessary than ever



Cuban leader Fidel Castro and PLO chairman Yassir Arafat.

that there be the closest unity in the ranks of the PLO and among the combatants of the various organizations that make it up. This unity will be a decisive factor in eliminating any manifestation of demoralization and in preparing for the new battles that lie ahead.

Only through this struggle, which we know will be long and filled with difficulties, can the fraternal Palestinian people achieve their national aspirations and establish an independent Palestinian state, which is the only way to finally resolve the central problem of the Middle East crisis.

The Palestinian combatants are fighting in the same trench as the Central American peoples, who are today threatened by the direct intervention of U.S. troops, and in the same trench as the African peoples, who are under attack by the racists from South Africa.

It is also the same trench as the one occupied by our people, who are bravely confronting U.S. imperialism's threats of direct aggression.

By defending their national rights, the Palestinians have defended the rights of all the world's revolutionaries, and the blood spilled by their sons is like the blood of our own peoples.

The pain over the loss of brave fighters and over the losses among the civilian population is our own pain. The pride in their heroism in battle is also our own pride.

Therefore, knowing that there are thousands of orphaned Palestinian children for whom the doors of the future have been gradually closed, we have made the decision to receive 500 of them to do their studies in Cuba, in a school that will be named "Battle of Beirut," in a humble show of solidarity with our Palestinian brothers.

We feel that this is a modest effort by our people to help alleviate to some degree the aftermath of the Israeli aggression.

Our people, party, and government, while extending their hand in solidarity to the Palestinian people, wish to reiterate to them our readiness to resist any imperialist aggression to the end, inspired by the examples provided yesterday by the Vietnamese people and now by the heroic resistance of the Palestinians and their allies in the Lebanese National Movement.

We know that our resistance will make it more difficult to implement imperialist policy and that through it we will contribute to the struggle and resistance of other peoples.

I wish to express to you our readiness to receive you in Cuba, at the time you feel is most convenient, in order to pursue the exchange of opinions on this situation and international events, and to express to you the highest appreciation of the Cuban people.

Esteemed comrade, please receive the profession of my deepest and most sincere friendship.

Fidel Castro

First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and President of the Council of State and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba

U.S. role in Lebanon war blasted



Militant/Will Reissner

Dr. Hatem Husseini

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Dr. Hatem Husseini, a leading representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the United States, blasted the Reagan administration's Lebanon policy at an August 27 news conference in New York.

Speaking the same day that Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the PLO's deputy observer at the United Nations argued that "the fact that Shultz and Weinberger are meeting with Sharon shows that the U.S. government approves of Israeli actions" in Lebanon.

Husseini pointed out that in May the Reagan administration had given the Is-

raelis a green light for the invasion, and Sharon is now reporting back on the implementation of the plan.

As a result of the meetings between Sharon and the Reagan administration, Husseini contended, the Israeli government will get more arms and more financial aid from Washington. He noted that "this money is coming right out of the pockets of American working people. While schools and hospitals in the United States are being shut down for lack of money, the Reagan administration has plenty of money to finance the destruction of schools and hospitals in Lebanon."

Gerald Horne, a member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, spoke at the press conference to explain how Israel has illegally used U.S. weapons in its invasion of Lebanon.

Horne, who participated in the August 8-15 International Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon held in Nicosia, Cyprus, pointed out that use of U.S.-supplied cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs against civilians is prohibited under the Arms Export Control Act of 1976.

An investigating team of present and former aides to Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill and Representatives Shirley Chisholm and Walter Fauntroy recently returned from two weeks in Beirut. After examining the situation, the team found "irrefutable and massive evidence of illegal Israeli use of cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs in Beirut," Horne noted.

The investigators brought back a six-page list of serial numbers taken from cluster-bomb canisters, as well as several casings from the bombs. They also brought back samples of human tissue that had been burned by phosphorus bombs.

The team reported its findings to Sen. Charles Percy and Rep. Clement Zablocki of the Senate and House foreign relations committees. As yet no action has been taken on their report.

Horne asked, "will the law-and-order administration in the White House now brazenly flaunt the law in this case?"

Urgent appeal on prisoners of war

Many thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians are now languishing in Israeli detention and prison camps, according to Rev. Donald Waggoner, a Chicago Presbyterian minister who recently returned from Lebanon, where he was trapped by the Israeli invasion on June 6.

Estimates of the number of prisoners being held by the Israelis range from 9,000, a figure provided by an Israeli officer in the Lebanese city of Sidon, to 15,000 according to some international relief organizations.

According to the August 27 *New York Times*, the Israelis are holding more than 7,000 prisoners in the Al Ansar camp alone.

Waggoner stressed the need for an international campaign to demand that the Israelis and their Lebanese allies apply the Geneva conventions on the treatment of prisoners of war to the detainees. Israeli officials refuse to grant POW status to the thousands they hold in custody. Among them are 250 medical personnel, whose services are desperately needed in war-ravaged Lebanon.

The Chicago cleric also called on the Israelis to allow international organiza-

tions to interview the prisoners and provide them with medical services.

The Palestinian Red Crescent society has compiled a list of 12,000 people it believes are in detention. Waggoner called on the Israeli occupation authorities to review this list and provide information on the status of each of the prisoners.

He also stressed the need for an international campaign to stop kangaroo-court trials of the prisoners in the detention camps, which is banned under the Geneva conventions.

Along with others who had returned from Lebanon, Waggoner met in June with Elliot Abrams of the State Department to explain the plight of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners and to urge the U.S. government to investigate their status. Thus far Abrams has not responded to these requests, Waggoner stated.

According to Lebanese author Elias Khoury, among the prisoners being held by the Israelis are approximately 3,000 members of the Lebanese National Movement, which has worked closely with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

For further reading

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?
By Maxime Rodinson, 128 p., \$3.95.

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism
By Peter Seidman, 31 p., \$60.

War in the Middle East
The Socialist View
By Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas, 31 p., \$60.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.



George Wallace

BY MARTIN BOYERS

George Wallace is running for governor of Alabama. For someone who made his name as a diehard racist, he's getting some surprising support. E.D. Nixon, the Black labor unionist who organized the famous Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56 is strongly for Wallace. "Wallace has done more for Black folks than any other governor in the last twenty years," says Nixon.

Black Tuskegee Mayor Johnny Ford is supporting Wallace. Ford is a veteran civil rights activist who helped organize a boycott of white Tuskegee businesses in 1957 to protest racist gerrymandering of the city's Black majority.

The Alabama Labor Council endorsed Wallace July 24. Council President Barney Weeks — who in 1968 wrote a nationally distributed exposé of Wallace's antilabor record — now calls him a "proven friend."

Why is it that in 1982, years after Jim Crow was defeated throughout the South, the man who ended his first inaugural speech with the words, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" is again a leading contender for governor, enjoying support from some of his former arch enemies in the labor and civil rights movements? What is he offering? The answer is simple. It is one word. Jobs.

George Wallace, or his wife Lurleen, who ran in his name, was governor during 14 of Alabama's most prosperous years, 1963-68 and 1971-78. Today, a quarter-million Alabamians are out of work, giving the state an official unemployment rate of 14.5 percent, the second highest in the nation. Wallace is out to convince voters that electing him will bring a return to prosperity.

'Knack for luring industry'

His main campaign literature to date is a tabloid newspaper called *The Wallace Record*. It doesn't say a word about segregation past, present, or future. It doesn't feature any of the issues Wallace ran on for president, such as support to the death penalty and school prayers, opposition to court-ordered desegregation and affirmative action, or calls for putting antiwar protesters in jail for treason.

Typical headlines in *The Wallace Record* are: "George Wallace Has Knack For Luring Industry," "Most of Alabama's Industrial Growth Direct Result of Legislation Introduced by Governor George Wallace," and "He Has A Proven Record For Creating Jobs." It even masquerades his racist campaigns for president as an industry-hunting operation.

Wallace's whole stance of being the champion of Alabama working people is a fraud. From the moment he began his political career as assistant attorney general in 1945 until he left the governor's mansion in 1978, George Wallace has had only one program — supporting what's good for big business.

The Wallace years span a turning point in Alabama history. It saw great victories in Black rights. For decades

Geo. Wallace: No longer enemy of Blacks, labor?

Behind 'reformed' image of Alabama's archracist

before, Blacks had suffered under a system of legally compulsory segregation called Jim Crow. Separate and unequal was the rule in schools and all public facilities. Blacks were denied the right to vote, to travel freely, to organize and speak out. Untold thousands were lynched as part of the racist terrorism that enforced segregation.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, and other mass protests mobilized Blacks to demand equality and an end to Jim Crow. The emergence of liberation movements in Africa, the industrialization of the South, the organization of Black and white workers together in the unions, and the development of large Black communities in the cities increased Blacks' self-confidence and militancy. They swept away Jim Crow and changed the political face of the South.

Economic modernization

The post-World War II period also saw the economic modernization of the South. Before then, backward and labor-intensive agriculture — with much of the farming done by Black sharecroppers — was the economic base of the region. But after World War II farming was rapidly mechanized. At an accelerated pace, corporations cashed in on the lower wages of the rural, nonunion, "right-to-work" states by shifting plants to the South.

By the early 1960s, many large industrial cities developed and sharecropping disappeared. In five years alone, 1954-59, one-third of Alabama's farmers left the soil. With the spread of industry, wage differences with the North narrowed, trade schools were founded, and highways, canals, and utilities were developed to serve profit needs.

Faced with powerful Black protests, the top circles of big business and its government nationally decided to abandon

Jim Crow. They felt that racial discrimination in the South could be maintained as in the North, that is, without the whole apartheid-like system of Jim Crow.

But there were southern capitalist interests that felt their profits depended on segregated, near-slave labor from Blacks. And the southern Democratic Party enjoyed one-party rule based on racist violence and denial of voting rights to Blacks.

Defender of Jim Crow

Wallace made a reputation throughout Alabama, the United States, and the world as spokesman for the defenders of Jim Crow. In 1953, as circuit judge, he prohibited the local railroad station from removing "Whites Only" and "Colored Only" signs from its facilities. He went to Washington to denounce pending civil rights legislation at congressional hearings. He made national headlines in 1958 when he defied a federal judge's order to provide county voters lists to a grand jury investigating voting rights.

Based on this record, Wallace ran for governor in 1958. His opponent's claim to fame was the fact that as attorney general he had outlawed the NAACP in Alabama. The NAACP, as a matter of fact, endorsed Wallace as a "lesser evil." After Wallace lost, he vowed that he'd "never be out-niggered again."

His first successful campaign for governor, in 1962, was openly racist from beginning to end. Its tone was captured in his 1963 inaugural speech:

"... if we amalgamate into the one unit as advocated by the Communist philosopher, then the enrichment of our lives, the freedom of our development is gone forever. ... Today I have stood where Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. ... I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet be-

fore the feet of tyranny. And I say: Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"

One of Wallace's first acts as governor was to arrange the parole of four KKKers who had been convicted of castrating and killing a Black veteran in Birmingham.

Neighborhood schools?

When the local school board in Tuskegee decided to comply with a federal desegregation order in 1963, Wallace sent in 100 state troopers to close the high school. When this didn't work, he used state buses to transport white students from Tuskegee to still-segregated schools in other towns.

Contrary to his later demagoguery, Wallace was neither for local control of schools nor against busing — he simply stood for segregation!

The most publicized confrontation came when Wallace stood in the door at the University of Alabama to try to stop two Black students from enrolling.

Contrary to media mythology, Wallace's racism did not make him a hero among all Alabama whites. He lost a bitter fight trying to overturn a state constitutional ban against succeeding himself. Then he decided to run his wife Lurleen for governor as a stand-in.

As late as 1970 Wallace ran an overtly racist campaign for governor in which he tried to portray his opponent as pro-civil rights. He won that primary by only 1 percent.

Presidential campaigns

In 1964, 1968, and 1972, Wallace tried to parley his reputation as America's most famous racist into campaigns for president. In his rise as a national political figure, however, he adapted his anti-Black stands to better fit in with the needs of big business nationally.

Toning down his rhetoric about Black inferiority and the need for compulsory Jim Crow, Wallace became a master at using code words for opposing Black rights. Instead of calling for segregated schools he attacked "forced busing." He campaigned against affirmative action as "reverse discrimination." Especially in the later campaigns he portrayed himself not so much as the die-hard segregationist but rather as the alleged defender of the common folk against an intrusive federal government.

Even when he appeared to be challenging top Democratic and Republican politicians, Wallace played a useful role for these parties and the big business interests they serve. The media and the national Democratic and Republican parties came to treat Wallace as a respected, "legitimate" political figure — not as a bigot who openly violated the law, permitted KKK murders, and denied democratic rights to Blacks. They pretended, as Wallace did, that his racism represented the wishes and interests of white workers.

As the federal government did less and less to defend civil rights, and began moving to take back gains won by Blacks, the "mainstream" politicians could claim they were just bowing to popular sentiment as voiced by the Wallace forces.

In reality, the bipartisan effort to halt and roll back Black rights was dictated by the profit needs of U.S. capitalism, which depends on keeping Blacks super-exploited with low wages and high unemployment.

Shift in 1970s

By the mid-1970s, political reality dictated that Wallace had to change his stance toward Blacks. The fact was that

Wallace's opponent no better

Democrat George McMillan, the present lieutenant governor, is also running for governor. He's gotten the endorsement of the Alabama Democratic Conference, made up of Black politicians. McMillan presents himself as the alternative to George Wallace, who he denounces for emotionalism and demagoguery.

Is McMillan a real choice for Alabama's workers and farmers?

As a writer for the Auburn University student newspaper in the early 1960s, McMillan joined with Wallace in denouncing efforts to desegregate education.

In one column, he asserted that "... the Negro has shown itself innately incapable of producing a stable society."

Of course, McMillan says that was all in the past. But when it came to light recently that Birmingham's Rotary Club had a "whites only" membership clause, it turned out that George McMillan was one of its members. McMillan not only remained a member, but said that it would be inappropriate for him to initiate an attempt to change that policy.

McMillan has kept on the racist "law and order" bandwagon throughout his political career. In 1978, as a state senator, he sponsored a law authorizing cops to shoot to kill while making an ar-

rest, whether or not anyone's life is in danger.

His campaign promises include longer jail sentences, forced labor for prisoners, and eliminating time off for good behavior.

His answer to the economic crisis is that Alabama needs a governor who "understands the needs of the business community."

McMillan is an outspoken advocate of Alabama's "right-to-work" law.

In 1979 he broke a tie vote in the State Senate to repeal the prevailing wage act, which had guaranteed that the state and state contractors would pay union scale to construction workers.

McMillan tries to portray himself a supporter of women's rights. But in 1980 he broke a tie vote in the State Senate to make Alabama one of the states to call a constitutional convention to add an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

McMillan is no friend of education either. He calls for putting more responsibility for school funding on local districts, ensuring that the poor areas will have poor schools and the rich areas will have rich schools. In 1978, he proposed a law requiring silent prayer daily for elementary school students. Maybe they'll be praying for more funding.

— M.B.



Alabama State Troopers: During 1977-78 miners strike Wallace sicced his cops on union pickets.

Jim Crow had been defeated. Blacks make up more than a quarter of Alabama's population and, despite Wallace's best efforts, they had the vote. To remain a viable political figure Wallace had to try to win Black votes.

Something else had changed as well. The victories of the civil rights movement had a deep impact on the thinking of white workers as well as Black. The old racist appeals could no longer hold their allegiance.

As governor in the 1970s, Wallace made some token appointments of Blacks to public office, just as other Democrats and Republicans have been compelled to do. Such patronage helped him buy the support of some Black Democratic politicians.

Before Black audiences, Wallace goes so far as to concede he "made mistakes" in trying to uphold Jim Crow. He couples this with saying that Black leaders "made mistakes too."

Today Wallace's statements in relation to Black rights are no different from most other Democrats and Republicans — especially since the whole framework of two-party politics has shifted to the right. The old Wallace code words about "forced busing," "reverse discrimination," and "law and order" are the common parlance of both parties.

Wallace no more deserves support from civil rights fighters today than he did twenty years ago. It's true, as E.D. Nixon observes, that Blacks made gains while Wallace was governor. But they made those gains fighting *against* Wallace. And they can defend those gains today only by fighting against the efforts by both the Democratic and Republican parties to roll them back.

It is not so much because of Wallace's racist record as because Wallace is a Democratic politician that he remains an opponent of any real steps to defend Black equality, from busing to affirmative action to strengthening the Voting Rights Act.

In a revealing incident at the recent Southern Christian Leadership Conference national convention in Birmingham, Wallace was photographed signing a petition to free voting rights activists Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman. The next day, he claimed that he had signed by mistake — he thought he was just giving his autograph.

Defender of big business

What about Wallace's main bid for support today, his claim to be for jobs and for the common people?

Yes, industry grew, jobs were created, and some services expanded while Wallace was governor. The reasons were the general expansion of the capitalist economy at that time and the continued shift of industry to the greater profit opportunities in the low-wage South. Wallace did not create these conditions and he could not recreate them if elected in 1982. His real role was to make sure working people *got as little as possible of the benefits* while industry grew and profited in Alabama.

In 1947, as a rookie state legislator, Wallace proposed the first state-funded trade schools in Alabama. Claiming to be a friend of education is a Wallace

hallmark. Today Alabama's illiteracy rate remains nearly twice the national average, and its per capita school expenditures rank it number 45 out of 50 states. But its chain of vocational and trade schools work hard to provide skilled low-wage workers to industries fleeing the unionized Northeast and Midwest.

The industrial growth boasted of in *The Wallace Record* left Alabama number 48 in median family income. Workers here earn 11 percent lower wages than the national average. One sixth of the population lives below the official poverty line.

How would Wallace provide jobs today? Like the other Democrats and Republicans, all he says is that he would create a "good business climate." In *The Wallace Record* he brags that "in Alabama, 'profit' is not a dirty word." And he points to the "favorable tax structure" the corporations enjoy.

"Favorable" is putting it way too mildly. Corporate income taxes amount to only 5 percent of state tax revenues, less than half the national average. Sales taxes, which fall hardest on poor and working people, provide 60 percent of revenues. In an especially cruel blow to the poor, sales tax is charged on groceries and medicine.

Antiunion

The only way for workers to win a greater share of the wealth we produce in Alabama industry is to organize and fight for it. And here Wallace stands as an obstacle.

In the first place, Wallace's promotion of racist discrimination — open racism in the 1960s and disguised racism in the 1980s — hurts *all* working people because it keeps us divided. Wallace tries to divert white workers from organizing against the employers by telling them Black workers are the enemy.

Moreover, Wallace was and is a staunch supporter of the antiunion "right-to-work" — that is, right-to-sweatshop — law in Alabama. He is not just for it, he uses force and violence to enforce it. This was graphically seen during the 1977-78 coal miners' strike.

This 110-day coal strike was a nationwide showdown in which the coal companies tried to deal a crippling blow to the United Mine Workers (UMW). In Alabama, Wallace mobilized state troopers to keep nonunion mines open. On January 2, 1978, 100 troopers tear-gassed and attacked 500 pickets.

The next month Wallace sent troopers into a pitched battle against the UMW. It started when a mine owner in Oakman fired a shotgun into a group of miners.

Within a short time 200 pickets rushed in to reinforce the original group. Then state troopers moved in, 200 strong, in helicopters and squad cars. They opened fire on the miners with tear gas and rifles, damaged homes, beat pickets, and smashed the windows of miners' cars.

When Wallace threatened to call out the National Guard after this assault, he was praised by the president of the Alabama Mining Institute.

The fact that the Wallace years saw



Socialist candidate Martin Boyers at demonstration demanding release of voter rights activists Bozeman and Wilder.

improvements in the lives of working people will convince some, both Black and white, to vote for him. But if he wins the governorship again, his policies will be essentially the same as any other Democrat or Republican. Those policies are dictated by the need of U.S. capitalism, facing the deepest crisis since the 1930s, to squeeze more and more from our labor.

If Wallace wins, we can be sure he will administer cutbacks, not expansion, of human services. He will shift taxes further onto the backs of workers and the poor. He will back up the employers' attacks on the unions. And his handouts to "lure" industry may increase profits, but will not provide jobs.

Socialist alternative

The only way to save jobs is for working people to fight *against* the profit demands of big business. The Socialist Workers campaign has put forward proposals to solve the jobs crisis.

- Launch a crash program of useful public works, providing jobs at union wages to build and improve housing, schools, and transportation.
- Reduce the workweek to thirty hours, with no loss in weekly take-home pay, to spread the available work.
- Nationalize companies that shut down factories or use threats of closing to blackmail workers. Make them public property, allowing workers to continue providing the goods society needs.
- Institute affirmative action programs to ensure that Black workers are not discriminated against in hiring. In

cases where there are layoffs, dual seniority lists should be used, so that there is no decline in the percentage of Black workers on the job.

The socialist campaign explains that defense of Black rights is a necessity for all working people. Without such a defense, there can be no united fight for workers' interests. As governor, my first act would be to free Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder. I also call for firing and prosecuting for murder Billy Ray Smith, the Bessemer, Alabama cop who gunned down innocent and unarmed Henry Ware this summer. The Democratic Party's position on the Ware killing is clear — their leading candidate for lieutenant governor, Bill Baxley, is attorney for the killer cop.

To fight for such a program, the socialist campaign explains, labor will have to break from both the Democrats and Republicans and build its own party, a labor party. A labor party would be a powerful tool for working people to fight for a new kind of government, a workers and farmers government that will defend the interests of the laboring majority rather than the interests of the exploiting minority.

Such a government could end once and for all the private profit system — as well as the racism and violence — that George Wallace has defended all his political life.

Martin Boyers is the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Alabama. He is a production worker at O'Neal Steel in Birmingham and a member of United Steelworkers Local 3004.

Calif. fishermen fight retailers

BY LARRY LUKECART

MONTEREY, Calif. — The 43 fishermen who make up the Monterey Seine and Lampara Boat Owners Association stopped fishing for squid in Monterey Bay on August 11. The stoppage resulted after a dispute with buyers over a "discount" of 10 percent withheld from the price paid to the fishermen.

At the start of the 1982 season the Boat Owners and the buyers in a "gentlemen's agreement" set the price of squid at the 1981 level of \$285 per ton. Because the squid size in the first of the season's catch was smaller than normal, the buyers demanded a 10 percent discount.

Although the Boat Owners' operating costs are up by as much as 20 percent from last year they agreed to sell at the discounted price.

Individuals who make up the Association are very much like other small food producers. Most have large mortgages on their boats and many are just able to make ends meet.

A typical boat hires on a crew of six or seven fishermen organized by the Fishermen's Union of America. Many of these fishermen are Vietnamese who face discrimination from local, state, and federal laws. For example a 1792 federal law is selectively used to bar permanent resident aliens from owning boats larger than five tons.

The buyers have a monopoly on buying and selling fish on the Monterey

wharf. Since the beginning of the season the size of the squid has increased and the dispute is over the buyers' refusal to pay the higher price. They claim they cannot pay higher prices because of their increased costs.

The fishermen see it differently. They point out that the buyers now package squid in smaller cartons and that they have found new markets that pay them higher prices.

They are holding strong and are prepared to stay in port for the rest of the season if the buyers don't agree to pay the \$285 price without the discount, retroactive to August 5.

In an attempt to divide the Association, at least one buyer has agreed to pay the higher price but the fishermen will hold out until all the buyers go along.

The stoppage is taking place as the seafood industry is attempting to increase U.S. consumption of seafood. According to the National Marine Fisheries Services, the average American ate 35.1 pounds of seafood last year. The industry is on a national campaign which will combine advertising and other media promotions to "attract consumer attention to seafood while encouraging retailers to improve their seafood stock and displays."

It is in this light that buyers here are attempting to pay fishermen as little as possible in order to profit even more from ever increasing markets.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Fourteen-year-old at border post in Nicaragua. Defense against U.S.-backed violence takes a big chunk of revolution's resources.

By MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Three years ago the workers and farmers of Nicaragua rose up in an insurrection that culminated in victory on July 19, 1979. Under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) they completely smashed the armed forces of dictator Anastasio Somoza and established their own government — a workers and farmers government.

They began rebuilding their country on the basis of more rational economic principles.

Instead of allowing the rich to grow richer at the expense of the vast majority, Nicaragua's new government began to take economic and social measures to meet the needs of the exploited. Farms and factories of the ex-dictator and his supporters were confiscated. Schools and hospitals were built. Taxes from the rich were used to subsidize the price of food and to give working farmers the loans they needed. A massive literacy campaign was carried out.

These measures filled pressing needs. But immediate improvements in the lives of more than 2.5 million people were not the only things at stake. American imperialism was and is determined that there be no such successful examples to inspire workers and peasants elsewhere.

Surrounded by armed counter-revolutionary bands in Honduras to the north, an increasingly hostile government in Costa Rica to the south, and heavily armed U.S. warships off its Atlantic and Pacific coasts, Nicaragua must simultaneously defend itself and rebuild its economy — in the midst of the world's worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

Furthermore, the country was hit at the end of May with the worst floods in its history. Damage is now estimated to total \$250 million, exactly half the country's annual earnings from exports.

To grasp the scope of the challenge Nicaragua faces and the importance of what it has already achieved, it is worthwhile to take a look at the economic facts of life this three-year-old revolution confronts. A good place to start is what Nicaraguans were left to work with.

At an international solidarity meeting here in January 1981, Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agricultural development and agrarian re-

First 1,000 days of Nicaraguan revolution

Big economic gains, but bigger tasks ahead

form, sketched the main features of post-Somoza Nicaragua:

"We must first take up the objective situation we found ourselves in when the revolution triumphed. First, a sparsely populated country with a little more than 2 million inhabitants concentrated in the area along the Pacific Coast. Fifty percent of the population lives in the countryside, and 50 percent in urban areas. With the exception of Managua and five or six cities with 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, the latter are practically all small peasant villages. So much of the 50 percent of the population called urban is actually a rural population as well.

"There are some 800,000 workers incorporated into the economic activity of the country; of these, more than 60 percent were illiterate. So the labor force was a poorly skilled one, mainly engaged in handicrafts and peddling in the towns. In the countryside, tenant farmers cultivate basic grains on tiny plots, while the bulk of the agricultural labor force works picking cotton and coffee and cutting sugarcane.

"We have had an economy in which development has been slight, where alongside a relatively small industrial sector we find a very broad range of handicrafts. In the countryside, export-oriented latifundia are complemented by a very extensive sector of small peasant production.

"We have a highly developed infrastructure in the Pacific zone, while in the central and Atlantic zones the conditions for production, transportation, and communications are almost totally lacking. The Atlantic Coast has more than 60,000 square kilometers but only 200,000 inhabitants. That is, an area three times as large as El Salvador but with a population 30 times smaller."

Somber as it is, this picture is not complete. It leaves out the final plunder and destruction carried out by Somoza before he was toppled. Wheelock continued:

"And on July 19, in addition to terrible material destruction, we found a quite onerous foreign debt. At the same time, there were the aftereffects of a capital drain of more than \$800 million.

"There was, of course, the basic economic and social conditions we found: backwardness, underdevelopment, poverty. We found a country that was totally bankrupt, with no foreign currency, no foreign savings; with a debt of \$1.6 billion, and destruction amounting to more than \$800 million, which affected more than 35 percent of the industrial production and more than 25 percent of agriculture."

Year one: up from the ashes

In the first year and a half, the new government concentrated on satisfying the basic needs of the population — employment and food.

Wheelock explained: "Our foremost job at the time was the rehabilitation of the infrastructure, and to this end we had to spend large sums

of foreign currency. Our debts increased because we had to buy spare parts and equipment in order to return to relative normalcy.

"In Nicaragua, normalcy has depended to a great extent on foreign credit. If there is transportation, it is because we have used credit lines abroad. If the factories are running, it is because we have brought in a considerable number of spare parts, which has meant great expenditures in foreign currency or external loans. If we have worked successfully in economic reactivation, it has been at the expense of growing foreign indebtedness."

Immediately after the insurrection, all holdings of Somoza and his supporters were confiscated and turned over to production for the general benefit of the population. This gave the revolution direct control over a sizable economic base both in the countryside and cities — some 40 percent of all production and services.

The extent to which this economic base, harnessed to the beginning of overall economic planning and large amounts of borrowed capital, reactivated production can be gauged from the fact that unemployment dropped from 25.7 percent in 1979 to 17.5 percent in 1980.

Still, it was not a bed of roses, in either the city or countryside.

Wheelock described the situation:

"Imagine all Somoza's agricultural enterprises and production centers — some 2,000 of them. When we took office at the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform we did not even know where they all were. We sent 9 or 10 compañeros out to locate them. All we knew was that there were 10 in one place, 20 in another; we did not know what they produced.

"In early 1980 we were still counting cattle. There were no records; production indices were unknown, but people had to be fed. We had to produce milk and coffee, we had to raise cattle. Then the National Bank connected a pipeline to siphon money to the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform. Otherwise it would have been impossible.

"One compañero we sent to Matagalpa reported 149 estates with 10,000 workers — we had to pay wages and back wages, and the land had to be tilled. At that time we had no accountants, we had to buy things and write invoices on scrap paper.

"In those early days inefficiency was unavoidable."

The 2,000 agricultural units the state now controlled totaled some 1.5 million manzanas (1 manzana = 1.73 acres), more than one-quarter of all arable land. The takeovers also included the vast array of processing plants associated with the Somozaists' holdings, such as sugar mills, rice mills, cotton gins, coffee hulling plants, slaughterhouses, farm supply depots, and warehouse facilities. In all, the state now controlled about one-fifth of agricultural production.

In industry and commerce, the state assumed control over virtually all mines, three-quarters of the construction industry, one-fourth of commerce, and one-sixth of manufacturing and processing. By the end of 1980, 84 publicly owned manufacturing enterprises employed a quarter of the workforce in manufacturing and produced a quarter of the goods made in the country. This included a majority share in the following branches:

Food	54%
Garment and textiles	53%
Medicine	68%
Construction materials	88%
Banking, insurance, foreign trade, electrical power, and water passed 100 percent into the hands of the state, along with 60 percent of communications and transportation.	

Nicaragua's 'mixed economy'

Nicaraguans often call their system a "mixed economy." Here is how they explained it in laying out the 1980 economic plan:

"The economic policy that will be applied in 1980-81 will be carried out in the framework of a mixed economy. That is, on the one hand an economy that is greatly influenced by world capitalism and the internal laws of the marketplace. But on the other hand, it is also an economy that contains the presence of the Government of National Reconstruction. The government controls 41 percent of the gross domestic product, and also has powerful fiscal, financial, and commercial instruments that will regulate the process of recovery and transition.

"That isn't all. The state's significant and in some cases decisive presence in agriculture and industrial production leads us to conclude that the new state that is being built will become the axis of the process of recovery and transition toward the new economy our country needs."

In Nicaragua, the "private sector" is itself a complex and contradictory reality. It includes both big landowners and small farmers, capitalist industrial enterprises as well as the artisan's workshop and the small merchant.

Take agriculture, for example. In 1981 state-owned production units accounted for the following share of Nicaragua's crops:

Cotton	10%
Coffee	12%
Rice	35%
Sugar	40%
However, the 90,000 affiliates of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), the association of the country's working farmers, account for an additional:	
Cotton	13%
Coffee	41%
Rice	39%
Corn	94%
Beans	91%

The ties between the revolutionary government and the independent producers in the countryside have been continually strengthened through guaranteed prices, heavily subsidized credit, stiff limits on land rents, road construction and repair, free technical assistance, adult education, and extension of electrification and running water.

Furthermore, the Government of National Reconstruction has begun to implement in practice the Sandinista pledge that "No campesino will be left without land."

More than 50,000 manzanas of confiscated land have been distributed to small farmers this year, and plans were announced at the end of June to speed

Further reading on Nicaraguan revolution

Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution by Arnold Weissberg. 48 pp. \$9.95.

The Nicaraguan Revolution edited by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy. 80 pp. \$2.25.

Sandinistas Speak by Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock. 160 pp. \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Peasants receive titles to land from government. Land reform allowed Nicaragua to immediately increase agricultural production by a significant amount.

up the process dramatically, with a goal of distributing 2.5 million manzanas in the next 10 years.

A very small portion of this land has gone to individual families, those who risked their lives to aid the FSLN during the deepest periods of reaction. The great bulk has gone to newly formed agricultural cooperatives. These cooperatives, based on collective rather than individual labor, will become the basis of a transformation of relations of production in the countryside.

Rebuilding economy

Big strides were made in the first year and a half to rebuild the economy. The quickest progress was made in agriculture. In fact, Nicaraguans are proud that theirs is the first revolution to immediately increase agricultural production by a significant amount.

The year 1980 also saw a drop in inflation from 70 percent to 35 percent and the creation of 112,000 new jobs.

Like many things in the early days of the revolution, the creation of new jobs did not go exactly as planned. The reason why points to one of the serious underlying problems the Nicaraguan economy faces.

In the countryside, 45,000 new jobs were created in 1980. This was a significant gain but substantially less than the number of agricultural workers thrown out of work as a result of the decision by many large private growers to plant smaller crops.

Nearly half of the new jobs in rural areas were in fact "unsalaried," reflecting small farmers who, with state-provided loans and technical help, turned to the production of basic food grains.

In the cities, 68,000 new jobs were created. Most important for the economy, more than 7,000 were in industry and more than 5,000 in construction. The rest, however, more than 50,000 jobs, emerged in the nonproductive sectors of business and services (260 percent more than projected in the 1980 plan).

Some of the new jobs in the service sector resulted from faster-than-planned growth in health, education, and public administration.

Some 21,000 of the new jobs were in business and commerce. Most of these actually represented an increase in the class of small shopkeepers — people who either set up stores in their homes or turned to vending food and other items in the streets.

"This situation," the 1981 plan stated, "throws into sharp relief one of the gravest structural problems of the Nicaraguan economy — the tendency toward gigantic growth in the tertiary sector, which cannot be reversed in the short term."

The scope of a second underlying problem also became clear during the course of 1980. Nicaragua's initial economic recovery required a major increase in the foreign debt.

Exports in 1980 totaled \$470 million but imports were nearly twice that amount — \$870 million. The deficit had to be made up by borrowing abroad,

bringing Nicaragua's debt payments for 1981 to a staggering \$190 million — nearly two-fifths of projected exports.

More than two-thirds of the imports were goods and services absolutely essential for economic recovery and impossible to produce in Nicaragua — fuel, machinery and spare parts, chemical and petrochemical products. And while the prices of all these items were rising, the world market prices of Nicaragua's major exports dropped steadily.

Year two: imperialist squeeze

The fundamental aim of the second year of economic planning was to build on the successes of the first year without relying so heavily on foreign borrowing.

The 1981 plan was based on six months of intensive discussions between state institutions and the various social and economic sectors of the society, in particular the unions and other mass organizations. It was also based on a much more concrete grasp of the country's economic reality — the product of a year and a half of experience.

The social goals were clearly defined:

- Raising, in terms of social services and incomes, the share of the country's wealth that goes to the poorest and most exploited layers.
- In state investment and development policy, bending the stick toward the countryside.
- Austerity in imports of nonessential consumer goods.

Sharpening military pressure from imperialism forced reductions in the first two goals. More resources than planned had to be allotted to defending the country.

U.S. loans were cut off as part of Washington's deliberate financial squeeze. Short-term funds available elsewhere carried interest rates as high as 20 percent. At the same time, the crisis in the international capitalist economy took its toll, further reducing the market for Nicaragua's exports.

In September 1981 a state of economic and social emergency was declared. Austerity measures taken earlier in the year plus new ones dictated by the growing trade deficit lopped nearly \$100 million, some 10 percent, off the national budget.

For 1981 exports totaled \$500 million, \$180 million less than projected in the

plan. Imports, at \$995 million, were about \$40 million higher than projected. This left a net deficit of nearly half a billion dollars that again had to be financed by increasing the foreign debt. It now totals \$2.5 billion.

Nicaragua's gross domestic product rose by 8.7 percent in 1981.

Most of the increase came in agriculture, still overwhelmingly the motor force of Nicaragua's economy. In most important crops there was a rise in production not only with respect to the previous year's harvest but even to that of 1978, the last normal year of agricultural production under the dictatorship. Production for 1981, compared with 1978, showed the following changes:

Rice	+89%
Pork	+77%
Beans	+45%
Eggs	+30%
Chicken	+19%
Sugar	+19%
Tobacco	+15%
Bananas	+11%
Corn	+11%
Coffee	-9%
Cotton	-12%

Since rice, beans, corn, eggs, chicken, and pork are not exported but produced solely for domestic consumption, what these figures directly show is improvement in the average diet.

Coffee and cotton, the only two crops that declined, are still largely concentrated in the hands of large landowners. Their decline reflects continuing de-capitalization by this sector.

The 1981 figures have not been made available for the different branches of industry. However, a frank discussion of the problems of underdevelopment that Nicaragua continues to suffer in this area was published in the Sandinista daily *Barricada* on May 10, in the form of an interview with Minister of Industry Emilio Baltodano.

Year three: growing pressure

"It is important not to expect a rise in industrial production this year," Baltodano said. "In fact what we need to determine is how much it is going to drop."

"The problem is that the industrial sector has to be transformed, rationalized. This means that in some cases we close factories."

What Nicaragua needs, Baltodano said, is an industrial sector oriented toward agriculture on the one hand, and basic consumer goods on the other — "food, medicine, clothing, shoes, and products like soap and detergent."

What it actually has is quite different — an industrial sector that was set up not with these needs in mind but around what the capitalists found most profitable.

The consequences are severe.

Nicaragua's industry, mostly light manufacturing, employs only about 90,000 workers. It suffers from a total lack of integration with other productive sectors — agriculture, cattle raising, fishing, mining, and forestry.

From the point of view of foreign currency reserves, the industrial sector functions as a net drain. More money must be spent for imported machinery, spare parts, and production materials than is gained back in exports.

"Our industry began to go through a grave crisis in the 1970s," Baltodano said, "Several branches, such as chemicals, plastics, and fabrication, were set

up with the idea that they would be integrated into the Central American Common Market. But the other countries in the region, because of their own pressing internal needs, were unable to carry out what they agreed to."

There are other problems as well.

"We don't have statistics," Baltodano said, "but it is clear that labor productivity has fallen. There were years of struggle, of war, and their impact remains. But in addition we have not yet adjusted ourselves to new forms of labor organization that correspond to the revolutionary process."

This is the price every revolution pays, he continued, "as administrators and workers go through a phase of apprenticeship in seeking to achieve adequate solutions to the problems we face."

A return to "capitalist efficiency" is obviously not the answer, he said. "A regime of terror may generate efficiency and high rates of profitability by paying miserable wages and using repression to maintain discipline, but this is not the course that is going to be followed by the Sandinista revolution. It is intolerable for the workers, who are the fundamental basis of this process."

Increasing participation of workers

The only lasting way to stimulate productivity, Baltodano pointed out, is to increase workers' participation in running the factories.

Following this candid discussion of the situation, several initiatives in increasing workers' participation were taken in conjunction with the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

In response to persistent requests by workers, eight major state-owned plants in Managua are establishing formal structures for worker participation in administrative and production decisions. According to CST leader Rubén Ulloa, "The aim of this pilot project is to enable the workers to discuss with the administrators . . . the entire program of production — how much, for whom, and where the raw materials will come from."

Efforts are also under way to amalgamate into one big union the 24,000 workers employed in 60 plants that make up the food processing industry. According to Alberto Alvarez, CST national secretary for production, steps toward forming this national union have encouraged long-needed discussions on "problems faced by the plants."

A campaign, also led by the CST, is under way to raise production by cutting absenteeism and lateness at work. Initiated June 14 at 32 factories in Managua, the campaign aims to use plant-wide assemblies, political discussions, wall murals, bulletin boards, and public display of the weekly results to encourage participation.

An immediate gain of the campaign was public recognition of some of the concrete difficulties involved. Some workers who live in outlying neighborhoods because of the housing shortage in Managua pointed out that they could not possibly get to work on time regularly because of the distance they had to travel and the fact that bus service started too late.

Massive aid needed

These measures and others like them that will be taken by this revolutionary government and union leadership can help. But they cannot overcome, in just a few years' time, the scars left by centuries of exploitation, domination, and plunder.

But Nicaragua cannot complete the task by itself. Massive fraternal aid, along the lines of the example set by Cuba, is necessary.

In the imperialist centers, particularly in the United States, pressure must be mounted to stop the secret war the Pentagon and CIA are waging against Nicaragua.

Left to its own resources, Nicaragua faces a very difficult economic situation, aggravated by the extensive flood damage. It deserves the support of all who believe in a better future for humanity. **From Intercontinental Press**



Militant/Jane Harris

One of 43 bridges in country partially or totally destroyed by massive floods in May.

Texas oil workers tell story of battle against Texaco

On January 8, some 4,000 workers at the Texaco oil refinery in Port Arthur, Texas, were forced out on strike after the company refused to abide by a contract agreement that allowed workers to receive their pension benefits in a lump sum. The union took the issue to court. Texaco refused to sign another contract unless the union dropped its lawsuit.

The following article is based on interviews with the strikers in July. Since then, the strike has been settled.

A future *Militant* will report on the terms of the settlement, which were not available at press time.

BY JOHN CANNON

PORT ARTHUR, Texas — The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Houston area, Gary "T" Trabue, brought his campaign down to this Gulf Coast city in July to express his support for the 4,000 members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 4-23, on strike against the powerful oil giant, Texaco.

Trabue, who is also a member of OCAW at Shell Oil, received a warm

and enthusiastic response from several of the pickets that we spoke with.

"I came down here not only to express my support for your fight, but also to find out more about the issues in the strike, how you are all getting along in these difficult times, and what my campaign and union local might be able to do to help you win the strike," Trabue told the pickets.

There was a group of six strikers at one of the main gates who we talked with at length.

"It's getting real tight," explained Pauline, a veteran of several OCAW strikes against Texaco. Many members have lost their cars and even their homes.

"So far I've been able to manage although I don't really know how. I'm divorced and have three kids to provide for. I've been working as a waitress at the local greasy spoon for \$1.31 an hour, plus tips. They've been trying to give me as many hours as possible but it's still not enough. My son has been working, and my daughter is baby-sitting. I also get food stamps, and receive some unemployment compensation."

Pauline continued, "You know, Texaco makes all their money off the fruits of our labor. When I went to work

for this company several years ago, I thought I had it made — good pay and pretty good benefits. But no way are my kids going to work here."

We asked what the issues in the strike were.

Pauline replied, "We went out at a bad time and not on the best issue [referring to the pension dispute], but we had no choice. They locked us out. We were relieved at 11 p.m. by company people and told to go home. Workers coming on at that time were not allowed inside."

"Moose," another striker, explained that the company is out for blood. He noted how the workers were entitled to the lump sum pension not only legally, but morally as well. "I've been working for Texaco for 30 years. My father worked for them all his life, and so did my grandfather. So our families have been putting this money into our pension plan for all these years, yet both of them died shortly after retirement, and therefore never really got to enjoy those benefits. Texaco owes us that much."

"Moose" added, "Texaco also wants to have the right to work the crafts 10 hours a day, seven days a week. The union just voted down unanimously a proposal of 10-hour days, five days a week."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Oil worker and socialist candidate Gary Trabue extended solidarity to Port Arthur strikers.

Another picket chimed in: "We ought to get less hours instead of more!"

Phillip, another striker, asked, "Why should we take a cut in pay when they aren't?"

Pauline pointed out that the chairman of the board of Texaco makes \$625,000 a year. Including his pension and other benefits, it's over \$1 million. She explained how she and 37 other members of the union drove up to Chicago for Texaco's Board of Directors meeting recently to explain to the stockholders why the workers were out on strike and to urge Texaco to settle with the union.

She told us, "When I got up to speak, they cut the mike off on me!"

"Moose" noted how Texaco's demands for a freeze on bidding rights to other jobs, as well as curbing a number of job classifications, is "nothing more than an attempt to eliminate jobs." Another person said, "with the unemployment situation the way it is, they ought to be hiring more workers, instead of getting rid of us."

We explained to the group that one of the main points in the Socialist Workers campaign program is that the working class needs to break from the Democrats and Republicans and form a party of our own, a labor party.

What did they think of that?

Phillip said he thought "there are a lot of qualified workers that could run for office even though they lack education, but the problem is no money."

Another responded, "Texas needs it. Look at the Democrats we got in office!"

And another, "Democrats don't represent the working people any more than the Republicans. It's a good idea. It's not a new idea. We've thought about it."

Phillip added, "I feel like you, that the politicians who we've supported in the past could apply pressure now, but they won't lift one finger to tell Texaco to settle with us. They could start by stopping the tax cuts for Texaco."

"Moose" added, "If we got a labor party in there, they could help us win when we go out on strike."

John Cannon is a member of OCAW Local 4-367 and works at Shell Oil in Deer Park, Texas.

Racist violence sharpens in Boston

BY MARK SCHNEIDER

BOSTON — Two recent violent assaults on Black people here have dramatized the climate of officially tolerated racism in this city. Braxton Mitchell, 17, was gunned down by a Boston cop August 6 and died three weeks later. On August 8 racist thugs armed with clubs and chains attacked a Black family in downtown Boston, battering their car and cutting a father and his month-old son.

These attacks occur as the Black community faces the most serious threat to its right to equality in education since the violent mob attacks began against Black students in 1974, the year school busing began. Racist forces here have never accepted as permanent the defeat they suffered in the mid 1970s when a suit brought by Black parents and the NAACP successfully challenged the segregated education system organized by the Boston School Committee. Encouraged by the legal moves of the Reagan administration, Boston's bigots are hoping to set back civil rights by undermining public education itself.

As the 1982-83 school year approaches, U.S. District Judge Arthur Garrity, who handed down the desegregation order in 1974, is preparing to withdraw from the case. Meanwhile, under the pressure of continuing racist harassment in the schools, a Black parents committee has challenged the NAACP suit, calling for a "freedom of choice" enrollment plan, which is likely to recreate segregated enrollment patterns.

In the face of the anti-Black violence Mayor Kevin White and the police are doing what they have always done — covering it up.

The cop who shot Mitchell claims that the youth tried to run him down in a stolen car. But an eyewitness, Arthur Dewberry, tells a different story. He claims that Mitchell was shot trying to escape without endangering the cop.

Predictably, Deputy Police Superintendent Paul Johnson said, "There is no indication of any wrongdoing on the part of the officers involved." But over 200 Black people gathered at the scene in Dorchester immediately after the shooting to protest.

The assault on the Black family, the Praters, occurred in downtown Boston in broad daylight. Four thugs screaming racist epithets assaulted the family of four as they drove through town. Al-

though the hoodlums were arrested, Deputy Police Superintendent John Geagan refused to classify the attack as racially motivated.

Said Geagan: "No matter what ethnic group was in that car, they would have called them something."

Mayor White lamely backed up the cops at an August 16 news conference, claiming "I don't think its initial perception was racial, but it became that . . ."

A news conference organized by religious leaders saw things differently. Rev. Graylan Ellis-Hagler called on the district attorney to file civil rights charges against the four. Rev. Melvin Brown pointed out that "Whenever violence is perpetrated by Blacks against whites, the police quickly label it as racist, but when the roles are reversed, they find some excuse to call it something else."

Valerie Eckart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D., which includes the Black community, told *The Militant* that "The perpetrators of these two crimes should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. By refusing to do this Mayor White is yet again signalling to the cops and ra-

cists that it's open season for terror against Black people."

At his news conference White commented "it's been a pretty quiet summer."

Besides the Mitchell and Prater cases, "quiet" includes:

- A \$1 million lawsuit against the mayor and police commissioner filed by three Black Dorchester families forced to move because of repeated firebombings of their homes.
- A civil rights suit against nine thugs from the Hyde Park section of Boston who beat and harassed a Black family over a four-year period.
- A suit brought by the family of a Black youth in the Orchard Park area slain by a security guard for attempting to play basketball in a closed gym.
- An attempt by the city elections commission to designate the South Boston Information Center, the headquarters of the semi-secret, terrorist South Boston Marshalls, as the official center for voter registration in the area.
- The desecration of a Black church in nearby Medford, painted with racist epithets. This also was not a racial episode, according to local officials.

Just a typical quiet summer.

Draft objector is jailed for antiwar stand

Continued from Page 1

"failure to register with the Selective Service — not for the draft."

At a news conference Sasway responded, "Draft boards are being set up, which makes me skeptical, and the United States has not had the best track record for honesty in the past."

In spite of objections by Sasway's attorney, Charles Bumer, excerpts of videotapes from television interviews were admitted as evidence. During these interviews Sasway had stated that he would not register for the draft. But Judge Gordon Thompson refused to let the defense discuss Sasway's reasons for refusing to register. Political, religious, and moral reasons were all ruled irrelevant.

The witnesses for the defense were Sasway, his parents, and his minister. Bumer asked Sasway, "Would you like to tell the jury why you're against registration?" Sasway replied, "Yes," but the judge refused to let him proceed.

Ordering that Sasway be held without bail until sentencing, Judge Thompson indicated that his reasons were to prevent Sasway from reaching more people with his antiwar message. "This trial has had the purpose of, has attempted to have the jury to do other than follow the law, as he has," Thompson said. "I cannot permit that any further."

As U.S. marshals swiftly led Sasway out of the courtroom his mother called his name, but was unable to reach him.

Outside, Sasway's father was asked if he thought his son's case had been heard. He responded, "No, I don't think [the jury] ever had a chance to hear any of it."

Gillam Kerley, a resister from Madison, Wisconsin, expecting to be indicted within 30 days, was at the trial. He stated, "It doesn't change my commitment to nonregistration at all."

Kerley had traveled by bus for two and a half days to attend the trial and show support for Sasway. David Wayte, a resister indicted in Los Angeles, com-

mented, "I'm outraged they put him in jail, there's no reason for it except vengeance. The trial was unfair, a farce."

Throughout the trial, as many as 150 supporters of all ages picketed the Federal Building chanting, "Hell no, we won't go, we won't fight for Texaco," "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam," and "We support Ben Sasway."

Supporters crowded the hallways while waiting to be seated in the small courtrooms. The halls were alive with political discussions about the draft, the court system, and U.S. military intervention in foreign countries.

On Sunday, August 29, on only two days' notice, more than 350 people marched around the Metropolitan Correctional Center where Sasway is imprisoned. As the protesters marched in a candlelight vigil, Sasway flashed a light from his window and other prisoners did likewise in solidarity with the fight against the draft.

Auto layoffs spark anger and discussion

Continued from Page 16

Salvador to kill people. That money should be used to make jobs for people. Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada are right. They don't want to fight anyone. They have jobs for everyone and don't want war."

While there are some who think that restriction of imports, a proposal pushed by the UAW officialdom, is a solution, many others disagree.

Marty Pettit reports a comment by a former Leeds co-worker: "That [imports] never caused the crisis in the first place."

GM worker Ellen Kratka points to the comment by a worker at Tarrytown when a rumor was going around that the plant would be moved to Mexico:

"Whether they do or not, that's what we're up against. They close plants here, bust the unions in Mexico, and pay the workers there \$3 an hour."

The companies — echoed in some cases by the union misleaders — are also claiming that jobs can be saved by "quality" work.

Mike Fliss reports from Framingham that paint department workers have been told, "Screw up, and you won't have a job when the callback occurs."

From Tarrytown: "They tell us we still have a chance if we build a better car. That has *nothing* to do with it; the company lies. It's the economy."

Lots at both plants are full of cars awaiting repair — cars pushed out the door regardless of defects.

And at Framingham, the line speed has been upped to more than the 45-per-hour allowed in the contract. "They say they want quality, but they really want quantity. They can't have it both ways."

Reagan's 'recovery'

The government comes in for its lumps too. From the Buick-Olds-Pontiac (BOP) plant at Fairfax, Missouri: "Reagan talks about an upturn in the economy. Who's he trying to fool?"

Wells Todd reports that Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) will last no more than three weeks for many low-seniority workers. Regular unemployment benefits also ran out long ago for auto workers laid off at the beginning of the recession.

In Kansas City, laid-off Leeds workers are joining hundreds of others recently let go at Allis-Chalmers, Phillips Petroleum, Ford Claycomo, and others. There aren't any jobs.

Marty Pettit, at Leeds to turn in her badge and clean out her locker, was told by a first-shift worker: "I think the whole economy is falling apart. What happens then? What happens when the whole thing goes down the tubes?"

There is a great deal of bitterness

against the union officials for having negotiated the givebacks.

Tarrytown: "The contract passed by a slim majority, which means it didn't really pass. They [the officials] just decided to accept it. That was one of many mistakes."

"The union helps GM. It's like we don't have one."

A few say they don't need a union. "What do they do for us? Nothing."

Others disagree: "We are the union, not the leadership. But we have no say, and that's what we need."

A Flint worker: "We're not against our union. We just want the leaders we have to *act* like leaders."

How can we get out of the crisis?

A laid-off Flint worker told Ziers: "We've got to take this thing to Washington. We've got to get thousands of us to march in Washington."

Ziers also reports that in discussions with other Flint workers, "We talked about a shorter workweek, and other proposals, and about the kind of government we need to *win* them. People want to know *how*."

Response to socialists

Wells Todd says, "My co-workers more and more think my ideas make sense. That we need a government that represents us, not the wealthy, and that isn't

looking out for their profits.

"In our discussions, we talk about how the unions have to be changed, how we have to run them, not the bureaucrats who do now. Why unions have to fight for affirmative action, with these layoffs hitting minorities and women the hardest.

"We talk about how unions should support workers in El Salvador, Nicaragua, South Africa, and Lebanon, instead of supporting the U.S. war machine and Israel and South Africa.

"I raise the idea that the unions, instead of making concessions to the bosses, should fight for such things as opening the financial records of GM, the banks, and all other corporations. If they won't do this, or if they threaten layoffs or plant closings, they should be nationalized and run democratically.

"We talk about the unions' present policies of supporting Democratic and Republican politicians, and I point out how this prevents us from fighting for a shorter workweek, or a massive jobs program, and everything else we need.

"And how we can't do any of these things without our own party, based on the unions.

"And how *we* have to do it, because nobody else is going to do it for us.

"Not everybody agrees with everything I say, although a few do. But a whole lot more are listening."

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Last Grave at Dimbaza. Film and discussion on the freedom struggle in South Africa. Sat., Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Why Reagan Needs the Draft — How We Can Stop Him. Speakers: Bob Thompson, U.S. Army veteran and Young Socialist Alliance organizer; Jessica Sampson, independent candidate for Congress, 2nd District; others to be announced. Tues., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. University of Arizona, Student Union Bldg., Rm. 280. Ausp: Tucson YSA. For more information call (602) 882-4304 or 747-9144.

Young Socialist Alliance Discussion Group. Sundays, 7:00 p.m. University of Arizona, Student Union Bldg., Rm. 280. For more information call (602) 882-4304 or 747-9144.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

"Hell No, We Won't Go, We Won't Fight

for Texaco." Speakers: Chris Clark, Berkeley Resistance; Fred Moore, National Resistance Cmte.; Jake Sayraf, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason Campaign Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

Los Angeles

U.S. Intervention in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Speakers: Alex Palacios, representative of the Nicaraguan consulate; representatives from Comité "Farabundo Martí," Casa El Salvador, Guatemala Information Center, *Denuncia* (Argentine magazine in exile), Socialist Workers Party, South California District of the Communist Labor Party, U.S. Anti-Imperialist League (USAIL), Venceremos Brigade, Chile Democrático, Chile en Lucha. Music by "Aukalampu." Sat., Sept. 11, 7 p.m. 2936 W. 8th St.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Rally to Protect Our Children! Say "No" to Klan Violence at Valley High. Speakers: Dr. Joseph Lowery, president, Southern

Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Ben Chavis; Mattie Jones, chairperson, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Sat., Sept. 4, 7:30 p.m., Grace Hope Presbyterian Church, Clay and Breckinridge. Ausp: Ad Hoc Coalition Against the Klan. For more information call (502) 772-9114.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

"Now We Are Awakened" — Women in Nicaragua. A slide show. Speaker: to be announced. Sun., Sept. 12, 7:00 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK

New York City

On Our Land. A film by Antonia Caccia on Palestinians living in the Zionist state. Showings Tuesday through Friday, Sept. 7-10, 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. James Agee Room, 144 Bleeker St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: November 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

OREGON

Portland

The American Economic Crisis: Reagan Makes Workers Pay the Price. Speaker: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

Korea: A Time for a Change. A slide show. Sun., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

Houston

Hear Mel Mason, Independent Candidate for Governor of California. Fri., Sept. 3, 7:30 p.m. Texas Southern University, Student Center, Rm. 203, 3100 Cleburne.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Political History of Zionism. Speaker: Ike Nahem. Sun., Sept. 12, 7:00 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant, NW. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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Women and the 1982 elections

Most women don't have much use for President Reagan.

Small wonder.

Reagan has actively opposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), abortion rights, affirmative action, and federally-funded social programs that benefit poor and working women.

He publicly proclaims that women "artificially" inflate the numbers of unemployed, while he pursues policies which expand the jobless rolls.

And he is moving resolutely to increase U.S. intervention against popular struggles in Central America and the Caribbean as he sends U.S. Marines to Lebanon.

Attempting to capitalize on Reagan's low rating, the Democrats are making a big pitch for the "women's vote" in 1982, trying to pose as the party of women's equality.

Aiding them in this effort, the president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Eleanor Smeal, announced on August 26 that NOW was launching a \$3 million fund which would help finance the campaigns of "pro-woman" Democrats — and some Republicans — in the November elections.

Smeal told the press, "Republicans by and large have deserted us." The implication is that the Democrats are with us.

But that's dead wrong.

It's not just that the Carter administration began digging the grave for the ERA, and then left it to Reagan to throw in the final shovelful of dirt.

Or that it was under Carter that federal funds for abortions were cut off by Congress.

The facts show that both parties have a consistent record of opposing women's rights over the years.

How else can you explain the fact that widespread public support for women's rights and equality has never found its expression on the governmental level?

To advance the fight for women's rights, we first have to recognize the character of the attack on those rights.

Women are facing the same capitalist offensive

that is bearing down against all of the oppressed and exploited in our society. New anti-immigrant laws are being passed; Black rights are under attack — from school desegregation to affirmative action programs; and working people are facing pay cuts, deteriorating working conditions and massive unemployment.

Washington is involving us in a new Vietnam in Central America.

The organized labor movement and the Black and Latino communities are the natural allies of women in fighting back against these attacks.

The Democrats and the Republicans, on the other hand, are the ones who are responsible for carrying out these attacks on the governmental level because the capitalist system, which they loyally defend, is in a deep crisis.

The capitalists reap extra profits from the superexploitation of Black, Latino, and women workers. These divisions also weaken the ability of the working class as a whole to resist the bosses.

As long as working people are tied to the political parties that defend and administer the capitalist system, we cannot effectively combat this assault on our rights and living standards.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates, who are running against the Democrats and Republicans for federal, state and local offices around the country, are advocating the formation of a new political party based on the power of the organized labor movement. A party that would forge an alliance with women, Blacks, Latinos, working farmers, and all others who want to fight back against this system.

Such a party would be an antiwar party. It would fight for jobs, for the rights of oppressed minorities, and women.

And such a party would lead the fight for a new kind of government — a government of workers and farmers, not businessmen and bankers.

Campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates this fall is an important way to spread these ideas around.

No justice for asbestos workers

On August 26 the Manville Corporation filed papers in federal court under the bankruptcy laws. It is not that Manville is bankrupt. On the contrary, its officers say it is doing rather well.

On the basis of its 1981 sales of \$2.2 billion, Manville is ranked 181 on *Fortune* magazine's list of the top 500 industrial concerns in the United States. Manville's lawyers say it will conduct "business as usual" during the legal proceedings. Manville President John McKinney promised August 26 that his company would make "full, timely payment to our suppliers for all shipments after our filing today." In fact, McKinney said the following day that Manville will be able to "pay cash for raw materials."

So why did Manville file for bankruptcy?

The problem is that there are some debts that the company prefers not to make "full, timely payment" on.

Manville is the world's largest producer of asbestos, and it is currently facing more than 16,500 lawsuits by workers who contracted deadly lung diseases — including several types of cancer — from breathing the tiny asbestos fibers. By filing under the bankruptcy laws, Manville can continue to conduct its profitable "business as usual" while denying the claims of thousands of dying workers.

"A smart move" was the verdict of one Wall Street analyst cited by the *Washington Post*.

Meanwhile, Manville is demanding that the government take over the cost of compensating those workers who live long enough and are lucky enough to collect anything. "I expect to emerge from this some system in which the federal government pays its share," McKinney declared.

From 1940 to 1980, about 27 million workers were exposed to asbestos, many of these in government shipyards during World War II. The government cer-

tainly does have a responsibility to these workers — and in fact, to any worker who is sick or injured. But that has nothing to do with bailing out Manville.

The fact is that Manville was fully aware of the deadly properties of asbestos for decades. It did nothing to warn the workers involved. Instead, it suppressed the evidence in its possession.

Some insurance companies are refusing to pay claims by Manville on the grounds that it knew of the dangers of asbestos in the 1930s and did not tell them, thus making the policies void.

Citing internal company documents obtained as a result of suits by asbestos workers, Rep. George Miller of California, chairman of the House Labor Standards subcommittee, said of Manville: "They falsified the documents and lied to the workers and concealed evidence and now they think the taxpayers should make up for that?"

But that's exactly what Manville thinks. That's the way things work under capitalism.

On August 30 Manville won its first round in bankruptcy court. That is known as justice.

Falsifying documents and concealing evidence — that is known as business secrets.

Lying to workers, condemning thousands to death through the use of poisonous chemicals, speed-up, and inadequate safety measures — that is known as keeping costs down in order to maximize profits.

And subsidizing the super-rich with the taxes raised through the labor of working people — that is called creating business incentives.

Right now the Reagan administration is scrapping precisely the kind of regulations that are supposed to protect the health and safety of workers at companies like Manville. They call this improving the climate for business.

They could also call it murder.

charged with first-degree murder. All are out on bail.

Sasway's only crime is that he does not want to be forced to kill people in El Salvador or Nicaragua to defend the interests of U.S. big business.

Right now, the U.S. rulers are engaged in an undeclared war in Central America. By challenging that war, Sasway has done a service for all working people. And that's a crime in the eyes of the capitalist rulers. The treatment of Ben Sasway shows once again that there is no justice for working people under capitalism.

The second anniversary of Polish solidarity

Tens of thousands of people demonstrated throughout Poland on August 31, despite massive police repression, to commemorate the second anniversary of the birth of Solidarity, the country's independent trade union movement. The following description of what Solidarity was and what it fought for is excerpted from an April 1981 article by David Frankel in the pamphlet *Poland: Workers in Revolt*. (Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$1.25 plus 25¢ postage and handling.)

A deepgoing revolution has been unfolding in Poland. . . .

Poland, of course, is not a capitalist country, in which the factories, mines, and shipyards are privately owned. The tasks of the Polish revolution are not to overturn the economic foundations of society and establish new relations of production.

But neither are the Polish workers and their allies merely fighting for a change in government. The real thrust of their demands is for a change in the way the entire country is run, from top to bottom.

Among the demands raised by the strikers [in August 1980] were freedom of expression and the abolition of censorship; release of all political prisoners; recognition of the right to strike and to form independent trade unions; abolition of privileges for po-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

lice and party officials; and that the regime take steps to inform "the public fully about the socio-economic situation in the country. . . ."

From the beginning of the Polish revolution it has been evident that the industrial working class is the force that is driving the process forward. Bastions of the industrial workers, such as the Lenin Shipyard, the Nowa Huta steelworks, and the Ursus tractor plant were the center of the movement from the first days.

As the strikes spread, rail workers, auto workers, rubber workers, machinists, and coal miners from workplaces throughout the country joined in.

The independent workers' organizations that rose out of these strikes provided an example of democratic organization. Elected delegates reported back regularly to their factories, and their actions were subject to the approval of the workers' assemblies in each workplace.

On August 31, [1980] the signing of an agreement was broadcast on national television.

All of Polish society was galvanized by the example of the workers.

Most important of all, the farmers were inspired to organize themselves and raise their own demands. Central to the upsurge of the farmers is their demand that the regime make it possible for them to maintain their land and to stop treating them as second-class citizens.

Because of their crucial role in food production and in production for export, their numerical strength, and their particular history and consciousness as a distinct social class, the farmers are the most powerful and important ally of the Polish workers.

It is no accident that the industrial workers in Poland have moved into the center of politics and are fighting for their class interests. The same process is taking place throughout the world, from Iran to the United States.

The Polish workers are already having a big impact on working-class fighters around the world. And they in turn will be affected by the class struggle in other countries.

As the struggle of the Polish workers and peasants continues, and as Solidarity tries to find allies on a world scale, it will look more and more to the battles of workers and peasants in other countries. Its own class base and the content of its demands drive it in that direction — in the direction of Marxism.

Meanwhile, the Polish workers and their class-struggle leadership deserve the fullest solidarity from the international workers movement. A powerful new contingent of the world working class has entered into struggle. This represents one more confirmation of the revolutionary Marxist program, and of the revolutionary character of our epoch.

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New York, New York 10014.

Killer cops freed, Sasway jailed

On August 26 Ben Sasway was found guilty of refusing to register for the draft. Sasway, who had made clear that his opposition to draft registration was based on his opposition to the unjust wars carried out by Washington — from Vietnam to El Salvador — was hustled off to jail without even a chance to embrace his family. He is being held without bail prior to sentencing.

On the same day, on the other side of the country in Boston, two more police officers were indicted in the case of a rampage through a Massachusetts motel that left one man dead. Four of these cops have been

Women at work: photographs by Lewis Hine

Women at Work: 153 Photographs by Lewis W. Hine, edited by Jonathan L. Doherty. George Eastman House, Rochester, in association with Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1981. 117 pages, \$6.00 paper.

BY DIANE JACOBS

Beautiful, strong women. Women with Gibson Girl hairstyles, dirty aprons, babies on their laps. Doing "homework" in tenement kitchens, making artificial flowers in the dim light of kerosene lamps. In long Victorian dresses with lace collars, or satin chemises and 1920s bobs. They stand incongruously in front of room-size machines. Their skins glow. Often the fac-

PHOTOGRAPHY REVIEW

tories and sweatshops around them dissolve into darkness.

The material of their dresses and the material they sew is palpable; light is reflected off the metal of their machines.

The quality of reproduction in this book, an 8 1/4 x 11-inch paperback, is excellent. Lewis Hine was a genius at framing his subjects. He used strong light sources that bounced off skin, hair, clothes, sewing machines, printing presses, and made them almost superreal. These are pictures we want to walk into.

The women — garment and textile workers, box-makers, printers, telephone operators — are Jewish,

Italian, Irish, Black. They are our predecessors, in the low-paying jobs where women were concentrated.

Lewis Wickes Hine (1874-1940) began his career in 1905, documenting the arrival of immigrants at New York's Ellis Island. Over the next 35 years he photographed urban slums, child labor, southern Blacks, the construction of the Empire State Building, all kinds of workers, and other aspects of life in America.

Hine is best known for his early pictures — the "reform" photographs that he considered "negative documentation." He tried to expose "things that had to be corrected" — the filth and degradation immigrants and other workers were subjected to. Many of these pictures were printed in *The Survey*, a social-welfare magazine of the time.

In the 1920s he shifted his emphasis — to the detriment of his art. He opted for "positive documentation," tried to present only what was noble and heroic about the workers he photographed. He denied the alienation of the workplace. These photos are still technically beautiful, but they lack the tension and energy of the early work.

Women at Work is a recent counterpart to *Men at Work*, a collection of pictures Hine published himself in 1932. We don't know whether he intended to produce a volume on women, but he did keep a file of photographs labeled "Women-work." His captions reveal an attitude that was progressive for his time. Under the picture of a woman in a kitchen: "The home-maker deserves recognition as one of our workers."

This is a book for anyone who appreciates good photography, but it is especially a book for feminists. It gives us a graphic record of our history as workers, and it makes us proud of that history.



Lewis Hine

Making paper boxes

LETTERS

Mujahedeen

I recently subscribed to the *Militant* because I found myself in agreement with many of its editorial positions. The major exception was the position of the *Militant* regarding the Iranian revolution.

My problem with this position is exemplified by David Frankel's reply to two readers in your August 6 issue. First, Frankel explicitly contradicts himself in the conclusion to his reply by referring at one point to the "present capitalist government in Iran" and at another point to "the socialist revolution in Iran."

The latter statement might be construed as an anticipated achievement of the Iranian revolution, but aren't the, in Frankel's words, "attacks . . . on the rights of women, the oppressed nationalities, and the working class" by the Khomeini government *fundamental* barriers to any such achievement?

Secondly and more importantly, Frankel argues that "the fight to defend and extend democratic rights can only be carried out effectively as part of the fight to advance the struggle against imperialism."

Wrong. Frankel makes the

end of revolution the emancipation of the State. The real aim of a socialist revolution is the emancipation of society. The struggle against imperialism can only be carried out effectively as part of the fight to extend democratic rights.

Such an error makes Frankel as prey to charges of reactionarism as are the Mujahedeen. The latter champion the bourgeoisie, Frankel, despite his good intentions, the petty bourgeoisie.

Notwithstanding my difference with the *Militant* on this matter, I would like to continue my subscription.

Charles Sullivan
New York, New York

Hereditary rulers

Militant readers who might doubt that there is a real, live hereditary ruling class in the U.S. should take a look at an article in the August 22 *New York Times* "Business" section.

The article, about the importance of good management at the helm of corporations, compared two companies in each of several fields, one with bad management and one with good.

What struck me, and what the *Times* reporter apparently found unworthy of comment, is that most of the companies he mentioned were headed by distant descendants of their founders.

For example, Robert Uihlein, of the poorly-managed Schlitz breweries, was the fourth generation of his family to head up that company. Meanwhile the well-run Anheuser Busch breweries are controlled by August Busch 3rd, who replaced his father as chairman of the board in 1977.

The *Times* reporter also compared the two largest farm implements manufacturers. International Harvester, which the *Times* says has been poorly managed, is headed by Brooks McCormick, the great-grandnephew of founder Cyrus McCormick.

The John Deere Company, apparently well-managed, is led by William Hewitt, who is married to the great-great-granddaughter of the original John Deere.

I wondered why the *Times* reporter never thought to question whether accidents of birth and marriage should give some people the power to make decisions affecting the lives of tens of thousands of employees, as well as the country's economic health.

Then I glanced at the masthead of the *New York Times*. Listed as publisher is Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, and listed as the previous publishers are Adolph Ochs and Arthur Hays Sulzberger.

A friendly warning to the top management at the *Times*. The royal families in Europe developed terrible genetic problems from too much inbreeding.

Brad Jennings
New Jersey

Bus-riding diplomat

Like so many others, I was saddened by the death of Raúl Roa García, who played such an important role in the early years of the Cuban revolution.

He was the father of the present Cuban ambassador to the UN.

I was in the visitors gallery of the UN in April of 1961 when he made a major speech putting the spotlight on Washington's plan for its pending invasion of Cuba.

A small incident before the meeting remains vivid in my memory.

I was standing with a friend near the main driveway entrance to the UN assembly building observing a picket-line of Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles near the entrance gate.

The UN cops kept the picketers away from the gate itself to keep the way clear for the stream of diplomatic limousines that purred through the gate and up the driveway.

My friend said, "Here comes Roa."

He pointed down the block where a city bus had just stopped. Alighting from the bus and walking up the street was Cuba's foreign minister.

Carrying a paper portfolio under his arm, he walked past the picketers, through the gate, and up the driveway.

It was just a small incident. But for me it pointed up the egalitarian character of the Cuban revolution.

Harry Ring
New York, New York

U.S. hypocrisy

When the government of Poland imposes martial law and detains opponents, the U.S. government, supported by Congress, cuts off economic aid to the hungry Poles, and strikes even at the Russians by attempting to obstruct the building of the Siberian pipeline which is needed even by Western Europe. This is done allegedly to put an end to the violation of human rights in Poland.

When the government of El Salvador commits atrocities against its civilian population, the U.S. government increases its military aid to this government, against the wishes of a sizeable number of American

legislators who profess to be angry at the violation of human rights in El Salvador.

When the Israelis lay waste to Lebanon, kill civilians by the many thousands, injure them by the tens of thousands, and threaten a massacre, Warsaw style, in Beirut where the civilians are still being killed by the hundreds daily, both the U.S. government and Congress continue to support the Israelis militarily, economically, and diplomatically. What has happened to human life!

This is expediency, hypocrisy, to whose brazenness there is no known parallel. Our politicians, however, would not dare engage in it if it did not permeate the rest of our major institutions.

R. Busailah
Kokomo, Indiana

Misses 'Militant'

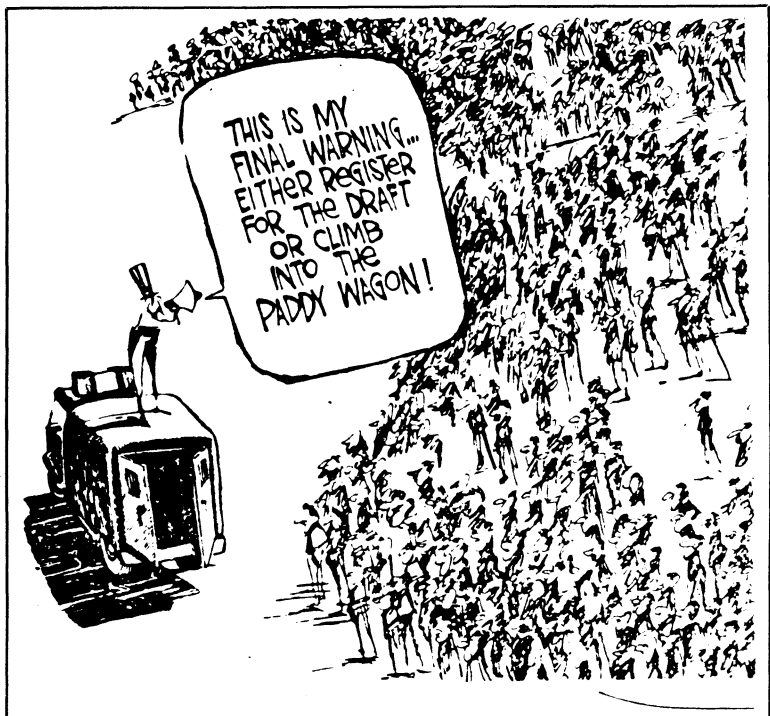
First I would like to take the opportunity to compliment the editorial staff of the *Militant* newspaper for your outstanding and objective reporting on national and international issues.

I was introduced to the *Militant* by a brother here in prison who since has been transferred. Not only will I miss his friendship, but also I'll miss reading the *Militant*.

Therefore, I am writing this letter in hopes that I could subscribe to your paper under your prisoner's status. I would highly appreciate any and all consideration given this request.

Keep up the good work.
A prisoner
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



Denver Post/Mike Keefe

U.S. gov't greets butcher of Beirut

Israeli war minister Sharon declares White House 'shares our program'



U.S. Marines landing in Beirut to strengthen Israeli occupation.

March Sept. 11 to protest U.S.-Israeli occupation

BY WILL REISSNER

The presence of U.S. Marines in Beirut and the imposition of an Israeli-sponsored rightist government in Lebanon add special urgency to participation in a September 11 national march on Washington to protest the U.S.-Israeli aggression against Lebanon. Similar marches will be held the same day in San Francisco and Austin, Texas.

The marches will demand an end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, U.S. troops out of Lebanon, no U.S. arms shipments to Israel, and no Israeli-imposed regime in Lebanon.

In Washington, marchers will begin assembling at 11 a.m. at Franklin Square Park (14th and K streets). At noon there will be a rally at the assembly site, followed by a 1:30 p.m. march to Lafayette Park, in front of the White House. The main rally at Lafayette Park will begin at 3 p.m.

In San Francisco, marchers will assemble at Union Square at 10:30 a.m. They will march past the Israeli consulate to a 1 p.m. rally at the San Francisco Civic Center.

The marches are sponsored by the November 29 Coalition, which takes its name from the United Nations-designated international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, and by a wide range of other groups and individuals.

Speakers at the Washington rally will include Israeli antiwar activist Danny Amit, chairman of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon; Hassan Rahman of the Palestine Liberation Organization; and representatives of the

Lebanese National Movement and the Palestine Congress of North America.

Also speaking in Washington will be Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador; Rabbi Elmer Berger; Rev. Ben Chavis, who is deputy director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ as well as a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party; Professor Edward Said; Don Will of the United Methodist Office for the United Nations; and representatives from the African National Congress and the Mobilization for Survival.

For more information on buses and plans for the September 11 marches, call (212) 695-2686 in New York; (202) 462-1488 in Washington, D.C.; (415) 821-6545 in San Francisco; or (713) 661-4236 in Houston.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As tens of thousands of Israeli troops continue to occupy much of Lebanon and prepare new attacks against the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian peoples, the Reagan administration in Washington has extended a warm welcome to Gen. Ariel Sharon — the butcher of West Beirut.

Defense Minister Sharon, the chief planner and director of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, met with Secretary of State George Shultz, spoke to Zionist leaders in New York, and was granted two prime-time television interviews during his visit in late August.

Taking advantage of this forum, Sharon — whose savage bombing raids over Lebanon left tens of thousands dead or wounded — had the audacity to claim that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has provided a new opening for "peace" in the Middle East.

Sharon also took the opportunity to thank the Reagan administration for its support. Washington and the Israeli regime, he said in one speech, had "common goals" in Lebanon, specifically mentioning the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Syrian troops and the strengthening of the new ultrarightist regime.

"Reagan is a wonderful friend"

In an interview with Oriana Fallaci in the August 29 *Washington Post*, Sharon stressed that the officials in the White House "share our programs, they agree on everything."

The same point was made by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in an interview in the *New York Times* that same day. Reagan, he said, is "a wonderful friend of the State of Israel."

"The United States adopted at the beginning a policy that not only the P.L.O. but also the Syrians must leave" Lebanon, Begin said.

"I don't have any recrimination. Sometimes there were differences, sometimes there were misunderstand-

ings. But all in all we worked together."

One example of how Washington and the Zionist regime have "worked together" during the invasion has been the massive U.S. arms shipments to Israel.

According to the August 24 *Miami Herald*, the Reagan administration has supplied the Begin regime with millions of dollars worth of arms since the beginning of the invasion on June 6. Citing Pentagon and State Department sources, the *Herald* reported that this included tanks, artillery, ammunition, antitank missiles, and armored personnel carriers.

In a second article the following day, the *Herald* reported that the Israeli regime has been receiving far more U.S. military and economic assistance than is generally known, according to a preliminary report by the government's General Accounting Office.

Total U.S. aid since 1974 has been \$22.5 billion, according to the report, compared to the figure of \$14.1 billion that is normally used by the Pentagon and State Department.

U.S. Marines

In addition to this material and financial assistance, Washington now has 800 U.S. Marines in Beirut, as part of a 2,130-member international force that also includes French and Italian troops.

The Reagan administration claims that this is a "peacekeeping" force. But its real purpose is to strengthen the Israeli position in Lebanon and to help consolidate the new ultrarightist regime of Bashir Gemayel, who was chosen president of Lebanon on August 23 with direct Israeli support.

Since the very beginning of the invasion, one of the key Israeli aims has been to force the Syrian troops in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley out of the country. The valley is of strategic importance to the defense of Syria.

In his *Washington Post* interview, Sharon repeated earlier threats to at-

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Auto layoffs spark anger, discussion

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

"I voted for the contract. But if we give back any more, the company will still do the same thing — throw us out."

"Our benefits should never have been cut. But they were, and now we're going on layoff anyway."

These are comments from workers at the Tarrytown, New York, General Motors assembly plant, where 2,000 auto workers on the second shift are being laid off indefinitely.

Another 2,000 at the Leeds (Kansas City), Missouri, GM assembly plant are already laid off as second shift there, too, has been eliminated.

Closing entirely are GM's assembly plants at Framingham, Massachusetts, (3,400 workers) and Lakewood, Georgia (1,700).

Ford, meanwhile, has been laying off workers temporarily, 13,000 of them in early August.

The comments from Tarrytown workers are, from reports by *Militant* correspondents who work there, typical of sentiment at the plant. This is a change since April, when Tarrytown workers approved the national concessions contract negotiated by the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership by an official count of 2,579 to 861.

Workers at other auto plants affected by the shutdowns report similar shifts in opinion, although not all of them are so marked as at Tarrytown.

Auto workers are among the hardest hit U.S. workers in the current economic crisis. In just three years, 260,000 of them have been "sloughed off" from the industry, as the *Wall Street Journal* callously puts it.

Told by their employers and union leaders that concessions would save jobs, workers at Ford accepted concessions by 73 percent to 27 percent. GM workers, voting six weeks later, voted by a much narrower margin — 52 percent to 48 percent — for the givebacks. Now, many more would vote against.

"Concessions save jobs?"

The claim that concessions will save jobs is belied by the 9,100-worker layoff by GM and the "temporary adjustments" at Ford.

And it is belied by the facts at Chrysler, whose workers voted in 1979 and 1981 for concessions that gave the company \$1.1 billion and that left them \$2.68-an-hour behind GM and Ford workers in wages. Of 83,200 UAW

Chrysler members, only 45,000 are working.

Chrysler's UAW contract expires September 15, and Chrysler workers, seeing that the company is now profitable, are seeking to get back some of the concessions.

Several Chrysler locals have taken strike votes. Liz Ziers, who works at Ford's River Rouge plant, went to the Jefferson assembly plant in Detroit.

A Chrysler worker with 18 years' seniority, just called back to work that week: "They owe us. The deal was, when things start picking up for Chrysler, we'd get some things due us. Well, they made a profit, didn't they?"

The strike vote at Jefferson was 1,356 for, 49 against.

Workers at GM and Ford also feel cheated.

A Ford Rouge materials handler: "Hell, there's plenty of money; the rich just won't cut loose of it."

He predicted that the bosses would "try to get a war going" to get out of their economic crisis.

Many workers see war spending as part of the problem. A co-worker at Tarrytown told Wells Todd, "The U.S. is giving millions of dollars to Israel and El

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