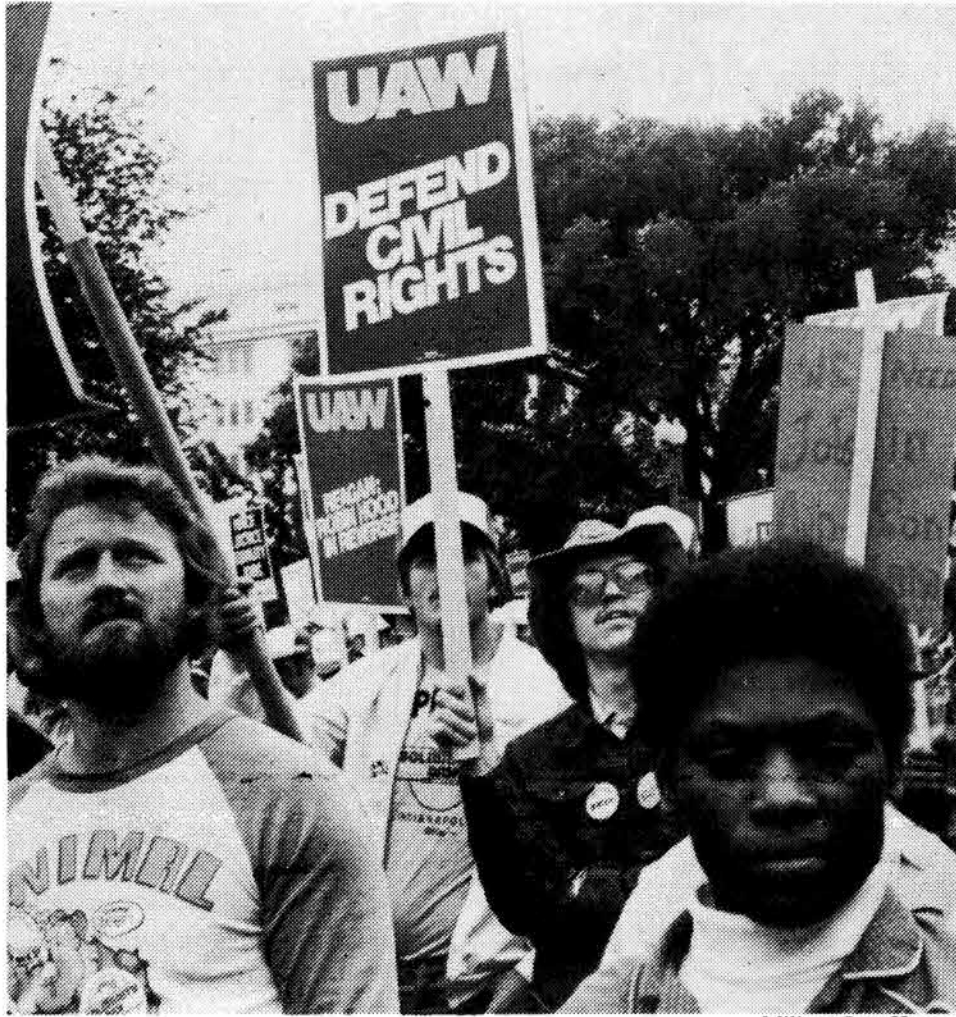


## August 27 march: why unions should mobilize

Labor's stake in jobs, peace, freedom struggle



Militant/Lou Howort

Unionists at huge September 19, 1981, march on Washington organized by AFL-CIO. Unprecedented union endorsement has been won for August 27 march.

BY MALIK MIAH

The most pressing task before the labor movement in the next month is to go all out and build the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom initiated and led by the major civil rights organizations.

Already more than 700 organizations have endorsed the march. This includes farm organizations, women's groups, Latino organizations, and the AFL-CIO.

### Historic march

This historic march has the potential to be a large, militant, and powerful expression of opposition to the war at home and abroad being waged against working people by big business and its government. Its slogan for jobs, peace, and freedom is a direct challenge to the rulers' attacks on these basic needs.

The tens of thousands of working people who will be gathering in Washington, in fact, will be participating in an action against the rulers over their escalating new Vietnam in Central America and their attempt to force working people to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

Opposition to the bosses' offensive among growing numbers of working people is why support activity is expanding for the march across the country. There are new endorsers and new coalitions forming to build the demonstration; and most importantly, more local unions are throwing their support behind the march by buying bus seats and publicizing the march among rank-and-file members.

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## U.S. lies on Salvador talks: smokescreen for war

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

The Reagan administration has launched a new barrage of lies against the Salvadoran liberation movement to justify Washington's deepening military intervention in the Salvadoran civil war.

The latest U.S. move was designed to present the rebels as intransigent warmongers who have turned their backs on negotiations despite the best efforts of the Reagan administration. This turns reality on its head.

On July 7, U.S. super-ambassador Richard Stone began a highly publicized trip to Central America, where he was scheduled to have talks with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador. A couple of days later, Stone abruptly returned to Washington, charging the FMLN-FDR leaders had refused to go through with the planned meeting in Costa Rica.

### U.S. disinformation campaign

The U.S. government and the capitalist press immediately launched a disinformation campaign against the rebels.

One unnamed "State Department source" told the *Washington Post* that the FMLN-FDR couldn't "get their act together" due to internal differences. Another "State Department official" insisted that the problem was the liberation forces didn't really want talks, since they "had plenty of time to get organized if they really planned to."

The FMLN-FDR quickly punctured such reports. "All speculation along the lines that we refused to talk to Stone, or that we are divided in our position, is totally false," said Alberto Arene, spokesperson for the groups in Washington.

On July 10, the FMLN-FDR representatives in Costa Rica issued a communique stating a meeting with Stone had been arranged for July 9 by Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge.

"Unfortunately, it was not possible to reach agreement on procedural matters, thus preventing the meeting from taking place," the statement said.

The carefully worded diplomatic document nevertheless made clear that it was not the FMLN-FDR that was responsible for the breakdown of the talks: "Our fronts wish to state for the record our total compliance regarding the agreements reached on the nature of the meeting. . . ."

"The FDR-FMLN reiterates its willingness for a dialogue and hopes that in the near future this can be achieved with Ambassador Stone without preconditions, with an open agenda, and within an appropriate framework."

### Rebels explain dialogue

The FMLN and the FDR have repeatedly called for talks to search for a negotiated political solution to the Salvadoran civil war. On June 9, they renewed their call for "a direct dialogue, without preconditions, among the parties to the conflict, in which all the problems our society confronts can be discussed comprehensively, and where all sectors interested in the search for peace and justice can contribute."

The Salvadoran groups warned that "Today, given the undeniable political and military advances of the democratic and

Continued on Page 2

## Palestinian struggle for a homeland: a fight the imperialists can't stop

BY DAVID FRANKEL

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is under siege. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the onslaught against West Beirut, the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, the subsequent U.S. diplomatic offensive and media campaign aimed at splitting the PLO, and now the attempt by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to gain control of the PLO are all part of the same package. These unceasing attacks over the past year amount to the biggest and most sustained offensive against the PLO since its birth.

Because of its uncompromising struggle for the national rights of the Palestinian people, the PLO represents a deadly threat to the imperialist setup in the Middle East. The U.S. and Israeli rulers are determined to destroy the drive by the Palestinians to regain their homeland, and the Syrian regime, for its own reasons, has joined in the campaign against the PLO.

Despite repeated attempts over the years, the imperialists have never been able to crush the PLO. Whatever conjunctural ups and downs it may go through, the fact is that the Palestinian national liberation struggle will remain in the center of politics in the Middle East. To eliminate that struggle would require nothing less than the destruction of the Palestinian people as a whole.

What puts the struggle of the Palestinians — and the PLO, as the organized expression of that struggle — in such a cen-

tral position in the Middle East is their challenge to the legitimacy of the Israeli state. Israel was established by a colonial movement that organized the settlement of a European population in Palestine, and which ultimately took over the country, expropriated the native Palestinian peasantry, and expelled some 700,000 Palestinians from their homeland.

The Israeli colonial settler-state is at the

heart of the imperialist system in the Middle East. It is the one country in the region that is not exploited and oppressed by imperialism. It provides a counterrevolutionary army of more than 400,000 for use against the rest of the countries of the Middle East, which are super-exploited by imperialism and which periodically rebel against their oppression.

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# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY CHRIS RAYSON

MILWAUKEE — For several weeks Socialist Workers Party supporters have been selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at Patrick Cudahy, a meatpacking plant in Cudahy, Wisconsin, organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers. About 1,000 workers, a large percentage of whom are Chicano or Mexican, work there.

In fact a Mexican worker at Cudahy suggested we sell there. He attended a rally against the deportation of Héctor Marroquín, became an active supporter of his case, and later bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*. He occasionally posts up articles from *PM* on a bulletin board inside the plant.

For four weeks — starting with issue 19 — we sold at Cudahy, averaging five or six papers on each

sale, including one or two *PM*s.

On the fourth week the company called the cops on us. They came, asked for our "solicitation permit," and told us to leave when we asserted our right to sell without a "permit."

We went to the Cudahy City Hall to defend our right to sell. We talked to the mayor and city attorney. They hemmed and hawed and finally decided to bring the matter before the city council.

The next afternoon, June 22, an article appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* headlined "Cudahy requires party to pay fee." The article stated that Socialist Workers Party "members wanted to sell the party newspaper, the *Militant*, in front of businesses and industries in the city on Mondays and Tuesdays."

The article went on to say, "Alderman Frank J. Chovanec asked City Attorney James E. Boren whether the council would get in any kind of trouble if it did not waive the fees. He noted that the city did not charge solicitation fees for *USA Today*, *The Milwaukee Journal*, and *Milwaukee Sentinel*."

"I wouldn't relate one to the other as far as the enforcement of our solicitation code is concerned," Boren said.

A spokesperson for the SWP, the article continued, "told a reporter that a permit fee should not be charged for distribution of political literature because such activity was protected by the First Amendment."

Following the article, more discussions with the Cudahy City Hall occurred. They finally decided we could sell our papers without a permit. So we returned to Cudahy.

Before the sale, we called the *Militant* and *PM* subscriber who had helped us sell at Cudahy in the first place. He took his *PM* into work the day before the sale to show to coworkers and encourage them to buy.

The next day, Friday, June 24, two members and an active supporter of the SWP sold nine *Militants* and two *PM*s at Cudahy. There were no cops in sight.

A number of workers said they had seen the article in the *Milwaukee Journal*.

One Black worker came up to a salesperson and said, "I just wanted to tell you that I've read the paper and it's very good."

A number of workers said they would buy next week but didn't

have money that day because it was payday. Our sales would have been better still if we had brought more papers. We sold out 20 minutes before the shift started.

We found out later that word of our Cudahy sales efforts had spread to other Milwaukee-area plants.

A Black garment worker at Junior House, a garment shop organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, mentioned to a socialist who sells the *Militant* and *PM* there each week, that she had seen that the party was having problems selling at Cudahy.

She then said that the reason she wasn't buying the *Militant* anymore was because her husband, a union steward at Cudahy, was buying it each week.

## U.S. lies on Salvador talks: smokescreen for war

Continued from front page

revolutionary forces of the Salvadoran people, and the increasing international pressure favoring a political solution, our enemies attempt to cover themselves with the mantle of dialogue.

"Nevertheless, conciliatory words cannot hide the tragic reality of a Salvadoran Government whose very survival depends on continued state terrorism and the support of the Reagan administration."

The Salvadoran groups explained that "the increasingly militaristic and interventionist role of President Reagan's administration demonstrates that in El Salvador there will be no peace, no justice and no independence as long as the Reagan administration continues its interventionist and militarist policy."

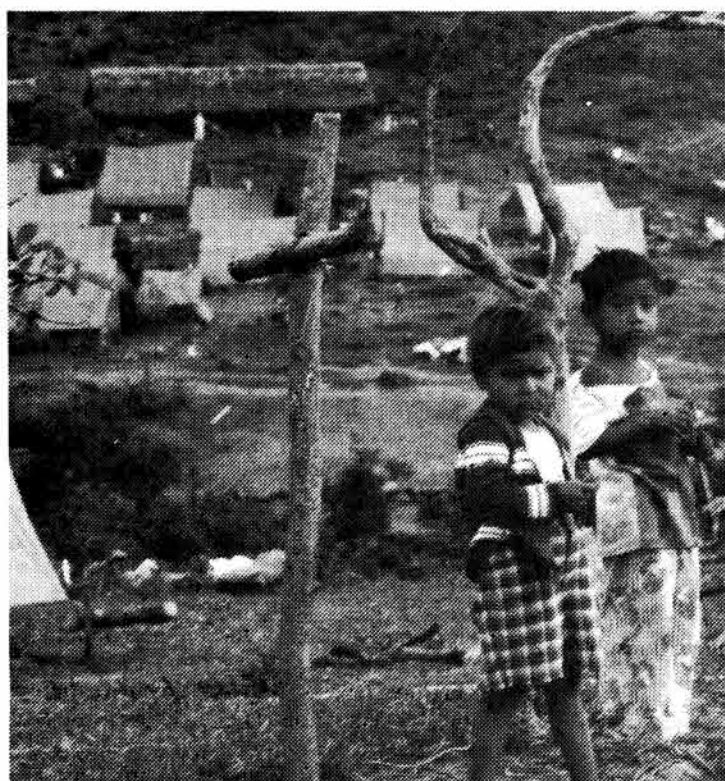
### Bipartisan U.S. war drive

The U.S. government and its Salvadoran junior partners have staunchly refused to negotiate, opting instead for military escalation. The Democrats and Republicans in Congress have supported this course and helped give Reagan political cover. They say, for example, they will vote the money the administration wants as long as it is seeking negotiations "in good faith."

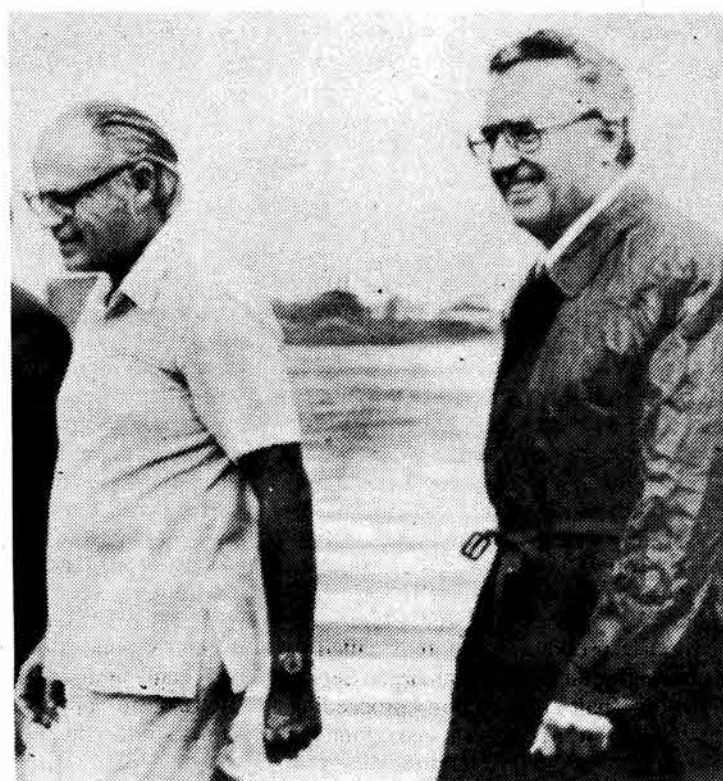
Meanwhile, there are now 80 U.S. military advisers officially in El Salvador (25 are listed as "medical" personnel), and many more just across the border in Honduras. The Pentagon's Southern Command in Panama — which is deeply involved in directing the war, not only in El Salvador, but also in Nicaragua — has been upgraded and expanded. The U.S. military is building new bases and airstrips in Honduras and enlarging its housing and medical facilities in Panama.

And President Reagan has pointedly refused to rule out sending U.S. combat troops to El Salvador.

In the midst of this all-out drive to create a new Vietnam in Central America, President Reagan named former Sen. Richard



Left, Salvadoran children in refugee camp in Honduras. Right, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton with Richard Stone: "The war will go on."



Stone his super-ambassador to the region, supposedly to negotiate a peaceful solution to the conflicts. Following his departure from the Senate a few years ago, Stone became a paid public relations agent for the Guatemalan dictatorship.

A month ago, Ambassador Stone visited all the Central American and some other Latin American countries. The June 26 issue of the Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* summarized his first trip this way:

"In El Salvador he held cordial talks with provisional president Alvaro Magaña and all those responsible for the genocide

there. In Honduras he praised the democracy of the Suazo Córdova administration. In Guatemala he praised the progress of the regime in the counterinsurgency struggle. In Nicaragua he rejected bilateral Nicaragua-Honduras and Nicaragua-USA talks. He also rejected a Nicaraguan government invitation to visit the border with Honduras, which is the springboard for former Somocista guard attacks on the Nicaraguan Revolution."

### 'War will go on'

Stone's most recent mission was similar in purpose. Washington's political stance

was outlined by outgoing U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton in the July 18 *Newsweek*: "All you can negotiate is the opportunity for the guerrillas to return peacefully to society and compete for power in elections" run by the current government.

In other words, the rebels should "peacefully" surrender to the gang that has murdered more than 40,000 Salvadorans — overwhelmingly unarmed civilians — in the past few years.

"If the guerrillas cannot bring themselves to say yes, we want to live in a peaceful democracy," Hinton continued, "the war will go on — and it should go on."



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## The Militant

Closing news date: July 13, 1983

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

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# LULAC discusses Latino-Black alliance

## Detroit meeting takes up '84 elections, Central America, immigration

BY SUSAN APSTEIN  
AND ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — The theme of the 54th convention of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) which met here June 28-July 3 was the need for Blacks and Latinos to unite to combat racist oppression.

"Black/Brown coalitions are a thing of necessity and must be aggressively pursued by both communities. We both must understand that despite whatever differences may exist we basically come back to both being treated the same," outgoing LULAC President Tony Bonilla said at the opening press conference.

Unemployment among Latinos is 16.3 percent, Bonilla said, and "in some parts it exceeds 45 percent, especially along the Mexican border." Immigrants from Eastern European countries which the U.S. government is hostile to are welcomed, but "when we come from Haiti, Mexico, and Central America, the door to freedom is slammed shut," he said.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, who is considering whether to seek the Democratic nomination for president, spoke to the gathering of 800 convention delegates and Blacks from Detroit. They cheered his announcement that he will join Bonilla in leading a joint Black-Latino voter registration drive in the Southwest to begin in a few weeks.

"It's time for a shift in American politics," Jackson said. Latinos and Blacks must "turn to each other and not on each other."

Because of lack of time, most resolutions were referred to the executive body of the group for later action. The proposed resolutions included one opposing U.S. aid to El Salvador and supporting the Contadora initiative for a negotiated political solution. Many delegates also heard Alberto Arene, from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN-FDR), at a workshop on U.S. policy in Latin America.

Another proposed resolution called on the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to halt deportation proceedings against Héctor Marroquín and grant him political asylum. The proposed resolution explained that Marroquín had fled Mexico after being framed by Mexican police and the U.S. FBI for his legal activities in the student movement. It branded U.S. refugee policy as discriminatory because it refuses to grant asylum to refugees from Latin American countries like El Salvador which are supported by the U.S. government.

Marroquín was invited to be part of a speakers panel in one of the convention workshops.

### Black-Latino coalition

Jackson and Bonilla hailed the election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago as the first big victory for the new Black-Latino coalition. "With the victory in Chicago we will begin to get the people from both communities to realize the significant impact we can have," Bonilla said.

The recent election of Democrats

Federico Peña as mayor of Denver and Toney Anaya as governor of New Mexico were pointed to as examples of the power of a united effort.

Bonilla said 23 million Black and Latino voters could be a "substantial block vote that can make a difference in who the next president of the United States may be."

"It is our hope that ultimately we may have a Black or Hispanic seeking the presidency of the U.S. in 1984 during the primaries," Bonilla added.

Jackson and Bonilla have been holding meetings across the country since December to build support for a Black-Latino electoral coalition. "I have asked Jesse to appear with me in south Texas to register one million Hispanics, and I intend to appear with Jesse during his Black registration drives in the South," Bonilla said.

Bonilla has also met recently with two other national Black leaders who support a Black-Latino coalition — Coretta Scott King and Rev. Joseph Lowery of the National Black Leadership Forum.

Recently Latino Democratic Party leaders formed "Hispanic Force '84" at a meeting in Phoenix and considered Toney Anaya as a possible national candidate.

Convention discussion on the coalition continued at the "Black/Brown Coalition Symposium" addressed by Lloyd Davis, executive director of the Martin Luther King Center in Atlanta. Davis announced the Center's proposal for a three-week educational training program for leaders of both communities. He stressed Coretta Scott King's commitment to forging a coalition. In her recent visits to Central and South America, "Mrs. King found a strong appreciation of Dr. King's work and the struggle for justice by Blacks in the U.S. among the common people there," Davis said. "The Martin Luther King Center wants peace and justice in Central and South America."

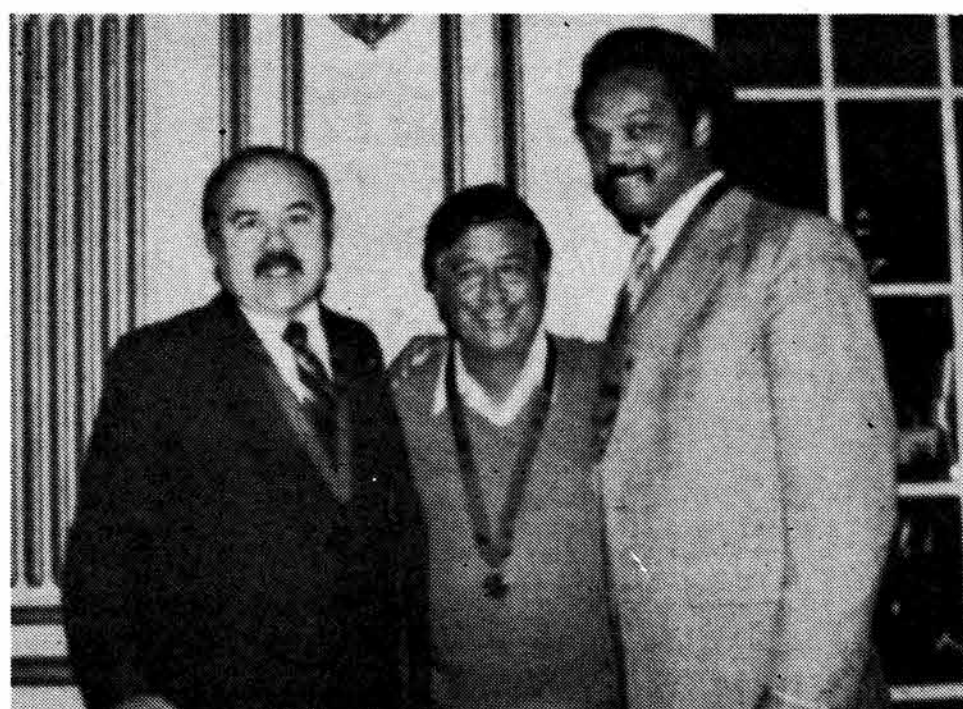
He also voiced the Martin Luther King Center's opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill. He called on LULAC to support self-determination for Blacks in South Africa and to fight for "a strong Hispanic involvement" in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

### Areas of common interest

Davis pointed to several areas of common interest for Blacks and Latinos: full employment "in which we will never be polarized and placed in competition;" the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act; opposition to "oppressive and restrictive immigration laws"; bilingual education; fair housing; "a just and humane policy for Hispanic refugees and immigrants"; passage of the bill declaring Martin Luther King's birthday a holiday; and efforts "on behalf of Hispanic workers everywhere in struggle for dignity and economic and social justice."

"Blacks everywhere must be part of the Hispanic struggle for social justice," he concluded.

Five Democratic Party presidential



LULAC News

Outgoing LULAC President Tony Bonilla (left) with Cesar Chavez of United Farm Workers and Rev. Jesse Jackson. "Black/Brown coalitions are a thing of necessity and must be aggressively pursued," Bonilla says.

hopefuls — Gary Hart, Alan Cranston, Ernest Hollings, John Glenn, and Walter Mondale — appeared before the convention posing as friends of Latinos and Blacks. Some of them questioned U.S. policy in Central America. Others took their distance from the bipartisan Simpson-Mazzoli bill. Some called for more funding for bilingual education and greater representation for Latinos in government. However, they and their party have already voted millions to fund the U.S. war in Central America and have likewise voted for massive cuts in social services and education.

They all paid homage to the growing electoral strength of the Latino community.

Arnold Torres, LULAC executive director in Washington, D.C., chaired a workshop on "U.S.-Latin America Relations," which focused on Central America and El Salvador.

LULAC legislative aid Barbara Altman described several trips to El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua during the past year. In El Salvador she met with prisoners who were being tortured and held without trial. As a result of this and other information gathered during these trips, LULAC representatives testified before Congress opposing increased military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador.

The U.S. State Department refused to send a representative to be on the workshop panel because FDR-FMLN representative Alberto Arene had been invited. Arene said there is a "national and international consensus in favor of negotiations" as "the best way to create the conditions to end the war and dismantle the dictatorship and institutional terror that exists."

A pamphlet distributed at the workshop on immigration detailed LULAC's re-

sponse to the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. It blasts the "discriminatory consequences of this legislation" whose "proponents have chosen to make the undocumented the scapegoats for high unemployment."

The United States "continues to want cheap labor at any cost, and if they are Hispanic there is no need to protect their rights as human beings and workers."

At the workshop Torres said he was outraged that the INS has asked several community organizations to volunteer as centers for Latinos seeking "amnesty" applications, offering "\$15 a head" for LULAC to act as a "bounty hunter."

Opinion was divided about the best way to oppose the bill. Torres argued that since the bill is certain to pass, the only way to oppose it is to water it down with restrictive amendments. On the other hand, Bert Corona, from National Immigration Network, explained why all provisions of the bill, including the amnesty provisions, must be opposed.

Corona said that in 1953 the government proposed similar amnesty provisions, convincing community agencies to participate in implementing them. The next year thousands of Latinos were deported, the highest level of deportation yet.

Corona also argued for the need to reach out to white workers and educate them about the bill. He reported distributing leaflets at a large labor gathering in the San Francisco area recently where he received a positive response from construction trades workers and others who took extra leaflets to distribute.

The convention elected Mario Obledo as president. Obledo is a Sacramento lawyer and former California secretary of health and welfare. His main opponent, Denver construction firm owner Linda Alvarado, stressed business as the best way for Hispanics to move forward. Obledo, however, emphasized his support for the Black-Brown coalition, his commitment to traditional civil rights tactics, and his opposition to U.S. involvement in Central America.

### Organizing political power

Convention discussion on the war in Central America and the Black-Latino coalition reflected the sentiments of masses of Latinos in this country.

Jackson and Bonilla have said they hope to use a massive registration of Black and Latino voters to pressure the Democratic Party into addressing the interests of Blacks and Latinos. But the Democratic Party doesn't represent these interests any more than the Republicans do. They act for the corporations that thrive on deepening the attacks on working people and sharpening the divisions between Blacks, Latinos, and white working people.

Winning the goals of this convention and really fighting for the needs of Blacks and Latinos will require breaking with both the Democratic and Republican parties and charting an independent political course.

## Hundreds back asylum fight at D.C. rally

BY MARY MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 300 participants in the July 2 march here against U.S. intervention in Central America signed petitions demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

"The response was overwhelming," said L. Paltrineri, a garment worker from New Jersey. "Every single person on my CISPES [Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador] bus from Newark signed a petition. At the rally, even people who didn't sign took a brochure and asked thoughtful questions. I think those people will respond the next time they see a petition or are asked to send an emergency telegram against deportation."

Many of those who signed petitions were familiar with the case. Some said they had been following it for years. Marroquín has been fighting for political asylum for six years. He was forced to flee government

repression in Mexico nine years ago. But because he is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and an outspoken opponent of the U.S. war in Central America, Marroquín was ordered deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Some time after the U.S. Supreme Court convenes in October, it will decide whether to hear Marroquín's appeal of his deportation order.

A Vietnam veteran from Minneapolis at the July 2 march read the list of unions endorsing Marroquín's case and commented, "Yeah, you gotta get the unions involved. Just like in this demonstration today — we got the postal workers here and that's a better situation than we were in when advisers were being sent to Vietnam."

A woman who proudly announced that she is a local president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) signed a petition.

She said with a laugh, "My father always told me if I signed petitions I'd never get a good government job. But it's too late for that now — I've been arrested six times just being an AFSCME president. Even AFSCME is too radical for the government."

A 16-year-old high school student said that even though he isn't old enough to vote he wanted to sign the petition because the government also wanted to send him out of the country — as part of the army.

Telegrams and letters demanding the deportation order against Marroquín be dropped should be sent to Alan Nelson, INS Commissioner, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies of messages, requests for more information, and tax-deductible contributions should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



# Mexico-U.S. border conference discusses fight against U.S. war in El Salvador

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH  
AND ANDREA GONZÁLES

TIJUANA, Mexico — The Reagan administration's deepening war in Central America and the need to mount an effective movement against it were the central themes of the 2nd Border Conference in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador held over the July 4 weekend in Tijuana, Mexico.

About 500 solidarity activists, unionists, and others from both the United States and Mexico heard reports on the current situation in Central America, discussed and debated the political direction of the movement against U.S. intervention, and agreed upon an ambitious program of activities for the coming months.

The first border conference took place here last October. Both in its size and breadth this year's conference marked an advance over last year's. More people attended the sessions and many new groups and individuals became a part of the conference's efforts. A wide range of solidarity groups sent delegations, including the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Casa Nicaragua, and Casa El Salvador. A significant number of local groups not affiliated to national organizations came from as far away as Denver and Seattle on the U.S. side and Sinaloa and Mexico City on the Mexican side. Groups supporting solidarity with Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Grenada were also in attendance.

## Increased labor involvement

The increasing amount of activity against Washington's war in the organized labor movement was also reflected at the conference. Although this important effort is just beginning and no union leadership delegations were present, delegates and observers did attend from a number of U.S. union locals. These locals have begun discussing the question of El Salvador and the union movement's role in opposing U.S. intervention. Included among these were unionists from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) in Los Angeles, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union in Seaside, California, Lady Mineworkers of Utah, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers from the Bay Area, and Arizona Farm Workers Union. Unionists from Mexico included those in the textile workers union and the union of the Autonomous University of Sinaloa.

Conference participants were also drawn from a variety of U.S. and Mexican political and religious groups, including anti-nuclear organizations, Mexican shantytown dwellers' unions, representatives of the Catholic church in San Diego and Los Angeles, and Black and Chicano organizations. Many left groups also attended. From Mexico these included the PSUM (Unified Socialist Party of Mexico, formerly known as the Communist Party of Mexico), the Socialist Current, and Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). Groups from the United States included the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Workers Party.

The political framework for the conference's deliberations was set early on by a report given by Antonio Hernández, the official representative of the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. Speaking for the FMLN-FDR (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front), Hernández said the U.S. government is moving toward a new Vietnam in Central America. Its strategic aim, he continued, is "the defeat of the Sandinista rev-

olution, the defeat of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, the defeat of the Guatemalan liberation movement, and ultimately the defeat of all democratic, progressive, and revolutionary movements in Central America."

Hernández said that Washington has launched a disinformation campaign "trying to hide the truth of what is really happening in our countries." The imperialists lie about the reasons for the revolutionary struggle in Central America in order to isolate the North American people from the truth, to make them indifferent, and to try to win them to support U.S. war policy.

He appealed to delegates to launch "a fight against this misinformation, to place North American public opinion on the right track in support of our aspirations and the struggles of our people."

Hernández said, "We have maintained and repeated our proposal for dialogue." A political solution to the conflict, he said, could prevent even greater U.S. intervention and an increase in bloodshed.

Lastly, he discussed the growing unity of the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. "We cannot achieve victory without the unity of all the political and military forces that make up the Salvadoran vanguard," he explained. "We have the historic obligation and duty to daily strengthen this national unity in practice."

## Political resolution

Following the report by the FMLN-FDR representative and greetings from various groups in attendance, the conference began discussion on a political resolution presented by the conference organizers. This resolution was designed to outline the points of political agreement under which anti-intervention activities would be carried out.

The draft took note of the roots of the conflict in El Salvador and Guatemala, which "are to be found in the oppression, the exploitation, misery, and injustice," to which the peoples of these countries have been subjected. Reagan's lie that the fight for liberation was due to outside subversion from Cuba, the Soviet Union, or elsewhere was rejected.

The document also pointed to the day-by-day escalation of the U.S. military role in the region. "Reagan," it declared, "is ready to send troops." This poses a dangerous new stage in the war in Central America, as Washington moves closer and closer to creating a Vietnam-type situation in the region.

But the document also notes that despite this increasing escalation, the revolutionary forces in El Salvador are advancing and gaining strength politically and militarily. "The only reason why the revolution has not overcome its enemies," the document states, "is because of the U.S. intervention."

A variety of suggestions and amendments to the original draft were made under the discussion of this point. Perhaps the most important concerned the role of American working people and their unions in opposing the U.S. war in Central America.

A number of union activists from the United States took the floor to explain that a big discussion over El Salvador had begun in the U.S. labor movement. "It's talked about almost every day on the job," Patti Iiyama, an oil refinery worker and observer from OCAW Local 1-547, told the conference. She and others spoke about the impact of the tour of Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara, who has spoken before dozens of union membership meetings in recent months.

Sam Manuel, a Black member of the



Militant/Larry Lukehart

Five hundred attended Tijuana, Mexico, conference in solidarity with people of El Salvador. Important discussion took place on strategy to combat deepening U.S. war drive in Central America.

Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union from Seaside, California, amplified this point by explaining that working people, especially Black, Chicano and other oppressed nationalities in the United States, had the greatest interest in opposing Reagan's war moves.

"Washington's war against the people of Central America is part of its war against us — against working people in the United States. We're the ones paying for this outrage. And we will be the ones dying if Reagan sends troops," he said.

Manuel and others proposed the conference emphasize orienting towards the working people and oppressed minorities in the United States. The proposal was accepted after discussion.

The resolution adopted resolved to continue the fight against U.S. aggression; to recognize the FMLN-FDR as the legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people; to support the efforts by the FMLN-FDR for a political dialogue with the Salvadoran and U.S. governments to attempt a political solution to the conflict; and to publicize and build participation in the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, the international coordinating body for solidarity work.

## Nicaraguan revolution

One important feature of the deliberations under the political resolution was the special focus given to the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution. An additional resolution was presented by a delegate from the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, which described the war going on today, sponsored by the U.S. government, against the government and people of Nicaragua. This resolution called for renewed efforts to oppose this "covert" war by President Reagan, and was passed unanimously.

One other idea raised, about which there was some dispute, was an amendment to the draft resolution explicitly stating that the struggle of the Central American revolutionary forces should be to establish socialism. It also explained that the fight against U.S. intervention needed to be also a fight for socialism in the United States.

This amendment was motivated by José Calderon of the Communist Workers Party on the grounds that until capitalism in Central America and the United States is overthrown, the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of Central America and the U.S. would continue.

Other delegates argued against this amendment on two grounds: first, that the Border Conference should not and could not dictate to the people of Central America the direction and character of their struggle; second, that a call for socialism in the United States, while supported by many conference participants, was out of place in this document because it would narrow the base of support for the anti-intervention actions so desperately needed.

It was stated that antiwar forces need to include all who genuinely oppose U.S. intervention whatever their different points of view on other political questions. A vote

was taken by the body on the "socialism amendment," and it was resoundingly defeated.

## Upcoming activities

The need for unity in action by all forces opposing Washington's war was a central aspect of the entire conference and was taken up in more specific terms under the agenda point on the "Plan of Action." A series of dates for protests were approved by the participants, including October 15, 1983 and January 22, 1984 — two international dates for solidarity. On October 15 there will be rallies held at military bases and U.S. consular offices. On January 22 there will be a march and rally at the U.S.-Mexican border.

A key activity discussed was the upcoming August 27 national mobilization for jobs, peace, and freedom in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. The conference organizers proposed sending a message of support to the rally. The leadership of August 27 includes most major Black organizations and has the support of the AFL-CIO, the National Organization for Women, and others.

This march was discussed by a number of delegates who urged a high level of participation in the event. Mel Mason, city councilman from Seaside, California, spoke forcefully on this point and was greeted with sustained applause.

"We not only need to support the August 27 demonstrations, we need to completely embrace them, we need to become part of them, we need to build them actively," he proposed.

These demonstrations, Mason continued, will register a massive outpouring of Blacks, Chicanos, and unionists against the policies of the Reagan administration. "The question of the war in El Salvador should be a central part of these rallies. You cannot have peace in the United States when the government is responsible for disturbing peace in Central America. You cannot discuss freedom in the United States without also discussing freedom in El Salvador."

"The August 27 demonstrations give us the opportunity to broaden the opposition to Reagan's war. It gives us the chance to unite both those within this conference hall and those not represented here."

After further discussion, Mason's perspective was adopted by the entire body.

Still another proposal for action concerned two activities initiated by CISPES. The conference voted to support the July 24 march at Port Chicago, California, a major arms shipment center northeast of San Francisco. A vote was also taken to support the call by national CISPES for a demonstration on November 12. It was explained that plans are under way for a large march and rally in Washington, D.C., and the Border Conference agreed to mount a complementary West Coast action on the same day.

A resolution on work concerning Sal-

Continued on Page 27



# Ga. march: don't train Salvadoran troops



Militant/Susie Winsten

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union adjourned Southern joint board meeting to participate in march on Fort Benning against training of Salvadoran troops there.

## Salvadoran refugees on walk against U.S. war

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

NEWARK, N.J. — A spirited rally of Salvadoran refugees and their supporters met here on July 5 at the first stop in a 250-mile Walk Against U.S. War in El Salvador and Central America. The walk is to protest the forced deportation of Salvadoran refugees and President Reagan's certification to Congress that human rights in El Salvador are improving.

"We want the people of the United States to hear from us firsthand what the conditions in our country really are," explained Anna, a Salvadoran refugee on the walk. "The government is engaged in systematic repression of innocent people in El Salvador. But the people will not give in. With the support and understanding of the American people, we can free our country from tyranny."

The walk will cover the 250 miles between New York City and Washington, D.C., in 17 days.

Eighty people jammed the lounge at the Rutgers University student center for the rally. The largely young, Latino crowd also included a number of Blacks, students, religious activists, and working people from the area. The crowd listened intently as Sol Mendoza, of the Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples Church of El Salvador, explained that in July President Reagan will present to Congress his certification that human rights are improving in El Salvador. "This is a great lie," Mendoza said. "We ask you to join us in refuting this certification."

If Congress approves continued military aid to the regime in El Salvador it will be a death warrant for Salvadorans, both for those still living in El Salvador and for the tens of thousands of refugees who have fled to the United States to escape the violence in their country.

"All of us Salvadorans here in this room face deportation," Mendoza said. "That would mean certain death if we were returned to El Salvador." In the past four years 40,000 Salvadorans have been murdered by the army and right-wing death squads.

Since 1980 more than 20,000 Salvadorans have requested political asylum in the United States. Yet, in spite of the danger they face if returned to their country, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has deported 1,000 Salvadorans every month in the past year.

A flyer passed out at the Newark rally explained graphically the fate of those who have been deported to El Salvador.

"Santana Chirino Amaya, a Salvadoran who lived illegally in Washington, D.C., for four years, was found tortured and decapitated on September 6, 1981, near his hometown in San Vicente, less than two months after his deportation from the U.S.," the flyer says of one incident.

A report from *El Diario La Prensa*, the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the U.S., says that "on January 4, 1981, 40 Salvadorans deported from the U.S. were assassinated by the Salvadoran military after their arrival at El Salvador's National Airport."

These and other cases of murder, torture, imprisonment, and disappearance were detailed in the flyer.

A demand of the Salvadoran refugees is for "extended voluntary departure," which would allow them to remain in this country legally for as long as the civil war continues in El Salvador. Even this humanitarian demand is met with silence from the Reagan administration.

Other speakers at the rally were William Ford, brother of Ita Ford, the missionary slain in El Salvador, and Bruce Franklin, a professor at Rutgers University.

Among those attending the rally were supporters of Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum. For six years Marroquín, who came here from Mexico, has been fighting the government's attempts to deport him. He is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and is being victimized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for his outspoken political ideas.

Marroquín's case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court. The outcome of this appeal will affect the thousands of Salvadorans, Haitians, and other political refugees facing deportation in this country.

Brochures on Marroquín's case were well received by participants at the rally. "Yes, he is like us," one Salvadoran said. "It's good that he is speaking out."

The next stop on the walk was New

BY SUSIE WINSTEN

COLUMBUS, Ga. — A contingent, 75 strong, of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) formed the most spirited section of a June 25 march and rally here protesting the training of Salvadoran troops at Ft. Benning, Georgia.

The demonstration was initiated by the Citizens Committee for Latin America, a Columbus group, along with the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

With ACTWU members leading chants of "No bullets, no bombs, no more Vietnams!" and "All fired up, can't take no more, USA out of Salvador!" the nearly 400 participants marched to the army base where a letter was delivered protesting U.S. training of Salvadoran troops as well as U.S. intervention in the Central American region.

Along the march route several Black GIs in uniform gave clenched fist salutes. When marchers chanted "Don't go [to El

Salvador]," the GIs responded "Don't worry. We're not."

Rally speakers included Nick Builder, manager of the central Alabama-Georgia joint board of ACTWU; Segundo Ramírez of the Human Rights Commission in El Salvador; Laurie Miele of Lacasa, a Miami-based solidarity group; Lavaun Ishee, Southeast coordinator of CISPES; Rev. Henry Atkins, who recently returned from Nicaragua; and Guadalupe González, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

Ramírez explained that the training of 525 Salvadoran officers, is more proof of U.S. involvement in depriving the human rights of the Salvadoran people. "We believe the only road to peace is through a peaceful dialogue," he added.

González appealed for solidarity. "We cannot win in El Salvador alone," she said, "We need the help of the American people."

Nick Builder of ACTWU explained the misery and repression that is the lot of Salvadoran workers. The civil war, he said, is a "war of the rich people and landowners fighting the workers and the poor."

Builder explained that those present at the demonstration would probably be dead if they were unionists struggling in El Salvador. "But," he added, "if you weren't born or raised in El Salvador, American workers will still die there if there's another Vietnam."

"Unions, by their very nature, not only fight for better wages," Builder said, "but also for human, civil, and political rights." He concluded by reading a resolution adopted that morning by the regional joint board of ACTWU which had adjourned its meeting to attend the demonstration.

The resolution noted that the jobs and futures of North American and Salvadoran workers are tied together. It called for: (1) a union education program to alert the membership to the danger of U.S. war in Central America, (2) an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador, (3) for Congress to establish a committee to monitor human rights violations in El Salvador, and (4) endorsement of the Ft. Benning march and other demonstrations against U.S. intervention.

Textile workers present from over a dozen ACTWU locals in Alabama and Georgia had much to say about why they were protesting U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Catha Smith of Local 2280 in Sylvester, Georgia, said, "We're for the El Salvadoran people being able to form unions. We think they have a right to fight and they need human rights." Daphne Alford, also of Local 2280, added, "I think El Salvador is a union question because they want us to go to fight and to finance the war through our tax dollars. We don't want to finance El Salvadoran soldiers. The money should be used for jobs here instead."

Along with Dianne Richardson, another coworker from Sylvester, these three women were knowledgeable about the low wages and miserable conditions that Salvadorans face. They indicated their solidarity by saying "We want them to get as much wages as us." That way, Smith explained, the corporations wouldn't be able to exploit them. "The companies would have nowhere to run and they would have to pay the price right here."

The union should speak out against war because the "union is a peoples organization. It's concerned with everything that affects people's lives," said Diane Raiford of Local 2420 in Tignall, Georgia. "We're affected by the loss of jobs and lives. Rich people won't go to fight in El Salvador." Raiford concluded that, "the government shouldn't finance something that takes away people's rights."

Jacob Little is president of the central Alabama-Georgia joint board of ACTWU, but he still works every day in a textile mill. He explained that El Salvador is "on all our minds" where he works, because "we remember Vietnam. It too started with a few advisers and got up to half a million troops. The same thing will happen in El Salvador."

## Pittsburgh labor speakout to demand 'Jobs not war'

BY BILL KALMAN

PITTSBURGH — Plans for the "Labor-Community speakout: Jobs not war! U.S. out of El Salvador," to be held here July 22, are moving ahead. The meeting, initiated by United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1397 and scheduled to take place at the local's hall in Homestead, is cosponsored by the Thomas Merton Center and the Central American Mobilization Coalition.

A leaflet publicizing the meeting is being distributed at steel mills in the Monongahela Valley-Pittsburgh area. Following a recent union meeting, several



Militant/Lou Howort  
Dave Dyson, who participated in union delegation to El Salvador, will speak July 22.

members of USWA Local 2227 at U.S. Steel's Irvin Works viewed a slide show on the war in El Salvador and the repression of the trade union movement there. They have plans to post and distribute the leaflet in the mill. Local president, Mike Bonn, is among those scheduled to speak July 22.

On the reverse side of the July 22 publicity is information on the August 27 national march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. Harvey Adams, president of the Pittsburgh branch of the NAACP, is also on the speakers program for the July 22 meeting, and will speak on behalf of the local coalition that is organizing participation in the August 27 march.

Other speakers at the meeting will include Molly Rush from the Thomas Merton Center; Mgrs. Charles Owen Rice; Pittsburgh city council member Thomas Flaherty; and David Dyson, executive director of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. Dyson is scheduled to give a report on the findings of the labor delegation organized by his committee that recently returned from El Salvador. Dyson will also be speaking at a news conference on the morning of July 22 at the Local 1397 hall.

The labor-community speakout is scheduled to begin at 7:00 p.m. on July 22. Local 1397's hall is located at 615 McClure St. in Homestead. For more information contact (412) 462-2522.

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# Labor's stake in August 27 jobs, peace, freedom march

Continued from front page

The United Auto Workers (UAW) top leadership in Detroit, for example, is providing more than 20 buses for its members. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) in Philadelphia is very active in building the local coalition that's building the march. The Hospital and Health Care Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) are aggressively building the march in a number of cities and through their union papers.

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), recently issued a letter urging "all members of Local and District Lodges, employed and unemployed, to join with us in this historic event, particularly those lodges that are within 500 miles of Washington, D.C." The IAM lodges on the West Coast are also involved in building the sister actions planned in Los Angeles on August 20 and in San Francisco on August 27.

Other unions are beginning to actively back the march too: the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) is urging its members to go. Leon Lynch, an international vice-president for human affairs, sent out a letter to all district directors, staff representatives, and local presidents urging them to get involved in the march. The United Mine Workers of America is behind the demonstration, and the General Executive Board of the United Electrical Workers is urging massive UE participation.

## Unprecedented labor support

This broad union support for a march against government policies is unprecedented.



On September 19, 1981, AFL-CIO organized Solidarity Day I march on Washington of 500,000 unionists, Blacks, Latinos, women. August 27 represents further opportunity to forge broad coalition to fight government's anti-working-class policies.

cedented. Not since the AFL-CIO organized the 500,000-strong march on Washington on Solidarity Day I, Sept. 19, 1981, has labor built a large national demonstration against the policies of the government.

The AFL-CIO did not support the last major civil rights-initiated march on Washington in 1963 — the demonstration

led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Only the head of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, Walter Reuther of the UAW, backed the march. Other labor support mainly came from the small number of Black union officials.

Today official union endorsement is nearly total. And, the most active union builders of the march are Black union offi-

cials and unions with large Black memberships: Leon Lynch of the USWA; Cleveland Robinson of District 65 of the UAW; William Lucy of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Henry Nicholas, president of the Hospital and Health Care Workers; and Addie Wyatt of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union are a few of these officials.

## Unionists in New Orleans back rally

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW ORLEANS — The labor reach-out committee of the Louisiana Coalition for the (August 27) March on Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom held its first meeting here June 23.

In attendance were members and representatives of a large number of New Orleans labor organizations, many of them veterans of the struggles for civil rights and workers rights.

There were unionists from the Communications Workers of America (CWA); United Teachers of New Orleans; United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW); United Auto Workers Local 1921; Oil,

Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 4-522; National Association of Letter Carriers Local 124; Cement Masons Local 567; and Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 277.

Also on hand were members of the Plumbers and Laborers unions, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the A. Philip Randolph Institute, both of which are affiliated to the AFL-CIO nationally.

The unionists at the meeting, most of whom were Black, had come in response to an invitation from the committee that had been mailed by the Greater New Orleans AFL-CIO and was accompanied by a letter

from that labor council's president, Joe Knecht.

Rudy Francis, an executive board member of CWA Local 10410, told about the formation in his local of an August 27 committee and its fund-raising efforts to charter a bus to take CWA members to Washington for the march.

A similar committee was formed in OCAW Local 4-522, a member of that union reported, after Francis appeared before a meeting of the local. The union committee is building support for the action at the Tenneco refinery in Chalmette.

Rev. Jerome Owens, president of the New Orleans A. Philip Randolph Institute, chairs the reach-out committee. Owens opened the meeting and introduced Rev. S.L. Harvey, who is president of the state Southern Christian Leadership Conference and chair of the New Orleans August 27 coalition.

Owens, also a member of the International Longshoremen's Association, talked about the participation of labor in the August 1963 March on Washington 20 years ago.

He also noted that Victor Busie, president of the state AFL-CIO, had sent a letter to affiliated local unions urging them to participate in the march this year.

Ed Shanklin, an international representative of the UFCW, spoke of the need for labor to march August 27.

"We must set the pace for all those [workers] who are unorganized," he said. "What's being offered by the companies and the government is takebacks and cuts in services."

He noted attacks on the unions, including those on the UFCW by the meatpacking corporations, and on the air traffic controllers.

Shanklin also called for an end of U.S. aid to what he called the antilabor dictatorships in Central America.

The meeting resolved to produce and distribute a leaflet to explain to workers why jobs, peace, and freedom are important to unionists and to urge their participation in the August 27 demonstration.

## Aug. 27 builds in Philadelphia

BY DON MACKLE

PHILADELPHIA — Trade union support for building the August 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom is growing steadily here.

Nearly 80 buses have already been chartered by local unions. In the past several weeks union endorsements have grown to include the United Auto Workers (UAW) Region 9, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) District 1, International Longshoremen's Association Local 1332, Philadelphia Council AFL-CIO, and others.

At the recent Philadelphia conference of delegates from District 8 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, information sheets on the march were handed out to the 120 delegates.

Many endorsing unions have also agreed to provide "in-kind" contributions to the coalition. These include photocopying, typing services, and mailings for the coalition.

Sixty-four organizations from the Delaware Valley and South Jersey have endorsed the action.

On June 23 the Philadelphia City Council passed a resolution supporting the march.

Wilson Goode, a Black Democrat run-

ning for mayor of Philadelphia, has also endorsed the march and reserved five buses for his supporters.

Coalition organizers are planning to produce more than 100,000 leaflets to help build the action. In addition, 3,000 posters are being printed calling on Philadelphians to "March before one more plant closes, before one more person dies in Central America, before one more Klan demonstration."

To build for the coalition meeting July 11, 10,000 leaflets advertising the meeting were handed out.

Organized by the Union Outreach Committee of the coalition, volunteers plan to leaflet at industrial plant gates. Union leaders have been contacted to seek their help in this leafleting.

Activists in the coalition include members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; American Federation of Teachers; Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199-C; UAW; Transport Workers Union; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Bus ticket sales are under way and departure points have been selected in 10 areas across the city.

## Labor's support still limited

At the same time that there is unprecedented endorsement, and growing national and local union support, the attitude of the AFL-CIO's top officials and many of its national affiliates is not what it was for Solidarity Day I. For Solidarity Day I the top labor officials ran regular coverage in the *AFL-CIO News* and in all the union's press. They ran newspaper ads, made a movie; printed up leaflets, ordered buses, made banners, announced it at union meetings, and called workers off work to attend.

So far, this hasn't happened except on a limited scale. In fact, the *AFL-CIO News* has had only one article on the march. That was the March 5 issue where it reported the Executive Council's endorsement.

Why the lack of all-out support for the march?

One reason was expressed by the head of the Central Labor Council in New York City, Harry Van Arsdale. He told that body that while labor is backing August 27, most of their energy will be centered on building the Solidarity III activities on Labor Day, September 5.

Many union officials around the country, in fact, are counterposing building Solidarity Day III to the August 27 march. September 5 is being presented as a labor demonstration, while August 27 is portrayed as a Black-rights march that labor is giving support to.

Let's look at Solidarity Day III and August 27 more closely to see if this line of reasoning has any validity.

## Solidarity Day III

What is Solidarity Day III? First, it is not to be a repeat of the Sept. 19, 1981, march on Washington. The AFL-CIO is proposing that Labor Day marches or rallies be held in all 50 states this year and in over 130 locations to demand jobs and to oppose Reagan's antilabor policies.

Lane Kirkland, president of the federation, explained: "It will be the first step in building the organizational structure to carry a united labor movement into the primary areas and caucuses [of the Democratic Party] and then on to victory in the general elections."



In other words, flowing from the top officials' class collaborationism and pro-Democratic Party perspective, Solidarity Day III is part of a plan to win more influence inside the Democratic Party.

Despite these objectives of the officialdom, many of these rallies will raise demands against the government. And thus they could be important mobilizations.

That's why the approach progressive rank-and-file unionists should take toward Solidarity Day III cannot be based on the class collaborationism of the labor officials, but on the potential to bring the issues of jobs, peace, and freedom into these actions.

August 27, too, will likely have an anti-Republican and pro-Democratic Party side to it. The major civil rights leaders are all Democrats as well.

But the August 27 march, like the Solidarity Day I march in 1981, will be much more powerful than any of the local Labor Day rallies because it is based on a broad alliance of labor, Latinos, women, and farmers, led by Blacks, that is building a national demonstration directed against the policies of the government. The demands of the march are likewise in the interests of all working people.

They are social demands that labor should be fighting for and should be raising on Labor Day as well.

#### Black rights is a labor issue

August 27 is thus more than a Black rights demonstration. The demands for jobs, peace, and freedom are labor demands too.

Blacks and other oppressed nationalities are the hardest hit by every aspect of the employers' offensive today — high unemployment, social service cuts, war preparations, and the generalized attacks on basic human rights.

That's why it is not surprising Blacks took the initiative to call this march.

Moreover, Blacks are overwhelmingly working class, and at the lowest rung of the social, political, and economic ladder. This status is based on class exploitation and racial discrimination.

This is why Blacks are more than allies of the labor movement. They are an integral part of the working class and the most socially conscious section, the vanguard, of the entire labor movement.

Failure of the labor movement to recognize that Black rights are labor demands will make it impossible for the unions to effectively develop and defend workers' interests against the bosses. That's why the labor movement must champion the fight for Black rights.

The broad coalition of labor, Blacks, Latinos, farmers, and women that is being forged by the civil rights organizations to build August 27 is also a blow to the rulers' ongoing campaign to deepen divisions among working people through reinforcing racist and sexist discrimination. August 27 is a move toward real working-class unity against the employers' and their government.

It is also a reflection of the broader political discussions that such Black leaders as Jesse Jackson are having about fielding a Black Democratic Party presidential candidate in the 1984 elections. Those discussions are parallel with other discussions among Latinos, women, farmers, and labor on what kind of alliance can achieve political power.

#### The peace slogan

There is another reason why some top labor officials are slow in building August 27, or counterpose Solidarity Day III to it. That's the issue of U.S. foreign policy and imperialist war.

The peace slogan is a very crucial demand of the march. Washington is escalating its new Vietnam day by day in Central America. August 27 thus can be one of the largest antiwar demonstrations this year.



Members of International Association of Machinists at Solidarity Day I march on Washington.

For Blacks the peace slogan also has special meaning. During Vietnam, Blacks were disproportionately killed and maimed.

For all workers the peace slogan has a similar meaning. That's why opinion polls show the majority of working people opposed to sending U.S. troops to Central America.

The majority of those who will be marching on August 27 will surely understand the content of the peace demand as meaning opposition to Washington's escalating war in Central America.

But, unfortunately, that's not the stand of the AFL-CIO officialdom. Although the AFL-CIO is now opposed to further military aid to El Salvador due to human rights violations, a position based on pressure from rank-and-file antiwar sentiments, Lane Kirkland is dead against the labor movement adopting a foreign policy that is independent of the State Department. In fact, the AFL-CIO is opposed to rank-and-file unionists even discussing and debating whether or not the U.S. foreign policy is in the interests of labor.

That's why when most top union officials speak of August 27, the peace slogan is quietly not mentioned. For example, the letter to Steelworkers local presidents from Leon Lynch only refers to the slogans of "jobs" and "freedom." "The 20th anniversary of the 1963 March," he wrote, "will be a commemorative March for jobs and freedom." The "peace" slogan is left out.

At the same time, Lynch's letter and the stand taken by the AFL-CIO is noteworthy because despite their concern about the peace demand, they are still supporting the march.

What a change from 1963! That's a reflection of the real changes in working-class political consciousness on the issues of racism and war. It also reflects the real momentum for the march, which makes it quite difficult for any union or union official not to endorse the demonstration.

Antiwar unionists and those active in the antiwar and solidarity movement should seize this opportunity to deepen an already existing discussion in the unions over U.S. foreign policy and why building August 27 is one way to strike a blow against Wash-

ington's escalating war in Central America.

The challenge — and opportunity — for the labor movement, especially progressive rank-and-file unionists, is to go all out and build the march.

Rank-and-file unionists can be bold in organizing their support because of the unprecedented union endorsement: encouraging unions to set up their own committees to build the march; getting workers on the job to sign up for buses; attending local coalitions; and distributing literature.

And most important, progressive unionists can participate in and help lead the discussion about the major issues facing working people today: war, racism, sexism, unemployment, and independent working-class political action.

Most workers supporting the march, and especially those planning to attend, are eager for discussions on these topics. They want new answers since the old methods haven't worked. This gives progressives in the unions the opportunity — as experiences already prove — to discuss why labor needs its own foreign policy; why the unions need to forge an alliance with Blacks, Latinos, women, and farmers to fight the rulers' offensive; why Blacks need their own political party to fight for real Black political power; why the unions must form a labor party to fight for all working people and to challenge the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans.

These are the stakes and opportunities for labor and its allies in building the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

## St. Louis conference held for march

BY ANN RILEY OWENS

ST. LOUIS — Three hundred people attended an all-day conference here designed to help build the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Jobs, peace, and freedom at home, as they relate to Reagan's war drive abroad, was the theme of the conference.

The June 16 gathering was organized by the Association for Non-Violent Social Change of America and a wide range of other organizations. The conference, which was a majority Black and included a number of unionists, was held at the Kingdom House, a Methodist community center in the Black community.

The conference was opened by Norman Seay, executive director of the St. Louis Housing Authority and veteran civil rights activist. He discussed the condition of Black people in St. Louis prior to the original 1963 civil rights march on Washington and the battles then taking place here.

Throughout the day a series of eight workshops were held.

These took up a number of St. Louis issues, such as police brutality, housing, and development.

Other workshops discussed unemployment, affirmative action, national liberation struggles — Central America and South Africa, peace as a women's issue, non-violent social change, and education.

Discussions were lively and resolutions from the workshops were distributed to all the conference participants at the end of the day.

Concurrent with the workshops, there were three panel discussions.

A panel on Peace and Justice at Home heard William Stodghill, president of Local 50 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

He recalled that only a relatively few unions had participated in the original 1963 March on Washington, but that the SEIU had been one of them.

"The SEIU was there in 1963 and it will be there again in 1983," he pledged.

At midday, a well-attended press conference was held. Four major TV stations,

both daily papers, several radio stations, and the two major Black weeklies were there.

A crowd of 150 at the press conference cheered Martin Luther King III, who represented his mother, Coretta Scott King, and the Atlanta-based Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

Rev. Sterling Lands II, conference and march coordinator for the St. Louis area, chaired the press conference. He noted there were both national and international representatives present "because our issues are inseparable."

An international guest at the conference was Dessima Williams, Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States.

Introduced at the press conference, she received a standing ovation from the crowd.

In her speech later in the day, Williams solidarized with the August 27 march and

with its goals of jobs, peace, and freedom.

She said the U.S. civil rights movement had "inspired the concept of freedom" in the Caribbean as well as among the people of Africa and Asia.

She urged everyone to speak out "loud and clear" against Washington's intervention in Central America.

Enthusiasm at the conference was high and 125 people signed up to go on the march or help build it in St. Louis and neighboring East St. Louis, Illinois.

New endorsers of the mobilization effort include the United Auto Workers St. Louis Community Action Program (CAP), the Citizen-Labor Safe Energy Coalition, the *Gay News-Telegraph*, the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, and Mayor Carl Officer of East St. Louis.

For further information or transportation to Washington, write or call the Bistate Mobilization, 438 N. Skinker, St. Louis, Mo. 63130. Phone (314) 721-2332.



Speakers at St. Louis conference. Dessima Williams, Grenada's ambassador to Organization of American States, urged opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.



# Palestinian fight for a homeland goes on

Continued from front page

Israel's massive military power, however, has not prevented it from steadily losing ground in its political battle with the PLO. When the PLO was formed in 1964, it was under the thumb of the Egyptian government. Arab opposition to Israel was widely seen at that time — especially in the imperialist countries — as the result of anti-Jewish racism. Israeli propagandists had successfully disseminated an image of a small, peace-loving democracy surrounded by hostile and backward peoples bent on genocide.

But the Israeli attack on Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in June 1967 was a turning point in the politics of the Middle East and in how the region came to be seen by working people around the world. The expansionist character of the Israeli state was brought out more clearly by its seizure of new chunks of Arab territory. Although some 400,000 Palestinians were driven out of the areas seized by Israel, close to 1 million remained. Today, some 1.3 million Palestinians live under Israeli colonial rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The 1967 war also generated an independent mass movement among the Palestinian people. Revolutionary nationalist organizations such as Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine gained a mass base among the Palestinian refugees and in the occupied territories. These anti-imperialist guerrilla organizations took over the PLO, and they popularized their program for a democratic, secular Palestine, a country where both Arabs and Jews could live together.

The PLO's vision of a binational Palestine cut across the Israeli propaganda claim that anti-Zionism is the same as anti-Semitism. Meanwhile, the reality of the Israeli occupation regime, and of an Israeli foreign policy aligned with Washington in support of the most reactionary forces in the world, from the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua to the racist white-minority regime in South Africa, eroded the image of a democratic and progressive Israel.

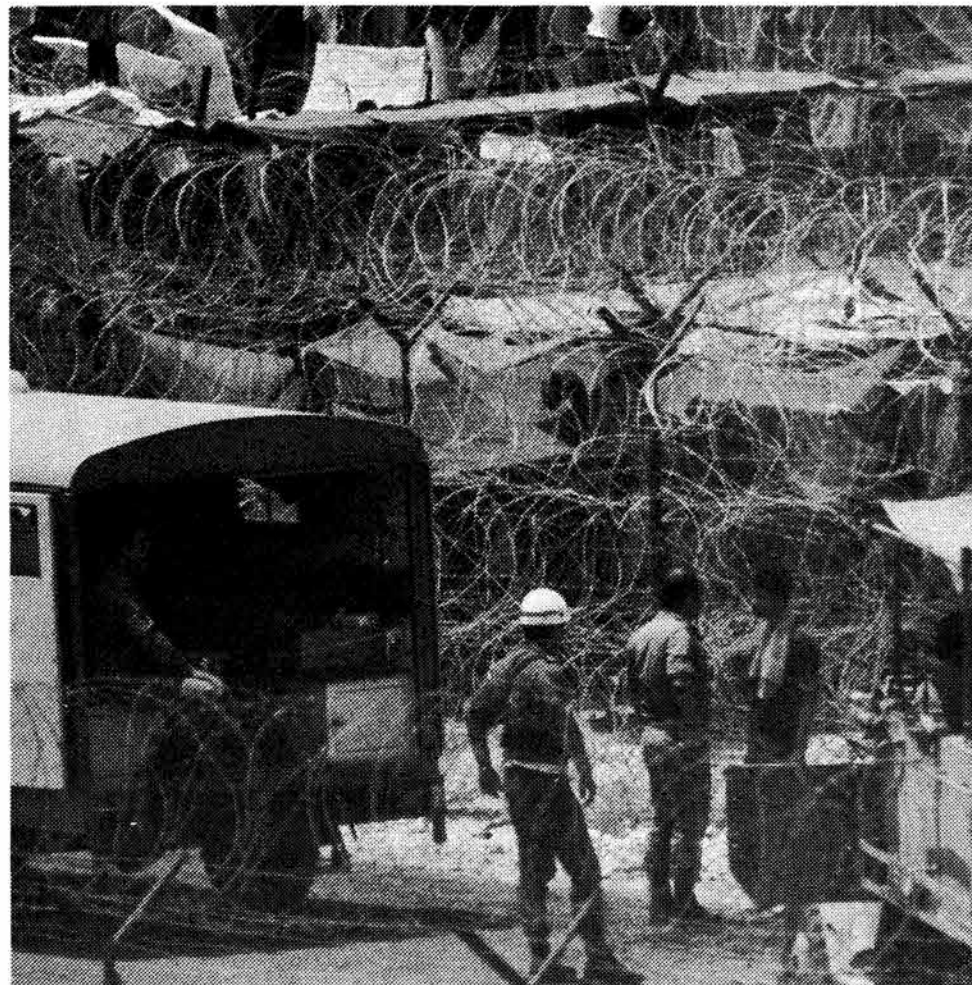
What has become clearer and clearer to working people around the world is that it is the Palestinian national liberation struggle and the PLO that stand for progress and democracy in the Middle East. That is why Israel has never been so isolated internationally. And the beginning of this same realization among a layer of Israeli Jews who understand that their government is the aggressor in Lebanon has spurred a deep polarization within Israel.

## Attacks from Arab regimes

Inside the Arab countries as well, the Palestinian national liberation struggle has served as an engine of progress and a force in the broader struggle for democracy. The PLO came into conflict with Arab governments because it sought to organize and mobilize the Palestinian people throughout the Arab world in the struggle against Israel. This was an example that the Arab regimes could not tolerate, since they — like all capitalist governments — defend the interests of the wealthy few against the masses of workers and peasants, and therefore fear the independent organization and mobilization of the masses.

Furthermore, the PLO's program of uncompromising struggle for the national rights of the Palestinian people is also a threat to the Arab governments. Such a struggle against Israel continually pushes the Arab regimes into conflict with imperialism and upsets their attempts to arrive, in collaboration with imperialism, at an overall Mideast settlement recognizing Israel.

Thus, in Jordan, the growth of the mass Palestinian nationalist movement during the late 1960s led to both an increasingly sharp military confrontation with Israel, and at the same time the undermining of the Jordanian monarchy. This resulted in repeated military clashes between Jordanian troops and Palestinian guerrillas throughout 1969 and 1970, and culminated in the Jordanian regime unleashing an all-out war against the Palestinian guerrilla or-



Ansar prison camp in Lebanon, where Israelis hold thousands of Palestinians.

ganizations in September 1970.

It was later revealed that a joint U.S.-Israeli invasion of Jordan had been planned in the event that the monarchists began to lose in the civil war unleashed by King Hussein.

A similar political process in Lebanon was one of the things that led rightist forces there to provoke the 1975-76 civil war. A victory for the Palestinian-Muslim-leftist coalition in that civil war was prevented by the intervention of Syrian troops in April 1976 — an intervention that was carried out with Washington's blessings and with Israeli acquiescence.

Since that time, the Israeli army has invaded Lebanon twice — leaving aside innumerable smaller operations — in its attempts to destroy the PLO. And now the Syrian regime has renewed its pressure on the Palestinians.

## Uncompromising struggle

Through all this, the PLO has maintained its uncompromising struggle for a Palestinian homeland. It is this history of struggle that is the basis for the authority exercised by PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat, and it is this uncompromising struggle that is the real target of the current attacks on Arafat.

Like the Black population of South Africa, the Palestinians have little choice but to continue their struggle. Within the territories ruled by Israel, Palestinians find that their land is confiscated, the most basic political rights are denied them, economic pressures and outright terrorism are used to encourage emigration, and the remaining Palestinian population is more and more being turned into a superexploited proletariat.

In the West Bank, the Palestinian population is also confronted by an increasingly active fascist movement that is aided and encouraged by the government. Although Israeli troops have regularly gunned down unarmed demonstrators, and have carried out collective punishment against whole towns to retaliate for acts of resistance to the occupation, cabinet-member Yuval Neeman declared July 10:

"I think the army is going to go into perhaps stricter measures. Generally, in history, revolutions happen under soft regimes, never under strong ones, and that is true in terms of what happens in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank]."

Israel's evolution toward a South African-type apartheid is being accompanied by a parallel strengthening of militarism and an increasingly open willingness to use superior military power against the surrounding Arab nations. Neeman's advocacy of "stricter measures," after all, is

applicable to relations with the Arab peoples outside of Israel as well as to the Arabs under its rule.

It is this reality of Israeli oppression and aggression that continually generates new resistance to the Zionist state, both inside Israel and in the Arab world as a whole. No compromise can ever solve this conflict short of the destruction of the Israeli state, the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland, and the building of a new society that is not based on national oppression.

From Intercontinental Press

## Israelis step up repression of Arabs on West Bank

Israeli authorities have seized on the death of Aharon Gross as a pretext to tighten their noose around the West Bank. Gross, a colonist from the United States, was standing in the Hebron vegetable market with his Uzi submachine gun July 7 when he was stabbed to death by a group of Palestinians, who reportedly got away with his Uzi.

The Israeli government clamped a curfew on Hebron; fired Mustafa Natshe, the mayor it had previously appointed; and announced that some 500 Jewish families would be settled in the heart of the Palestinian city. Meanwhile, Israeli troops stood by as ultrarightist settlers from nearby Qiryat Arba went on a rampage, setting fire to Arab market stalls, smashing windows and cars, and generally trying to terrify the Palestinian population.

"They have to be made afraid of us," one Qiryat Arba settler told *New York Times* reporter Richard Bernstein, referring to the Palestinians. "To tell the truth," the settler added, "we want them to leave."

Miriam Levinger, another U.S.-born settler, whose husband heads the Qiryat Arba colony, told Bernstein: "I want to see a Jewish community grow up in Hebron the same way a Jewish community grew up in Haifa or Tel Aviv."

But the Palestinians in Hebron are well aware of the fact that the Jewish community in Haifa did not just "grow up." It was established through the expulsion of more than 50,000 Arab inhabitants. The Qiryat Arba settlers, and the government that supports them, want to accomplish the same thing in the West Bank. That is what is generating the conflict there, and that is why settlers such as Aharon Gross, lounging around the Hebron market with their submachine guns, are not innocent bystanders, but aggressors who are stealing the land of another people.

— D.F.

## Marx-Engels writings to be a focus of activist conference

BY YVONNE HAYES

The 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference, to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, from July 30 to August 6, will celebrate the continuity of the ideas of Marx and Engels in the revolutionary workers movement since 1848. There will be major presentations to the conference on this theme as well as a class series based on *Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922*, the second volume of Farrell Dobbs' *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States*.

A number of classes will be given by students at the current session of the Socialist Workers Party's leadership school. These classes will focus on the views of Marx and Engels on a range of questions, from the need for the working class to form a labor party to an analysis of the problem of housing and why it cannot

be solved under capitalism.

There will be classes on the character of revolutionary organization based on a study of the rules of the Communist League, which Marx and Engels helped to lead in the 1848 revolutions in Europe.

Another series will take up the historical experience of the workers' movement in the struggle against anarchism, an obstacle to the conquest of state power by the working class and its allies.

There will be a class based on Engels' book, *The Peasant War in Germany*; and on Marx and Engels' view on the colonial question based on their writings on Mexico, Ireland, and India.

A number of these classes will be given in Spanish as well as in English. Translation into Spanish and French will be available for all classes.

Leaders of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance and international guests will also be giving classes on a wide range of topics, including the farmers movement in the United States, the history of the civil rights movement and other classes on the Black struggle, the Marxist analysis of the causes of women's oppression, revolutionary perspectives in the U.S. labor movement today, and the class-struggle road to peace.

Presentations will be given on the class struggle in the Middle East, South Africa, Iran, and Southeast Asia and on developments in revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

A series will cover the class struggle in Canada, including the ongoing fight for safe, legal abortion currently centered in Quebec.

There will also be educational activities for people attending their first conference, including a series on the *Communist Manifesto*.

If you are interested in attending the socialist conference, contact the SWP or Young Socialist Alliance offices nearest you (see page 27) or clip and mail the coupon below.

### Attend the socialist conference

If you're interested in attending the 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, from July 30-August 6, fill in the coupon below. Send to the SWP branch or YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 27), or to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
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# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant July 1983

## World War I, revolution, and fight for a new, communist International

Below we are printing the second chapter from a new book by Farrell Dobbs, *Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22*. This book, which will go on sale at the beginning of August, is the second volume of a history of the political fight for a Marxist leadership of the working class in the United States. The first volume, *Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years, 1848-1917*, appeared in 1980.

The *International Socialist Review* featured the first and third chapters of the new Dobbs book in our March 1982 and May 1983 issues. These two chapters recounted the initial impact of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia on the U.S. socialist movement and the formation of the first communist parties in this country toward the end of 1919.

These events in the United States paralleled and were intertwined with big political developments in Europe and around the world. These included a revolutionary upsurge in Germany that was crushed by the bourgeoisie with the aid of the class-collaborationist leaders of the Social Democratic Party, and the founding of the Communist International at a March 1919 congress held in Moscow.

These events and the political background to them are described in the chapter printed here. It is copyright ©1983 and reprinted by permission of the Anchor Foundation.

Dobbs has been a communist since 1934. He was a leader of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes that year, and later the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to unionize over-the-road truckers. He served 13 months in federal prison during World War II for his political opposition to U.S. imperialism's course in the war.

Dobbs was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960. He was the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party from 1953 to 1972. He is currently writing the history of which this chapter is a part.

### BY FARRELL DOBBS

No sooner had the Russian soviet of workers, peasants, soldiers, and sailors taken power in October 1917, than the new government had to defend itself against a counterrevolutionary assault. German imperialism opened a new military offensive on the Russian front, using it to wrest territorial concessions from the beleaguered Soviet government as the price of a peace treaty signed at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.

The native capitalists and landowners soon plunged the nation into civil war in an attempt to overthrow the new regime. Two major petty-bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, withdrew from the soviets and sided with the propertied classes. (The Socialist-Revolutionaries split, with the Left S-Rs supporting and participating in the new government until mid-1918).

Capitalist nations that were fighting on opposite sides during World War I provided money and arms to the White Guard battalions of the counterrevolution and sent their own troops to invade Soviet territory. Among the armed forces used were British, Czech, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Romanian, and United States military units. The imperialists also instituted an economic blockade of the young Soviet republic.

Central Russia, the main stronghold of the revolution, soon became engulfed in a life-or-death struggle against the hostile forces encircling it and was virtually cut off from the rest of the world.

Militarily, the workers' and peasants' government was able to take quick defensive action. The Red Army, a new army organized under Trotsky's command, moved into battle against the counterrevolutionary White Guard minority. Throughout 1918 the imperialist world war continued, with the main belligerents being Britain, France, and the United States on one side and Germany on the other. This conflict prevented these predators from sending large-scale armed forces against the Russian working people. The White Guards, largely on their own in combat, were no match for the Red Army backed by the revolutionary toilers. So the Soviet government managed to hold on during this critical period.

While carrying out the immediate military defense of the Soviet regime, the Bolshevik leaders also weighed

the overall political situation in longer-range terms. They knew that the imperialist war would generate revolutionary uprisings elsewhere in Europe. If capitalist rule could be overturned in some of the industrially advanced countries, and workers' and farmers' governments established, the Soviet republic would gain the support of powerful class allies. The resulting shift in the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalists would give new impetus to revolution around the globe. Thus the Bolsheviks had a clear political duty. They needed to help militants, especially in war-ravaged Europe, shape an effective revolutionary strategy and develop competent leaderships in order to build Marxist parties.

To the Bolsheviks, any lengthy preservation of the Russian toilers' gains was conceivable only through extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. It was necessary for the world proletariat to defend its first state conquest, the Russian Soviet republic, and for the new revolutionary government in turn to support the struggles of the oppressed and exploited abroad.

### Name changed to Communist Party

In April 1917, soon after the abdication of the tsar, Lenin had outlined key aspects of the Bolsheviks' political responsibilities to the proletariat of Russia and the world in a series of proposals that became known as the "April Theses." Among these was the proposal to change the name of the Russian party, then formally called the Social Democratic Labor Party (the formal name of the Mensheviks, as well). Lenin urged that the Bolsheviks, who traced their programmatic continuity to the *Communist Manifesto*, call themselves communists as Marx and Engels had done.

In a subsequent article, Lenin noted that it was only following the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871 and the ensuing decline of revolutionary working-class struggle — which made long-term "organisational and educational work the task of the day" — that Marx and Engels had acquiesced to the German party's adoption of what they considered to be the inaccurate, ambiguous designation "Social-Democracy." And that name, over subsequent decades, had more and more been given opportunistic content.

Lenin stressed that the Bolsheviks, as Marx and Engels had done in their day, should "understand the specific features and tasks of the new era." They should not imitate the sorry Marxists of an earlier day about whom Marx once said, "I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas."

It was necessary to recognize that the conditions that shaped the post-1871 period had now been bypassed. The entire world had come under the domination of a handful of imperialist powers. And an entirely new objective situation had been created by the imperialist war and consequent revolutionary upheavals. Marxists must think and act in keeping with that changing reality.

The Bolshevik leader presented several reasons for the proposed change in party name. The designation "social" was scientifically incorrect, Lenin said; it was too limited. Following Marx's explanation to German socialists in the mid-1870s, Lenin explained that in overturning capitalism on a world scale, the workers could first construct socialism; by this, Lenin explained he meant state ownership of the means of production under which "the distribution of products [would be determined] according to the amount of work performed by each individual."

That doesn't end the matter, however, Lenin said. "Our Party looks farther ahead: socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism." Society would then have the abundance and productive capacity to apply the motto, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The term "democracy" as used in the party's name was also scientifically incorrect, Lenin added. Democracy had come to signify a form of bourgeois state, a parliamentary republic, used to consolidate capitalist rule by means of a police, army, and government bureaucracy as a repressive force over the people. The goal of Marxists is the eventual abolition of "every kind of state," Lenin said.

Unlike anarchists, however, Marxists recognize "the need for a state for the purpose of the transition to socialism," he explained. Even this will not be a state in

Continued on next page



Above, Russians being mobilized in August 1914 to take part in World War I. Below, Russian troops occupy Lvov (then part of Austria) early in the war. Lenin led fight in international workers movement for position of revolutionary defeatism, opposing right-wing Social Democrats' support of their own government.



## Continued from preceding page

the previous sense of "domination over the people by contingents of armed men divorced from the people." It will be a state in which the armed forces are "the masses themselves, the entire people," mobilized to crush all attempts at counterrevolution.

Such a state, Lenin said, would represent an "emergent new democracy, which is already ceasing to be a democracy, for democracy means the domination of the people, and the armed people cannot dominate themselves." Therefore, the emergence of soviets of workers and peasants as the sole power in a state would be "the harbinger of the 'withering away' of the state in every form."

It was above all necessary to take into account, Lenin pointed out, that the official leaders of social democracy internationally had distorted and betrayed the *Communist Manifesto* on two main counts. They had repudiated the Marxist doctrine of the state by their political support to the bourgeois state under the guise of defending democracy, and they had gone over to "their own" national bourgeoisie in the imperialist war. The people had been deceived and then led into the imperialist slaughter by those leaders. Hence, the Bolsheviks would inadvertently be aiding and abetting that deception if they kept the out-of-date name, which was as decayed and discredited as the Second International.

In fact, in December 1914, only a few months after the open betrayal by the main Second International leaderships, Lenin had written, "is it not better to give up the name of 'Social Democrats', which has been besmirched and degraded by them, and return to the old Marxist name of Communists?"

Lenin placed the proposal to change the party's name before the March 1918 congress of the Bolsheviks. His report on this question again touched on the reasons why it was scientifically correct for the Bolsheviks to call themselves communists, and the importance of an unambiguous break with the old social democracy. The congress agreed with Lenin's proposal and adopted the official designation Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

## Upsurge in European working class

Much had happened since 1914, when the social-patriotic betrayers helped the capitalists regiment the toilers for war. Millions had died in battle. The living standards of working-class families were plummeting due to inflation; they faced cuts in social services and shortages of basic necessities. After four years of slaughter, war-weariness was deep.

The Russian proletariat, however, had shown the way out of this imperialist death trap, and rebellious moods were developing among the workers throughout Europe.

This combination of factors gave rise to a powerful reawakening of proletarian class consciousness. More and more workers were able to perceive the treacherous role played by the Social Democratic misleadership. They began to take matters into their own hands in a struggle to uphold their rights and interests. Rank-and-file trends toward a revolutionary political regroupment arose within the mass Social Democratic parties, as the more advanced worker militants strove to establish an effective program of action and trustworthy leadership.

The most far-reaching revolutionary upsurges began to develop first in the countries whose governments were losing the imperialist war. The military defeat broke the wartime paralysis of the working class in those lands. Strikes erupted spontaneously and extended rapidly. By the time the armistice was declared in November 1918, mass actions were attaining revolutionary dimensions in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Serbia; the trend was spreading elsewhere in central and eastern Europe, as well. The rebellious masses began emulating the example of the Russian revolution, seeking to apply Bolshevik tactics as they understood them. Factory workers' councils were formed. Broader soviet-type bodies also sprang up, embracing workers and soldiers along with sections of the poor peasantry and agricultural laborers.

Under the impact of the military defeat and mass uprisings, the armies of the Central European powers began to disintegrate. Monarchies were toppled. The ruling classes tried to halt this revolutionary momentum before it passed beyond the establishment of bourgeois republics and challenged capitalist rule itself. The right-wing social democrats not only agreed with the need to break the class-struggle momentum developing among the workers; they participated in bourgeois governments established to replace the fallen monarchs and to help the propertied classes repress the insurgent masses.

Increasingly sharp clashes developed between the revolutionary and reactionary forces in the defeated countries. One of these — the revolutionary crisis that exploded in Germany — was especially important to the workers and peasants internationally.

## Revolution in Germany

Germany was an industrially developed nation with a strong working class. If the workers could lead the toilers to take power there, the proletarian bastion already estab-



Revolutionary upsurge in Germany broke out at close of World War I. Social Democratic traitors in government played central role in crushing workers' rebellion.

lished in Russia would be qualitatively expanded and strengthened through a German-Russian alliance. Such a gain would greatly loosen the grip of the imperialist blockade on the young Soviet government in Russia. Germany's industrial capacity would fortify the Soviet power internally and aid its expansion. A soviet workers' and peasants' federation including Germany would have greater ability to defend itself and to aid the rebellious masses fighting the bourgeoisie and landlords in other countries.

Capitalism would then be put on the defensive everywhere. Upsurges of proletarian revolution throughout the industrialized nations, together with colonial revolts against imperialist domination, would gather momentum. The relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalists on a world scale would be qualitatively changed to the advantage of the exploited toilers.

As Germany's defeat in the imperialist war loomed with growing certainty, the Russian Communists paid special attention to events transpiring there.

In October 1918, during the final weeks of the war, the German masses began to revolt against the autocratic rule of the kaiser, who governed on behalf of the capitalists and landowners. One of the first signs of the impending storm was an uprising of sailors in the German navy. Shortly thereafter a big demonstration was conducted by the workers in Berlin, and a nationwide wave of strikes followed. As the revolutionary upsurge gained in intensity, workers' councils emerged in the main industrial centers, and peasant councils were formed in southern Germany. Broader soviet formations of workers, soldiers, and sailors then appeared. The soviets, though dominated by the proimperialist leaders of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), became the dominant mass institutions through which the workers' mobilizations were organized. Their potential as an alternative state power in Berlin, Munich, and principal seaports, began to emerge.

Under this mass pressure the kaiser was forced to abdicate his crown and a republic was proclaimed. But a key unresolved issue was posed: was it to remain a capitalist republic or to become a workers' republic?

The propertied classes undertook to settle this question in their favor. The ruling capitalists and landlords set up a new republican government, no longer with monarchical trappings, whose central task was to stem the revolutionary tide and restabilize capitalist order.

## Parliamentary reform or proletarian democracy

A different perspective was envisaged by politically advanced militants in the German Social Democratic Party. They saw a chance to overturn capitalist state power, establish a soviet-based workers' and peasants' republic, and move toward beginning to construct a socialist order. They wanted their party to lead the working people along that road.

But the right-wing SPD leadership did the opposite. Just as they had betrayed the workers during the imperialist war, they now entered the new bourgeois government and used their majority in the soviets to turn those bodies into auxiliaries of the capitalist state. Three of the SPD leaders — Frederick Eber, Gustave Noske, and Philipp Scheidemann — played central governmental roles in curbing the revolution and preserving capitalist rule.

As in Russia during the months immediately following the overthrow of the tsar, the state structure of Germany's propertied classes had been shaken up, thereby giving the workers and rural poor greater leeway to act in

defense of their rights and interests against the capitalists and landowners. But the toilers were unable to use their growing power effectively because of the political illusions that had been encouraged and reinforced by Social Democratic misleaders over decades and that still prevailed among them.

Most German working people did not yet perceive that the abolition of the monarchy, and the substitution for it of a bourgeois republic — while opening new possibilities for advancing struggles in their class interests — amounted to nothing more on the level of the state than a change in the governmental form of the capitalist dictatorship used against them by their oppressors and exploiters. Widespread beliefs still prevailed that all the basic problems could be solved through winning a parliamentary majority for the social democrats and in that way somehow getting rid of the capitalist state. This mistaken notion that the capitalist state and capitalism could be voted out of existence left the masses susceptible to political entrapment by the class collaborationists, who perpetuated these illusions to justify their collusion with the bourgeoisie.

## What kind of working-class party?

What the workers needed above all was a revolutionary party that would break unequivocally with the social democrats and expose the political conspiracy being hatched against the toilers; that would explain the imperative need to destroy the capitalist state and replace it with one defending the interests of the workers and poor peasants in order to move toward a socialist order; and that would teach them how to wield their power for that purpose.

There was no counterpart in Germany, however, to the Bolshevik Party that had led the Russian toilers to victory. In 1914 the ranks of the German Social Democratic Party had been thrown into political confusion and turmoil when the party leaders capitulated to the bourgeoisie and supported the imperialist war. At the outset most socialist militants were demoralized. Few were able to chart a revolutionary programmatic course on their own. It was thus not difficult for Karl Kautsky and other centrists in the party, who had pulled back from their initial outright support for the German imperialist war effort, to draw a minority of socialist workers into a pacifist campaign for a negotiated peace — which meant continued de facto support of the goals of German imperialism.

Revolutionary opponents of the war such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht managed to win some of the disoriented militants to their views. Slow but steady progress was made in building a nucleus of internationalists. By New Years Day 1916 the revolutionists had become strong enough to formally organize a left wing, which became known as the Spartacus League.

This represented an advance toward the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party that could challenge the reformist-dominated Social Democratic Party for political leadership of the German working class. To fully realize that objective something more was needed, however. The new party had to be built as a revolutionary combat formation along the political lines followed by Lenin in organizing the Russian Bolsheviks.

The vanguard working-class party, Lenin had taught, should make every effort to teach the masses, through drawing the lessons of their own experiences, that they must distrust the bourgeoisie and all its parties and petty-bourgeois agents. The vanguard of the working class had to provide clear answers and timely aid to its allies, above



all the poor peasantry, and thereby win them away from petty-bourgeois misleaders to a common struggle against the exploiters. It had to champion and give leadership to the oppressed nationalities in their struggle for self-determination. Emphasis should constantly be placed on the socialist alternative to capitalism, and transitional steps should be charted toward the workers' conquest of state power in order to reorganize society on a higher plane.

The party should apply a Marxist strategy developed on that basis to project a course of action in various concrete situations. At the same time, an irreconcilable political struggle should be waged against the reformists and centrists. The Marxists should patiently explain — again and again — the errors of such misleaders in theory, program, strategy, and tactics in order to help the workers avoid repetition of such mistakes.

If these tasks were to be carried out, Lenin stressed, the vanguard party had to strive for political homogeneity in its ranks, based upon adherence to Marxist principles. Its members were cadres, professional revolutionists. They were not only active in the class struggle, but all their activity was carried out in a disciplined way under the direction of the party.

Moreover, the party constantly had to aim to be proletarian in composition and leadership as well as in program. Toward that end, party members should integrate themselves into the mass organizations, going through the workers' experiences with them, and in the process recruit the best militants into the revolutionary vanguard. Through such efforts, increasing numbers of proletarian fighters could be educated politically in the course of their assimilation into all phases of party activity. In that way they could develop both as competent leaders of mass actions and as candidates for the leading committees of the party itself — an interrelated process through which the party as a whole would become better equipped to win the workers' confidence by proving its capacity to guide them in their struggles against the capitalists.

#### Luxemburg's views

A different view of the vanguard party's role predominated among German revolutionists in the Spartacus League. It reflected the political errors of the German Social Democratic Party's left wing contained in the policies expounded by Luxemburg and others. Luxemburg started from the correct expectation that in a revolutionary situation upsurges of proletarian struggle would develop spontaneously on a massive scale, and that experiences acquired during the resulting clashes with the bourgeoisie would rapidly impel the workers toward the adoption of revolutionary views.

She incorrectly concluded, however, that when such a situation developed, the masses themselves would thrust aside the reformist misleaders and turn to revolutionists for guidance. It was unnecessary and inadvisable to build a Bolshevik-type party. The iron centralism of "Leninism," she believed, could only lead to sectarian isolation from the masses of workers who looked to the Social Democratic Party for leadership today and would create a new leadership tomorrow.

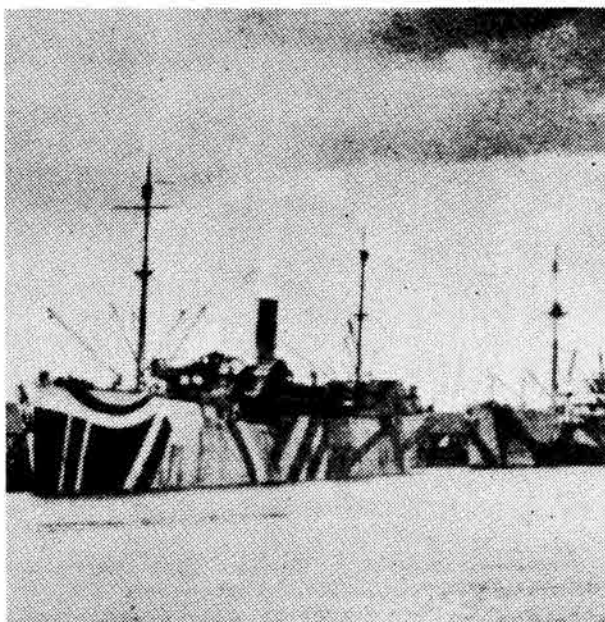
Failure to consolidate the nucleus of a revolutionary party tested through years of experience in the class struggle, however, actually meant that leadership initiative during a revolutionary upsurge would pass not only to the most rebellious and self-sacrificing, but also to the most impetuous and undisciplined forces. Without a tested workers' party in which revolutionary centralism had become second nature, the Marxists would largely be carried along by those whose fervor outweighed their grasp of proletarian tactics and strategy. This was bound to be the outcome of Luxemburg's conclusion that a spontaneous upsurge would produce the political leadership required by the revolutionary-minded workers.

#### Split in Social Democratic Party

As the toll of the imperialist slaughter mounted during the war years, so too did the desire for peace in the German working class. Pressure increased in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party for adoption of a course that would force Germany out of the imperialist war. This precipitated a split in the SPD.

In January 1917 a group of centrists, led by Karl Kautsky and Hugo Haase, took the initiative in gathering the dissidents together in a new formation called the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD). As had been the case all along, the centrists' aim was to keep opposition to the war within a pacifist, proimperialist framework. This perspective amounted to agitation for what Luxemburg called "utopian or, at bottom, reactionary" projects such as disarmament conventions, international arbitration courts, customs unions, and creation of the League of Nations. The USPD leaders sought to blunt the mounting sentiment within the working class and peasantry for a revolutionary challenge to the imperialist warmakers.

In April 1917 the Spartacists left the SPD, in which they had previously functioned as a public faction, and entered the centrist-led USPD. They hoped in that way to win over the best militants attracted by it and thereby



Convoy landing first U.S. troops in northern Russia in September 1918. Imperialist forces also imposed economic blockade.

strengthen their own tendency. But the tactic was carried out by a vanguard group that did not have the political orientation and experience or organizational cohesiveness required to largely immunize its members to pressure from the centrists.

The problem arising from these shortcomings became acute when the mass upsurge began during October 1918. When both the SPD and USPD supported the newly formed capitalist government, more and more German workers, who had formerly backed the social democratic movement, turned away from its reformist and centrist leaders. They were ready to participate in a political regroupment to create a revolutionary party of action.

At the end of December 1918 the Spartacists broke with the Independent Social Democratic Party and launched the German Communist Party. The founding members of the new party fell into two main categories: cadres of the Spartacus League, including Luxemburg and Liebknecht, and ultraleftist militants who had a fundamentally anarcho-syndicalist orientation.

#### Insurrection in Berlin

Within a matter of days the newly formed Communist Party faced a major test. In early January 1919 the provisional government, urged on by the SPD minority in it, decided to force a military showdown aimed at crushing the revolutionary workers in Berlin. The government provoked a confrontation. The militant workers in Berlin responded with an uprising. They were posing point blank the question of who was to rule the country — the proletariat or the bourgeoisie?

The timing of the insurrection was ill-advised, however, as had been the case during the "July days" of 1917 in Russia, when militants among the Petrograd workers and their soldier allies had set out upon a similar course. In both instances an unfavorable relationship of class forces existed. Many workers remained under the influence of reformist and centrist parties that still held a large majority in the soviets. Many peasants maintained illusions that the new bourgeois republic would carry out the land reforms they needed. The propertied classes were reconsolidating their rule in the aftermath of the monarchy's overthrow. A substantial part of the army was loyal to the capitalist government and could be used against the insurgents.

In July 1917 the Bolsheviks had sought to avoid premature escalation of the Petrograd situation into a showdown fight. They had intervened successfully to keep the action of the worker and soldier militants within the framework of an armed demonstration in support of their political demands. By not allowing themselves to be forced into a premature confrontation, a serious defeat was avoided when the government resorted to violent repressive measures. The revolutionary momentum of the broad mass movement was slowed but not broken. It was thus able to acquire greater force than ever by September 1917, as new confrontations unfolded and the bourgeoisie moved toward unleashing a civil war in hopes of saving its rule.

This was not the course followed by the young German Communist Party in January 1919. An ultraleft proposal was advanced within the party to step in and guide the Berlin uprising to victory. Luxemburg opposed that course on the grounds that the preconditions did not exist for the Berlin confrontation to trigger a national insurrection. But a majority, carried away by its own revolutionary fervor, rejected this advice. The party decided to accept a showdown fight with the bourgeoisie in Berlin. Liebknecht, who had not shared Luxemburg's evaluation, stepped forward to help lead the struggle as a member of the revolutionary committee set up by the insurgent workers.

The counterrevolutionary assault was swift and bloody. Noske, one of the SPD traitors against the working class, who was now minister of war, organized the attack on the embattled workers. In doing so, he acted in collusion with the general staff of the army. Troops loyal to the government were ordered into Berlin, where they shot large numbers of workers and crushed the uprising. During the savage repression, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were arrested. While in the custody of the state and ostensibly under its protection, they were murdered by army officers.

The defeat suffered in Berlin was a heavy blow to the German proletariat. The relationship of class forces was further altered to its disadvantage. Two of the international revolutionary vanguard's foremost leaders — Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht — were lost. The bourgeoisie gained a major advantage, but the struggle was far from over. Further mass demonstrations, strike waves, and insurrectionary situations were bound to occur several times during the years immediately ahead, and in those circumstances the German Communist Party had an urgent task. While the new confrontations were gestating, it needed to shape itself as a genuine Marxist combat party capable of guiding the masses to power.

#### Revolutionary defeatism

By January 1919 the course of events in Europe had convinced the Russian Bolsheviks that the new International, which they had been advocating for more than four years, needed to be organized as quickly as practical arrangements allowed. Lenin had begun publicly calling for a new, third, International in the autumn of 1914. He linked this call to the social-patriotic betrayals by the German, French, and other European Social Democratic misleaders, and to the Bolsheviks' perspective of transforming the predatory war into revolutionary civil wars in each imperialist country aimed at overthrowing capitalist rule.

The Bolsheviks advanced a policy of revolutionary defeatism, explained as follows in the declaration issued by the party's Central Committee on the outbreak of the war:

"There cannot be the slightest doubt that from the standpoint of the working class and of the toiling masses of all the nations of Russia, the defeat of the tsarist monarchy, the most reactionary and barbarous of governments, which is oppressing the largest number of nations and the greatest mass of population of Europe and Asia, would be the lesser evil."

The Bolsheviks urged the same course on socialist parties in other imperialist countries. "The socialists of all the belligerent countries should express their wish that all their 'own' governments should be defeated," Lenin wrote. This stance "would be in keeping with the innermost thoughts of every class-conscious worker, and be in line with our activities for the conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war."

This internationalist proletarian position on the war was held by a small minority in the Second International, even among those social democrats who refused to vote for war credits for their own governments, most of whom, as Lenin pointed out, were centrists. As opposed to revolutionary defeatism, the centrists called for a "democratic" peace without reparations or annexations.

Kautsky summed up the centrist position in the terse slogan: "In wartime — the struggle for peace, in peacetime — the class struggle." Luxemburg pointedly parodied Kautsky's slogan as follows: "Working men of all countries, unite in peacetime and cut each other's throat in wartime."

Polemicalizing against the position of the centrists, Lenin explained that, "A 'revolutionary struggle against war' is merely an empty and meaningless exclamation, something at which the heroes of the Second International excel, unless it means revolutionary action against one's own government even in wartime."

These differences on the war question were closely intertwined with divisions on the question of launching a new International. Instead of an uncompromising break with the social-chauvinist majority of the Second International, the centrists took a conciliatory stance hoping, once the war was over, to resurrect what Luxemburg had accurately called a "stinking corpse." A debate on both these questions surfaced in September 1915 at an international conference held in Zimmerwald, Switzerland.

#### 1915 Zimmerwald conference

The Zimmerwald conference was called on the initiative of the Italian Socialist Party, whose leadership had not joined in the social-patriotic course of the majority of the Second International. At a preparatory meeting in July 1915, Gregory Zinoviev, representing the Bolsheviks, had proposed that the upcoming gathering at Zimmerwald defend and advance the revolutionary continuity of Marxism by breaking once and for all with the social chauvinists, by charting a course toward ending the imperialist slaughter through revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle, and by laying the foundation for a new International. Zinoviev objected to the plans to exclude from the conference left-wing oppositionists from a

Continued on next page



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number of Social Democratic parties in Europe, while inviting centrists such as Kautsky's followers, who had initially voted for war credits and were still only abstaining in order not to split the German social democratic parliamentary fraction down the middle.

The Bolsheviks' proposals were rejected by the majority of the initiators of the Zimmerwald conference, who argued that its goal should be limited to a call for joint actions for peace by workers in all countries. Reporting back the results of the preconference, Zinoviev wrote that, "it is clear that the so-called conference of the Lefts will in reality be a conference of the 'conciliators' with social chauvinists of the 'Center'."

Lenin responded to this situation by seeking to mobilize the largest possible left-wing delegation at Zimmerwald and to draft, translate, and circulate documents with a clear revolutionary working-class line. By mid-August the Bolsheviks were circulating a proposed resolution and manifesto that they submitted to a caucus meeting two days before the opening of the conference. This meeting of the left wing was called by the Bolsheviks to organize support for an internationalist line against centrist forces, such as Kautsky's followers and the Russian Mensheviks, who would comprise the right wing at the Zimmerwald gathering.

A minority of eight of the thirty-seven delegates at Zimmerwald came to agreement on a resolution and manifesto for submission to the conference. Aside from Lenin and Zinoviev, these were the delegates from Norway, Sweden, and Latvia, one of the four delegates from Switzerland, one of the ten delegates from Germany, and one of the three delegates from Poland.

## The Zimmerwald Left

The resolution adopted by the left-wing caucus was an amended version of the draft submitted by Karl Radek, a Polish social democrat, not that submitted by Lenin. The only substantial political difference between the two drafts reflected the Polish social democrats' position on the national question. The following sentences from Lenin's proposal did not appear in the draft finally adopted by the Zimmerwald left wing:

"In an epoch when the bourgeoisie was progressive, when the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism, and foreign national oppression were placed on the historic order of the day, socialists being always the most consistent and decided democrats, recognized the 'defense of the fatherland' in that sense and in that sense only. At present, should a war originate in the East of Europe or in the colonies — a war of oppressed nations against their oppressors, the great powers — the sympathy of the socialists would be entirely on the side of the oppressed."

Recognition of the struggles by oppressed nations and colonial peoples as a powerful ally of the proletariat's struggle against capitalist rule was another question on which the Bolsheviks were still a small minority, even among left-wingers. A few years later, when the Third International was launched, this position deferred from the Zimmerwald Left resolution would be adopted by the big majority of revolutionists as one of the programmatic cornerstones of the world communist movement.

The resolution adopted by the Zimmerwald Left, however, had a clear revolutionary Marxist line on defeatism and intransigent opposition to the social patriots. "It is the task of both the socialist parties and the socialist oppositions within the present social-imperialist parties to call the laboring masses to a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist governments and for the seizure of that political power which is necessary for a socialist reorganization of society," it said.

"The beginning of this struggle is the struggle against the World War and for an early ending of this human slaughter. This struggle demands a refusal to vote war credits, a withdrawal from cabinets, the exposure of the capitalist, antisocialist character of the war from the parliamentary tribune and in the columns of the legal and, where necessary, the illegal press, the sharpest struggle against social patriotism, the utilization of every movement by the people, called forth by the war (want, great losses, etc.), the organization of antigovernment demonstrations, the propaganda of international solidarity in the trenches, concurrence with economic strikes and attempts to turn them into political strikes under favorable conditions.

"Civil war, not civil peace, between the classes," the left-wing resolution declared. "That is our slogan."

The manifesto drafted by the Bolsheviks reiterated this revolutionary defeatist position and ended with the call for "the formation of a powerful International, the International which will put an end to all wars and to capitalism."

## Trotsky's middle position

Trotsky and several other Zimmerwald delegates who attended the caucus meeting refused to sponsor these documents of the left wing. Trotsky had already publicly polemicized against Lenin's slogan of defeatism, counterposing the slogan, "neither victory nor defeat." In a June 1915 letter rejecting a Bolshevik proposal for col-



Lenin (top) and Gregory Zinoviev represented Russian Bolsheviks in Zimmerwald Left and helped found new Communist International three and a half years later.

laboration in producing a magazine of the Russian social democratic internationalists, Trotsky had labelled Lenin's slogan "a fundamental connivance with the political methodology of social patriotism."

Although Trotsky recognized the collapse of the Second International, he opposed Lenin's course in pushing toward the formation of a new International, rejecting the Bolsheviks' view that a break with the social chauvinists also required a break with the centrists. Against the Bolshevik proposal for collaboration on that basis, Trotsky expressed, "a general interest on our part in actually rallying all internationalists, regardless of their group affiliation or of the tinge of their internationalism." Contrary to the views of the Bolsheviks, Trotsky insisted that the Mensheviks — under the impact of the war — were taking "steps forward toward political precision and revolutionary irreconcilability."

The three Zimmerwald delegates from the Spartacus faction of the German SPD also did not support the left-wing resolution and manifesto, joining with Trotsky in a middle position, seeking to mediate between Lenin's supporters and the Kautskyist-led centrists. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were prevented from attending, since she was in prison and he in the imperial army at the time. Liebknecht, however, did send a message calling for "civil war, not civil peace," demanding that the conference "pass irreconcilable judgment upon the false socialists," and declaring that "the new International will arise . . . on the ruins of the old." This statement was welcomed by Lenin, who subsequently arranged for its publication.

When the Zimmerwald conference opened on September 5, the resolution and manifesto of the Bolshevik-led left wing were rejected by the majority of delegates. Trotsky presented a compromise manifesto that all dele-

gates eventually signed. It did not include the perspective of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, nor did it call for the workers to forge a new world party to replace the bankrupt Second International. While condemning the policy of voting for government war credits, the compromise manifesto did not call for a vote against them, since the German Kautskyists refused to go along with this implicit criticism of the opportunist course of their parliamentary fraction.

## Was the Bolshevik strategy correct?

Drawing a balance sheet on the results of the Zimmerwald conference the following month, Lenin posed the question: "Was our Central Committee right in signing this manifesto, with all its inconsistency and timidity?"

"We think it was," he answered. "Our non-agreement, the non-agreement not only of our Central Committee but of the entire international Left-wing section of the Conference, which stands by the principles of revolutionary Marxism, is openly expressed both in a special resolution, a separate draft manifesto, and a separate declaration on the vote for a compromise manifesto. We did not conceal a jot of our views, slogans, or tactics. . . . We have spread, are spreading, and shall continue to spread our views with no less energy than the manifesto will."

"It is a fact that this manifesto is a *step forward* towards a real struggle against opportunism, towards a rupture with it. It would be sectarianism to refuse to take this step forward *together* with the minority of German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, and Swiss socialists, when we retain full freedom and full opportunity to criticize inconsistency and work for greater things."

In order to "work for greater things," the Bolshevik-led Zimmerwald Left established a bureau to organize the translation, publication, and distribution of the minority resolution and manifesto. The Bolsheviks sought to circulate these and other materials as widely as possible to chart a course for a revolutionary wing of the world workers' movement that could form the basis for a new International. Along with his 1915 letter to the U.S. Socialist Propaganda League, for instance, Lenin sent copies of the two left-wing documents rejected at Zimmerwald, asking that these revolutionary internationalist members of the SP translate and publish them in English in the United States.

In May 1916 the Bolsheviks participated in a second conference of the "Zimmerwaldists" held in Kienthal, Switzerland. While the Bolshevik-led left wing was still in a minority there, its political influence had grown somewhat, as registered in the resolution adopted by the conference itself. No sooner had the conference closed, however, than most of the Zimmerwald majority — the German Kautskyists, Russian Mensheviks, and leaders of the French, Swiss, and Italian delegations — stepped up their efforts to reknit ties with the open social patriots and ensure the survival of the Second International following the war's end.

## Need for a new International

From this point forward, Lenin — sometimes as a small minority even in the Bolshevik Party — never wavered from his conviction that continuation of the Zimmerwald movement was an obstacle to charting a revolutionary class-struggle course that could lead to a complete break with the class collaborationists, the formation of a revolutionary Third International, and victorious peasant uprisings and proletarian insurrections in Europe and Russia.

Upon his return to Russia from exile following the February 1917 revolution, Lenin incorporated this evaluation of the Zimmerwald movement into the revolutionary orientation he fought for inside the Bolshevik leadership. This question had immediate practical consequences, since the majority of party leaders initially advocated continued Bolshevik support for the Zimmerwald movement and were preparing to participate in a third international conference. In April 1917, a few days after his arrival in Petrograd, Lenin wrote:

"From the very outset, the Zimmerwald International adopted a vacillating, 'Kautskyite', 'Centrist' position, which immediately compelled the *Zimmerwald Left* to dissociate itself, to separate itself from the rest, and to issue its *own* manifesto (published in Switzerland in Russian, German, and French.) The chief shortcoming of the Zimmerwald International, and the cause of its *collapse* . . . was its vacillation and indecision on such a momentous issue of *crucial* practical significance as that of breaking completely with social-chauvinism and the old social-chauvinist International."

The correctness of Lenin's course was confirmed in October 1917 by the Bolsheviks' capacity to draw on this continuity to intervene in the revolutionary crisis created by the war. They drew large numbers of rank-and-file soldiers and sailors toward them, led the workers and poor peasants to power, and went forward to found a new, communist, International. The revolutionary peace policy implemented by the new Soviet government also flowed from the Bolsheviks' understanding of the relationship between war and proletarian revolution. This policy was aimed not only at meeting the demands of the



war-weary Russian peasants and workers, but also at encouraging workers and peasants throughout Europe to follow the revolutionary example of their brothers and sisters in Russia.

By the beginning of 1919 events throughout Europe precipitated by the war and the Bolshevik victory increased both the possibilities and the urgency of forming a new International. It was clear that the new International would have to be rooted, from the outset, among revolutionary workers in the countries of central and eastern Europe. Massive upsurges were occurring in that area. Vanguard forces were regrouping and forming new parties, most of which sought to use the Bolshevik program and strategy as they understood it in their fight to overturn capitalist rule. But the majority of revolutionists in these formations had limited knowledge of Marxism. They needed help to avoid stumbling into mistakes such as those committed by the German Communists. To accomplish that objective the Russian Communists had to take the lead in constructing a collective world leadership. Its function would be to collaborate in leading revolutionary proletarian action internationally on the basis of a world program and strategy applied in practice according to each specific national situation.

With this perspective in view, a letter was sent out inviting the various revolutionary workers' parties and groups to participate in an international gathering to be held at an early date. The letter was signed by Communist parties in Russia, Poland, Latvia, Finland, Hungary, and German Austria, as well as by the Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation, consisting of the Greek, Romanian, and Serbian Social Democratic parties.

### League of Nations

Meanwhile, under the sponsorship of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, steps to form a so-called League of Nations, had been taken by the bourgeois ruling classes. A prime function of the proposed league was to be to organize the division of spoils among the victorious imperialist powers. It was to serve as a medium through which the strongest imperialist states could seek a modus vivendi among themselves as they set out to dominate the world. Their predatory aims were to impose indemnities and territorial concessions upon the defeated powers; to hold the toilers of the industrially advanced countries in capitalist bondage; and to extend the imperialist domination of the colonial peoples.

This multifaceted plot was concealed behind hypocritical mouthings about world peace. The projected league was depicted as an instrument to curb "acts of aggression." A universal reduction of armaments was called for. Formation of a "world tribunal" was proposed to settle international disputes. In sum, calculated efforts were made to create the impression that pacifism was about to triumph in world affairs, and that the masses need not fear a repetition of the 1914-18 imperialist slaughter.

The League of Nations was also intended to provide a vehicle for a broad capitalist alliance against the revolutionary proletariat. Its function in this respect would be to further implement counterrevolutionary policies already being carried out by the imperialist rulers of Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. These policies included military suppression of mass upsurges in the occupied parts of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria; aid to the exploiters in the defeated countries against the revolutionary toilers; refusal to recognize the workers' councils and soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants as the governments in those countries; and incitement of hostile acts against the Russian Soviet republic by reactionary forces in general.

Repressive measures of this kind were to be accompanied by increased dissemination of class-collaborationist propaganda. The League of Nations was to be used as a device through which to confuse the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. As against the perspective of a world federation of workers' and peasants' republics, advanced and fought for by the Bolsheviks, the league was put forward as an instrument for creation of an international association of "democracies" to be attained through collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a world scale.

This signaled an imperialist offer to support the social democratic reformists against the revolutionists within the labor movement. The reformists eagerly responded in kind and scheduled an international conference in Bern, Switzerland, which was held from February 3 to 10, 1919. Social Democratic and centrist parties in twenty-six countries sent delegations empowered to cast deciding votes, and observers were present from the Socialist Party of the United States. Up to November 1918 those involved had supported their separate bourgeoisies on opposite sides of the imperialist battle lines. They now put aside that awkward circumstance by granting one another "amnesties," in order to reunite in committing new crimes against the workers and farmers.

A big majority of the delegates at the Bern conference welcomed the idea of a League of Nations. The positions they adopted helped the imperialists prepare to use the league not only to prey on the workers' desire for peace,



**Leon Trotsky (top) wrote compromise resolution adopted at Zimmerwald conference. Karl Radek drafted manifesto of Zimmerwald Left. Both were later part of central leadership team in Communist International.**

but also to exploit the toilers' democratic instincts in order to keep them trapped under capitalist rule. A crooked argument was employed to serve the latter purpose. In a manner abstracted from the class struggle, "democracy" was counterposed to "dictatorship." On the basis of that alleged "principle," the reformists backed the parliamentary system of capitalist rule as "democratic" and opposed the Soviet regime in Russia as "dictatorial." Then, with that reactionary line agreed upon, the Bern conference elected a committee to prepare formal reorganization of the discredited Second International.

### First Comintern congress

These developments made organized collaboration by revolutionary proletarian leaderships around the world even more imperative. To meet that need a congress to organize a new, communist, International was held in Moscow from March 2 to 6, 1919. Among those attending were delegates with full voting powers from nineteen European parties and groups. Another category of delegates, representing sixteen procommunist formations, participated on a consultative basis. The imperialist blockade made it extremely difficult for outsiders to reach Soviet Russia. As a result, only a few parties — those in Austria, Germany, Holland, Norway, and Sweden — were able to get delegates to Moscow in time for the congress. In some instances, parties had to designate as their representatives members who happened to be on the scene for other reasons. No one was present as an official delegate from any workers' organization in the United States.

The congress adopted a resolution explaining that while the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences had been important "at a time when it was essential to unify all those proletarian elements ready to protest in any way against the imperialist slaughter," many centrist participants in the Zimmerwald movement were now "forging an alliance with the social-patriots to wage a struggle against the revolutionary proletariat." Since the political battle against these forces was now the top priority of the working class, the Zimmerwald movement "has outlived its usefulness. Everything in it that was truly revolutionary is passing over to the Communist International."

The resolution was signed by Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and several other former participants from the left and center of the Zimmerwald movement. Marking the definitive break with Zimmerwaldism, the Moscow congress voted to consider the movement disbanded and to transfer its files to the archives of the new International.

The founding congress made a basic analysis of the objective situation in 1919. The documents adopted there noted that the imperialist war had confirmed that the existing social order was no longer viable. Social paroxysms resulting from that bloody conflict had caused increasing ferment among the masses, and the previous situation of an imperialist war between nations was being transformed into one of a civil war between classes. The world had entered a new epoch of capitalist disintegration and proletarian revolution.

In that setting, the capitalists were trying to suppress the upsurge of proletarian revolution and to restabilize their system. The social democratic reformists were supporting those reactionary aims. In doing so they had set out to revive their scab organization, the Second International, and use it to mislead confused workers, who did not perceive the dangers inherent in the treacherous reformist line.

### Combating reformism and centrism

To cope with those evils, the Moscow congress emphasized, a sharp distinction had to be drawn between the revolutionary and reformist currents in the working-class movement. The Marxists had to put forward a clear revolutionary program, both to save the proletariat from reformist entrapment and to provide a solution to new problems arising from concrete developments in the class struggle. In order to meet those combined needs, it was also necessary to form an international organization embracing all who agreed with the Marxist program and were prepared to act on that basis.

Among the militants who could be won from reformist influence were some members of groups that were to some degree in real contact with the workers' movement, and had, at the Bern conference, opposed the reformists' invidious appraisal of the Russian revolution.

These groups were dominated, however, by centrist leaders who wanted to maintain organizational unity with the reformists. That course obscured the reasons for the wartime collapse of the Second International, thereby making it easier for the reformists to go on deceiving the workers. These centrists continued to sow political confusion. At critical moments in the class struggle, they could be expected to make treacherous compromises with the enemies of the proletariat. Therefore, an uncompromising organizational break with the centrists was a historic necessity.

In reaching this conclusion, the Moscow congress was not advocating precipitous splits carried out without considering how best to win the largest possible number of workers from these parties. "It is absolutely essential," the congress resolution on the Bern conference advised, "to split the most revolutionary elements from the 'centre.'" Toward that end, the communists should mercilessly criticize and politically expose the centrist misleaders. "The task of the Communists," the resolution explained, "is to determine at which moment the break should be made, in accordance with the level of development the movement has reached in their respective countries."

While preparing to win the maximum number from the centrist groups, the congress added, communist recruits should also be sought among two further categories of workers. One of these consisted of syndicalists within the labor movement. Although they had previously stood outside the Socialist parties, some of these forces were beginning to reexamine their former views in the light of the Russian revolution. Their attitude was marked by a friendly stance toward the living example of a proletarian dictatorship based upon soviets. Possibilities thus existed to win them over to communist perspectives.

Similar prospects were noted in the case of a second category of workers: "proletarian groups or organizations which, although they have not openly rallied to the revolutionary current, are nevertheless displaying a trend in that direction in their evolution." Communists everywhere were urged to do what they could to push this process along.

To help the revolutionary cadres win over politically confused militants, the resolutions adopted by the Mos-

**Continued on ISR/11**



The following is based on a report by Larry Seigle adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party the first week in May. A brief concluding portion of the report is not included here. It listed a series of planned speaking tours, conferences, and demonstrations aimed at mobilizing opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The situation in Central America and the Caribbean today is characterized by, first, the deepening and extension of the revolution against imperialism and the landlord-capitalist system it perpetuates in the region; second, the inability of the imperialists to slow down or reverse this revolutionary process; and, third, the continuing escalation of U.S. military intervention.

The acceleration of U.S. military involvement is relentless — more this month than last month, more next month than this month. The result has not been to defeat the advancing revolutionary forces, however, but to further regionalize the struggle.

What we are seeing are the limits of the imperialists' power to impose their will when faced, as in Nicaragua, with massive, organized mobilizations of the workers and farmers led by a revolutionary proletarian vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The Sandinistas are leading the struggle of the toilers forward. They turn to their advantage every confrontation with imperialism — whether it's a debate at the United Nations or a political duel with the pope, who intervened in Nicaragua on behalf of imperialism but found, to his eternal dismay, that too many Nicaraguans have learned to see through him.

The FSLN uses every such confrontation to advance the political education, class-consciousness, and self-confidence of the exploited and oppressed and to combat the efforts by Washington to isolate Nicaragua, to cut off the revolution from its allies and potential allies around the world.

We are seeing the limits of the power of imperialism when confronted by revolutionary struggles, like the one in El Salvador, that are not isolated, but are linked to each other and reinforced by the solidarity of proletarian internationalists in power in Nicaragua, in Grenada, in Cuba.

It is these limits, and the problems that flow from them, that are behind the tactical divisions within the U.S. ruling class. What the rulers are debating among themselves, what the "doves" in Congress are raising, are disagreements over the character and pace of the escalation of U.S. intervention. They are arguing over *how* to do it, not *whether* to do it.

What the rulers would like, of course, is to send in the marines and get the job over with quickly and easily — what they were able to do in the Dominican Republic in 1965, when 24,000 U.S. troops landed to prevent a revolution. But those days are long gone.

The *New York Times* and other critics of Reagan's policies from the ruling-class point of view keep pointing out that the policy now being implemented by Reagan cannot win. It cannot win the war against the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador. It cannot overthrow the Sandinista-led workers and peasants government in Nicaragua. Nor can it topple the revolutionary governments based on the workers and peasants in Cuba or Grenada. As the *New York Times* complained in an editorial April 18, "The holes in the Administration's case are practical. Its secret army is big enough to arouse nationalist fury, but too small to overcome well-armed revolutionaries. . . ."

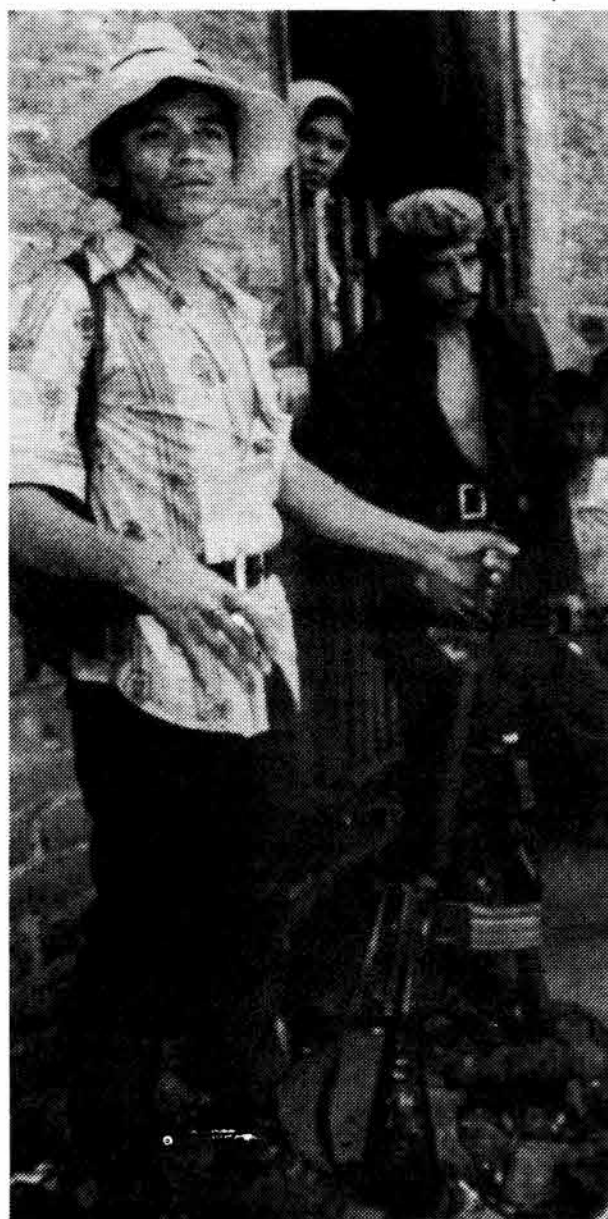
## 'Cuba-model states'

All sides in the ruling-class debate agree that the United States must not allow any more of what a recent U.S. government document called "Cuba-model states" in the Western hemisphere. Democrats and Republicans, "doves" and "hawks," all agree on that. And they have a very accurate view of what they mean by a "Cuba-model" government. It has two chief characteristics.

First, it comes to power through a revolution that breaks the back of the repressive state apparatus of the exploiters and replaces it with a new power — Sandinista power, New Jewel Movement power, Bolshevik power, whatever name workers and farmers power is known by in a particular country. It uses this state power to defend and advance the interests of the toilers.

Its second characteristic is that it helps to extend the revolution that brings it to power. In this sense, "Cuba-model states" tend to extend themselves. They have a revolutionary foreign policy. They use governmental power to aid other peoples in the fight against imperialism, to extend solidarity to revolutionary forces. And they provide an example of a new society in the making for all those genuinely struggling to rid them-

# Working-class strategy for fight against U.S. war in Central America



Liberation forces in San Agustín, El Salvador. Increased unity among revolutionary organizations has advanced freedom fight.

selves of the poverty, inequality, and tyranny that result from imperialism, landlordism, and capitalism. This makes them intolerable to the imperialists. Above all else, the capitalist rulers in Washington cannot tolerate the extension and consolidation of the socialist revolution.

The 1979 triumph in Nicaragua opened the current stage of the revolutionary struggle in Central America. Ever since then, the policy of U.S. imperialism has been to steadily increase the campaign of pressure, threats, and military intervention. Its goal has been to find the weak spots, the fault lines, along which — with enough pressure — Washington hopes it can create divisions.

The rulers hope to find a way to break the chain of solidarity that binds together the revolutionary fighters in El Salvador and Guatemala with the three giants: Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba. They hope to break the chain of military, economic, and political commitments that link the Cuban workers state with the Soviet workers state; to break the links between the Cuban workers state and the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

These links are decisive for the survival and the future of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean. Imperialist policy has been to use every weapon and trick it has to break them: diplomatic pres-

sure, economic blackmail, bribery, CIA murder plots, threats, and military action.

But so far Washington has not achieved its goal. And it has failed to stop the advance of the revolution in El Salvador. It has failed to halt or reverse the consolidation of workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada. That is why the imperialists are now moving toward more direct, large-scale, and necessarily more open, military intervention. And as they press further in this direction, the stakes increase for imperialism and for the world revolution with every passing day.

## Center of world politics

Central America and the Caribbean are where the decisive battles are being fought in the world today for the extension of the socialist revolution. That is why this region is at the center of world politics.

This is a point of view that the Socialist Workers Party has held for some time. We believed this even when — if you judged things superficially, like by how much space the capitalist press gave to that part of the world — it didn't seem to be true. And we recognized that the conflict in this region was at the center of world politics even though many of the countries involved are small. For us, the important thing about Grenada — population 110,000, territory 133 square miles — is not how *small* it is, but what a *big* revolution the workers and farmers of that country are making.

We recognized the role of Central America and the Caribbean in world politics at a time when, at least outside Latin America, only the most conscious revolutionaries could see the stakes that were involved and what was coming. Now, however, with the deepening of the revolutionary struggles and escalation of imperialist intervention — bringing with it the eruption of a ruling-class debate and the Reagan propaganda offensive against Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua — this is clear to everyone who looks at politics objectively.

Our line has been conclusively confirmed by the course of events.

Just as Central America and the Caribbean are at the center of world politics, the question of imperialist military intervention — imperialist war — in that region is at the center of U.S. politics. And it has been and will remain at the center of our work — at the center of the activities of our members in the industrial unions, at the center of our weekly plant-gate sales, and at the center of our general propaganda work, including our election campaigns.

Within this framework, we should look first at the events in Central America and the Caribbean, including the course of the revolutionary leaderships there; and, second, at our strategic approach to the fight against imperialist war.

## Salvadoran government losing war

In El Salvador, the social revolution is deepening and the imperialists are unable to slow down either the military and political advances of the FMLN or the disintegration of the ruling institutions of the oligarchy. The government is losing the war in El Salvador. The ruling landlords and capitalists in that country are in a crisis from which, increasingly, they can see no way out. They have to a large degree lost their belief in their own capacity to find a solution to the crisis, or even to stabilize the situation.

The disintegration of the regime is measured by the degree to which it is more and more reliant on U.S. imperialism not just for military aid, but for every aspect of social functioning. The White House picks dates for the elections and moves them around, as if it were Chicago, to serve Reagan's domestic political interests. The Pentagon picks the head of the army. U.S. military chiefs determine military tactics. They insist that the dictatorship's army, made up largely of conscripts who don't want to be there, should fight more aggressively, should go out more often and in smaller units, should pursue the enemy more vigorously.

Reports in the capitalist press concentrate on the process of disintegration of the armed forces but ignore what lies behind it — the disintegration of the social structure itself, the disintegration of the class rule that the army is defending. All the high-level military advice, the analysis about the problems of the command, the complaints about the "9-to-5" officers who go home on weekends, the "bad" strategy — it is all a smoke screen to cover up the social and political roots of what is happening. *A revolution is taking place in El Salvador that cannot be turned around short of large-scale, outside military intervention.*

This is the political context in which the most conscious elements of the FMLN are driving toward unification of all the groups that comprise it. This is a necessary step in the development of a proletarian vanguard that



can lead the toiling masses to power. A united, disciplined leadership organization is an essential precondition to a successful insurrectionary mobilization of the workers and their allies.

The formation of the FMLN, bringing together five revolutionary groups into a common organizational framework, was an important advance. But it was only a step toward actual unification of the vanguard. The separate organizations still exist, even though differences stemming from the past have been superseded by new events and new discussions that cut across the old organizational lines. The absence of a genuinely unified leadership is an obstacle that the revolutionary-minded fighters in El Salvador feel keenly. The fight for unity around a revolutionary perspective within the FMLN is an essential part of the process by which the working class and the most exploited layers of the peasantry are asserting their leadership in the revolution.

As the struggle deepens and the road to power becomes clearer, the pressure and demands for unity from the masses become greater. As class-conscious fighters see the perspective of taking power to resolve the crisis, they also see that this cannot be done by leaderships hampered by factional rivalries.

The workers and farmers of El Salvador are increasingly conscious that a new government, one that will fight for their class interests, can only be imposed by the most resolute and determined struggle. Militants from all the revolutionary organizations are pressing for unification of the fighting forces so that battles will not be lost as a result of competition or lack of coordination. The divisions that persist are a curse that can and must be overcome if the revolution is going to be victorious. Fortunately, real progress on this front is being made.

The Cubans, especially, are conscious of politically explaining the need for unity of revolutionary forces. This is one of the lessons of the recent revolutions in Latin America that the Cubans are drawing on, generalizing, and driving home. This was one of the lessons of the Nicaraguan revolution. The FSLN, which was divided into three factions, had to unify before the triumph was possible.

This is a lesson, too, from the Cuban revolution itself. There, the July 26 Movement, virtually from its inception, took the lead in trying to unify the divided forces around a revolutionary perspective. This goal was significantly advanced when members of the Popular Socialist Party (the Moscow-line Communist Party) came over to the July 26th Movement. This process of unification continued after the overthrow of Batista and eventually led to the formation of the Cuban Communist Party.

If you think about it, this is also one of the lessons of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia. As the road to October became clearer politically, the Bolsheviks absorbed and fused with other forces who came to agree with their perspective. Lenin took the lead in welcoming into the ranks of the Bolshevik Party those revolutionists who were objective enough to overcome past differences.

#### Imperialist rumor mill

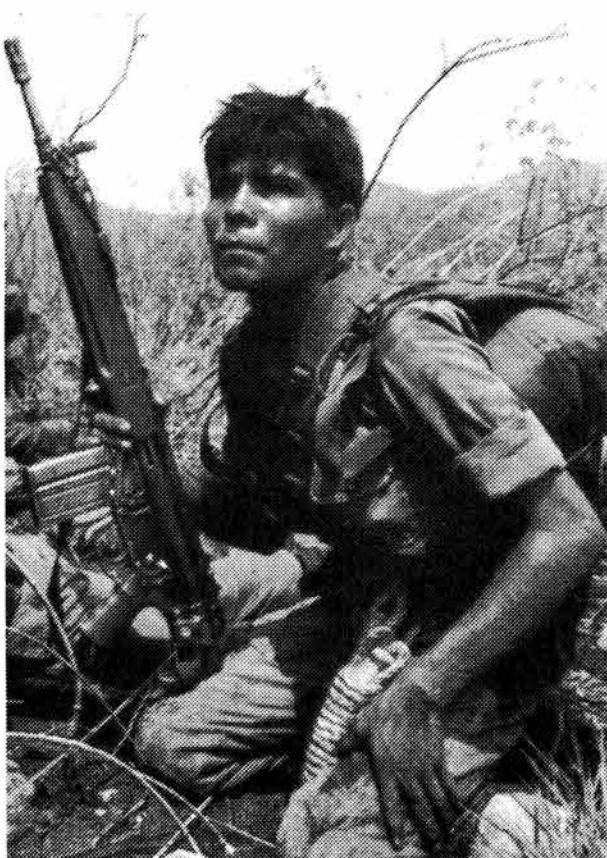
The imperialists also recognize the importance of unity of revolutionary forces. They are investing considerable resources to block that unity, to disrupt it in any way they can, and to try to prolong and deepen divisions that exist. This came out openly in the National Security Council's secret document that was leaked to the press and reprinted in the *Militant*. The strategy outlined in that document called for efforts by Washington to secretly "initiate efforts to increase factional strife among guerrilla groups" and make a "concerted effort to exacerbate factional strife in [the] extreme left."

The rulers are doing what they can to deepen divisions within the FMLN and to divide the FMLN from its allies and supporters outside the country, including right here in the United States. That is why we see the disruption and disinformation operations like the one reflected in the front-page of the *New York Times* again today [May 8]. This story, headlined "Deaths of Two Chiefs Expose Rifts Among Salvador Rebels," seeks to take advantage of the deaths of Commander Ana María and Commander Marcial to repeat rumors whose aim is to disrupt the unity of the FMLN and to sow suspicions between the Salvadoreans and the Cubans and Nicaraguans.

In today's version of the story, unnamed Salvadoran revolutionaries are reported to have complained "about what they see as a lack of revolutionary solidarity on the part of the Sandinistas." The *Times* also repeats once again the rumor that Commander Marcial didn't commit suicide, that instead he was murdered by Nicaraguan or by Cuban agents — even though there is not an iota of evidence to support this.

The method is always the same: circulation of rumors, gossip, and tales about what so-and-so really thought or said, supposedly coming from "inside" sources. Some of it contains true details. They have to put some true things in there to keep the lies afloat. But the heart of it is to spread lies whose purpose is to block unity.

All the groups in the FMLN have explicitly rejected these disruption attempts. The answer of the groups in the FMLN to the murder of Commander Ana María and



**U.S.-trained soldier in El Salvador. U.S. military involvement continues to increase as government drives toward using U.S. troops to halt advancing social revolution.**

the suicide of Commander Marcial has been to advance the process of unification as they advance the class battles, and the civil war, to overthrow the government.

#### Nicaragua — mass mobilizations deepen

In Nicaragua, the response of the FSLN to the escalating military and economic pressure has been, as before, to deepen the mobilizations of the masses. They are using the time they have won — including the time they have won as a result of the struggle in El Salvador — to educate, to train, to organize, and to arm the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

This was visible to the whole world on April 28 in Managua, when the people responded to Reagan's war speech given the day before. Reagan proclaimed that "the national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America." He claimed that "violence has been Nicaragua's most important export to the world." He accused Nicaragua of threatening Honduras, directing the guerrilla attacks in El Salvador, and even sending a "flow of arms" into Costa Rica. The message was clear: it was a step toward war.

In response, the Sandinista leaders called an emergency demonstration for the following day in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution. One hundred fifty thousand people — a fifth of the city's population — turned out. As Jane Harris reported from Managua in the *Militant*, "They came with their rifles, their machetes, clubs, sticks, shovels, baseball bats, and hammers — whatever weapons they had — held high in the air. Factory workers in hard hats, office workers in white shirts, postal workers, students, market vendors, a scattering of farmers from the countryside . . . many of them in militia uniforms."

Of course, in addition to the people in arms, the Nicaraguans have been constructing a regular army, with help from Cuba, to defend against invading forces. It is only because they have such a combat force that the *New York Times* sees "holes" in Reagan's plans for the Somozaist armies to exert enough pressure on the FSLN.

#### Mixed economy and political pluralism

Two things are especially important to emphasize in regard to the course of the Sandinistas. First is their approach to the tasks of strengthening the organization and consciousness of the toilers and strengthening the workers and farmers government. Second is their policy toward the extension of the revolution in Central America.

The Sandinistas have stuck fast to the course of maintaining what they call a mixed economy and political pluralism. The FSLN is determined to pursue this policy — the Nicaraguan version of the Bolsheviks' New Economic Policy — because they believe it maximizes the advances the workers and farmers government can make. It is not a public relations ploy aimed at Washington.

Last December Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior, gave an interview to the French newspaper *Le Monde*. He was asked, "Is Reagan trying to radicalize you" by stepping up the U.S.-backed war? Borge responded, "If that's true, he has understood nothing of our revolution. Whatever he does, we will be neither more

nor less radical. We don't talk about political pluralism and a mixed economy to please the Americans. This is our program, and we will continue it no matter what policy Reagan follows."

The Sandinistas have refused to allow themselves to be forced into a pace of expropriations that would force the government to take over the running of enterprises that the workers are not yet prepared to administer. This would be harmful to the revolution.

The FSLN is also sticking to its course of what the Nicaraguans call political pluralism. This means it allows opposition parties that don't resort to armed attacks on the government to continue to exist and function. It also refuses to rely on administrative measures to crack down on different tendencies in the working-class movement, which maintain an existence as organized currents. Instead, it presses the political dialogue with these tendencies, seeking to isolate the ultraleft and sectarian groupings as it wins the workers to the line of the revolution.

The FSLN is pressing ahead with plans for elections in 1985, and the Nicaraguan Council of State is now debating the various provisions of a new law regulating political parties. The government and the FSLN make it clear that the elections will be held within the framework of the revolution. That is, the question of which class rules in Nicaragua will not be up for decision. Of course, no election anywhere has ever changed which class rules. The only difference is that the Nicaraguans say so openly. In the interview with *Le Monde*, Tomás Borge was asked, "Does your conception of pluralism include the possibility of the opposition coming to power?" He replied in a straightforward way, "To be frank with you, I don't think they will find circumstances permitting that."

Ultraleft critics of the Sandinistas have criticized the mixed economy approach from the beginning. At every opportunity, with every new crisis or showdown, they scream: "Now! Now's the time to prove you are truly revolutionary by expropriating everything." What they don't explain, of course, is why.

Why should the Sandinistas move any faster than they are ready to? Why should they unnecessarily cut short the period during which production in important sectors organized by private capitalists — under conditions and limits enforced by government power defending the class interests of the workers and farmers — can aid the economy?

Counterrevolutionary activity by capitalists or other circumstances may force the government to move more rapidly than it would otherwise. But why should it do so if it can be avoided?

Ironically, some of the very ultralefts who complain that the mixed economy shows the Sandinistas are insufficiently radical, at the same time criticize the Sandinista election plans for not being really democratic, since the framework of the elections is the maintenance of Sandinista power. The FSLN patiently and firmly continues to reject the course proposed by such critics.

#### Revolutionary internationalist policy

The second thing for us to note about the course followed by the FSLN is its refusal to back off one inch from its revolutionary internationalist policy — especially from its ties with Cuba and its complete identification with and defense of the revolution in El Salvador. It is deepening the education of the Nicaraguan people about the links between the revolution in El Salvador and their own revolution, whose fates are more and more tightly tied together.

It is determined to assist in every way it can the advance of the Salvadoran revolution. It understands that if the Salvadoran revolution is defeated, the imperialists will unleash with new fury their attempts to crush the Nicaraguan revolution. And it knows that if the FMLN triumphs in El Salvador, it will be a mighty blow against the imperialists' plans for counterrevolution in Nicaragua.

The proletarian internationalists in power in Nicaragua have steadfastly refused to bargain away their support for El Salvador or their ties with Cuba in return for an easing of the economic and military pressure from Washington. While the Nicaraguans and Cubans have repeatedly stressed their desire for normal diplomatic and commercial relations with Washington, both have refused to subordinate their support for the extension of the revolution to deals with imperialism. That's not up for bargaining.

The imperialists have now opened a two-front war against Nicaragua. On the northern front their goal is to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua. This would create the opportunity, they hope, for large-scale imperialist intervention on the side of Honduras. Washington has no illusion that counterrevolutionaries, the *contras*, however well armed, are going to march through to Managua and topple the Nicaraguan government. They would be stopped by the Sandinista People's Army backed up by a massive militia.

That is why the U.S. government must have direct intervention on a substantial scale from outside military forces. It hopes a war between Honduras and Nicaragua will give it the pretext it needs for such an operation. Of

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course, such a move would immediately raise the stakes dramatically. For one thing, there would be considerable opposition to such a war inside Honduras itself. For another, the invaders might well find themselves in combat with Cuban troops, should that be necessary to defend the Nicaraguan revolution. If the Cubans traveled across the Atlantic to defeat the South African invaders in Angola, can anyone doubt they would travel across the short stretch that separates them from Nicaragua, if the Nicaraguan government were to ask for their assistance?

The second front in imperialism's war against Nicaragua is the southern front, led by Commander Zero, Edén Pastora. Pastora tries to put a progressive face on the imperialist-backed counterrevolution. He has worked hard to present himself as "independent" of the Somozaists in the north. His political program is simple: drive the Cubans out of Nicaragua, he says. His is the "neither Havana nor Washington" line. He proposes a "third way" for Nicaragua.

But this line has quickly developed into an open alliance between Commander Zero's forces and U.S. imperialism. He is no more independent of imperialism than were the so-called democratic socialists who backed the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, proclaiming support for the "left wing" of the invading army.

We see once again that the "third camp" is just another stopping place on the road to the camp of counterrevolution, to open alliance with imperialism and proimperialist forces.

## Regionalization of struggle

The result of the two-front war policy of the imperialists has been, not the defeat of the Nicaraguan government, but the regionalization of the struggle. A month ago, Humberto Ortega, Nicaragua's defense minister, gave an interview to the *New York Times* in which he pointed out that "Honduran revolutionaries have offered to support us."

"Perhaps the Reagan Administration does not realize that it is opening a very dangerous door by launching an aggressive war against us," he said. "Honduras is going to see the cost of confronting an armed movement like the one we are facing." Around this time the Sandinista daily *Barricada* reported a communique signed by six Honduran organizations. They announced the formation of a single front against the government of Honduras, accusing it of allowing the contras to "abuse our sacred national territory" by playing "dirty and dangerous war games alongside the government of the United States."

Honduras, they said, "has been turned into a blind instrument of the Reagan administration's policy of intervention and war in Central America."

Ortega also stressed in his interview with the *Times* that Nicaragua is ready to find negotiated solutions. "Peaceful coexistence is what we seek," he said. "But if governments like that of Honduras choose to support aggression, they will face reverberations inside their own countries."

Ortega added, significantly, "There are revolutionaries in all parts of Central America. We have had messages of support from Panama. . . ." He reminded the *Times* that there are lots of U.S. soldiers stationed in Panama. "A small country under attack," he said, "must use all the resources available to it including revolutionary combat."

The imperialists' hopes to turn Honduras into a bunker for all of Central America are built on shaky ground. This year in the Honduran capital, Tegucigalpa, for the first time there was a united labor action to commemorate May Day, drawing together the different union federations. The unionists carried placards calling for "a halt to war and violence in Central America." The growing presence of U.S. military advisers in Honduras is also becoming the subject of a sharpening debate in the country. If Honduras is to become the imperialists' bunker, it will not be a very sturdy one.

Even in Costa Rica — which is supposed to be a country without enemies and without even an army — the battle is under way over how far the Monge regime can go in cooperating with the contras. In Panama, too, there is deep resentment against the use of that country as a military base for Washington's regional war. Opposition is growing there following the revelation that U.S. forces in the canal zone are running a regular "air bridge" to supply contras in Honduras and possibly in Costa Rica as well.

And in Puerto Rico — which starts getting mighty close to home for the imperialists — there is deepening sentiment in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America. There is deep anti-imperialist opposition to seeing Puerto Rico become the staging ground — as well as the training ground and practice range — for U.S. military moves in Central America.

And mighty Grenada — land of the world-threatening civilian airport — has achieved in the last few months new prominence on Reagan's international hit list, a development with important political consequences for revolutionists in the United States. The campaign of threats by Reagan is aimed at isolating Grenada and preparing



Militant/Jane Harris

**Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua has strengthened popular militia and organizations of women, farmers, and trade unions to defend revolution against U.S. imperialism.**

the way for a counterrevolutionary blow. These efforts to isolate Grenada, ironically, have opened the door to new ties of solidarity with the revolutionary island and raised consciousness about it among wide layers of working people, especially Blacks. The result has been to begin to give the Grenadian revolution the political attention it deserves from every anti-imperialist fighter.

The Grenadian leaders have responded to Reagan's threats by stepping up their own international campaign, deepening their contacts in this country, and expanding their educational activities and solidarity work here. They are explaining their case, presenting the facts, seeking allies, and mobilizing every resource to fight this attempt to isolate them.

Throughout the region, Washington's dilemma is that every move it makes to halt the advances of the workers and farmers increases their determination to win their national liberation from Yankee domination.

## Sustained threats against Cuba

At the very core of the imperialist propaganda and threats of military intervention is their campaign against Cuba. The imperialists cynically condemn that revolutionary island as the "source" of social upheaval throughout Central America and the Caribbean. There has been a steady escalation in this campaign by the Reagan administration. This includes the expulsion of Cuban diplomats at the United Nations and the restriction of the remaining diplomats to a radius of 25 miles from New York City, cutting off normal travel that is allowed UN representatives from virtually every other country, including the Soviet Union. The U.S. government is also continuing its deliberately provocative overflights of Cuba by spy planes, including flights along the length of the island.

We see a sustained, almost daily barrage of propaganda moves against Cuba. The Justice Department accuses high level officials in the Cuban government of being responsible for running drugs into the United States. The White House even unearthed a doctor who theorizes that the AIDS syndrome is really Cuba's fault; Cuban troops allegedly picked it up in Africa and it was transmitted to the United States with the Mariel exodus.

The ominous character of the threats is made clear by a story in yesterday's [May 7] *New York Times* headlined, "U.S. Lists 'Options' On Cuban Jamming — Antennas' 'Surgical Removal' Is Reportedly Discussed." According to the *Times*, "Senior Reagan Administration officials have indicated to commercial broadcasters that they are considering a list of 40 options for retaliating against Cuba, including 'surgical removal' of the transmitting antennas, if the Havana Government begins regular jamming of American radio stations. . . ."

They discussed this with the National Association of Broadcasters. "Beverly Hubbell, an aide to Senator Charles E. Grassley, an Iowa Republican who has opposed the Radio Martí proposal, said the Senator had attended meetings where the bombing of Cuban jamming transmitters was mentioned, but that he was inclined to regard it as 'a casual comment.'"

Among those present was Thomas Enders, assistant secretary of state. You can imagine what those meetings were like — where ideas about bombing Cuba are "casual comments"! The *Times* wraps up its story by noting that a spokesman for Enders refused to say whether or not he had proposed the bombing. "However, the spokesman said, 'It is not the policy of the Reagan Administration to bomb Cuba.'" Reassuring, isn't it?

Put this together with the report in the April 22 *New York Times* that the Reagan administration has concluded that Cuba is "the source" of the rebellions in Central America, and that, "Although there is apparently no agreement yet on what to do about it, some officials talk as if

something is either going on or in the works to make Cuba pay a price."

Then add to the picture the article in last week's *New Yorker* magazine by Elizabeth Drew. This piece, written on the basis of discussions with top Pentagon officials including Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, describes the debate that took place within the administration in November 1981 — at the time of the emergency campaign that we participated in to protest threatened U.S. military moves against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Everything that we and the Cubans said then about the real danger of a direct U.S. attack is confirmed in this article. Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig argued cold-bloodedly for a direct military strike against Cuba, Drew reports. This course was rejected — for the time being — in favor of those who argued for a large increase in "covert operations," which is the policy that has been implemented.

## Imperialist drive toward war

When something like this is openly acknowledged, we should step back and draw the lessons of it. And we should use it to keep pounding away, keep explaining that *this* is where the danger of war — including nuclear war — comes from.

The war danger does not come from some out-of-control "arms race" that has developed a logic and dynamic of its own, as is argued by such anti-Marxists as E.P. Thompson, a leader of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The war danger does not come from competition between two "superpowers" trying to carve up the world, as is argued by liberals and "third camp" advocates. The danger of war does not come from the mathematical certainty that a computer error will blow us all up.

These are all false explanations and mystifications that cover up a very simple and direct fact: *the danger of war comes from the imperialist drive toward war.* Imperialism resorts to war and threats of war in order to maintain its worldwide system of class exploitation and its domination of the colonial and semicolonial countries. That's where the danger of war comes from — like the war that Washington is waging today in Central America.

Any strategy for the fight against war that doesn't start from the fight against the wars being waged by imperialism today is a fake and a fraud. A clear example is the strategy behind the bilateral nuclear freeze campaign. We have now seen endorsement of the "bilateral freeze" by the House of Representatives — which has continually voted for military appropriations to finance the U.S. intervention in Central America, which has steadfastly refused to act to halt military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador and the contras based in Honduras, which has voted the biggest increase in war spending ever, and which continues to approve new nuclear weapons systems. This esteemed body has now taken a step toward "peace" by adopting a bilateral nuclear freeze resolution! The bilateral nuclear freeze has now become a campaign plank in the platform of the Democratic Party for 1984, which was always the objective of the organizers of the campaign around the bilateral freeze. This is not a step toward peace. It is a sham.

We should also draw some conclusions from the rightward evolution of the "third camp" wing in the Western European antimissiles movement, the wing associated with E.P. Thompson. Thompson is headed in a clear, anti-Soviet, anticommunist, rightward direction. The Thompsonites place "equal blame on East and West" for the danger of nuclear war and therefore oppose an anti-imperialist stance for the campaign against the new NATO missiles being introduced into Western Europe this fall.

For example, at the recent conference of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Thompsonites opposed a resolution demanding Britain's withdrawal from NATO on the ground that opposition to NATO had to be coupled with the demand that the Warsaw Pact be dismantled. Under cover of his theory of what he calls "exterminism" — an idealist, not a materialist, view of the roots of the danger of nuclear holocaust — he and his followers remain silent or virtually silent on the imperialist war drive, including in Central America.

## Anticommunist slanders

Thompson has recently added two new ingredients to his program. First, he has charged those who don't agree with his anticommunist line with being "sleepwalkers" who are falling into a Soviet trap. "The Western peace movement," writes Thompson, "derives its strength precisely from its political independence, its 'unacceptable' demands upon both blocs. If it should sleepwalk into a state of dependency in accordance with the Soviet game plan, its support could fall away as rapidly as it arose. The movement could be painted into an ugly pro-Soviet corner."

Echoing anticommunist slanders against groups such as the World Peace Council that have been floated recently by the FBI and right-wing groups, Thompson has denounced recent Soviet diplomatic initiatives seeking



reductions in nuclear missiles. He accuses Soviet leaders and their "friends in the World Peace Council [of] trying, in an old-fashioned, 1950-ish way, to split our movement and bring it under Soviet hegemony." Thompson's course, were it to be followed by antimissile activists, would lead them into a bloc with the most right-wing and reactionary forces in an anti-Soviet alliance — an anti-Andropov united front, if you will.

A second new element in Thompson's crusade is the idea that the fight against the imperialist nuclear arms buildup in Western Europe must be linked to the fight against political repression in the workers states of Eastern Europe. Of course, he doesn't propose such a link with the fight against repression closer to London — like in Ireland. The reactionary nature of Thompson's stance is indicated by his assertion that "the twinned international efforts for peace and freedom are more undermined by the jailing of a dissident in Prague or Moscow than by the sack of a Guatemalan village."

In Thompson's view, the fight for peace does not start from the fight against imperialist wars, like the war in Central America, but from linking the antimissile movement in capitalist Europe and the United States with the demand for the unilateral nuclear disarmament of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

We disagree with Thompson on each and every strategic point. First, there will never be a progressive movement in the Soviet Union or any of the Eastern European workers states that calls for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. It will never happen. The working class of the Soviet Union, and of the other workers states, has too high a level of political consciousness and too good a memory of the past 65 years of history to demand the nuclear disarmament of the Soviet workers state in the face of imperialism's nuclear arsenal.

Second, there is nothing progressive about any anti-Andropov united front. Not a thing.

Third, unlike Thompson, we take a positive stance toward Moscow's latest diplomatic and political moves around the negotiations over missiles. Andropov's offer to reduce the number of Soviet missiles in Europe to the present NATO levels, if Washington will agree not to introduce new missiles, strikes a blow at the U.S. plan to place the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. It helps push Washington back and strengthens the hand of the opponents of the imperialist missile program. It is a positive initiative.

#### Working-class axis vs. 'third camp' view

Fourth, a working-class axis in the fight against imperialist war is incompatible with the strategy of the "third-camp" advocates. We know from our own experiences that you can't have a serious discussion with a co-worker in industry about the war drive without the question of the workers states coming up. You get into this with every serious working person who is trying to think through where the class interests of workers lie in the international conflicts between the workers states and imperialism. These questions exist in the minds of a layer of our coworkers, people who read our press, activists in the Black movement, people we are working with in the committees in solidarity with the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. They come up at union meetings where discussions take place about the war in El Salvador.

You can't have a serious political discussion about El Salvador without having a discussion about the Cuban workers state. You just can't do it. Will El Salvador become "another Cuba"? Well, you can say something along the lines of, "That is not up to us. They will decide their future, and our job is to let them have the freedom to choose their own social system."

That is true as far as it goes. But it doesn't go far enough. Because everybody knows that what the Salvadoran revolutionaries are fighting for is to become "another Cuba." That doesn't mean they are copying the Cuban revolution. Every revolution has its own unique course of development, its own pace, its own dynamic, its own national characteristics. But that doesn't alter the fact that the Salvadoran revolution is going in the same direction as the Cuban revolution has traveled. If it succeeds, the system of class exploitation and imperialist domination will be overthrown in El Salvador, just like in Cuba. They will make a socialist revolution. The workers and peasants will rule.

Does that mean, then, that if the FMLN triumphs El Salvador will become an ally of the Soviet Union? Yes. If the revolution succeeds, El Salvador will develop relations with the Soviet workers state, just as Nicaragua and Grenada have done. We're for that, and the closer the relations the better. Otherwise they'll be crushed by imperialism.

This is what divides us from the so-called third camp advocates. This is what divides every revolutionary-minded worker in this country from the "doves" in Congress who don't want to see any more "Cuba-model states" in this hemisphere and will go to war to prevent it if they can. This is why, at bottom, you cannot defend the Salvadoran revolution, the Grenadian revolution, the



Militant/Ellen Haywood

Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara discussed common interest of workers in his country with U.S. workers at women coal miners conference (above), as well as at meetings of Black organizations and many trade unions during his tour.

Nicaraguan revolution, the Cuban revolution, — and the revolutionary perspective for the United States — if you don't politically defend the Soviet Union against imperialism.

#### Strategic orientation in the United States

What is the framework for our work in the United States in solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean? How can revolutionists within the United States best advance the fight against imperialist war?

Our starting point is that the fight against imperialist war is not separate from, or outside of, the framework of class politics in this country. There can be no meaningful antiwar perspective that is separate from or counterposed to the fight to advance the working-class struggle.

Our fight against U.S. intervention in Central America is based on a strategic orientation to the working class and the oppressed nationalities. This means consistently working to involve them and their organizations in the fight against U.S. intervention and consistently explaining that their interests coincide with the interests of the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean. It also means trying to win to this perspective those activists with whom we work who are seriously thinking through questions of policy and strategy.

When we discussed this perspective at our last National Committee meeting, six months ago, we stressed two political conclusions. First, that the fight against imperialist war in Central America and the Caribbean is crucial to the fight of the exploited and the oppressed for their own interests in this country. That is, the fight for Black rights will be set back unless it is linked to the fight against the imperialist war policy of the ruling class. The battle for women's rights is incompatible with support for, or silence on, the drive toward war. The struggle to defend the labor movement against the offensive of the rulers at home must include the struggle against the offensive of the rulers abroad.

Second, we concluded on the basis of our experience, and in particular the work of our members in the industrial unions, that it is possible now to orient toward building a solidarity, anti-interventionist movement that is working-class, not only in its orientation, but also to a large degree in its composition. It is possible to begin building a movement against U.S. military intervention that will be made up of workers, not to the exclusion of other layers, but as the predominant and leading force.

We stressed that the kind of movement that can be built in the 1980s will not be a repetition of the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and early 1970s. It will be different because it will be an expression of the political relations that exist today — not those of a decade or two ago.

This does not mean that our strategic orientation has changed from what it was during the Vietnam War. It remains the same. Our proletarian strategy in the fight against the Vietnam War provided the framework for our participation in the antiwar movement that developed. This was expressed in our orientation toward the GLs; our battle for mass antiwar actions that could maximize the participation of working people; our efforts to advance the fight against the war in the Black movement; our emphasis on attention to the beginnings of opportunities to involve wings of the labor movement in antiwar actions and coalitions. All of these were aspects of a proletarian policy in the fight against imperialist war. What is different today is not our strategic approach, but the greater opportunities that exist to implement it.

#### Collaboration with Salvadoran fighters

There is a related conclusion, which also flows from our strategic framework. This concerns the importance of the collaboration that is possible with the comrades from El Salvador who are living and working in this country and with the different organizations that make up the FMLN. This is important because it is the Salvadoran fighters who have taken the lead in organizing the international solidarity campaign of which we are a part. This

collaboration is also important for us because it is part of a broader process of deepening our ties with fellow revolutionists in other countries, with whom we have much in common, and from whom we can continue to learn as we share ideas and experiences.

As the *Militant* has been reporting, there are discussions among the revolutionary groups in the FMLN on a broad series of tactical and strategic questions of the Salvadoran revolution. It is natural that different groups in the United States that are in solidarity with the struggle of the people of El Salvador will have varying views on many of the questions being discussed within the FMLN. But we reject any idea that strategy or tactics in the solidarity movement here can be derived from agreement with one or another of the forces inside the FMLN. We reject the idea of picking one grouping in the FMLN to make a bloc with and then choosing tactics in this country that serve that bloc.

Our approach is just the opposite. We have a clear line and perspective, and we collaborate on an equal basis with every organization, nationally and internationally, that is willing to work in this direction. We choose our line of march and work objectively with everyone who is ready to march in the same direction. We have worked, and we will continue to work, with each of the five groups in the FMLN, collaborating in the activities and projects where we are in agreement.

We believe this is the necessary approach for all forces in the movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador. United opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America should not be held hostage to differing estimates of particular currents or positions within the FMLN. Nor should different assessments of those currents determine strategy and tactics in the solidarity movement in the United States. Those can only be determined by an objective evaluation of the possibilities for educating, organizing, and mobilizing the people of the United States to oppose imperialism's course in Central America.

This also means that, while collaboration with the Salvadoran organizations is important, it can't take the place of developing the leadership of the fight against U.S. intervention from within this country. That has to be done here, by people whose political framework is the class struggle in the United States. This leadership, and the organizational forms that it will take, will come out of the dynamic of the struggle here. There is nowhere else it can come from.

#### Where we stand today

This is the general approach we adopted six months ago. Everything that has been accomplished in the time since then confirms its correctness. This perspective is not embodied in any single organizational form; there is no single committee or coalition that exists on a national basis that advances this political approach. That still is in the future. At present, necessarily, the forms of our work vary considerably from city to city and from time to time. We are and will be responding to initiatives that take a variety of forms, many of them on an ad hoc basis.

This fact in itself is a sign of the relationship of forces that exists and of the objective situation in which we work. It would be suicidal for us to try to find a shortcut, to try to create artificially some organizational form. We cannot leap over the limits imposed by our own relatively small size in relation to other organized forces in this country, including our political opponents. Nor can we ignore the obstacles presented by the divisions that persist among the Salvadoran revolutionary groups, which get reflected and even magnified in the solidarity movement here. As the process of unification of the FMLN deepens, ways will be found to solve these problems. But that process can't be bypassed.

Most important, we cannot leap over the objective stage of the U.S. intervention itself. We should remind ourselves that when the first national demonstration against the U.S. war in Vietnam took place in 1965, there were 23,000 GLs fighting in Vietnam. They had been fighting for several years. Three hundred U.S. soldiers

Continued on next page



Continued from preceding page

had died; more than 1,000 had been wounded. Bodies of American soldiers were being shipped back in coffins; the wounded were returning.

Today there are 55 U.S. advisers on the ground in El Salvador. The war against Nicaragua is being waged without — so far — the commitment of American combat troops.

This does not mean that no mass struggles against the imperialist war will develop until 23,000 GIs are in combat in Central America — just the opposite is the case. But it does mean that what we are doing now is preparing for the bigger class battles over this war that are down the road. We are explaining, educating, assembling the most conscious forces.

We are preparing for what we — and a growing number of others — understand is coming. And what is coming is both an escalation of Washington's imperialist war in Central America and the intensification of the class battles over that war policy in the United States. Those battles here will be right at the heart of the deepening of the class struggle in this country.

## Tijuana conference and Molina Lara tour

This is the necessary framework to fully appreciate the importance of the solidarity initiatives that have been taken, and in which we have been involved. Two of the most important of these are the Tijuana conference sponsored by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and the speaking tour of Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the Salvadoran trade union movement.

The importance of the first conference in Tijuana, held last October, centers on the political perspective that the conference put forward for the United States. The line projected at Tijuana coincides with our line: to orient the fight against the imperialist war toward the U.S. labor movement and toward the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. This is the potential source of power for a movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. Not lobbying "good" Democrats, not canvassing in the elections for liberals.

The first Tijuana conference was a preliminary step toward bringing into being an organization in the United States that would project here the line and activities of the World Front. This would be a substantial step forward. This perspective will be advanced again at a second Tijuana conference, which will be held over the July 4th weekend. The indications are that this conference will be larger and representative of broader forces than were at the first conference.

A second important initiative that we have been involved in has been the tour of Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of FENASTRAS, the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions. This has put our estimate of what is possible in the labor movement to the test. And it has proven that this perspective is realistic. It has proven this not just to us — most of us didn't need to be convinced — but to others as well. It has helped convince activists in the solidarity movement, fellow trade union fighters, and Salvadoran revolutionists that this perspective is realistic. It has shown that a Salvadoran fighter, a representative of a revolutionary trade union, gets a favorable response within broad sections of the U.S. labor movement.

This tour has been the most successful, and the most important, solidarity activity carried out in the last six months. This is recognized not just by us, but by many forces, including a number of those who initially responded in a sectarian manner to the tour. Broad support from the labor movement and endorsements from a number of groups active in the solidarity movement have helped turn the tour into a genuine united-front activity. Many leaders and local chapters of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador participated in the tour. In San Francisco the local chapter of the U.S. Peace Council invited Molina Lara to address the organization. Chapters of the NAACP have participated, as have the National Black Independent Political Party and other Black organizations.

Most important, the tour came at a time when the debate on Central America is heating up within the organized labor movement, and Molina Lara was able to help deepen that debate and advance that discussion. The attempts by Lane Kirkland and other prowar bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO to exclude Molina Lara — and the discussion on El Salvador — from the official labor movement were beaten back. Their goal was not only to exclude Molina Lara from the labor movement, but even more important, to exclude the issue of the imperialist war from debate by official labor bodies. They claim that this is not a legitimate question to be discussed, voted on, and decided by local union bodies. On foreign policy questions, Kirkland maintains, the labor movement must follow the bipartisan policy of the Democrats and Republicans.

One of the major gains of the Molina Lara tour has been the popularization of the idea that labor needs its own foreign policy — that the interests of working people in the United States, as Molina Lara explained over and over, lie, not with a war against the working



Militant/Lou Howort

Fight against imperialist war in Central America and Caribbean is an integral part of class struggle in this country, and crucial to the fight of exploited and oppressed here.

people of Central America and the Caribbean, but in the direction of solidarity with their struggles.

Of course, this message sent right-wingers in the labor movement up the wall. The top bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO reacted to the growing official union support for the tour with phone calls to local AFL-CIO officials "warning" against Molina Lara. The AFL-CIO chiefs sent orders down to their flunkies not to have anything to do with Molina Lara. They began spreading the same kind of disinformation and slanders that we have heard time and again from the FBI. They denounced Molina Lara as a "terrorist." They claimed he was guilty of kidnapping a Japanese businessman in San Salvador who was later murdered. They claimed that since FENASTRAS isn't "officially" recognized by the AFL-CIO, it somehow isn't a bona fide union — as though the AFL-CIO bureaucrats can tell the Salvadoran workers who their union leaders should be!

When the phone calls didn't do the trick, Kirkland sent out an official decree from Washington: local labor councils must not invite speakers on foreign policy questions without first calling Washington for clearance.

This was a move from weakness, not strength. And it was a bad tactical misreading of what Kirkland could get away with. Most important, although it gave some people who didn't want to have anything to do with Molina Lara anyway an excuse, it did not stop the tour. Much to Kirkland's discomfort, he began getting letters back from local officials, saying, "No, we don't agree with this." Others openly defied Kirkland's commandment.

One letter to Kirkland came from a vice-president of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, Andrew Stern, who is also president of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, one of the biggest state affiliates of the Service Employees International Union.

"As an ardent believer in the trade union movement in Poland, and what it represents for the rights of workers to speak freely about what they believe," wrote Stern, "I am disturbed that we would attempt to try to limit discussion at trade union meetings in our great democratic country. Although it is important that no AFL-CIO central body take a position contrary to the AFL-CIO, I think it is imperative that the exchange of free ideas occur in a free society."

"Although I disagree with some of the points made by different representatives that I have heard about many issues, I always believe that they have the right to speak out. Your letter of March 24, 1983, potentially would inhibit that right, and I do not think that it would serve the best interests of the AFL-CIO."

There was also a public protest by the leaders of the AFL-CIO county affiliates in Northern California. They met and decided to tell Kirkland they were not going to go along with his attempts to put Molina Lara on the proscribed list. They announced they were going ahead with support to his tour, and they did so.

So the net result of Kirkland's efforts was not to silence opposition within the AFL-CIO to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, but to escalate the debate and discussion.

We should also note that while Molina Lara's tour has been oriented primarily to the labor movement, it has also begun to reach out beyond that, to allies of the labor movement. Important meetings have been sponsored by the NAACP and the National Black Independent Political Party. Some initial moves have been made toward the women's liberation movement, including a few meetings with the Coalition of Labor Union Women and an initial visit by Molina Lara to a regional meeting of the National

Organization for Women, where he was well received. There was also a meeting with a few working farmers in Minnesota — an important first step.

The tour by Molina Lara is pointing the way toward wider efforts to bring the message of the Salvadoran liberation fighters to working people here. Another Salvadoran leader, Guadalupe González, who heads the information office of the FMLN and Revolutionary Democratic Front in the United States, toured the St. Louis area recently. This tour, arranged in collaboration with the local solidarity committee, enabled González to speak to a meeting of a local of the United Mine Workers, to speak to the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and to meet with local labor officials. The success of the tour had a positive political impact on the solidarity committee in St. Louis, showing in practice what can be accomplished and demonstrating again the possibilities and the importance of the perspective being implemented through the Molina Lara tour and related activities.

## Strengthening our work in industry

The heart of our perspective in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America is to deepen the understanding and willingness to act against that intervention within the labor movement and within the organizations of labor's allies. In doing this, we are also strengthening the experience and self-confidence of our collective units in industry — our industrial union fractions — and strengthening the entire party. The solidarity campaign we have been carrying out has been part of building and establishing our political tendency in industry, in the labor movement. The coworkers who have come to hear Molina Lara; or watch a slide show on a trip to Grenada; or hear a report on Nicaragua from fellow unionists who just visited there; or take out a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* or the *Militant* so they can follow the news from El Salvador — these people are potentially part of a Marxist tendency in the unions. The sustained political campaign we have carried out across the country is helping to expand the layer of fellow workers who look to our comrades, who work with us on a range of questions, who are interested in probing more deeply the political ideas we raise on a range of issues.

And as we carry out this work — which we will be doing more of in the future — we are also showing by example, in practice, the way forward for everyone who is serious about the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America.

The stakes for imperialism and for the world revolution in Central America are immense. The fight against U.S. military intervention there is going to be prolonged, and it is going to be part of the intensification of class battles inside this country. It is important to place what we have accomplished — and what we are trying to accomplish — in the right framework. This fight is just beginning. It is just starting. The rulers are preparing for a large-scale war in Central America, and the most conscious workers are preparing for the fight against that war. Serious people are beginning to understand that this is a fight that is not going to be won easily.

As this war deepens — which it must — as the intervention deepens, as Reagan makes more war speeches, as the imperialists drive toward sending U.S. troops to stop the advance of the revolution, the development of the fight against war will become more and more closely tied to the development of the class struggle inside the United States. Our orientation is aimed at helping to bring forward the class forces that can frustrate the rulers' aims in Central America and at home.



# World War I, revolution, and fight for a new International

Continued from ISR/5

cow gathering analyzed and refuted the fundamental political line of the reformists. The positions adopted at the Bern conference, it was explained, were based upon false premises. The reformists purported to uphold "democracy in general" against "dictatorship in general." In doing so they failed to pose the question of the class interests involved, and that made a mockery of hard-earned working-class experience generalized in Marxist theory.

## Proletarian dictatorship and democracy

"Democracy in general" did not exist in any capitalist nation. What existed was a democratic or republican form of capitalist dictatorship. Therefore, political support to bourgeois-democratic regimes under cover of talk about "democracy in general" amounted to denial of the proletariat's right to make a revolution to advance its own class interests. To compound the felony, this criminal policy was followed at a historic juncture when massive revolutionary upsurges were developing.

The reformist posture against "dictatorship in general" was equally groundless. Here again, the question had to be examined concretely in class terms. A bourgeois dictatorship — no matter what governmental form it took — forcibly suppressed resistance to capitalist rule by the toiling masses constituting the vast majority of society. The dictatorship of the proletariat, in sharp contrast, used the soviet system to put down resistance to social change by the capitalists and landowners who were a tiny minority of the population. While defending the socialist revolution against its enemies, the proletarian dictatorship — as the Russian example demonstrated — proceeded to construct new democratic forms and institutions of society in harmony with the new property relations.

"It follows," the congress resolution on this question explained, "that the proletarian dictatorship must inevitably entail not only a change in democratic forms and institutions, generally speaking, but precisely such a change as provides an unparalleled extension of the actual enjoyment of democracy by those oppressed by capitalism — the toiling classes."

A historic leap was thereby taken beyond bourgeois parliamentarism. The soviets provided democratic instruments for the toiling masses to displace the bureaucratic structure of capitalist rule and to function as popular organs of government helping to foster mass participation in running the country. The foundation of the new state was constituted by industrial workers and agricultural laborers, together with poor peasants who did not exploit the labor of others, and semiproletarian peasants who had to sell at least part of their own labor-power. The new state acted solely in the interests of these formerly oppressed classes.

It is these classes, the resolution explained, "who even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, while possessing equal rights by law, have in fact been debarred by thousands of devices and subterfuges from participation in political life and enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties, that are now drawn into constant and unflinching, moreover, decisive, participation in the democratic administration of the state."

This historic trend, the congress stressed, could now be extended into European countries where revolutionary situations had developed. Soviets were being created by the masses in those countries. Although the militant workers who had stepped forward to lead them were acting without fully clarified perspectives, "because they have been trained in the spirit of the parliamentary system and amid bourgeois prejudices," they were trying to emulate the example set by Soviet Russia.

In those situations, the Marxist cadres on the scene had

several urgent tasks. They should help spread the organization of soviets in industry and the armed forces. Emphasis should also be placed in all countries upon extension of the soviet movement in the countryside among farm laborers and poor peasants. These were crucial allied forces of the revolution, especially since the bourgeois counterrevolution would seek to mobilize the rich peasants and sections of the middle peasants against the industrial proletariat. Spreading the soviet system to the countryside was key to forging a solid worker-peasant alliance. The Russian revolution had proven the centrality of this question.

Along this line, the Marxists should strive to win a solid revolutionary majority away from the reformist and centrist misleaders within the soviets. Only in that way could the exploited toilers be firmly oriented toward the conquest of power and the masses guided onto the strategic course needed to attain that objective.

## Struggle of oppressed nations

The new Communist International also charted a firm revolutionary course of unconditional support for the struggles of oppressed nations and minority nationalities against imperialism. This position, advanced by the Bolsheviks, was shared by very few in the Second International. In fact, outright racism, chauvinism, and rationalization for colonialism prevailed in substantial parts of the social democratic movement. These reactionary tendencies were accentuated by the right-wing majority's support for their governments' annexationist and colonialist aims in World War I.

Even in the revolutionary left wing, most socialists aside from the Bolsheviks tended to deny the importance of democratic struggles for self-determination, both those by oppressed peoples in the colonies and inside the boundaries of the oppressor nations themselves. Rather than recognizing the national and colonial struggle as a form of the class struggle that the proletarian party must champion, give leadership to, and incorporate into its program and strategy, these revolutionists reduced the question to the general economic and political struggle between labor and capital.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks, for example, polemicized with Rosa Luxemburg on this question. Luxemburg and other Polish revolutionists considered the fight for the right to national self-determination to be a diversion from proletarian internationalism and from the fight to unite workers of all nations in the struggle against capitalist rule. Lenin replied that, to the contrary, only by recognizing in words and deeds the equality of all nations and nationalities could workers of the oppressor nations ever deserve the trust and establish a lasting alliance with workers and other toilers of the oppressed nations, who make up the vast majority of humanity.

The left wing of the socialist movement in the United States also failed to understand this question. It had no revolutionary approach to the struggle of the oppressed Black masses and made no special efforts to win Blacks to the communist movement. Correcting this fundamental weakness in the early American communist movement, without which a revolutionary proletarian party could not be built in the United States, was a high priority for the Bolshevik leaders in relations with their U.S. comrades in the new International.

Although the national question was dealt with most fully at the second and fourth congresses of the Communist International, the Bolsheviks' position on the right to self-determination and the struggle against national and colonial oppression was forcefully affirmed in the manifesto issued by the founding congress in 1919.

While there were no substantial political debates on the broad political perspectives put forward at the first con-

gress, an important difference did arise over the organization question. The dispute — which involved party-building concepts — began around matters of timing in setting up a world communist organization. The proposal to take the step immediately was opposed by the delegate representing the German Communist Party, who argued from the strategic viewpoint that had been held by Luxemburg.

A definitive break with workers still adhering to the old Social Democratic parties would be premature, he contended. This was manifested by the absence of west European revolutionists from the congress. In that area the proletariat had not matured sufficiently in revolutionary outlook. Spontaneous upsurges of struggle were not occurring on the scale needed to build mass revolutionary parties, and no means existed whereby proletarian action could be coordinated throughout the major capitalist countries of Europe. For those reasons the congress should limit itself to adoption of a provisional program — one that defined the necessary goals and methods of achieving them. This program could then be used to test the potential for mass revolutionary parties on a Europe-wide scale and establish the foundations upon which they could subsequently unite in an international formation.

Other delegates took the floor to refute the contentions of the German party's representative. Several key factors, they replied, militated in favor of establishing a new International at once. The workers had taken power in Russia. Massive revolutionary upsurges had developed in central and eastern Europe, and the Communist parties in the countries involved already provided the nucleus of the leadership for a Marxist world movement.

There was also another urgent consideration to be taken into account. If the proletariat was to emerge victorious in the existing revolutionary situations, the closest possible collaboration had to be established among the vanguard parties involved. For that purpose the national parties needed to unite as sections of an international organization. A medium would thus be provided to function as a common fighting body, with national considerations subordinated to the needs and interests of the world working class; to shape a collective leadership on an international plane; and in the process to develop a politically homogeneous program and practice.

When the question was called, the congress voted to launch the new world movement then and there, with the German delegate abstaining. It was officially named the Communist International. In popular usage thereafter, this organization also became known as the Comintern and the Third International.

## 'La operacion'

Continued from ISR/12

land's people. Thus U.S. officials urge reduction of the population by encouraging migration to the United States and by imposing limits on family size.

After 50 years of this policy, Puerto Rico remains poor and exploited. The cause must be sought somewhere else.

"La operacion" explodes the myth that the Puerto Rican sterilization program is a "voluntary" one, which women participate in for the advantages of smaller families and for the good of their nation.

Like all women, they are faced with the objective need for control over whether to have children. When they have a job they want to keep or an education to pursue, or when they can't afford another child right now, they come up against the combined pressure of the government, the church hierarchy, the bosses, and the family-planning organizations to "choose" sterilization.

On top of all that, many of the women interviewed in the film were never told that la operacion was not reversible, or that other forms of birth control were available. Doctors often recommend sterilization to a woman immediately after childbirth, when she is physically and emotionally exhausted.

Sterilization abuse like this is also on the rise in the United States, directed at Blacks, Latinas, and Native Americans, as well as poor white women. The director of the Puerto Rican family planning agency in the 1970s, Antonio Silva, is now the head of Obstetrics and Gynecology in Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx and has brought his enthusiasm for sterilization with him. The hospital has been the target of community protests against involuntary and uninformed sterilizations.

The bosses preach population control and sterilization when they want to pass off poverty and unemployment as the fault of individual workers and their families, instead of the capitalist system.

The fight against sterilization abuse is an important one. It is part of the battle over whether the state or women will control our bodies.

The film is available in Spanish and English versions from: La Operación, P.O. Box 735, Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 864-6564.

## Further Reading

### Revolutionary Continuity

*Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922*

By Farrell Dobbs, 243 pp. This second volume of the series will go on sale at the Socialist conference held in Ohio in August for the special price of \$5. Militant readers who won't be able to attend the conference can take advantage of this special offer by ordering prior to July 31. Shipment will be made in mid-August.

### Revolutionary Continuity

*Marxist Leadership in the U.S.: The Early Years, 1848-1917*

By Farrell Dobbs, 221 pp. \$5.45.

### Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International

By V.I. Lenin, 176 pp. \$4.45.

### Second Congress of the Communist International

Vol. 1, 331 pp.; Vol. 2, 331 pp.; \$6.95 per volume.

### The First Five Years of the Communist International

By Leon Trotsky, Vol. 1, 374 pp.; Vol. 2, 384 pp.; \$6.95 per volume.

### Against Imperialist War

By V.I. Lenin, 365 pp., \$2.45.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling. Many selections are also available at local Militant bookstores listed on page 27.



## 'La operacion': U.S. sterilization of Puerto Rican women

*La Operación.* A film produced by Ana María García.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

According to a study done in 1970, one-third of all Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age have been sterilized. Unlike other forms of birth control, sterilization is not reversible.

Sterilization is the centerpiece of a program of population control for Puerto Rico promoted and subsidized by the U.S. government, which has ruled the island as a colony since 1898.

The sterilization operation is so common that it is referred to by Puerto Ricans simply as *la operación*.

Ana María García, who researched and produced the documentary, "*La Operación*," has done a remarkable job of exploring the sterilization program both as an indi-

### FILM REVIEW

vidual tragedy for women and as a social crime perpetrated by U.S. imperialism. The film, which won third prize in the documentary category at the Latin American Film Festival held in Havana in 1982, traces the history of *la operación* in Puerto Rico through newsreels, cartoons, interviews with officials involved in implementing the program, and through the testimony of women of all ages who have been sterilized.

The basic point is made in the film's opening sequence in an interview with pediatrician Dr. Helen Rodríguez. Rodríguez explains that birth control is a right that all women should have. Population control is a government policy to control women's fertility and is a violation of women's right to control their own bodies.

This is poignantly illustrated by interviews with women who have had *la operación* but who later wanted children. Instead of the freedom that comes with access to birth control and abortion — the freedom to decide not only whether but when to have children — these women have been forced to give up their fertility completely.

The sterilization program dates from the mid-1930s, when the U.S. governor of Puerto Rico decreed Law 136, which legalized birth control, including sterilization, but kept abortion illegal. Since that time sterilization has been energetically promoted, first by private family-planning organizations, which could count on government support, and later beginning in 1974 by the government itself.

The powerful catholic church hierarchy on the island has had a policy of condemning and campaigning against



birth control and abortion, but turning a blind eye to sterilization. This effectively puts the church's muscle behind the government's sterilization program.

Private industry has also been cooperative with the sterilization program. In an interview in the film, the head of the family planning program points out that this is in the bosses' interest, since it saves on maternity benefits and since the productivity of a woman worker on maternity leave is zero.

The sterilization policy in Puerto Rico is rooted directly in U.S. imperialist exploitation of the island and its people. Puerto Rico's poverty is the creation of the U.S. monopolies, which have driven the Puerto Rican people

off of their land, exploited them as a cheap labor force, and distorted their economy by establishing industries that produce for the U.S. market, provide few jobs, pollute the island's air and water, and yield huge profits which go directly into the pockets of the capitalists on the mainland.

The brutal and racist sterilization program is part of this colonial domination. The U.S. government usurps the right of Puerto Rican women to decide for themselves whether to have children. The justification is, Puerto Rico has a "population problem." That's why the island is so poor, not because the U.S. corporations have no intention of providing jobs or a decent living for the is-

Continued on ISR/11

## 'Alsino and the Condor': keep your eyes on your destination

*Alsino and the Condor.* Written and directed by Miguel Littin. Nominated for Academy Award, best foreign film. Produced by the Nicaraguan Film Institute, the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry, the Latin American Production of Mexico, and the Costa Rican Cinematographic Cooperative. A Libra 5 Films release. In Spanish with English subtitles.

BY BRENDA BRDAR

"Don't look down, look into the distance."

Alsino, (played by Alan Esquivel), is the peasant boy and narrator of Nicaragua's first feature length commercial film, *Alsino and the Condor*. He offers this advice to his friend Lucia while both are high up in the branches of a massive gnarled tree.

Alsino wants to fly, on his own, like the birds. His vision is for himself, and the people of his country, who are

### FILM REVIEW

struggling to free themselves from a savage regime, armed and advised by the United States.

Look into the distance — keep your eyes on your destination.

The story is one of present day Central America. The Condor is the name of a U.S. helicopter, piloted by a U.S. adviser also known as the Condor. But clearly, the Condor is also the U.S. government.

The peasants of the country are being slaughtered by an army trained and advised by the United States, and commanded by men like the drunken, degenerate Col. Garin.

Operation "Preventive Medicine" was meant to be a quick evacuation of the peasants from guerrilla strongholds. The U.S. strategy was to isolate the guerrillas from the population, and thereby contain the spreading revolution.

"We learned our lesson," the U.S. adviser claims, referring to Vietnam. "This action ain't gonna' take long."

But as in Vietnam, the U.S. plans are foiled by a people determined to free themselves. "It's an army of old men, women, and girls," the Condor comes to recognize.

And so the government's army rounds up groups of peasants, massacres them, and torches the bodies or leaves the river strewn with them, heads bobbing above the water.

Alsino witnesses several instances of this brutality.

As the repression and fighting intensifies, Alsino becomes more and more aware. Although his first desire is to fly, as his grandfather sailed the seas, this yearning merges with his people's struggle, and becomes a symbol of it.

When Alsino does try to fly from his tree, he falls to the ground, injuring his back. Until the end of the movie, he walks crouched over and is called "Hunchback."

He wanders around the lush countryside and the villages for a while. Here unexpected elements are mingled with the realities of everyday life and revolution, to produce a sometimes surrealistic and even comical effect. Alsino wanders across an outdoor circus being guarded by government soldiers, for example. And he passes a religious procession, which ends its journey by leaving

"Jesus" stranded on his cross, as the bombs rain down.

Soon, Alsino makes a decision. "The people are angry and moving like a swelling river," he says. So "I left to follow Manuel," the guerrilla fighter from his village, he explains.

Upon encountering a young freedom fighter, he asks for Manuel. "Here we are all called Manuel," says the young guerrilla.

The film reaches a crescendo, after Manuel has been killed. The United States and its native allies are becoming more frantic and brutal. Even the government's own army base is bombed by U.S. pilots.

Saturation bombing is answered by the guerrilla's anti-aircraft gunfire. The planes are shot down, and the peasants and guerrillas meet in a joyous celebration, red-and-black flags waving in victory.

The Condor, itself, is downed. Aflame, it crashes into the tree from which Alsino has "flown." The magnificent tree holds the dwarfed helicopter and its dead pilot. The Condor has been defeated.

"What's your name?" a teenaged guerrilla asks Alsino. The boy, grinning, now pulls himself erect, raises his rifle, and replies, "Me llamo Manuel." "My name is Manuel."

This is a film inspired and created by the new Nicaragua. The exiled Chilean director, Miguel Littin, has made a film which captures the beauty of Central America — both the land and the people. It's a moving story told by a boy, the future of Central America. A boy who wants to fly like the birds. A boy who becomes a revolutionary fighter, and soars high with his people's victory.

*Alsino and the Condor* whispers its message gently, yet with fervor: the people of Central America will defeat the Condor.



# Coal miner wins Pennsylvania ballot fight

BY BETSY FARLEY

WASHINGTON, Pa. — A victory for the right of working-class candidates to run for office was won here July 1 when two Democratic Party office-seekers withdrew their challenges to the nominating petitions of Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for commissioner of Washington County.

Mickells is a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Her supporters turned in nominating petitions with 1,200 signatures — 622 are required — to put her on the ballot in the November election.

On June 7, four days after the legal deadline for challenges, Frank Mascara, an incumbent commissioner, and Metro Petrosky, county clerk of courts, filed objections to Mickells' nominating petitions. Both Democrats are candidates for commissioners.

They claimed the socialist's petitions contained invalid and fraudulently obtained signatures and fell short of the required 622.

Mascara told the media, "We should not expect our voters to accept less than legitimate candidates." Mickells' being on the ballot, he piously said, "is a slap in the face and a question of the sanctity of the ballot."

The Republicans were also upset that Mickells would be on the ballot, although they did not join in the formal objections to her candidacy. One Republican, businessman Charles Chattaway, explained that Mickells "could cost me votes in November."

After the Democratic candidates filed their objections, however, the presiding judge, Charles Sweet, didn't think they had a case, and they withdrew the challenge.

Mickells told the *Militant* the withdrawal of the challenge "constitutes a victory for the democratic and political rights of the workers and farmers of Washington County."

It vindicated, she said, "the expressed desire of the 1,200 Washington County residents who signed my nomination papers to see a legitimate working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on the ballot."

She charged that the slanders by Petrosky and Mascara were "intended to create a chilling, 'you-can't-fight-city-hall' atmosphere to discourage working people from exercising their right to full participation in the electoral process."

She added, "Such dirty tricks are the last resort of the two political parties, which daily are losing their credibility in the eyes of the people who count in Washington County — the workers and farmers."

More than 500 people signed a protest statement demanding that Mickells' name be placed on the November ballot.

Mickells explained in an open letter, which her supporters and she distributed by the thousands to workers at plant gates, mine portals, and elsewhere, that the Democrats were trying to keep her off the ballot because their program is only more of the same — the capitalists' war-austerity drive against working people.

"Their only solution on a national

## Ballot Battle No Surprise, Socialist Candidate Says

By ANN CARNAHAN

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, like Rodney Dangerfield, say they don't get any respect — at least from Washington County politicians.

Their ideas for improving this world appear almost hieroglyphic to a county that has rarely heard anything but Democratic and Republican philosophies, the Socialists say. Kathleen Mickells, a candidate for Washington County commissioner on the Socialist ticket, said the opposition to her candidacy — in the form of a move to keep her name off the ballot — is no surprise.

She is the first SWP candidate to run for political office in Washington County. The struggles her party have experienced here, she said, are blueprints of those experienced by SWP office seekers everywhere.

"Run as a campaign is always a struggle for the SWP," she said.

received more ink in newspapers than on election petitions.

Their philosophies, often incorrectly equated with those of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, focus on the rights of laborers and include the belief that private businesses should control ownership of land, factories and other basic means of production.

"The laborers should be controlling this country," said the 32-year-old Washington woman. "We make and control everything. We create the steel and the automobiles, but we don't make the decisions."

If elected, Ms. Mickells said she would fight for a society based on teamwork and brotherhood rather than competition and self-interest.

"I would be on the picket lines with the United Mine Workers and the California teachers instead of sitting inside with Democratic board members filing injunctions."



Kathleen Mickells reviews petitions from county residents.

son, treasurer of the party's campaign committee. "It's not an accident."

In December, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down an Ohio law which required contributors to the SWP party — and all other political parties — to be reported to the federal government.

"Because of our party's long history of harassment, the court agreed that our supporters need protection," Davison said, noting that it was the SWP that took the case to the high court. "This was a victory for labor parties everywhere."

Davison said there are about 1,500 registered SWP voters in this country. SWP candidates collected 100,000 votes in various elections nationwide last year.

The party has appeared on presidential election ballots in 26 states and, in recent years, gubernatorial elections in several states.

**June 26 Pittsburgh Press story on ballot fight by Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Washington County commissioner. Workers were angered by Democrats' attempts to keep her off November ballot.**

scale," she wrote, "is to daily escalate a new Vietnam in Central America." The program of the big-business politicians, she went on, "is to send working-class youth, who are unemployed and without a future in Washington County, to fight and die in Central America for the corporate bosses who shut down factories and wring concessions from us here."

Mickells reported that many workers reading the open letter — especially those in unemployment lines — were disgusted with the corruption, back-room deals, lies, and deceptions of the capitalist candidates.

"Many asked me," she said, "how I could accomplish anything in the mire of the dirty politics of the two big-business parties."

"I explained to them that a working-class representative would be different," she said. "When corporations like U.S. Steel or Mesta Machine demand concessions from workers or threaten to close plants, a

workers' representative would demand that they open their books to thorough public inspection."

She would use her office, she said, "to tell the truth about and build solidarity with the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions, where workers and farmers are freeing themselves from the chains of the U.S. corporations and government."

She would help mobilize the workers and farmers of Washington County, she said, "against the U.S. war on the people of El Salvador, through taking part in demonstrations like the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom."

And unlike the Democratic Party officials, who slapped huge fines on teachers in California, Pennsylvania, and jailed their union president last year, she said a working-class representative would have walked the picket lines with the teachers and helped build support for their strike.

On June 18, the Western Pennsylvania

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee held a rally in Pittsburgh to protest the attempt to rule Mickells off the ballot and to announce the socialist slate of candidates for Allegheny County offices.

Running for Allegheny County commissioner are Al Duncan, a machinist and member of the UMW currently on strike against Dowty Corp., and Gail Skidmore, a laid-off steelworker.

Candidates for Pittsburgh City Council are Al Luft, a laid-off warehouseman and Teamster; Ginny Hildebrand, a laid-off coal miner; Betsy Farley, a sewing machine operator and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Kipp Dawson, a miner and UMW member.

The Allegheny County socialist candidates have all been certified for the November ballot.

The 50 people attending the rally contributed \$1,000 to aid the campaign effort.

## Boston school plan threatens busing

BY DON GUREWITZ

BOSTON — Eloise Linger, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston, charged that a new plan for reorganizing this city's schools would sharply curtail busing for desegregation.

Linger noted that the plan proposes eliminating 17 of 23 magnet schools, which have special academic programs and which are an integral part of the desegregation program here.

She also said that busing of students would be cut by half or more under the plan. Currently, about half of the 26,000 students now in the magnet schools ride buses to and from them. Many are Black.

Linger said the Educational Planning Group (EPG), which came up with the proposals, was controlled by the three-person white, liberal majority on the Boston School Committee.

"The EPG was boycotted by the two Black members of the School Committee,"

she said, "and they have announced their opposition to the plan."

Also opposing the proposal, she said, was Thomas Atkins, the NAACP attorney for the parents who brought the suit originally challenging the city's discrimination against Blacks in the school system.

"In the 1970s," she pointed out, "Boston was the scene of the most important battles for school desegregation in the country. Through tremendous struggle and sacrifice, the Black community battered down the doors of segregation."

But for the past several years, she continued, "the racist Democratic Party, which controls city government here, has been doing everything in its power to undermine, subvert, and roll back desegregation."

Desegregation, she said, is in the interests of all working people. Studies show both Black and white students' education improves in integrated schools, she noted.

"In a society in which neighborhoods are divided, as they are in this country, by race and class, busing is the only immediate step that can be taken against segregated schools," she said.

But of the nine announced candidates for mayor, she said, "I'm the only one aggressively defending busing and demanding an end to the sabotage of school desegregation by the racist authorities."

"I'm also the only candidate urging the Boston Teachers Union to drop its lawsuit against affirmative action in hiring and layoffs. That affirmative action program was won as part of the desegregation plan in Boston."

Her opponents in the race "all call for 'unity,'" she said, "but here 'unity' is a code word that means 'The fight for school desegregation and for Black rights is what has divided Boston and caused all our problems.'"

"The unity we need," she went on, "is unity of working people to defend desegregation and busing."

Linger also noted that the Election Board of the city has not responded to a written request from her asking them to guarantee that signatures of newly registered voters on candidates' nominating petitions will be validated.

"Boston is in the midst of a voter registration drive in the Black community called 'Operation Big Vote,'" she said. "To not count these signatures would be a racist denial of the rights of thousands of newly registered Black voters."

If they validate the signatures at all, the board has told Linger, they won't do it until after they have validated the signatures of long-registered voters.

As of July 12, Linger's supporters had turned in nominating petitions with the names of 10,200 voters on them, far more than the 3,000 required of each candidate in the September election. She was the third candidate to submit signatures to the Election Department.

But the Election Department is telling reporters the socialists don't have enough valid signatures, and by July 12 Linger's right to be on the ballot had received much media attention.

## Puerto Rico: major base for U.S. intervention

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — Puerto Rico today fairly bristles with U.S. arms, and right now they are pointed toward Central America and the Caribbean, warns a leading activist for the island's decolonization.

"This military situation, I believe, is priority number one for our struggle right now," Wilma Reverón, director of the International Information Office for the Independence of Puerto Rico at the UN, told an audience here July 8. "It is the issue we need to inform people about."

"Puerto Rico is the main U.S. outpost in the Caribbean. El Salvador may win, Nicaragua may stop the U.S.-backed invasion, Cuba may last for another 20 years. But they will always and eternally be menaced by the U.S. presence in Puerto Rico."

Describing this menace to the meeting, which was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, Reverón listed:

- The largest U.S. radar installation in the world, at Arecibo.

- Roosevelt Roads naval station, NATO's Western Hemisphere command center, where 162 ships, 500 planes, and 5,000 nuclear bombs stand poised and ready.

- A sophisticated naval communications center at Sabana Seca.

Also in the works, she noted, are plans to:

- Reactivate Ramey Air Force base, until 1973 the Caribbean headquarters of the U.S. Strategic Air Command.

- Move the School of the Americas, a counterinsurgency training center now located in Panama, to Puerto Rico.

All this, Reverón said, points to "a strategy to supermilitarize Puerto Rico."

If the island is used as a jumping-off point for any U.S. intervention, she continued, it won't be the first time. "Puerto Rico has been the launching ground for almost all of the 52 U.S. interventions in Latin America, including the invasions of Nicaragua in 1934, Cuba at the Bay of Pigs

in 1961, and the Dominican Republic in 1965."

One effect of the U.S. occupation, which includes 10,000 troops, has been to supermilitarize life itself in Puerto Rico. El Yunque rain forest, ostensibly a vacation spot, has been used for Agent Orange experiments and counterinsurgency maneuvers. The offshore island of Vieques serves as a bull's eye for naval gunnery exercises.

Further, said Reverón, "Puerto Ricans are continually bombarded by pro-U.S. propaganda." Almost all the media is U.S.-owned and heavily staffed by right-wing Cubans drawn from the island's exile population of 40,000. "They are the announcers on the TV news programs, they are the editors of the major daily newspapers."

The occupation occurs against the backdrop of what Reverón called "a bleak economic picture" created by U.S. corporations.

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# Grenada's Prime Minister Bishop speaks to U.S. workers

## Part II of N.Y. rally address: revolution and democracy

### Introduction

Below is Part II of the June 5 speech by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, given at Hunter College in New York City.

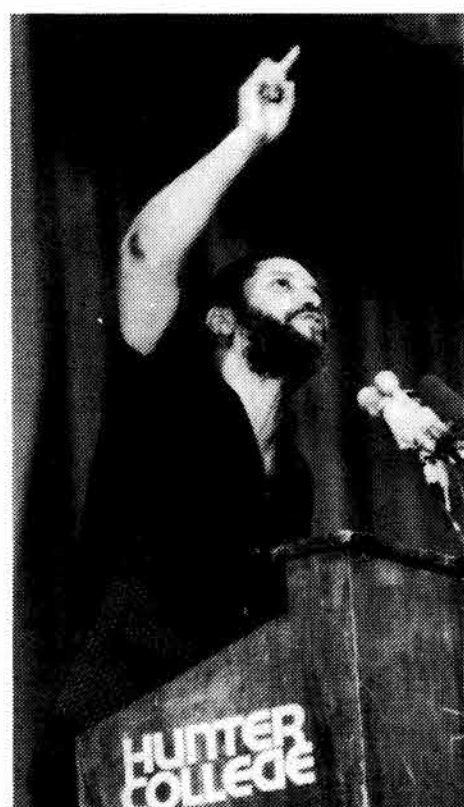
In Part I, printed in last week's *Militant*, Bishop explained the objectives of his 10-day tour of the United States last month: to share with people here the experiences of the four years since the Grenadian people overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship in their country; to strengthen people-to-people relations and deepen ties with supporters of the revolution in the United States; and to try once again to establish an official dialogue with the U.S. government.

Bishop then detailed the problems forced on Third World countries by the economic crisis of world imperialism.

Despite this, he continued, Grenada has made substantial progress in the last four years, beginning with an economic growth over that period of more than 15 percent. Unemployment has been reduced from 49 percent in 1979 to 14.2 percent in 1982. Grenadians enjoy free health care. Illiteracy has been reduced to 2 percent and a major campaign is underway to promote adult education. Special programs have been established to aid Grenadians in repairing their houses.

In Part III of the speech, which will appear next week, Bishop discusses three reasons why Grenada maintains warm, fraternal relations with Cuba: that Cuba is part of the Caribbean family of nations, that Grenada is a nonaligned country and chooses its own friends, and that the Grenadian people admire and respect the internationalism and achievements of the Cuban people. He concludes his speech with a story about U.S. claims that Grenada's airport, now under construction to boost tourism, is really a military base. He invites everyone to be on one of the many inaugural flights next March that will mark the completion of the airport along with the 5th anniversary of the revolution.

In the conclusion of last week's segment of the speech, Bishop explained that when people attack their revolution — on the grounds of human rights or that it poses a threat to the "national security" of other countries — "our people understand that is foolishness. The real reason for all of this hostility is because some perceive that what is happening in Grenada can lay the basis for a new socioeconomic and political path of development."



Militant/Lou Howort  
Maurice Bishop in New York, June 5.



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

Grenadians on the 1st anniversary of revolution. "A secret report to the State Department said that with a population of predominantly African origin, the Grenada revolution can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States. That aspect of the report, clearly, is one of the most sensible."

### Maurice Bishop

They give all kinds of reasons and excuses — some of them credible, some utter rubbish. We saw an interesting one recently in a secret report to the State Department. I want to tell you about that one, so you can reflect on it. That secret report made this point: that the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse — I'm using their language — than the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions because the people

once. They couldn't even wait for him to be formally inaugurated.

Allende did not form a militia. Allende did not grab any land or property. Allende had no political detainees. Allende did not crush the press. He did not close down the parliament. He did not suspend the constitution. He played by every rule they wrote. But they killed him still.

These people understand very well that a revolution means a new situation. A revolution implies a fracture. It implies a break with the past. It implies disruption of a

deal with them. I am not passing judgment on any of these three models.

The Grenada revolution did not have the appetite for any of those three models. So we took what we say was the humanitarian course. We detained them and treated them well.

And you know it is highly significant that of the 400 to 500 people picked up by our masses on revolution day, on the 13th of March, not one of these Mongoose Gang\* elements arrived in the jail with even a scratch on them. And the only reason that happened is because our people at home understand the principled position that a revolution takes on no revenge, no victimization, no torture, no illtreatment of anyone, regardless of what they have done. It is because our people understood this, something that very often happens in all revolutions — the spontaneous upheaval of the masses — did not really happen in Grenada.

A church-based organization in Washington called EPICA wrote a book last year on Grenada. They called it, *Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution*. We can understand why.

### A revolution must survive

So when these elements come and make these statements we understand only too well where they are coming from. Because they understand that the processes and procedures for review are ongoing procedures. They understand that in Grenada no one is ever interfered with for what he says. No one is ever interfered with for what he writes. In fact, today criticism is deeper than ever in the society in a constructive way.

Our people also understand that the first law of the revolution is that a revolution must survive, must consolidate so more benefits can come to them.

And because of this fact, the revolution has laid down as a law, that nobody, regardless of who you are, will be allowed to be involved in any activity surrounding the overthrow of the government by the use of armed violence. And anyone who moves in that direction will be ruthlessly crushed. [Applause]

But we also feel, sisters and brothers, that the time has come for us to make another step along the way toward institutionalizing the process that we have been building for four years. And that is why only yesterday in Grenada the new chairman of the constitutional commission arrived in our capital city, St. George's, from Trinidad and Tobago, to announce the formation of the constitutional commission that has now undertaken the task of drafting a new constitution for our young revolution.

This constitution is not really going to look like the one that the queen gave us in

“Our people understand that the first law of the revolution is that a revolution must survive, must consolidate so more benefits can come to them . . .”

of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada speak English, and therefore can communicate directly with the people of the United States. [Applause]

I can see from your applause, sisters and brothers, that you agree with the report. But I want to tell you what that same report said that also made us very dangerous. That is that the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada are predominantly Black. [Applause] They said that 95 percent of our population is Black — and they had the correct statistic — and if we have 95 percent of predominantly African origin in our country, then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States. [Applause] Now that aspect of the report, clearly, is one of the most sensible.

But, sisters and brothers, how do we evaluate other sides of the report? Like when they say that Grenada violates human rights. When they say to us, how come you have detainees, what about the press, what about elections? When they say to us, Where are your elections?, they don't turn around at the same time and say to their friends in South Africa, where are your elections? [Applause]

### Salvador Allende of Chile

When they say to us that elections must be held, and if you don't have elections you can't expect support, and unless you have elections we can't give you the normal treatment, we say: Salvador Allende of Chile. [Applause] Salvador Allende of Chile was elected in September 1970 by the people of Chile. Allende did not take power through a revolution. Within 24 hours of his election, Richard Nixon, [Henry] Kissinger, and [Richard] Helms sat down and devised their plan, "Operation Make the Economy Scream." And even in the first three months after Allende was elected, before he was inaugurated as president, they already tried to kill Allende

temporary character. Revolution means that the abuses and excesses of the violent, reactionary, and disruptive minority have to be crushed so that the majority's interests can prevail. [Applause]

No revolution that does not have a dislocation can be called revolution. That is an impossibility. When the British had their revolution in the 1650s, it took them 200 years to call their first election. When the Americans had their revolution in 1776, it took them 13 years to call their election.

In the first week of the American revolution, 100,000 fled to Canada. Thousands were locked up without charge or trial. Hundreds were shot. And the counter-revolutionaries after the American revolution had no right to vote. They had no right to teach. They had no right to preach. They had no right to a job. Their land was confiscated without payment.

### Revolution was no tea party

So when the falsifiers of history try to pretend that the American revolution was a Boston tea party — it was a very bloody tea party.

The fact of the matter is, sisters and brothers — if we are to be honest about this question — whenever revolution comes, the same questions face the leaders of the revolution. One question always is: what do you do with the bloody-minded murderers, the criminals, the ones who propped up the dictatorship. The ones who led to disappearances of our people. The ones who were beating the people, who were killing the people.

Revolutions answer that question in different ways. Some people take them out in the streets, line them up, and shoot them down. That is one answer. Some other people pretend that they went into the bush, and while they were in the bush as guerrillas, they shoot them down too. Some other people create special courts to

\*The Mongoose Gang was a band of thugs organized and under the control of Grenada's former dictator Eric Gairy.



1974. That constitution as we remember was one of the main reasons for the struggles of '73 and '74, when so many of us were beaten and jailed. When our families and compatriots were being murdered, one of the main reasons for that struggle was because our people were saying we wanted to be involved in the process of drafting the new constitution. And Gairy did not allow us that right. And the queen of England could have stayed in Buckingham Palace, put it in an envelope, put a stamp on it, and posted it to Gairy. That was the total involvement of Grenada in that constitution.

#### Our people have input

This time around, the constitution is going to come out of the bowels of our people and out of our earth. Our people will have their input and will decide what they want to see go into that constitution. This time around, the constitution will not just entrench empty rights, but will entrench rights and also provide remedies for enforcement of those rights.

Chapter 1 of our present constitution has 12 freedoms, fundamental freedoms. But anytime those rights are infringed and you go before the courts to see if you can do something about that: first of all you can only go by way of a constitutional motion. Secondly, that means you can only go in the high court, not the magistrate's court, which of course means money. And thirdly, once you reach the high court,

“Because of the new laws and new environment in the country so many women have begun to step forward, to assert themselves, to go out and find new jobs, and to get fully involved in production . . .”

even if the judge agrees with you and you win your case, the most the judge can give you is what they call a declaratory order, which declares your rights.

Now when you bring your declaratory order to the government, you then discover another maxim of the law. You cannot enforce against the Crown. In other words, you have a paper judgment in your hands that you can do nothing with.

We are going to want to put rights into the constitution, rights which can be enforced in a way that the people can themselves manage, and rights which, once the remedies are provided, will in fact be allowed by our government. A constitution with real teeth.

Our new constitution also is certainly going to institutionalize and entrench the systems of popular democracy which we have been building over these past four years in our country. Apart from the usual national elections, which will of course be there too, we are going to ensure that these embryonic organs of popular democracy continue to have a place.

Because to us, democracy is much, much more than just an election. To us, democracy is a great deal more than just the right to put an X next to Tweedledum or Tweedledee every five years.

The second principle of democracy for us is responsibilities. So the elected officials must at all times ensure that the mandate they are carrying out, if mandate it is, is the mandate the people want. And part of that responsibility means that the right to recall those we elect must be entrenched.

#### No presidents-for-life

We don't believe in Grenada in presidents-for-life or elected-people-for-life. We believe in service for life. And when you stop serving, you must be recalled and get out of the way for somebody else to serve.



Grenadian Government Information Service  
Grenadian women demonstrating in defense of revolution on eve of 4th anniversary. Through the National Women's Organization, "women are able to experience training in democracy, self-rule, and in acquiring a new confidence." Gains for women have included the enactment of equal pay, maternity leave, and sexual harassment laws.

The third principle of democracy is participating mechanisms, popular participation. We accept the well-known definition of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln said of democracy that it is government of, for, and by the people. I accept that, it's a good definition. But if it is government of, for, and by the people, then it cannot be just government of the people you elect. It also has to be for the people and it also has to be by them. They have to have a way of participating — that is what the word "by" means. And if that is absent, you don't really have a democracy.

So we are saying we need to have mechanisms that ensure that the people have a way of giving expression to their own feelings and concerns.

In some of the more developed, indus-

But I know that for the people of Grenada, at this stage in our history, Westminster parliamentary democracy is really Westminster parliamentary hypocrisy. [Applause]

#### Mass organizations

We believe that it is very important for the people to have a voice in running their affairs. One way is the creation of mass organizations of our people: the National Women's Organization, the National Youth Organization, the farmers union, and, of course, the labor unions.

Before the revolution, Gairy had passed a law in 1978, the Essential Services Act, which took away the right to strike from the workers of our country. We not only repealed that law, but instead we passed a new law, Recognition of Trade Unions Law, under which anytime in any work place 51 percent of the workers indicate that they want to form or to join a union of their choice, that union must be recognized by the employer.

Not only were the women of our country without work before the revolution, the women of our country were also the most harassed and victimized of any section of our population. Those few who were granted jobs from time to time, many of them were given those jobs only on the basis of a sexual favor. Our women were being sexually exploited in return for jobs.

The very first decree of the revolution was to outlaw sexual victimization and exploitation of our women in return for jobs. [Applause]

And going on from that, sisters and brothers, the revolution then passed a law, which applied to all workers in the public sector, of equal pay for equal work for all women. We also then passed another law more recently, a maternity-leave law. And by this maternity-leave law every woman who is pregnant must be granted three months maternity leave — two months full pay and one could be without full pay — and a guarantee of return to employment after the pregnancy.

It is because of these laws and because

of the new environment in the country that so many women have begun to step forward, have begun to assert themselves, have begun to go out and find new jobs, have begun to get fully involved in production. And that is why so many of them have joined their mass organization, so that today, at this point in time, one in every three adult women over the age of 16 years is a member of the National Women's Organization.

#### Women acquire confidence

And in this organization, the women are able to experience training in democracy, training in self-rule, training in acquiring a new confidence. Once every two months they hold their parish meetings. They are also broken up into groups around the country where, among other things, they conduct political education and provide training opportunities.

Once in every two years at their congress, all the women have the opportunity of electing delegates. For six months before the congress, they have the opportunity to discuss the new program for the next two years. And then on the day of the congress, they elect their entire new leadership by a secret ballot.

So, within our mass organizations the principle of electorality is already entrenched. And for the people in general, there have been organs of popular democracy that have been built — zonal councils, parish councils, worker-parish councils, farmer councils — where the people come together from month to month. The usual agenda will be a report on programs taking place in the village.

Then there will be a report, usually by some senior member of the bureaucracy. It might be the manager of the Central Water Commission. Or it might be the manager of the telephone company or the electricity company. Or it might be the chief sanitary inspector, or the senior price-control inspector. And this senior bureaucrat has to go there and report to the people on his area of work, and then be submitted to a ques-

Continued on Page 24

### LITERATURE ON GRENADA

**Forward Ever! Speeches of Maurice Bishop** — 287 pp., \$6.95

**Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean** — by Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley, 35 pp., \$0.95

**The Grenada Revolution at Work** by W. Richard Jacobs, 15 pp., \$0.50

**Grenada: A Workers' and Farmers' Government** — 36 pp., \$1.75

**Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution** by the EPICA Task Force 132 pp., \$4.95

Order from **Pathfinder Press**, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 Please include \$0.75 for postage and handling.

### Bishop speech concludes next week

Next week the *Militant* will print Part III of Maurice Bishop's speech.

With the accompanying subscription blank, new readers can be assured that they receive all three parts of the speech as part of an introductory subscription.

The speech is certain to be of interest to the many unionists that the *Militant* is sold to on regular plant-gate sales. It will be welcomed by Central America solidarity and antiwar activists, by Grenadian nationals and other Caribbeans, and by the Black community as a whole.

We can expect that many people will be interested in helping distribute these three issues of the *Militant*. Some bookstores and community centers may want to take consignments as well.

Readers are encouraged to order bundles of the *Militant* by calling (212) 929-3486 or sending in the coupon. Single copies can be picked up at any bookstore listed on page 27.

- ☐ Start my subscription with Part III of the Maurice Bishop speech, or,
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  - ☐ \$3 for 12 weeks ☐ \$15 for 6 months
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A thing of joy — "My guess would be that most pharmaceutical companies have a [research] program for genital herpes. . . . The



Harry Ring

key reason for that effort is clear: the current herpes epidemic presents a rare opportunity in the drug business — a potentially booming new market with potentially

booming profits." — A Wall Street analyst.

**From the belly of the beast?** — "Teheran, Iran (Reuters) — Animals at the Teheran zoo have received a seven-year supply of food — frozen meat from storerooms at the captured United States Embassy."

**Details, details** — Back in 1981, Nancy Reagan was presented with a \$3,850 gold evening purse by the wife of an Italian government official. Such official foreign gifts are the property of the government and prompt disclosure is legally required. The Reagans

reported this one two years late. A spokesperson explained the purse mistakenly got mixed in with domestic gifts, which the Reagans can keep.

**Then why is life so cheap?** — They used to say the human body included a couple of dollars worth of chemicals. But, according to the *New England Journal of Medicine*, the average body contains nearly \$150,000 worth of such items as cholesterol, hemoglobin, albumin, and myoglobin.

**Shrinking swindle sheet** — The chairman of Xerox now flies coach on domestic flights. Digital

Equipment will not pick up the tab for drinks employees order with food on the road. Some companies are insisting their execs take discount flights and rent compact cars. A Hertz official observed, "In every downturn in the economy, the companies become more sophisticated."

**Sorry, no vacancy** — We reported recently that Marshall Field's, the prestigious Chicago department store, was looking for a new prez — a half million a year, plus proportionate fringe benefits. Well, the job's been filled by Philip Miller, president

of our favorite knick-knack store, Neiman-Marcus of Dallas. They're the ones who offer items like "his and hers" backyard roller coasters.

**It figures** — UN General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar met with the World Press Freedom Committee to discuss their common opposition to moves by Third World countries to cope with loaded reporting in the capitalist media. The "press freedom" committee included the heads of AP and UPI plus the major U.S. publishing associations. Reporters were barred from the meeting.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**How We Can Win Jobs, Peace, and Freedom.** Socialist Workers campaign public meeting. Speakers: Sonja Franeta, candidate for mayor of Birmingham; Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party; Debbie Marshall, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., July 16, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**Israel's War Against the Palestinian People.** Speakers: Dr. Ruth La Monte and Jamil Talhouk, Coalition for Peace and Justice in the Middle East; Lea Sherman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Campaign Open House and Celebration of Successful Petitioning Drive.** Speakers: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco; Mel Mason, 1982 SWP candidate for governor of California. Translation to Spanish. Sun., July 24, 4 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Pat Wright for Mayor Committee. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

#### San Jose

**Celebration of the Nicaraguan and Cuban Revolutions.** Speakers: representative, Cuba Resource Center; Nick Allen, coauthor of *What Difference Could A Revolution Make?*; Pedro Noguera, Grenada Solidarity Committee; Rosa Rivera, founding member of Salvadoran teachers union; Dave Bacon, United Electrical Organizing Committee. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 22, 7 p.m. Faculty Lounge, San Jose City College. Donation: \$2. Ausp: San Jose July 26 Coalition. For more information call (408) 297-1971.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Al Horsley's Victory: How to Fight Racist Frame-ups.** Speakers: Rev. William Bell, Calvary Baptist Church; Rev. Ron Robinson, Shawnee Presbyterian Church; Al Horsley; John Michael Brown, defense attorney for Horsley. Sat., July 16, 7 p.m. Calvary Baptist Church, 1368 S 28th St. Ausp: Al Horsley Defense Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Hear George Harrison.** Irish activist and one

of the recently acquitted "Freedom Five." Sun., July 17, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Roots of Women's Oppression.** Two classes by Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 1) Origins of Women's Oppression, 1 p.m. 2) Struggle for Women's Rights, 3:30 p.m. Refreshments and music, 7:30 p.m. Sat., July 23, 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2.50 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Women and the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., July 24, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

#### Virginia

**U.S. Steps Up War in Nicaragua.** Talk and slide show by David Salner, recently returned from Nicaragua, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 22, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Iron Range Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Adapt or Die** A documentary about the struggle of Black workers in South Africa to organize unions. Tues., July 19, 5:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal, off Broadway). Ausp: Militant Bookstore Summer Film Series. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Protest the U.S. War Against Nicaragua.** March and rally. Sat., July 16, 12 noon. Gather at Herald Square, 34th St. and Avenue of the Americas. Rally at 2 p.m. at Union Square, 14th Street. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 741-0633, 243-2678, or 242-1040.

**Celebrate the 4th Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution.** The Revolutionary Dance of the Summer — Direct from Nicaragua: Grupo Pancasan. Sat., July 16, 9 p.m. Martin Luther King Center Auditorium, Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199, 310 W. 43rd St. (near Eighth Ave.) Donation: \$10. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

**Picnic in Central Park to Celebrate the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Nicaraguan food, games, and fun. Grupo Pancasan. Sun., July 17, 12 p.m. to 6 p.m. 88th St. and Central Park. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

### Schenectady

**Nicaragua Eyewitness Report: What Happens When Workers and Farmers Run Their Own Country.** Slideshow and presentation by Héctor Carrión, member of Young Socialist Alliance recently returned from Nicaragua. Fri., July 22, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Defend School Desegregation and Busing: Money for Education, Not for War.** Campaign kick-off and Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore. Speakers: Tamar Rosenfeld and Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidates for Board of Education. Sat., July 16; open house with food and refreshments, 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. (near E. 152nd St.). Donation accepted. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1983 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Harrisburg

**Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Doug Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; others. Sat., July 23, 6 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party '83 Campaign. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

#### Philadelphia

**The Approaching War in the Middle East: U.S., Israel Attempt to Split the Palestine Liberation Organization.** Speakers: Peter Link, Young Socialist Alliance; Tom Barry, Center for Peace and Justice in the Middle East. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 16, 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

#### Pittsburgh

**Lucia.** Cuban film with English subtitles portraying lives of Cuban women in three different generations. Sat., July 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland, rm. 18. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Disinvestment, Export of Capital, and Job Loss in Mon Valley: A Discussion.** Speakers:

Bob Warfield, Tri-State Conference on Steel; Doug Hord, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland, rm. 18. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Affirmative Action: Its Past, Present, and Future.** Speakers: Bob Pitts, NAACP; Ronnie Zuhlke, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers; others. Fri., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland, rm. 18. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### San Antonio

The Militant Forum series will be temporarily suspended while the Socialist Workers Party moves into new offices at 2811 Guadalupe St. For more information call (512) 432-7394.

### UTAH

#### Provo

**The Fight for Political Asylum: Meet Héctor Marroquín.** Wed., July 20, 7:30 p.m. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

#### Salt Lake City

**The Fight for Political Asylum: Meet Héctor Marroquín.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Gordon Ottley, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 104; Arturo Lowrie, president, Centro Civico Mexicano; E.K. Hunt, chair, Economics Department at University of Utah. Thurs., July 21; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; piano by Gordon Ottley, 9 p.m. Central City Multi-Purpose Center, 615 S 300 E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**An Evening in Solidarity With the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Herb Pawless, director, American Indian Movement; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 16; Cuban dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W. Greenfield. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Bishop speaks to U.S. workers

Continued from Page 23

tion-and-answer session. And after that, one of the top leaders in our country, one of us will also attend those meetings, and ourselves give a report, and usually there is question and answer time at the end of that also.

In this way, our people from day to day and week to week, are participating in helping to run the affairs of their country. And this is not just an abstract matter of principle. It has also brought practical, concrete benefits to our people.

I remember a worker-parish council in August 1981. The workers were in a real storm that night. They were complaining about the [private] bus drivers. And they were saying that the problem with the bus service is that all six or seven buses pass at the same time on the same route. Which, by the way, is true, because they are speeding and trying to catch all the passengers. And these bus drivers have been the most difficult people to organize. You could sit down and talk until you're blue in the face

about the need for routes and the need for schedules. So the people were complaining that night and they said it had resulted very often in them reaching work late.

And there was a second complaint. They were saying that because of the half price for the schoolchildren, the bus drivers were refusing to pick up their children, so the children had to walk to school in the rain or the sun. So they insisted and demanded that we get some buses to start a public bus service.

Now that is August '81. The financial year is already eight months gone. The budget has been set. But because of the pressure and the demands, we were forced to go and find money wherever we could and buy 26 new buses to start a public transport service for the people. [Applause]

So this concept of democracy and our approach to human rights is one that has stressed solving these problems and the involvement of our people in a participatory way from day to day and week to week.

(To be continued)

## From Pathfinder

### Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

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





# Shanker buys Reagan's divide-and-conquer ploy

BY NANCY COLE

Ronald Reagan brazenly practiced the time-worn tactic of divide-and-conquer at the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in Los Angeles earlier this month.

And from all reports, AFT President Albert Shanker swallowed it hook, line, and sinker.

U.S. teachers have become the convenient scapegoat for all the ills of an educational system long ignored by this government (which has more important projects to spend our money on, like wars in Central America).

## AS I SEE IT

Teachers need all the unity they can muster to take this assault on. Yet Shanker chose to escalate the AFT's factional warfare with the nation's other teachers union, the National Education Association (NEA).

Reagan asked to speak to the AFT convention, and Shanker obliged, explaining he couldn't reject a request from the president. Shanker had to warn delegates the day before Reagan appeared not to boo or heckle the president, and as Reagan got up to speak, about 150 teachers walked out.

Reagan spent the biggest chunk of his speech praising the AFT and attacking the NEA. He pointed to some of the most reactionary of the AFT's stands on education.

"The AFT believes in stricter discipline codes in school, including provisions to remove students who have histories of repeated disruptive behavior. So do I.

"The AFT supports many aspects of this administration's bilingual education legislation which favors local autonomy."

Then Reagan moved in for the kill, commending the AFT "for its ringing condemnation of those organizations who would exploit teaching positions and manipulate curriculum for propaganda purposes. On this last issue, you stand in bright contrast to those who have prompted curriculum guides that seem to be more aimed at frightening and brainwashing American schoolchildren than at fostering learning and stimulating balanced, intelligent debate."

Reagan was referring to two curriculums produced by the NEA, one on the Ku Klux Klan and the other on nuclear weapons.

Reagan avoided mentioning his support for tuition tax credits for parents sending their children to private schools, which the AFT opposes. His brief mention of merit pay for teachers brought some boos from the AFT delegates, although Shanker has made it quite clear that the AFT may be open to some kind of merit-pay plan.

Reagan's goal was to shove the wedge deeper between the AFT and NEA in order to make the escalating attacks on teachers rights and public education easier.

According to news reports, Shanker said the union was helped in its battle with the NEA because Reagan praised the AFT and denounced its rival.

The AFT, he said, is getting "some powerful allies... allies who can make a difference" in the attempts to get "quality education in America."

Shanker added that "having the President of the United States go across the country talking about the needs of education is a plus for education and for our union."

What a pathetic response to the serious drive under way against teachers and students. When Reagan whips up a campaign to justify educational cutbacks and attacks on teacher rights that's a "minus" for education and for the AFT. When he denounces the NEA, it's an attack on



Shanker, Reagan find common platform: against National Education Association, bilingual education, anti-Klan curriculum.

unions in general, whether the AFT officialdom chooses to recognize it or not.

The future of our schools depends on the unity of teachers and the entire labor movement in a fight to defend and improve public education — with more federal funding, expanded desegregated education, and higher pay for all teachers, not a handpicked few.

These are the "powerful allies" that the AFT needs. Not Reagan and not the Democrats who are antilabor and have voted for all of his cutbacks in education.

# Puerto Rico: major base for U.S. intervention

Continued from Page 21

rations, who also have their way with the island.

"Our economy was never developed to respond to our needs. We consume what we do not produce, we produce what we do not consume. We import 80 percent of what we eat." Industries such as petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals come to Puerto Rico seeking tax breaks and lax environmental laws, and leave behind a ravaged landscape and an unofficial jobless rate of about 45 percent.

"Faced with this, many Puerto Ricans

are pushed into choosing migration or service with the armed forces."

Still, Reveron asserted, "if you ask any Puerto Rican on the street, 'Do you think it's right that we send our sons to fight against the Salvadorans and the Nicaraguans?' the immediate and unanimous response is, 'No. We should not be fighting other Latin American brothers.'"

"There is a strong spirit of Latin American identification, a spirit of nationhood, a spirit of resistance."

"Of course, it's not easy to rally people to struggle against the U.S. empire. They

look around and they see it's us against the U.S. installations and the 10,000 troops. This is where you, the American people, come into the picture."

"The U.S. can annihilate any struggle in Puerto Rico only if they can keep it quiet, only if nobody finds out about it. Therefore, our strategy has been to internationalize the struggle in Puerto Rico. We have to make sure there are people out there watching what is going on in Puerto Rico."

To this end, a demonstration has been called for September 23 in front of the UN.

Reveron is director of the committee that is organizing it.

The action will mark the 115th anniversary of the first nationalist uprising, in Lares, Puerto Rico, and demand that the case for decolonization be debated on the floor of the UN General Assembly. (The matter has been considered annually since 1972 by the UN's Special Committee on Decolonization.)

Preceding this, an August 26 conference on Puerto Rican nationalism and its international implications is slated for New York. Invited to attend are Congressman Ronald Dellums, Puerto Rican Speaker of the House Severo Colberg, and the former head of the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

Reveron said a Puerto Rican contingent for the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom in Washington, D.C., is also planned.

"Any analysis you make of Central America must include Puerto Rico," she concluded. "In the words of the Defense Department, Puerto Rico is 'the key to the Caribbean.'"

"I believe it is the moral responsibility of the U.S. people to support the decolonization of Puerto Rico, to support the transfer of powers to the people of Puerto Rico, to support our right to self-determination."

"So I make here tonight a call for a strong, staunch, and active movement in solidarity with the decolonization of Puerto Rico."

For more information on upcoming solidarity activities, contact the Lares Committee at the UN, P.O. Box 2792, New York, N.Y. 10163. Telephone: (212) 286-0924.

# UMWA reveals gov't guilt in mine disaster

Continued from Page 28

corporations like Pittston, which owns Clinchfield Coal Co.

At the McClure mine, 37 out of 40 safety violations found by MSHA inspectors since April — *virtually all the ones that investigators now believe may have contributed to the explosion* — were recorded as non-S & S, resulting in the \$20 fines.

"They were citing serious violations as nit-picking violations," said Robert Phillips, a local UMWA safety person. "They [the \$20 fines] were like a pat on the back of the hand."

Of all the violations issued by MSHA's Norton, Virginia, office this year, only 8 percent have been for serious violations — the lowest percentage in the country, and

about one-third the national average.

State mining inspectors have the power to close an unsafe mine — a power that Virginia officials admit they have not used in the past several years.

An official in the Norton office explained one reason why inspectors don't issue many S & S citations: "A lot of inspectors who go out and write an S & S citation against a company or an order [to close a mine] are then told to vacate them, to do away with them — or if they don't the officials will. They'll lean on small coal operators, but they won't touch the big ones. It's gotten to the point where many inspectors have said, 'what's the use of writing citations if you're only going to get chewed out?'"

The UMWA points to the close relation-

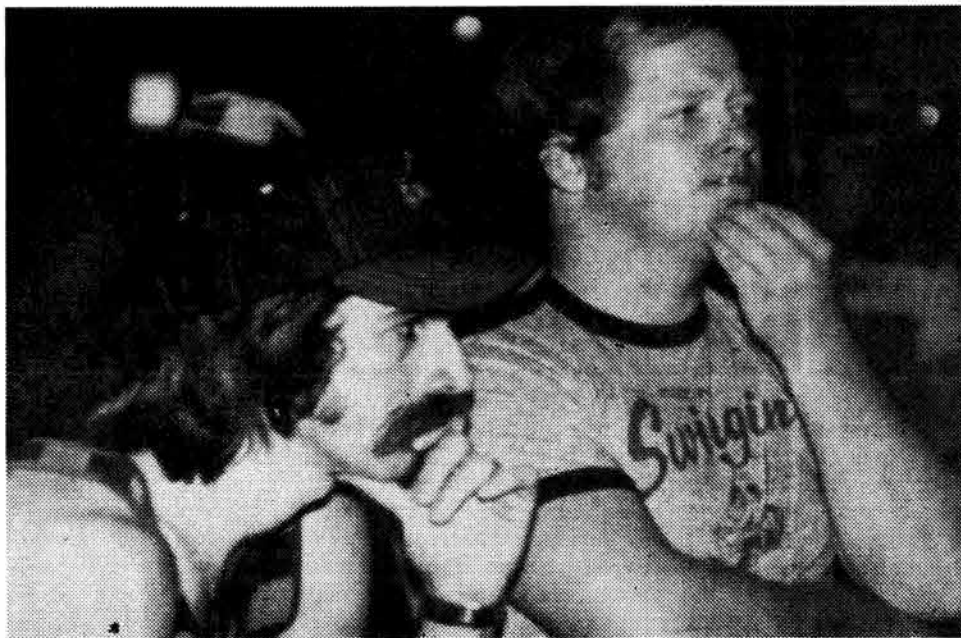
ship between Clinchfield officials and the local MSHA office as another reason that Clinchfield was treated with kid gloves.

John Crawford, Pittston's vice-president for safety, was the former MSHA administrator for coal mine safety.

Monroe West, company safety director at McClure No. 1, served until 1979 as a high-up MSHA official in the Norton office.

Harry Childress, director of the state Division of Mines and Quarries and the chief state mining inspector, was, until last year, a Clinchfield company official serving as assistant superintendent of McClure No. 1.

Childress, whose office had done its own inspection of McClure in May, found nine safety violations, none of which were classified as "imminent danger." "I didn't feel we had any major problem," said Childress.



Two coal miners watch — and wait — outside McClure No. 1 mine in Dickenson County, Virginia. Seven coal miners were killed in an explosion there. Their bodies were recovered next day.

# Sedition charges leveled against four Puerto Rican activists

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

Last week's *Militant* reported on the Chicago arrest of four Puerto Rican activists and the raid by federal, state, and local cops on a Puerto Rican cultural center and school and two alleged "terrorist safe houses." The four, Alberto Rodríguez, José Luis Rodríguez, Edwin Cortés, and Alejandrina Torres, had originally been charged with belonging to the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and with planning to commit terrorist acts over the July 4 weekend.

The New York Spanish language daily *El Diario/La Prensa* reported July 10 that they have now been formally charged with "sedition conspiracy to seek the independence of Puerto Rico." The paper noted that federal authorities "withdrew from the

list of charges all those pertaining to the possession of weapons, explosives and ammunitions because there was no evidence linking the arrested with material found in 'FALN safe houses.'"

The dropping of the weapons charges shows that the four are really on trial for their ideas. In the eyes of the U.S. government, to promote the idea of independence for Puerto Rico, a right recognized by the United Nations, is a crime. A conviction on "seditious conspiracy" can result in the accused being sentenced to 20 years in jail and to pay a \$20,000 fine, even if no illegal act had actually been carried out.

The four activists are currently being held in isolated cells, and visits and phone calls are extremely restricted.



## No to execution speed-up

On July 6, the U.S. Supreme Court approved lower court procedures that could speed up the executions of nearly 1,200 men and women on death row in this country.

On the last day before adjourning for the summer, the court decided to lift the stay of execution for 37-year-old Thomas Barefoot, despite the fact that all his appeals are not exhausted. This means that before the justices reconvene in October after their vacations, Barefoot could be dead.

Barefoot, who was to have been killed by the state of Texas last January 25, had won a reprieve just 11 hours before his scheduled execution. In April the Supreme Court heard his appeal of the decision by the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Without hearing full arguments in his case, the appeals court had rejected his request for a stay of execution and his challenge to psychiatric testimony at his trial.

Theoretically, those condemned to die have the right to appeal their cases up to the Supreme Court, as do other victims of the judicial system. But the Supreme Court majority ruled July 6 that stays of execution should not be granted automatically while the high court petition is pending. Only those with a "substantial showing" of constitutional violations should be allowed to live while their cases are appealed!

The court also upheld the legality of the psychiatric testimony that helped convict Barefoot, who was charged with the 1978 killing of a Texas policeman. Two psychiatrists — *who had never even examined Barefoot* — told the jury that he was a "sociopath" who would continue to endanger society in or out of prison.

The high court ruled in favor of the death penalty in two other cases the same day.

Since the Supreme Court upheld the death penalty in 1976, ending a decade-long moratorium on executions, seven people have been put to death. The 1,200 victims of the current execution set-up are on death row in 31 states. And the push is on to add to their numbers in other states as well.

Last year New Jersey passed a capital punishment law. Officials then spent the next eight months researching the "most humane method" to carry it out. State Assemblyman Thomas Paterniti said he "wanted to put kindness in it," so he authored a bill proposing lethal injections administered by "execution technicians."

This, he said, would encourage jurors to vote for death sentences because it would help eliminate the image of "some guy in that chair sizzling."

That image was made extremely real on April 22 in Atmore, Alabama, when 33-year-old John Louis Evans III was "tortured in the name of vengeance disguised as justice," said his attorney. After the first jolt of 1,900 volts

of electricity, according to a United Press International dispatch, Evans "slammed against the straps, fists clenched permanently, and sparks flew around his head and left leg. The leather strap on his left leg burned completely through, and the electrode fell away."

"Doctors detected a heartbeat. When [Warden] White threw the switch again, small flames licked around Evans' head and smoke streamed from his leg and the leather cap holding electrodes to his skull."

He still had a heartbeat so a third charge was administered. It wasn't until 14 minutes after the first charge that he was pronounced dead.

Nowhere is the racist and class bias of the capitalist judicial system more apparent than in the implementation of the death penalty.

A recent study of Houston's Harris County found that where a Black or Chicano was suspected of killing a white, 65 percent were tried for capital murder. But when whites were accused of killing a Black or Chicano, only 25 percent faced the death penalty.

An article in the *Harvard Law Review* reported that in Florida the odds of reaching death row for murdering a Black person were virtually zero.

Forty percent of those on death row, on the other hand, are Black.

As with any other aspect of this system, those with money get off. Those without, pay with their lives.

So those victimized by the vengeance of the capitalist judicial system are inevitably from the working class, in particular from the Black, Latino, and Native American communities.

The real purpose of the death penalty is to reinforce the racist, anti-working-class police apparatus that exists to protect the interests of those who run this country. It has nothing to do with deterring the real criminals in this society.

How many cops who kill Black youth in cold blood are even charged with a crime let alone convicted of murder? How many chemical company executives are sentenced to die for dumping the killer dioxin at sites where children play? How many Democratic and Republican politicians are punished for the guns and military training they vote for the Salvadoran regime to continue murdering its people?

The capitalist "law and order" campaign conveniently diverts attention from the corporations and their politician friends who engage in violence in this country and abroad and treat human life like a machine — if it doesn't add to profits, it's expendable.

Then they rant about "crime in the streets."

It's this capitalist system that's the real source of crime in society. The deterrent is to get rid of the system.

## 1963 call to field independent Black candidates

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The current discussion about running a Black candidate in the Democratic Party presidential primary is one part of a broader discussion among Blacks and other working people about what kind of political action can best advance their interests.

In 1963 — a year of massive mobilizations by the civil rights movement — militant Black leaders raised the need to form an independent Black "Freedom Now" party to oppose the Democrats and Republicans on a national scale beginning in the 1964 elections.

One of the strongest supporters of this idea was Black journalist William Worthy. Worthy was also an outspo-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ken supporter of the Cuban revolution. Recently, Worthy has made several visits to Iran and writes in defense of the Iranian revolution.

The Aug. 19, 1963, issue of the *Militant* printed a speech Worthy made in Cleveland about Black political action.

Worthy began, "When historians review this period of great flux and uncertain strivings for a better world, they will probably list as a turning point the present developing sentiment for Negroes to select their own candidates in the 1964 national elections."

"The prospect of Negroes striking out in meaningful independent fashion to remove their chains, instead of relying on the corrupt and dishonest two-party system just to alleviate the pressure of the chains, is certain to thrill and electrify our brothers in Africa, Asia and Latin America."

"We can more or less know if we are on the right track by the degree to which such a political move shakes up and agitates the national power structure, the local power structures and the politicians facing Negro voters in the see-saw campaign battles next year. The Kennedy brothers, looking even beyond 1964 to 'Bobby's' candidacy for the presidency in 1968, will feel constrained to make concessions to Negroes in order to meet some of the movement's immediate demands and to undercut its attraction for voters."

"Down South, the ill-paid, self-sacrificing young volunteers from SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee], who are daily risking their lives in order to register Negro voters in the worst sections of Mississippi, would gain heart. . . . To register to vote is fine. But how much more constructive, once registered, to have someone other than [Sen.] Eastland [D.-Miss.] to vote for! In New York and Connecticut, how politically productive it would be to have a choice beyond Senators Keating and Dodd — Eastland's great witch-hunting buddies and his bipartisan Siamese twins on the northern front!"

Worthy's opinion was that if Black people "launch ourselves on a 1963 path of man's attainable ideals — freedom, justice and equality for all in a classless, hate-free society — we will have an excellent chance of turning this country from her destructive, suicidal and repressive course."

"If this commentary means anything, it means a ringing, unequivocal repudiation of the exploitative and discriminatory economic system that humiliates and plunders us every day of the year. It means a total rejection of our oil imperialism in the Arab world, our dollar and banana diplomacy in Latin America, our Uncle Tom diplomacy and neo-colonialism in Africa, our million-dollar-a-day dirty war in South Vietnam, our involvement through the CIA in the murder of Patrice Lumumba and other freedom fighters. Any program holding hope for our liberation struggle within the U.S. must link our struggle to all of the freedom and independence movements in the economically underdeveloped countries."

Worthy cautioned against any idea that a brand new Black party would meet with instant success at the polls. Worthy thought that "1964 should therefore be regarded as the year for uniting and educating all militant forces in the Black community."

Worthy also warned that "With the intention of destroying the moral foundations of a challenging new political force, the bi-partisan enemy will send his dark-skinned agents into our camp in 1964 and advise us to trim our program, scale down our demands, and support such-and-such 'liberal' candidates, on the tempting grounds that 'they can win.'"

However, Worthy said, "To get anywhere, we must make a clean break with the cold-war liberals, white or Black. They offer us an electoral choice between a Democratic Lucifer — cuddled up in the Party bed with the Dixiecrats — and Republican Satan. Both Lucifer and Satan are consciously or unconsciously committed to racism, a class society and; if necessary, nuclear war to perpetuate these values closest to their hearts."

## Imports fight: dead end for unions

Top U.S. union officials are waging a war against imports.

"The British are coming!" warns a slick Madison Avenue advertising campaign financed by the United Steelworkers of America in an effort to keep out British steel.

Officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a union that includes many immigrants who have themselves come here seeking work, point the finger of blame for the deteriorating conditions of their membership, not at the garment bosses, but rather at foreign imports.

These are but two examples. The list goes on in other industries and unions.

This protectionist, anti-imports drive is a growing danger to the genuine interests of the labor movement. It should be opposed by every worker who seeks to strengthen the unions in the battle with the employers.

Imports are not the cause of the crisis facing working people. No matter what the trade policies of the U.S. government, workers suffer unemployment, inflation, race and sex discrimination, and war. The problem facing workers is capitalism.

The anti-imports campaign is intended to obscure that fact. At the center of the protectionism that is advocated by top union officials is the idea that the interests of the working class coincide with the interests of the employers and their government.

Behind the anti-imports campaign is the proposal that we cooperate with "our" company to "save jobs"; that we work with "our" government against the trade policies of other countries.

While the anti-imports drive is led publicly by union officials, it is, in fact, a tool of the employers. It is a further example of the way in which the trade union bureaucracy speaks for the capitalist class inside the workers movement.

The trade union tops support capitalism and believe it should be maintained.

However, these officials are under increasing pressure from angry workers to do something about saving jobs — or at least give the impression that they are. The proposals for action they do put forward are aimed at shifting the

blame for today's crisis, in the eyes of working people, off of the capitalist system. Their convenient target is workers in other countries — who are themselves suffering from sky-high unemployment and miserable wages in many cases.

This course — with or without its camouflage as a "fight for jobs" — can only weaken the labor movement. A policy that maintains that workers and employers share common interests leads to wage givebacks; giving up health and safety rights; and accepting greater discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women on the job. Ultimately this policy leads to accepting new Vietnam-style wars so that the government can have a free hand to "protect our interests."

As the capitalist crisis deepens, a small but growing layer of workers is beginning to understand more clearly that we share common interests with workers in other countries and that we must fight together against the employers.

This understanding of the need for international class solidarity is vital to any successful fightback on the part of the American labor movement. The protectionist drive by the union officials is aimed at preventing this idea from taking root.

Those workers who are searching for a road to fight back against the employers' attacks will not find it in the fight against imports. Capitalism cannot be reformed and made "to work" for the working class. The profit needs of the employers are the opposite of the interests of workers. The present government, whatever its trade policies, will represent only big business and the banks.

What is needed is a strategy that is fundamentally different from that put forward by the union bureaucracy. Rather than a policy of collaboration with our own capitalist class against the workers of other countries, we need a strategy that points in the direction of acting independently to use labor's power, in alliance with farmers and other working people, to replace the current government with a new one — a workers and farmers government. Only such a government can put an end to unemployment and extend the hand of peace and solidarity to the workers of the world.



# Black presidential candidate: the debate deepens

BY MALIK MIAH

The "Black leadership family" voted last month in Chicago to approve the concept of a Black candidate seeking the Democratic Party presidential nomination. The group also voted not to endorse any specific candidate for the time being.

"The Black leadership family" — as it calls itself — is composed of Black civil rights and political leaders who

## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

have been meeting over the past half year to discuss how to increase the political clout of Blacks in the 1984 presidential elections and inside the Democratic Party.

The Chicago meeting was the third this year. The next will take place in September.

The main organizer of the group is Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Chicago meeting voted, as well, to establish a more formal organization — "Black Coalition for 1984." The coalition will have two major objectives: to mount a voter registration campaign in 24 states with the aim of increasing the Black vote by 25 percent, and to circulate a draft, 119-page "people's platform" it adopted at the meeting to Black political and civil rights groups for their approval. The platform is to be used to measure presidential candidates' stands on issues particularly important to Blacks.

This discussion on whether a Black Democrat should seek the presidential nomination has stirred great discussion in the major media and Black press. Some leading Black Democrats oppose such an idea on the grounds it could divide the Democratic Party and make it easier for Reagan to win reelection. This is the view of Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, for example. "Since we are so frightened by the Reagan system of government," Hooks has said, "our primary concern should be ridding the nation of that system. Therefore we should vote for that candidate most likely to achieve that end."

At the Chicago meeting, in fact, only two-thirds of the 20 people present voted for the concept of a Black seeking the nomination. Coretta Scott King, for instance, abstained on the grounds it was too early to make such a decision. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Julian

Dixon, head of the Congressional Black Caucus, did not attend the meeting; nor did Harold Washington, mayor of Chicago, who favors a new coalition inside the Democratic Party.

Jesse Jackson, on the other hand, said the group's decision made it "highly likely" that he or some other prominent Black would enter the race. Jackson added that he wouldn't make his decision until August or September.

Interestingly, a recent *New York Times* and CBS News poll placed Jackson third in a field of seven Democratic Party presidential contenders. Only Walter Mondale and John Glenn out-poll Jackson — the only unannounced candidate.

It is increasingly clear that working people in general — not only Blacks — are seeking an alternative leadership and perspective to respond to the bipartisan war drive and austerity policies of the government. That's why Jackson's call for a more radical agenda in the Democratic Party hits a responsive chord.

But, as Malcolm X taught us 20 years ago, both the Democratic and Republican parties are our deadly enemies. They both serve the interests of big business, and are used by them as their tools for conducting wars and maintaining racial and sexual discrimination.

Recognizing the historical and current role of the Democratic and Republican parties in upholding the power of

the super rich, however, does not take away from the significance of the present discussion on whether a Black Democrat should enter the presidential race.

Although Black political power can't be achieved through the Democratic Party, this discussion concerning the concept of fielding a Black for president — as Jackson has already proven — can open up a broader discussion on how to achieve political power.

Revolutionary socialists in the labor movement, in the Black and Latino communities, in farmers' organizations, and in the women's movement, have an important contribution to make in this political discussion. While we reject working inside the Democratic Party as a road towards freedom, we believe a new alliance of Blacks, Latinos, and labor especially is needed to fight for our political and economic needs.

The type of alliance Blacks, Latinos, and labor need is one based on independent political action directed at the government and its policies. Mass protests like the upcoming August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom point in the right direction. Despite the pro-Democratic Party stand of the march organizers, those marching will be striking a blow against the government's policies of war and racism. Furthermore, they will be open to the proposal on how working people can take the next giant political step ahead of us: forming an independent Black party, and a trade-union-based labor party to wage a struggle for political power.

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# Mexico-U.S. conference discusses fight against war

Continued from Page 4

vadoran and Guatemalan refugees was also presented and discussed at the Tijuana gathering. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled El Salvador in recent years to escape the murderous policies of the Salvadoran regime. Many of these refugees have come to the United States and Mexico.

The conference agreed to call for a halt to the deportations of these refugees and for the granting of political asylum. The Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill now in Congress, which would gut the already weak mechanisms for asylum, was condemned.

A campaign publicizing the plight of the refugees was agreed upon and special emphasis was placed on activities against what are known as the "death flights." Don White, a leader of Echo Park CISPES in Los Angeles, took the floor to explain that Salvadoran refugees were being deported every week and that agreements were reached between the immigration service and airline companies to transport them to El Salvador. Many of these refugees, once deported, are subject to almost certain death, torture, or imprisonment by the Salvadoran regime.

A campaign in Los Angeles and elsewhere has been mounted, White explained,

against the airlines that have agreed to conduct these "death flights." After repeated protest demonstrations, some airlines such as Western have agreed to halt the flights. Mexicana Airlines, however, has recently reinitiated the flights and a renewed campaign is needed.

The question of unity of all forces working against intervention was discussed again under the agenda point on the election of a new Border Commission, the body responsible for coordinating the conference's decisions. It was generally agreed that a need existed to broaden out participation in the leadership body, but differences arose over how far to take this

unity process forward.

A new Border Commission was elected and there was also agreement that others would be able to observe its meetings, subject to the approval of that body.

Most activists here in Tijuana agreed that the next challenge lies in implementing the action decisions. Especially vital is the degree to which new groups and individuals — most importantly those from the unions and Black and Chicano organizations — can be drawn into direct participation in the planning and carrying out of the projected demonstrations on July 24, August 27, October 15, November 15, and January 22.

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## Arizona copper strikers stand up to attacks by courts, Phelps Dodge

BY DAN FEIN

MORENCI, Az. — The strike by 2,400 copper workers against Phelps Dodge is continuing in the face of new moves by the company to break it and deal a crushing blow to the copper workers' unions. Phelps Dodge, one of the nation's biggest copper producers, is trying to gut workers' cost-of-living protection; freeze wages; force workers to pay more for medical benefits; and impose a new, lower wage scale on any new hires in the mines.

The other major copper producers have agreed to a new contract with the United Steelworkers of America and the other unions representing copper workers. Phelps Dodge, however, forced the strike and announced its intention to keep its mines, mills, and smelters open. This has not happened during a copper strike since 1960 and signals the seriousness of the company's intention to force through concessions and try to break the unions.

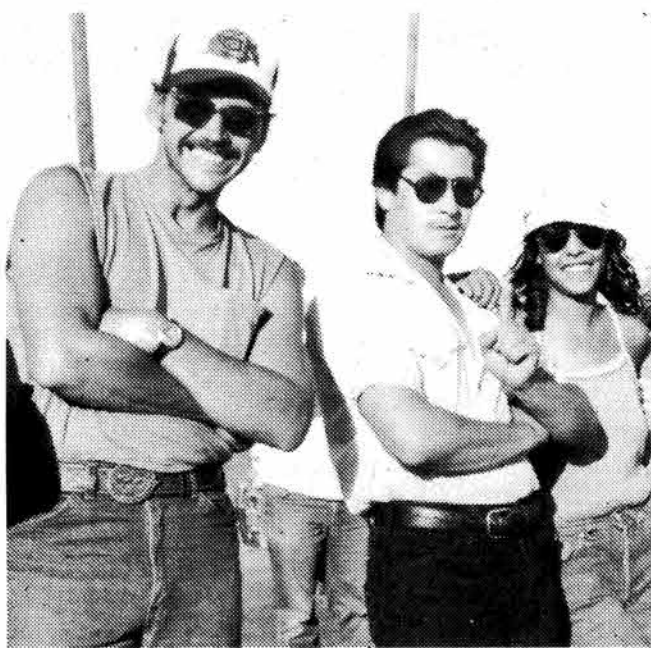
Here, and in Ajo and Douglass, Arizona, Phelps Dodge is running its operations with salaried personnel and a handful of scabs who are working 12-hour shifts, seven days a week. They are escorted into the mines by company guards, the state police, and county sheriffs.

On July 2 over 50 pickets at the Douglass smelter were confronted by a temporary restraining order issued by a Cochise County judge, limiting the number of pickets to five. "That court order is going to change everything," threatened Lt. Homer Fletcher.

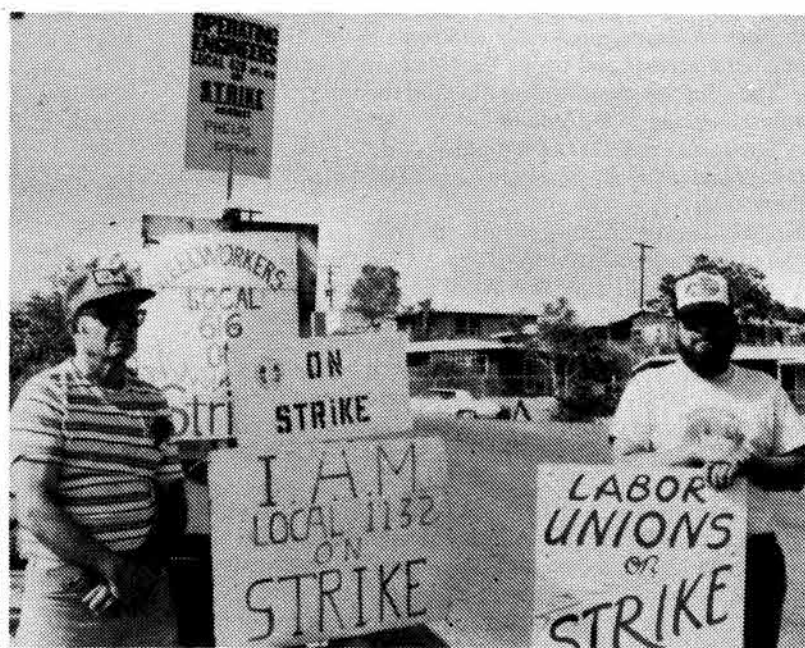
On July 3 Phelps Dodge obtained a similar order from a Greenlee County judge, limiting the pickets at the Morenci mine. Phelps Dodge Vice-president Pat Scanlon claimed this was necessary "because a large and unruly mob of about 200" workers gathered at the gates here on the night of July 2.

"There have been repeated incidents of mass picketing and threats of physical violence and blocking of vehicles at the gate," continued Scanlon.

On July 4 an even more restrictive restraining order was issued to cover strikers at the Ajo mine. The company claimed that the strikers threatened to deprive Ajo resi-



Picket line in Morenci. Arizona courts have limited picketing at Phelps Dodge facilities as part of attempt to continue production with scabs and break strike.



Militant/Karen Kopperud

dents of electrical energy and water.

Conrad Florez, chairman of the Ajo Unity Council, a coalition of 12 unions, responded that this was simply "one more intimidation factor by the company in an attempt to break the unions." He rejected claims that the strikers were responsible for any violence.

Annie Jones, speaking for the strikers' women's auxiliary, called the company's propaganda "an attempt to get the wives and children of the men because we've been supporting their efforts."

The company is also trying to frame up strikers for a July 5 fire that left a railroad bridge heavily charred and delayed a shipment of copper concentrate for four hours. Phelps Dodge's Ajo manager, Carl Forstram, said he is "very certain the fire was started deliberately." The FBI immediately stepped in.

Although the sheriff's department originally claimed it would take five days to determine if the fire was an act of arson, only one day later the sheriff's department

investigator announced that arson was the cause.

The maximum penalty for anyone convicted of setting the blaze would be 20 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Phelps Dodge has already offered a \$25,000 reward for information.

Meanwhile on July 6 in Morenci, Phelps Dodge accused a striker of kicking the door of a scab's car. Company officials say the striker will be fired if they can confirm his identity.

The attempt to break the strike continues on other fronts as well. Phelps Dodge took out a full-page advertisement in the July 3 edition of the Tucson, Arizona, *Daily Star* offering to hire scabs.

Meanwhile, every Phelps Dodge employee, including the 1,100 who were on layoff before the strike began, have received a letter from the company asking them to scab and return to work. As an incentive to the younger laid-off workers in particular, the company promised to guarantee their jobs after the strike is settled, implying that they would be retained rather than senior employees who re-

spected the picket lines.

Militant salespeople who visited Morenci and Ajo found that the company's letter was a big topic of conversation. But most people were not interested in the strike-breaking offer. Many were interested in the prominent coverage the *Militant* gave the strike in its last issue.

Many strikers and members of their families commented that it was good to see a paper that didn't take the company's side. They bought 140 copies of the paper and expressed a lot of interest in the solidarity statement issued in English and Spanish by Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office, Eduardo Quintana, who is running for mayor of Tucson and Barry Fatland, running for mayor of Phoenix.

So far the strike has remained strong. "Very few people, under the circumstances, have chosen to return to work," says union spokesperson Cass Alvin. The strikers are "still very definite and solid in their determination not to give up hard won benefits, especially cost-of-living protection."

## UMWA reveals gov't guilt in Va. mine disaster

BY MARGARET JAYKO

As the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) presses its investigation of the recent mining disaster in Virginia, the real story of why that avoidable tragedy occurred is beginning to come to light.

On June 21, seven coal miners were killed and three injured in an explosion at McClure No. 1 mine in Dickenson County, Virginia. McClure No. 1, which is owned by Clinchfield Coal Co., had a reputation as a "hot mine," that is, one that gave off a lot of highly flammable methane gas.

And it was known for its owners' flagrant violations of mine safety laws.

The role of the federal government in allowing Clinchfield to literally get away with murder is what is now being unraveled.

An article in the July 4 *Washington Post* titled "Federal Officials Warned by UMW Before Virginia Coal Mine Disaster" traced the efforts by the union to get the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) to force Clinchfield to obey mine safety regulations — to no avail.

Back in April, officials of MSHA had been warned by UMWA safety experts that McClure No. 1 would "blow up" if the buildups of methane, explosive coal dust,

and other combustible materials in the mine were not corrected.

MSHA's response?

Give the company a pat on the wrist, and let business go on as usual.

According to Danny Davidson, the UMWA's deputy safety administrator in Washington, "If they [the MSHA officials] had heeded what we said and responded with effective action, then it [the explosion] could have been prevented. There's no doubt that that mine could have been operated safely."

Davidson said he found out about the problems at McClure after local union officials conducted an inspection on April 12 — two months before the explosion — and found 51 safety violations. Among these were the dangerous build up of combustible materials in the mine — including trash, paper bags, and wooden tubes — and coal dust in the section of the mine where the explosion occurred.

Two local union officials testified that the day they conducted their inspection, they reported the violations to company supervisors at the mine and warned of a possible "blow up" because of the mix of coal dust and methane gas.

Harold Hartsock, a UMWA safety of-

ficer, says he met the next day, April 13, with MSHA officials in nearby Norton, Virginia, including the Virginia district's chief of inspections.

"I told them if they didn't clean the mine up and keep it ventilated, they were going to blow it up. I was very concerned," said Hartsock.

When Davidson found out, he personally called Joseph Lamonica, MSHA's number three person. "I told him that they had serious problems down there that needed to be taken care of or something was going to happen," said Davidson.

During the past nine months, MSHA inspectors had recorded 163 safety violations, including 40 for inadequate or faulty ventilation of methane.

This year, McClure No. 1's accident rate was three times the national average, and its fatality rate was nine times above the national norm.

Lamonica, MSHA's national administrator for coal mine safety, said MSHA didn't do anything about them because "it is not something that I viewed personally as being one of the worst mines in the country or one that required special emphasis."

If what Lamonica said is true, it's a

damning indictment of MSHA's criminal failure to enforce the law all over the country when it comes to mine safety.

In line with the Reagan administration's overall drive against any government regulations that protect working people and cut into corporate profits, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety, Ford B. Ford, has publicly attacked federal inspectors for writing what he calls "nit-picking" safety violations. He called for more "cooperation" with the coal industry.

Increasing the long-standing cooperation between the coal companies and the government has led to a dramatic drop in the number and severity of safety notices and penalties handed out by MSHA.

MSHA inspectors wrote 20 percent fewer violation notices last year than in 1980. The amount of fines during the same period dropped 54 percent, from \$19.5 million in 1980 to \$9.1 million in 1982.

The issuance of "serious and substantial" (S & S) violations has gone from 9,096 to 1,773 from 1980 to 1982.

Non-S & S violations usually result in \$20 fines against coal companies, a sum that no doubt puts the fear of god in giant

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