

Nicaragua offers peace plan, Reagan answers with warships

U.S. blockade
threat is
major step
toward war

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Taking the biggest step yet on its course toward a full-scale war in Central America, Washington announced July 18 that it is making preparations for a military blockade of Nicaragua. A fleet of U.S. warships, headed by the aircraft carrier *Ranger*, has already been ordered to carry out "naval maneuvers," including practice blockades, off Nicaragua's Pacific coast.

A second carrier battle group is reportedly heading for Nicaragua's Caribbean coast.

Meanwhile, U.S. aircraft and troops will be carrying out operations along Nicaragua's northern border in conjunction with the Honduran army.

Pentagon officials have revealed that the U.S. carriers off Nicaragua's coasts and the U.S. troops sent to Honduras will remain in place "at least four to five months," according to the *Washington Post*.

Reagan's speech to ILA

On the same day that these new military moves were being announced in Washington, President Reagan addressed the convention of the International Longshoremen's Association in Florida. Blaming the Soviet Union and Cuba for the war in Central America, Reagan declared: "The Soviets and the Cubans are operating from a base called Nicaragua."

"More Cuban soldiers and Soviet supplies have arrived in Nicaragua. This cannot be allowed to continue."

Reagan's blunt threat against Nicaragua and the new U.S. military moves came just two days after the leak of a secret working paper on Central America that had been prepared for a July 8 meeting of the National Security Council (NSC). The working paper, according to a report by Philip Taubman in the July 17 *New York Times*, said, "The situation in Central America is nearing a critical point."

Taubman reported "a growing sense among senior officials that United States

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Aircraft carrier *Ranger* heads U.S. fleet of warships dispatched to Nicaragua's coast. It carries 70 warplanes capable of hitting any target in Nicaragua or El Salvador.

Labor movement versus Kissinger war commission

The Reagan administration announced July 19 that Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has accepted appointment to a "bipartisan national commission on Central America."

The creation of this commission is another step in Washington's relentless

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drive toward full-scale war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions. The commission will be headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who openly advocates sending U.S. troops to Central America.

Kirkland's action in joining the war commission is a slap in the face to millions of unionists who oppose the new Vietnam being organized by Reagan. And it is in defiance of current AFL-CIO policy, which demands an end to all military aid to the repressive regime in El Salvador.

A White House policy paper leaked July 16 proposed formation of the commission as a means of advancing U.S. war policy. "The present U.S. policy faces substantial opposition at home and abroad; an increased effort would have to surmount even greater opposition." According to the paper, Pentagon officials warn that "the chances of failure are high" if the U.S. war "is hobbled and trimmed" by opposition at home.

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Black political action issue at NAACP mtg.

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW ORLEANS — The deep hostility of Blacks to the racist and antilabor policies of the U.S. government and the Reagan administration came through loud and clear at the 74th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The convention was held here July 9-15.

The convention pledged the NAACP's all-out support for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom; outlined its view on the state of Black America; and discussed what attitude to take toward the proposal of a Black running in the Democratic Party presidential primaries.

The NAACP is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the country, with nearly 400,000 dues-paying members.

Although the convention occurred in the

context of a widely publicized internal dispute between Executive Director Benjamin Hooks and Board Chairperson Margaret Bush Wilson, who was stripped of her authority by the Board of Directors, the 5,000 delegates and observers at the convention mainly came to discuss the attacks on Black rights and how the NAACP can join in the fightback.

Unfortunately, the convention failed to discuss the escalating U.S. war drive in Central America. But most everyone the *Militant* talked to expressed strong opposition to the new Vietnam developing there.

Vice-president Bush's arrogance

The anger of convention participants over what the government is doing to Blacks came through most vividly in their response to the speech given by Vice-president George Bush.

After some polite applause, the audience

turned to murmurs, then to hissing and catcalls, and finally boos, as Bush expressed the racist positions of the Reagan Administration. The hostility shown toward Bush took the NAACP leadership by surprise.

Bush began his speech by saying, "Well, I'm here. There are a lot of people betting I wouldn't show up." He spoke on the last day of the convention after a week of denunciations by the leadership of the government's anti-Black policies.

Then Bush, acting like the Lone Ranger blasting away with both guns, launched a sharp attack on affirmative action and busing, and said Reagan's policy simply "reflects the division of opinions on the issues inside the Black community."

State of Black America

In response to the government's anti-Black policies, Hooks explained the

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150,000 rally
in Nicaragua:
'All arms to
the people!'

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

LEON, Nicaragua — As U.S. warships steamed toward Nicaragua to take part in a "simulated" blockade, 150,000 people gathered here July 19 to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Sandinista revolution.

"All arms to the people! Everyone to defense!" was the central slogan imprinted on two gigantic billboards and on handpainted banners and placards scattered throughout the crowd. The rally reiterated both Nicaragua's desire to avoid war and find a negotiated political solution, and its determination to defend itself no matter what the cost.

Speech by Daniel Ortega

Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the revolutionary government and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), was the main speaker of the day.

Ortega stressed it is Washington that is responsible for the widening war in Central America. Cutting through the pretexts and excuses that Washington has used to stall peace talks, he laid out a six-point proposal by the FSLN for discussions among all Central American countries.

The six points, each of which was greeted by cheers signalling the rally's agreement, were as follows:

1. An "immediate signing of a nonaggression pact between Nicaragua and Honduras."

2. "An absolute halt to all arms shipments, on the part of any country, to any of the forces involved in conflict in El Salvador, so that this people might resolve its problems without interference in its internal affairs."

3. "An absolute halt to military support — in the form of arms shipments, training, utilization of territory for launching attacks or for any other form of aggression — to forces opposed to any of the governments in Central America."

4. "Agreement to assure absolute respect for the self-determination of the peoples of Central America, and noninterference in the internal affairs of any of these countries."

5. "A halt to aggression and economic discrimination against any country in Central America."

6. "Agreement not to establish foreign military bases in Central American territory, as well as to suspend military exercises with foreign armies in the Central American area."

Washington has complained bitterly about Nicaragua's supposed arms shipments to Salvadoran rebels — shipments that it has never been able to prove exist — while pouring hundreds of millions of dollars worth of arms into El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica.

Similarly, Washington has complained about nonexistent Soviet bases in Central America while operating airfields, naval bases, supply depots, and other installations in Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, and Cuba.

Declaring Nicaragua's support to the efforts of the Contadora group, made up of the governments of Mexico, Venezuela,

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON — At midnight on June 30, 3,200 Phelps Dodge copper workers at Ajo, Morenci, and Douglas walked off the job. The company wants to drive through major concessions and destroy the unions representing copper workers. Phelps Dodge is the second-largest copper producer in the United States and the largest in Arizona.

Arizona copper workers like the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. These workers have a history of militancy. In the early part of this century they organized themselves into the Western Federation of Miners and were affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World. There has been a strike every three years since 1960.

Socialists in Tucson and Phoenix have begun making regular trips to the mines to sell the *Militant* and *PM*. Total weekly sales have shot up as a result.

On July 16, Eduardo Quintana, Tucson Socialist Workers Party

mayoral candidate, held a news conference in the morning, explaining his support for the Phelps Dodge strikers. It was covered by two TV stations, as well as the daily newspaper and a radio station.

After the news conference, four socialists traveled 175 miles to Morenci to sell the *Militant* and *PM* and to distribute a campaign statement by Quintana supporting the strikers. Twenty-seven papers were sold door-to-door and in the parking lot of the company store. At 5:30 p.m., the socialists joined a picket line of 250 to jeer the scabs. Fifty-five more papers were sold on the picket line. Two subscriptions were also sold in Morenci that day.

Three other socialists from Tucson traveled to San Manuel, a company town 60 miles away where Magma Copper Co. is located. The unions there had settled with the company just before the Phelps Dodge workers struck. Magma is the largest underground

copper mine in the United States. The back-page *Militant* headline supporting the strike was effective there also. Fifty-three papers were sold, in spite of company harassment.

The company told the manager of the grocery store not to let us sell there. Company guards refused to let salespeople stand at a turn-off off the road leading to the mine. But in spite of these obstacles, workers found their way to the paper — many had read it before and wanted to buy another one.

On July 17, the Phoenix branch of the SWP sent a team of three to Ajo, 135 miles away. They also got a warm response from strikers there. Salespeople were invited into strikers' homes while going door-to-door and learned about Phelps Dodge's scare tactics to break the strike. Thirty-one *Militants* and 4 *PMs* were sold.

The team also visited the strike headquarters and met with union leaders who greatly appreciated



Militant/Bob Thompson
Workers at Magma Copper (above) in San Manuel, Arizona, bought 53 *Militants* featuring copper strike story.

the prouction coverage the *Militant* and *PM* were giving their strike.

Out-of-town sales such as these take most of the day and sometimes part of the night. Every single member of the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP in

Tucson has participated in at least one of these sales teams to the company-owned copper towns. We plan to travel to Douglas next weekend and to continue these weekend regional teams even after the strike ends. It's well worth it.

Black political action big issue at NAACP meeting

Continued from front page

NAACP's views in his keynote speech.

"It should come as no surprise," he began, "that even though slavery has been officially over for more than 118 years, we still find ourselves struggling against slavery under a new guise — racial discrimination in this country and apartheid and colonialism abroad."

"Today," he continued, "we find ourselves as a race in the struggle for survival. One out of every three Blacks in this country is officially listed below the poverty level. One out of every three Blacks lives in substandard housing. One out of every two Black youth can't find work."

"Black infant mortality is twice that of whites. Despite progress we have made in the area of voter participation, less than one percent of more than 500,000 elected officials are Blacks. . . . Black enrollment in medical schools is less than four percent, dental schools less than three percent, and law schools less than four percent of the total."

"The life expectancy of Black Americans," he added, "is 6.1 years less than that of whites. And the Black median family income is 56 percent that of the white family." (This figure is almost identical to what it was in 1960.)

"He [Reagan] has insisted that his policies are aimed at changing the nation for the better. Our evidence and our experience have shown that they are changing America for the worse."

Although the NAACP's policy is not to endorse candidates, Hooks' speech made clear their stance: defeat Reagan at all costs.

All the announced Democratic Party presidential hopefuls were invited to speak

at the convention — and all received a much warmer reception than Bush.

Yet not all participants at the convention were pleased by what these hopefuls had to say. "I don't know why we let them come here," one delegate from Staten Island, New York, said. "They say the same thing all the time and nothing happens."

The most discussion about the 1984 elections, however, was not what the announced hopefuls had to say, but over the fact that Jesse Jackson was not allowed to speak.

Jackson is the leading proponent of a Black entering the Democratic Party presidential primaries.

Earlier in the year the NAACP Board of Directors issued a statement calling upon Blacks "to take no steps, however symbolically attractive, which may have the effect of diluting the Black vote."

At a press conference, Hooks elaborated on this position: "We think we ought to not get involved with a candidate that has no chance realistically of changing the political situation."

At the same time, feeling pressure from supporters of the idea, Hooks told a local television audience that if the time was right he himself would announce his candidacy for president.

Harold Washington, the first Black to be elected mayor of Chicago, also spoke to the convention. His election victory is one reason for the heightened discussion about the idea of a Black presidential candidacy.

Calling the Democratic and Republican Parties "the only crap game in town," Washington urged Blacks to stay in this two-party system. "Blacks shouldn't isolate themselves in a third party," he added.

"An independent [party] would be self-destructive."

Differing with Hooks, Washington expressed his support for the concept of a Black running in the Democratic Party primaries.

View from Omaha

It was also clear that other NAACP members and some chapters back the idea of a Black presidential candidacy.

Widely circulated at the convention, for example, was the *Sentinel*, a monthly newsletter published by the Omaha, Nebraska NAACP.

In a guest editorial entitled, "Why An African For President," David Rice wrote, "as to the issue of 'diluting the black vote,' and the suggestion that the running of an African candidate for president would only be symbolic, we should ask whether our traditional practice of placing ourselves in the vest pocket of the Democrats has been an effective tool in removing us from the state of political/economic impotency. And we must ask, as well, whether our continuation of this practice can be reasonably expected to, as it has not done previously, lead to a fundamental change in our political/economic status."

"However," Rice continued, "there is more to this issue than the question of winning and losing. It is evident that the Republican Party is not interested in our needs and aspirations and it is evident as well that the Democrats are willing to pay us little more than lip service. And the fact that the Democrats know that we are 'old reliables' at election time leaves us with nothing with which to bargain in the political arena."

"We should run an African for president in order to deliver an unambiguous mes-

sage to the Democratic Party — that the time of our being used, while getting little or nothing in return, has ended. Of more importance in the long view, we very simply must get used to the idea of acting as a people for our own common interests. We must cease to merely theorize about self-determination and begin to actively move to bring it about."

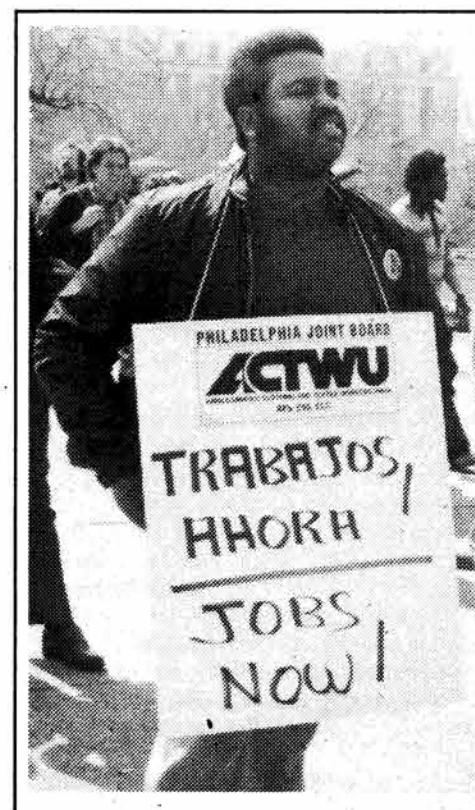
This editorial provoked a lively discussion, mainly in the corridors.

A prominent table with literature about the August 27 march was also displayed all week at the convention in front of the main plenary session hall. The table was staffed by members of the Louisiana Coalition for the March on Washington, and sold over \$600 worth of posters, buttons, and bumper stickers. T-shirts from the Communications Workers of America's Martin Luther King committee in the coalition were sold too. Hundreds of names were collected of those who wanted more information.

Cleveland Robinson from District 65 of the United Auto Workers participated as part of a delegation of the coalition to a meeting of the New Orleans local of the International Longshoremen's Association. Robinson and State Rep. Avery Alexander, who is also a member of the union, presented the case on why labor should support the action.

Hooks and Alexander, who was representing the coalition, held a press conference to announce the NAACP's plans for the march.

At an NAACP labor luncheon, Sybil Taylor, assistant to the Louisiana state president of the AFL-CIO, urged the over 500 unionists present to attend the march.



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Copper strike solid despite bosses' attacks

BY DAN FEIN

AJO, Ariz. — Picket lines conducted in 115-degree heat haven't stifled the determination of 3,200 striking Phelps Dodge copper workers in Arizona. As of July 15, the strike was 15 days old.

The company is doing everything possible to break the strike and the unions representing the copper workers.

On July 8 workers received a letter guaranteeing jobs on a first-come, first-serve basis. The company promised permanent jobs to all who returned to work. The letter said, "Furloughed employees [those who were on lay-off before the strike began] returning to work have established a right to whatever job they are assigned." Tom McWilliams, assistant director of labor relations for Phelps Dodge, said, "When a settlement is reached, strikers without jobs will be placed on a preferential hiring list unless they threatened workers during the strike."

Cass Alvin, spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) responded, "When Phelps Dodge becomes the protector of employees' rights, the moon will turn into the sun, and the night will become day."

Phelps Dodge claims the number of workers scabbing at Morenci is 128 (out of a total of 2,100); at Ajo, 35 (out of a total of 800); and 15 at Douglas (out of 300).

Picketers told the *Militant* that these figures were greatly exaggerated in order to discourage the strikers. Phelps Dodge at Ajo has publicized a phone number to call which plays a tape boasting of daily production and the number of workers who are working.

On the evening of July 8, a company railroad bridge near Morenci caught fire. The Greenlee County Sheriff's Department said it was arson, and hinted it was the work of strikers.

On July 12, a 39-year-old Ajo woman, Soila Bon, was sentenced to three days in jail and fined \$150 for supposedly phoning a scab's wife and threatening her.

As part of its union-busting tactics, the company is using the media to violence-bait the strike. In addition to the arson charges and the jailing of Soila Bon, the company has charged strikers with breaking company windows, throwing rocks, tire-slashing, dumping nails, and vandalism. On July 14, Rudy Barragan, a Morenci striker, was charged with one count of criminal damage and one count of obstructing a highway.

Ajo and Morenci are company towns with workers renting company-owned homes and buying from company-owned stores. Workers pay between \$100 and \$150 per month rent for company-owned, dilapidated houses. If the worker is laid off the rent is reduced a little.

Up to now workers on strike paid half the usual rent payment. Now that the company has sent out the letter "guaranteeing" jobs to those who come to work, Phelps Dodge says the full amount is due August 1.

Alex Q. Lopez, head of the union bar-

gaining committee in Ajo and a USWA staff representative, responded to this latest company blackmail: "The company is serious in its attempt to break the unions. They keep denying it . . . but these tactics are straight out of the 'strike breakers' manual."

The company wants to impose a lower pay scale for new hires and to abolish the cost-of-living adjustment.

Before shift changes at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., 200-300 strikers gather along the road leading to the mine entrances in Morenci and Ajo, carrying signs and protesting against the scabs being escorted by cops. (A court order limits actual picketing to five people.)

One of the Ajo strikers denounced "all this propaganda about workers returning to work and 80 percent production. We can count the scabs that go in. And where is the smoke from the smelter if there is so much copper being produced?"

Roy Santa Cruz, director of Subdistrict 8 of USWA District 38, told the *Militant* that he expects the company's next move to be cutting off all credit at the company store.



Militant/Karen Kopperud

Striking copper workers denounce scabs in car at Phelps Dodge Morenci operation. Company offers scabs "permanent" jobs, while it violence-baits strikers and doubles their rent.

Reagan sends \$10 million in weapons to bolster rightists in Chad war

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The Reagan administration announced an "urgent" airlift of \$10 million in military supplies to the Chad regime July 18, as French arms and "advisers" and Zairian troops poured into the West African country in a bid to rescue the shaky pro-imperialist government of Hissène Habré.

Since late June, rebel forces led by former President Goukouni Oueddei have swept southward from their bases in northern Chad, taking a series of villages and towns, including such strategic ones as Faya-Largeau, Fada, Oum-Chalouba, and Kalait. They briefly held Abeché, a major town in eastern Chad, which government forces recaptured July 12. Officials of the Habré regime admit that Goukouni's forces still control about one-third of the country.

Goukouni has declared that his aim is to reach the capital, Ndjamena, and regain political power.

The imperialists, who more than a year ago helped overthrow Goukouni and install Habré in his place, are alarmed by this rebel advance. Seizing on the fact that Goukouni is closely allied with the Libyan regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, they have sought to portray the recent fighting as a Libyan invasion of Chad.

Both Goukouni and Qaddafi have denied that Libyan troops are involved, although they acknowledge that Goukouni's forces are receiving Libyan assistance. According to a report in the July 11 *Newsweek*, U.S. "military intelligence sources confirmed

that no Libyan ground troops" were taking part in the fighting.

The accusations against Libya are designed to justify increased imperialist intervention in Chad.

The French government — Chad's former colonial master — has taken the lead in this. On June 28, President François Mitterrand declared that "France will fulfill its commitments to Chad without reservation." Some 400 tons of arms, ammunition, rockets, and other French military equipment were quickly dispatched to Ndjamena.

Habré's regime has also asked for French troops. French Defense Minister Charles Hernu maintained that no French troops would be sent — for now. As it stands French military personnel are already there under the guise of military "advisers."

On July 3, the U.S.-backed regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre dispatched 250 paratroopers to Ndjamena, as well as transport aircraft and counterinsurgency planes. The troops are from an elite unit trained by French officers. Mobutu has pledged to send as many as 2,000 troops to Chad.

A top aide to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak flew into Ndjamena in early July to promise more Egyptian military aid to Habré's forces.

An article by *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton in the June 30 issue reported that top U.S. Defense Department officials were also "increasingly concerned" about Goukouni's advances,

and that the Pentagon "welcomed" the French aid to Habré.

The Reagan administration has also stepped up its direct threats against Libya. In a show of force, aircraft from the U.S.S. *Eisenhower* have violated Libyan airspace, and in early July two Libyan jets were intercepted by U.S. fighters more than 100 miles from the *Eisenhower*.

This rush to back Habré is but the latest in a long series of imperialist interventions in Chad. Since the country won its independence in 1960 — after decades of brutal French colonial exploitation — French troops and jets have intervened several times to put down rebellions led by the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat). Goukouni is the leader of one of the largest of the Frolinat factions.

The imperialists were forced to accept the establishment of a coalition government in 1979, with Goukouni as president. But concerned by Goukouni's anti-imperialist pronouncements and his close ties with Qaddafi, they soon moved to bring his government down, backing a rebellion led by Habré. In June 1982, Habré's forces marched into Ndjamena and Goukouni had to retreat.

According to the *Newsweek* report, "Reagan administration sources confirm that the CIA helped underwrite Habré's rebellion last year. . . ."

Habré, however, failed to build up a stable regime. Goukouni initiated armed resistance, and most other political formations in Chad have now allied themselves with him.

Given the whole history of French and U.S. aggression in Chad — and against Libya — there is now a serious danger of even greater imperialist intervention in the region.

From Intercontinental Press



Detroit unions, Blacks, women back Aug. 27

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — Representatives of labor, women, and the Black community attended a July 16 meeting to organize Detroit participation in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Horace Sheffield, president of both the local Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Detroit Association of Black Organizations (DABO), hosted the meeting.

Sheffield also brought 15,000 leaflets paid for by the CBTU for the August 27 demonstration.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) was also present. International UAW representative Miriam Poe reported that the UAW had reserved 25 buses, five of them for the union's regions, the others for use by the coalition.

Poe said the UAW is also donating an office with a staff person and telephones for the action.

Rosa Brewer, a member of the Shop Committee and head of the Women's Com-

mittee at UAW Local 600 (Ford-River Rouge), reported she had already signed up enough coworkers to fill a bus.

Her local, she said, would provide a bus for its unemployed members, and said the local's newspaper, *Ford Facts*, is reporting on plans for the action.

Also at the meeting were Carol King, president of the Michigan National Organization for Women (NOW), and Mary Lou Cheff, president of the Detroit chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Cheff pledged CLUW's backing of the August march and NOW is heavily involved in building the demonstration.

Other groups attending were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Young Communist League, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

Another important meeting took place here early this month, when 80 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) gathered at their union hall to plan their participation in

the Washington, D.C., demonstration.

The union had sent a letter to its members urging them to attend the meeting. Earlier, 60 ACTWU members signed up for buses for August 27 after watching a movie shown by the union about the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Horace Sheffield has raised the idea of a local action to build participation in August 27. One such action took place June 19, when the CBTU and the NAACP organized a march to commemorate the huge 1963 Detroit march for "Freedom Now" and publicize August 27. More than 100 people took part in the commemoration.

A second Detroit action to build the August 27 action also has the potential of drawing in the large protest movement of Chinese-Americans and other Asian-Americans against the racist murder here of Vincent Chin, who was beaten to death by a Chrysler foreman and his son last year.

Sheffield, a longtime UAW staff member, has joined protests here organized by American Citizens for Justice, a group formed around the Chin case.

Nicaraguans rally 150,000 strong

Continued from front page

Panama, and Colombia, to get talks going, Ortega said the FSLN agrees with the Contadora group that "the use of force . . . will not resolve, but only deepen the underlying tension" in Central America.

"Peace in Central America," he added, as the crowd cheered its approval, "can only become a reality on the basis of respect for the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence among nations: nonintervention, self-determination, sovereign equality of states, cooperation for economic and social development, peaceful solution of controversy, and free and authentic expression of popular will."

Nicaragua, of all nations, has absolutely no interest in war, Ortega stressed.

"Nicaragua has no expansionist ambitions, nor does it seek to impose its political system on other countries. We have no economic interests abroad, nor do we have any dreams of imperial domination. Consequently our people neither need nor desire war. For Nicaragua it is a matter of principle when we pledge that we will never attack another country."

To further underscore Nicaragua's desire to get peace talks going, the FSLN accepted the Contadora group's proposal that negotiations be of a multilateral character, involving all interested governments. Direct talks with the two governments actually initiating the war — the United States and Honduras — would be more effective, the FSLN still believes, but the point is not worth allowing the talks to be stalled any further.

Ortega made clear that while these initiatives for peace are under discussion, "the people of Nicaragua will remain completely mobilized, maintaining a wall of patriotism and rifles against which any aggressors will be crushed."

"We must prepare to defend the revolution against the new attacks our enemies are organizing," he said. "The United States government is behind these plans," which involve use of both the Honduran army and U.S. troops.

"We want peace," Ortega stressed. "But we want a dignified peace. We don't want a peace of graves. We don't want a cowardly peace. We prefer to suffer, we prefer to fight, we prefer to die."

One aspect of Nicaragua's preparation, he announced, will be the establishment of a military draft. The crowd cheered the announcement with chants of "Sí!" and "They shall not pass!"

At present Nicaragua's military forces are all volunteer-based.

In an additional step, announced earlier this month, Nicaragua began to establish territorial militias. Based on the degree of organization and training already attained through extensive combat experience, many militia units will now be based permanently in rural areas of the country where invasions are expected.

The anniversary celebration also brought a response to one of the major problems facing Nicaragua's small and medium-sized farmers — their enormous debts.

Acting through their organization, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), Nicaragua's producers of basic food crops petitioned the revolutionary government for relief on their crushing debts, estimated to total some \$35 million.

The FSLN promised an answer would be given on July 19, and Commander Ortega laid out the government's response.

All debts will be forgiven to farmers who have already attained the most advanced form of agricultural cooperatives, where fences have been pulled down and the land is worked in common.

All debts up to the 1982 harvest will be forgiven to farmers who have attained a minimum level of cooperative organization, where they maintain title to their own parcels of land but deal jointly with the government in terms of financing, technical aid, and the marketing of crops.

All debts up to the 1981 harvest will be forgiven to private producers of basic food crops.

In addition, all debts stemming from war damage and all debts held by farmers who are members of the militias or reserve battalions will be completely wiped out.



Nuevo Diario

July 19 in León. Banner says, "All weapons in hands of the people make this Sandinista power invincible."

Blockade threat big step toward war

Continued from front page

policy . . . had been unsuccessful in blocking the expansion of Soviet and Cuban influence" in Central America.

Among the proposals in the NSC working paper was a 40 percent increase in the overall level of U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran, Honduran, Guatemalan, and Costa Rican governments; expansion of U.S. air and naval bases in Honduras; and the prepositioning of U.S. military equipment there.

Several hundred U.S. military personnel are already stationed at bases in Honduras. Speaking of the use of U.S. combat troops in the region, the NSC working paper noted that "the credible threat of such use is needed to deter overt Soviet/Cuban intervention."

Another proposal presented in the NSC document was for the formation of a bipartisan commission on Central America — a decision that was announced by Reagan in his July 18 speech. (See accompanying editorial.) Henry Kissinger, who is to head the newly appointed panel, has already come out in favor of "an overt American military presence on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border."

It is worth noting how the "doves" in Congress have reacted to Reagan's latest steps. With U.S. naval forces on the move and top officials talking about the possibility of a "quarantine" against Nicaragua, the House of Representatives held a secret session July 19 to discuss whether U.S.-financed attacks against Nicaragua should be "overt" or "covert."

The disagreement between Reagan and the congressional doves is over *how* the war against the peoples of Central America should be carried out, not over *whether* to use military force against the extension of the socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere.

The advance of the revolutions in the region is forcing the hand of the U.S. rulers. Commenting on the formation of the Kissinger commission, the *Washington Post* referred to Reagan's "desperation in Central America," while the *New York Times* took note of "the palpable dread of disaster" there. "On the present course, we are certain to lose," complained one top official quoted in the *Times* July 20.

While U.S. officials, from Reagan on down, issue hypocritical accusations of "Soviet/Cuban intervention" in Central America, the real intervention by Washington is escalating at a record rate. In early May the CIA told Congress that it was backing a counterrevolutionary army of some 7,000 men, based mainly in Honduras. But on July 13, U.S. officials revealed that the CIA now has plans to work with nearly twice as many rightist rebels — some 12,000 to 15,000.

Attacks on Nicaragua by the counter-revolutionary forces, which are aided by the Honduran army as well as U.S. personnel, are being organized by Washington in hopes of provoking a war between Nicaragua and Honduras. Such a war would provide the U.S. rulers with a pretext for further escalating their intervention.

Encouraged by Washington's new war moves, the Honduran regime has stepped up its provocations against Nicaragua. On July 20 alone, there were 11 separate violations of Nicaraguan airspace by planes from Honduras and an attack by Honduran military vessels on a Nicaraguan coast guard boat.

In any case, the drive by Washington toward the use of U.S. combat troops in Central America is now undeniable. On July 17 the presidents of Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico — the so-called Contadora Group — expressed "profound concern for the rapid deterioration" of the situation in Central America. At a hastily arranged meeting in the Mexican resort island of Cancún, the four presidents urged "states with interests and ties to the region to . . . commit themselves, without reservation, in favor of the diplomatic option for peace."

The following day Reagan answered the plea for peace by dispatching a U.S. fleet to Central America.

Meanwhile, on July 17, *New York Times* correspondent Marliese Simons reported that top Sandinista leaders in Managua linked the Cancún meeting of the Contadora Group "with what they said were sudden private warnings from France and Spain that the Reagan Administration had decided to take drastic steps, including military action involving the Honduran army, to overthrow the Sandinistas."

Soviet leaders, according to the Sandinistas, also regard the situation as "very worrying."

Although the Sandinista leadership has repeatedly stressed its desire for negotiations, Washington has rebuffed such offers. Speaking at the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution on July 19, Commander Daniel Ortega announced Nicaragua's support for the latest proposals of the Contadora Group.

At the same time, Nicaragua's revolutionary government has refused to be intimidated by U.S. threats and has taken steps to strengthen the country's defenses against counterrevolutionary attack.

Workers and farmers in Nicaragua know that in defending their country against imperialist attack they are also defending the social gains that they have made as a result of their revolution. As Simons noted in the July 19 *Times*, "The Nicaraguan Government has handed out titles to more land in the past two months than it did previously

in all four years it has been in power."

More than 60,000 Nicaraguan families have received title to land as part of the new cooperatives being established by the government. And with the land, they also receive weapons to defend their farms.

"Some leaders of the rebel groups operating from Honduras have said that if they came to power they would favor returning lands confiscated by the revolutionaries to the former owners," Simons reported.

The U.S. rulers know that the Nicaraguan people will fight long and hard to defend their revolution. And they also know that going to war against Nicaragua means going to war against Cuba as well. The revolutionary government in Cuba has repeatedly vowed that it will treat an attack on Nicaragua as an attack on Cuba. If the Cubans were willing to send tens of thousands of internationalist fighters across the Atlantic Ocean to help newly independent Angola repel an invasion by the South African racists, and to help defend the Ethiopian revolution, is there any doubt about what they would be prepared to do in Central America?

Cuba, Nicaragua, and the small Caribbean island of Grenada all went through revolutions that broke the back of U.S.-supported dictatorships and brought the working people to political power. Their success in freeing themselves from imperialist domination and the gains that the workers and peasants in these countries have made as a result stand as a beacon for working people throughout the region.

Even worse, from Washington's point of view, is that the revolutionary working-class leaderships in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are continually explaining and popularizing their accomplishments and their solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in the rest of Central America and the Caribbean. Their revolutionary internationalist political course compounds the problems that the U.S. rulers face in trying to suppress the revolutions in Central America.

What is involved is not Cuban military advisers, or Nicaraguan gun-running, although Cuba and Nicaragua have every right to aid the Salvadoran people in their struggle against the U.S.-armed and U.S.-financed dictatorship that has already slaughtered 40,000 people. The main threat posed by Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada is their revolutionary example. They are living proof that it is possible to fight U.S. imperialism and to win, and that the results are worth the fight.

Faced with the prospect of the extension of the socialist revolution to El Salvador, and ultimately to all of Central America, Washington has embarked on a course that has brought the entire region to the brink of all-out war.

N. Calif. support won for political asylum

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — The response to Héctor Marroquín's brief tour of the Northern California Bay Area this month showed the breadth of forces that have come to support his fight and see it as their own.

The State Department was even forced to downplay publicly the implications of his plea for political asylum based on the political persecution he faces in his native Mexico. A spokesman "who asked not to be identified" told the *San Francisco Chronicle* that "by giving asylum to Marroquín and the Salvadoran applicants, the Reagan administration would be taking the politically unpopular step of formally accusing Mexico and El Salvador of persecuting their people."

But, the spokesman claimed at the same time, a favorable ruling for Marroquín would have "little or no impact" on the Salvadoran asylum cases.

Thousands of Bay Area residents learned about the case for the first time through the extensive media coverage of Marroquín's tour. In addition to the *Chronicle* article and several radio shows, four or five television stations ran interviews with Marroquín, including one on-the-scene report of him talking to workers at a San Jose tortilla factory recently raided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Marroquín also took his case to workers at several San Francisco garment shops and got a friendly response. "Your fight belongs to all of us," said one woman who was returning to El Salvador in a week to visit her children.

Central Labor Council message

The tour was able to broaden support for Marroquín's political asylum fight from officials of the labor movement. Marroquín met for almost an hour with Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, business manager of the Santa Clara Central Labor Council. They discussed not only the progress of Marro-



Militant/Sherry Fekete
"Héctor stands for and is symbolic of many people," Hotel and Restaurant Workers union official told North Bay rally.

quín's case but also the response of the San Jose labor movement to stepped-up INS raids in the area.

Cervantes-Gautschi sent a message to the July 7 rally for Marroquín in San Jose that began, "On behalf of the Central Labor Council I wish to extend our support for your struggle on behalf of immigrants and union activists."

The same theme was struck in greetings to the rally from Local 25 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, which "wished the Political Rights Defense Fund and Héctor well and every success in a struggle that endeavors to help us all."

Charles Lamb, the president of Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, told the North Bay rally that his union had taken a stand against the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and had filed a lawsuit in Washington demanding "extended voluntary departure status" for Salvadorans. This would protect the union's Salvadoran members against deportation for as long as the war continues.

"Héctor stands for and is symbolic of many people," Lamb told the rally.

Several events were organized to give solidarity activists a chance to meet with Marroquín. These included a reception at La Peña, a cultural and political center in Berkeley. About 25 Latinos attended a Spanish-language event in Redwood City, a city midway between San Jose and San Francisco. They discussed not only the importance of Marroquín's case, but also the role of immigrant workers in the American revolution and in Marroquín's organizations, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

The high point of the tour was the North Bay rally in San Francisco July 8, attended by nearly 100 people. The meeting was held at the Holy Redeemer Church, whose priest, Father James Hagen, told the crowd, "This is what I think churches are for — meetings for social justice and protecting the oppressed."

'Real terrorists are prowar politicians'

Holy Redeemer has an active program for Salvadoran refugees, and Hagen told the rally, "If Héctor Marroquín and our refugees are terrorists, then all of us are. Because if there is to be justice in our country, then the order of things must be turned upside down." The real terrorists, he said, are the "respected politicians" who support the war in El Salvador.

James Bell of the National Conference of Black Lawyers said he was there "to express NCBL's opposition to any efforts to

deport Héctor Marroquín." He hit at the need for organizations like his to "take up the immigration issue head on."

One of the speakers brought the crowd to its feet chanting "Viva El Salvador Libre." She was Rosa María Rivera, a founding member of the Salvadoran teachers union ANDES and herself an applicant for political asylum in the United States.

Speaking in Spanish, she told the rally the facts she had proven to interviewers. Rivera's 22-year-old son was "disappeared" by the army and never seen again. Her brother, a doctor who treated the poor, was assassinated. A cousin was murdered and his burned and decapitated body found later. After Rivera fled, her house was raided by soldiers who told the new tenants they were looking for "that old communist woman Rosa María."

The U.S. government has had these facts for two years, but it has so far refused to grant political asylum to Rivera.

Young Communist League backs fight

Rene Schroff, a leader of the Young Communist League in San Francisco, told the rally the YCL was there "to join our voice to all those who have spoken already demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín." Marroquín's struggle with the INS, she said, "is a fight against a policy that has been racist from the beginning and that is political."

"Marroquín is a socialist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party," Schroff went on, "but we understand that the attack on him is an attack on all those with socialist and communist politics."

Greetings to the rally were also delivered by Bea Eisman, executive secretary of the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association. She explained that her organization "supports the right of political asylum for Héctor Marroquín, as well as for the thousands of Salvadoran refugees who are fleeing repression in their country."

In addition to Marroquín himself, the rally was also addressed by Marc VanderHout, who is supervising attorney for the Central America Refugee Program and represents 200 Salvadorans seeking asylum, and by Mario Contreras of the Bay Area Committee Against Simpson-Mazzoli, who explained the need for a united campaign to fight the anti-immigrant bill.

Protest messages demanding the deportation order against Marroquín be dropped should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

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

Boston socialist wins round in ballot fight

BY DON GUREWITZ

BOSTON — A victory has been scored in the fight for ballot status by Eloise Linger, a garment worker running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for mayor of Boston. The city's election department, reversing itself, has announced that Linger has the required number of signatures to be on the ballot in the September 27 primary elections.

The city requires each candidate to submit nominating petitions with signatures of 3,000 voters. Linger turned in 10,200, of which the election department says only 3,132 are valid.

The threat to disqualify Linger was based on the many signatures she gathered in the Black community, where a big voter registration drive is under way. In an openly racist move, officials said they were counting these new voters' signatures as "invalid." Elections Department Executive Secretary Jack McElligott was even quoted in the July 12 *Lynn Item* saying, "I've told them [the socialists] that they've got to concentrate on areas of the city where people register to vote, get out to the good neighborhoods. . . ."

But the fight is not over, Linger told the *Militant*. From August 3-9 her petitions can be challenged, and the board has "validated" only slightly more than the required 3,000.

S.F. firefighters sue after PCB fire

BY JAN GANGEL

SAN FRANCISCO — Firefighters who battled an electrical transformer fire that contaminated a major office building and several surrounding blocks in this city's downtown area with PCBs and dioxin are suing the transformer's owners, Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) for \$100 million.

The fire took place Sunday, May 15. According to the firefighters' attorney, Manton Selby, when Assistant Fire Chief Dave Hinman arrived at the fire, "He asked not one time but many times whether there was a danger of PCBs, and PG&E employees continually told the firefighters it was not a PCB fire."

If the firefighters had been informed of the danger at the outset, Selby noted, they would have worn protective gear and air packs. PCB, or polychlorinated biphenyls, is a chemical used as an industrial insulator in electrical equipment, and was declared a hazardous substance by the U.S. government in 1977.

On May 21, the *San Francisco Examiner* revealed in a page one story that a dioxin known as TCD was created from the burning of PCBs in the PG&E transformer. This dioxin is 1,000 times more toxic than PCBs.

In the underground vault where the fire took place, 15 parts per million of TCDs were present. On the street above after the blaze, three parts per million were found. One part per million is considered dangerous.

Two months have passed, but office workers at the One Market Plaza building are still worried about their health. As a receptionist put it, "I don't trust PG&E to tell us the truth about whether there's a hazard."

Certain floors of the building are still contaminated, and may take months to be cleaned, according to Richard Wad, the hazardous waste expert for the city. He said it was fortunate that the blaze did not take place on a weekday, when there would have been many thousands more people exposed.

The day after the fire, a group of officials from Service Employees International

Union (SEIU) Local 87, which represents maintenance workers at the building, handed out leaflets warning their members not to enter the building without checking with the union, and advised them to carry out certain safety precautions.

On June 15, 100 janitors from SEIU Local 87 marched on City Hall demanding that PG&E rid San Francisco of all underground transformers containing PCBs. At a hearing of the city's health committee that same day, the union local's president called PG&E a corporate criminal.

Meanwhile, Democratic Mayor Dianne Feinstein has stated that the city had "very strong voluntary cooperation" from PG&E regarding an accelerated transformer replacement program. But news reports revealed that the most dangerous PCB transformers, located in 40 underground vaults all over the city, would be replaced "as soon as possible on a priority basis yet to be worked out." PG&E had originally asked for a 20-year replacement program.

Also suing PG&E for a total of \$6 million are four companies that have offices in the contaminated building.

The position taken by Pat Wright, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco, has been in striking contrast to the reassuring response of Mayor Feinstein to the negligence of PG&E. Wright is a maintenance worker at PG&E's Hunters Point power plant and a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1245.

"I demand that PG&E immediately remove hazardous PCBs from all their equipment," Wright told the *Militant*. "On June 13, PG&E had the gall to announce that they will be seeking a rate increase to cover the \$64 million they say they must spend for the replacement of the more than 900 PCB transformers in the city. This means that once again working people are to pay for corporate crimes."

"The people of San Francisco should not pay one penny of the cost of cleaning up PG&E's mess," Wright declared.

"The capitalists who own PG&E never have and never will put the health and safety of their employees and the commu-



Militant/Harry Ring
Socialist mayoral candidate Pat Wright: "Capitalists who own PG&E will never put health and safety before profits."

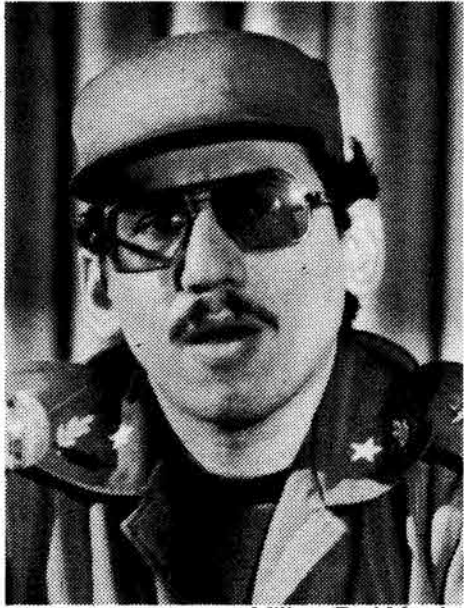
nity before concerns for their profits."

The firefighters suing PG&E deserve every penny they can get to make up for the utility company's gross negligence, Wright said.

She concluded, "PG&E's foot-dragging on removing PCB transformers, their cover-up of the hazards involved, and the slaps on the wrist that they get from the government controlled by the rich, with their Democratic and Republican politicians, points to the need for our own political party — a labor party, based on our unions — that can really fight for our own government, a government that above all defends the living conditions and the rights of workers and farmers at the city, state, and national level."

Jan Gangel is an auxiliary operator at PG&E's Hunters Point power plant and a member of IBEW Local 1245.

Nicaragua sets elections for 1985 as workers' political power advances



Militant/Fred Murphy
Humberto Ortega: "Mark my words, they [1985 elections] will be elections to improve revolutionary power, not to raffle off who will hold power."

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Is Nicaragua a totalitarian state run by a dictatorial minority — the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)?

This is one of the favorite themes of U.S. imperialist propaganda against the Nicaraguan revolution.

It is echoed by local representatives of reaction. These range from the U.S.-financed Somozaist army based in Honduras, to the counterrevolutionary forces under ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora in Costa Rica, the Catholic church hierarchy, and right-wing Nicaraguan political parties.

What are the facts?

What the capitalists don't like

What the imperialists and Nicaraguan capitalists call "totalitarianism" can be summed up in three bitter realities they have had to face.

1. The landlords and capitalists — the former ruling classes in Nicaragua — are precisely that: *former* ruling classes. There is a new revolutionary government in Nicaragua today that represents the interests of the workers and small farmers who make up the overwhelming majority of the population.

2. The former ruling classes lost political power, not through an election (elec-

tions nowhere and at no time have ever changed which *classes* rule a society), but through a revolutionary war and massive popular insurrection which 50,000 people sacrificed their lives to bring to victory.

3. The old minority of exploiters have no hope whatsoever of regaining political power through elections or any other peaceful means. That is why they are increasingly open in their support to the armed counterrevolution.

This entire process has been led by the FSLN, which is at one and the same time the vanguard of the working class, the backbone of the new revolutionary administration of governmental power, and a political party with massive support among the people.

What exists in Nicaragua today is something new in mainland Latin America — a workers and farmers government. That is, a government that gives priority to the *social and economic interests* of the worker-farmer majority over the *profits* of the capitalist minority.

The workers and farmers government in Nicaragua is encouraging the organization of the toilers, their participation in every aspect of social life, and, through this process, their increasing control over society and the economy. It is laying the basis for the transition from capitalist production to a planned economy run collectively by the producers.

This is what imperialism calls "totalitarianism."

Preparations for elections

Although you'd never know it from press coverage in the United States, elections are scheduled here for 1985. In fact, one of the central activities this year of Nicaragua's parliament, the Council of State, has been the discussion and approval, point by point, of a major piece of election legislation — the Law on Political Parties.

In weekly sessions, open to the public and widely covered in the country's three main newspapers, legislators are hammering out a code that will serve as the basis for formalizing the status of qualifying political parties.

A parliamentary delegation, which all seven parties represented in the Council of State were invited to join, has visited nine countries in Western Europe and Latin America to examine their electoral legislation.

The draft law that is being discussed was initially introduced in the Council of State

on Feb. 22, 1982. Discussion on it was interrupted by the state of emergency that opened in March 1982, following the first wave of counterrevolutionary attacks.

Discussion was renewed in November; included a national symposium in January in which *all political parties*, even those too small to be represented in the Council of State, were invited to attend and express their views; and became the first order of business when the 1983 parliamentary session began May 4.

So why do the imperialists try to dismiss all this as a farce?

What is the Council of State?

To begin with, they and their local allies don't exactly like the Council of State. It is not exactly their idea of what a parliament should be like.

The debate over this goes all the way back to the months preceding the victory of the July 1979 insurrection.

In June of 1979, based on the apparent relationship of forces that existed in the anti-Somoza movement, the FSLN and the bourgeois opposition reached preliminary agreement on who would be represented in the post-Somoza parliament.

Thirty-three seats were to be divided among 23 organizations, at least half of which represented various sectors of the capitalist class. Exactly how the seats were to be divided was left to be determined later. But it was generally assumed, at least by the bourgeoisie, that they would have a majority.

Things worked out differently in life. It was the mass of the toilers who carried out the insurrection that toppled Somoza and smashed the National Guard. And the new parliament, when it first met May 4, 1980, reflected this changed relationship of forces in its composition.

The new, revolutionary Council of State was made up of 47 representatives, divided among 29 organizations. To the old list, 14 new organizations were added and 8 were dropped.

Among the most important organizations added were the following:

Nine seats to the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), the organizations that grew out of the neighborhood insurrectionary committees and today number some 600,000 members.

Three seats to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the union federation that emerged out of the revolution to become the country's largest, organizing four-fifths of the industrial work force.

Two seats to the Rural Workers Association (ATC), which also grew out of the revolution and today numbers over 30,000 members.

Two seats to the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), which represents the country's largest social class, the small and medium farmers and stockraisers.

And one seat each for the Sandinista armed forces, the Sandinista Youth-July 19 (JS-19), the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE), the teachers union (ANDEN), the health workers union (FET-SALUD), and the Federation of Trade Union Unity and Action (CAUS).

Furthermore, two organizations were provided representation additional to that envisioned in the old setup. The FSLN was allotted six seats and the General Workers Federation-Independent (CGT-I), the labor federation led by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), was allotted two.

Revolutionary democracy

Where did this leave the capitalists? They retained an ample but minority voice. Five seats were allotted to the main big-business and agricultural organizations, four seats to right-wing political parties, and two seats to right-wing union federations that openly and formally function as part of the rightist bloc.

In short, the Council of State's composition simply formalizes the popular, revolutionary, and working-class democracy that was born out of the insurrection.

The Sandinistas explained it this way in a 1981 publication:

"The organizations now included in the Council of State that weren't envisioned in the first proclamation by the [provisional] Governmental Junta are those that were formed during the development of the most pressing activities of our people, those who were never before permitted to organize."

"These organizations arose in the people's struggle against the dictatorship, and grew at a dizzying rate after the armed triumph thanks to the freedom of organization they were guaranteed by the revolution."

"These organizations represent the majority of the Nicaraguan people, and by that alone deserve to be represented in the Council of State."

Capitalists demand immediate elections

The capitalists, of course, didn't simply roll over and play dead. Urged on by the U.S. embassy, and backed by the church hierarchy and their labor lieutenants, they fought to block installation of the new Council of State.

Millionaire industrialist Alfonso Robelo, leader of a bourgeois party called the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), resigned from the Government of National Reconstruction April 22, 1980, 12 days before the new parliament first met.

It was clear, however, that the Council of State had overwhelming popular acceptance. So the capitalists switched tactics. They became the most vocal proponents of elections to the national government, immediate elections.

The FSLN promised elections in its program, they said. Elections are required by the human rights covenants that Nicaragua is a signatory to.

The need to reconstruct the country's war-shattered economy should pose no obstacle, they insisted.

And, citing the success of the campaign to teach the alphabet and basic reading skills to Nicaragua's formerly illiterate majority, they claimed everyone is now prepared to vote.

In other words, the very same forces who tried to *keep the masses out* of the Council of State were now posing as protectors of democracy.

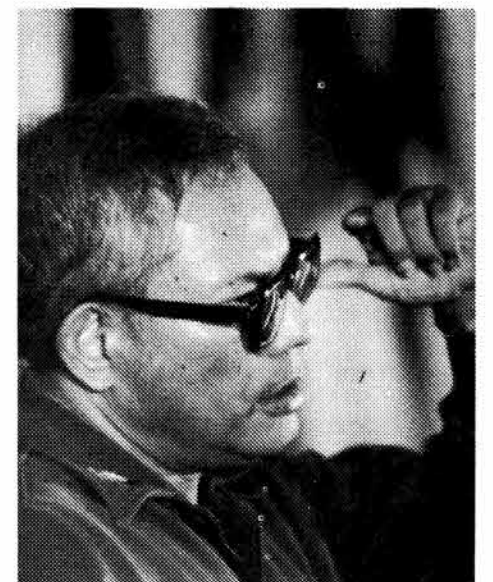
Masses back FSLN proposal

At a rally of 350,000 in Managua Aug. 23, 1980, to celebrate the conclusion of the literacy campaign, the FSLN responded to these arguments.

Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Sandinista armed forces, read to the rally an official communique of the FSLN National Leadership on the question of elections and asked for their opinion.

The points Ortega raised go to the heart of the discussion today. They are worth recalling.

"For the Sandinista Front," Ortega said, "democracy is not something that is expressed solely in the political arena."



Militant/Michael Baumann
Tomás Borge explained that counter-revolutionaries "will not find circumstances permitting" them to take power in elections.

Political parties in Nicaragua

There are at present 10 political parties in Nicaragua. No figures exist on size, but it is clear that even in terms of formal membership the FSLN is at least several times larger than all others combined.

Seven of these parties are aligned with one or the other of the two political fronts in the Council of State.

The first is the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (FPR). Generally supported by the 12 mass organizations and 4 of the trade-union federations, it is formally made up of the following parties:

FSLN — Sandinista National Liberation Front.

PSN — Nicaraguan Socialist Party. The traditional Moscow-line party in Nicaragua, which split in 1978, with a wing going over to the FSLN.

PLI — Independent Liberal Party. A small formation that describes itself as representing "patriotic professionals and patriotic businessmen."

PPSC — People's Social Christian Party. A small formation that split from the Social Christian Party in the 1970s.

The second front is the right-wing "Democratic Coordinating Committee," which includes:

PSC — Social Christian Party.

PLC — Liberal Constitutionalist Party.

PSD — Social Democratic Party (not represented in the Council of State).

Two union federations represented in the Council of State function as formal mem-

bers of the "Democratic Coordinating Committee". They are:

CTN — Nicaraguan Workers Federation. Linked with the Christian-Democratic labor movement in Europe and Latin America.

CUS — Council on Trade Union Unification. Linked with the CIA-dominated American Institute for Free Labor Development.

A fourth right-wing political party, the Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), although a member of the Council of State, does not send a delegate and does not participate in the "Democratic Coordinating Committee."

Two ultraleft formations not represented in the Council of State complete the list of parties:

PCN — Nicaraguan Communist Party. Split from PSN in 1971. The PCN professes loyalty to Moscow but has no official relations with the Soviet Communist Party. It leads a small but important labor organization, the Federation of Trade Union Unity and Action (CAUS), which is represented in the Council of State.

MAP-ML — People's Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist. This group distinguished itself by refusing to disband its private militia after the insurrection, and by encouraging strikes against the revolutionary government among relatively privileged workers.

— M.B.



Council of State (above) "formalizes the popular, revolutionary, and working-class democracy that was born out of the insurrection." It includes representatives of mass organizations of women, youth, and farmers, as well as unions. Sign at right reads "Working people: people's power."



Militant/Fred Murphy

Democracy is not simply elections.

"It means the people's participation in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. And the more people participate in all these areas, the more democracy there is."

"Democracy starts in the economic realm, when social inequalities begin to weaken, when the workers and peasants can better their standard of living."

"When these objectives have been reached, democracy is soon extended to other areas [such as] workers' participation in the administration of the factories, haciendas [farms], cooperatives, and cultural centers."

"To summarize, democracy is the intervention of the masses in all aspects of social life."

The first step, Ortega said, had to be rebuilding the economy and society. The FSLN estimated this could not possibly be accomplished before 1985 due to the massive devastation wreaked by Somoza's forces in the course of their war against the Nicaraguan people.

Thus Ortega proposed that the existing Government of National Reconstruction remain in office until 1985, at which time elections would be held — elections totally different from those held in capitalist-ruled countries.

"They won't be like the old elections, imposed on us by the gringos," Ortega stressed.

"They are imposed by you, by the working people, by the Sandinista Youth, by the National Directorate of this revolution. These are our elections."

"And mark my words, they will be elections to improve revolutionary power, not to raffle off who will hold power. Because here the people hold power through their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front" (emphasis in original).

"Do you agree?" he asked the rally.

Hundreds of thousands of fists shot into the air amid prolonged chants of "Sí!" and "People's power!"

Sergio Ramírez, a Sandinista member of the Government of National Reconstruction, summed up the meaning of the rally's decision:

"Now that our people have learned how to read, now we can start to discuss democracy with the feudalists and old political bosses. Today we can tell them that we have voted in the first democratic election law in our country's history."

"This is an election law bearing the signature of nearly half a million humble Nicaraguans — poor peasants, workers from the factories and shops, landless agricultural laborers, small farmers, market vendors — all of whom have been taught to read by you."

Unlike in the past, he said, when the landowners and the capitalists controlled the elections, the vast majority of those who are going to vote in the new Nicaragua are "those who have no property, who collect no rent, who have little or nothing, who aspire to a life with dignity and without poverty, not to exploit their brothers and sisters without mercy."

This is the course that the Sandinistas have followed. As FSLN Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge explained in a December 1982 interview, when he was asked whether his conception of pluralism in-

cluded the possibility of the opposition coming to power: "To be frank with you, I don't think they will find circumstances permitting that."

Capitalists boycott Council of State

If the capitalists weren't happy with the Council of State, they were even less enchanted with the prospect of elections to "improve revolutionary power."

Over the next two and a half years, as the revolution continued to deepen and consolidate its support among workers and farmers, the bourgeois opposition gradually began to complain more and more about the supposed lack of democratic rights in Nicaragua. At the same time, they increasingly refused to exercise the democratic rights that they did have, turning instead to armed resistance against the workers and farmers government.

Alfonso Robelo and most of the leaders of the MDN left the country to join Pastora's armed counterrevolutionary forces in Costa Rica. Since the MDN has taken up arms against the revolution, it is no longer a legal political party and has been removed from the Council of State.

Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, millionaire leader of the Democratic Conservative Party (PCD), has also left Nicaragua. He joined the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries in Honduras, where he is one of the central leaders of the U.S.-financed Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN).

The PCD still retains its seat in the Council of State, but refuses to attend any sessions.

The five big-business organizations represented in the Council of State generally boycott all sessions. One of them has never bothered to name a delegate.

The two right-wing union federations, the Federation of Trade Union Unification (CUS) and the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), generally do not show up, and seldom speak when they do.

Law on political parties

As of mid-July, about half the draft of the Law on Political Parties has been discussed, frequently amended, and voted on point by point.

The main political points so far approved can be summarized as follows:

The aim of political parties is to "attain power."

Political parties that seek a return to Somozaism "or propose similar principles and aims" are prohibited.

Parties' rights are spelled out in detail and include the right to:

- Publicize their views, including through access to TV and other mass media.
- Hold meetings.
- Criticize the government.
- Form alliances with other parties.
- Seek incorporation in the Council of State.

- Run in elections.
- Raise and administer their own funds, and maintain offices throughout the country.

Parties' obligations are also spelled out in detail. The most important include:

- "Respect the political and social gains attained by our people."
- "Defend the revolution against any attempt, external or internal, that seeks the installation of a regime of oppression and exploitation of the Nicaraguan people."
- "Fight to preserve the liberty and independence of the country, and to defend the national sovereignty and self-determination of the Nicaraguan people."

nation of the Nicaraguan people."

• "Accept responsibility for actions taken by the alliances they may form with other parties."

As a result of discussion, a few points of the law as actually passed were altered from the original draft, which was largely drawn up by the FSLN.

The original, for example, stated that the aim of political parties was to "participate in public administration." It said nothing about "attaining power."

The original draft also listed nine principles that political parties would have to accept to gain legal standing. These ranged from "anti-imperialism" to "anti-interventionism" to "support for people fighting for national liberation." This whole point was dropped.

These changes are in accordance with the pledge the FSLN made at the beginning of this year's discussion on the law. Rafael Solís, secretary of the Council of State and delegate to it from the Sandinista armed forces, said:

"We have been and continue to be prepared to hold discussions even with those sectors that are opposed to the revolution, that are against it, on each and every one of the points contained in the draft law. . . . What we are not prepared to compromise on are the questions of principle; on these we have a firm position, with little possibility of modification."

There is a threat to democracy in Nicaragua today. But it comes not from the FSLN, not from the country's majority of workers and farmers whose interests the FSLN represents. It comes from the U.S.-armed, U.S.-trained, and U.S.-paid counterrevolutionary forces that are invading Nicaragua to try to turn the clock back to the days of Somoza.

Features in new 'Intercontinental Press'

BY DAVID RUSSELL

The July 25 issue of *Intercontinental Press* has a number of features that will be of interest to *Militant* readers.

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly international magazine that carries articles and documents from the revolutionary workers movement around the world as well as news analysis. It reports on the various views within the Fourth International and the activities of its sections and supporters, as well as printing documents, speeches, and articles by the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian leaderships and other revolutionaries around the world.

Much of this material is available nowhere else in English.

Events in the Middle East are featured in the latest issue of *IP*. Two articles by David Frankel analyze the Syrian government's attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and place the Syrian moves in the context of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The PLO, according to Frankel, is facing the biggest and most sustained offensive against it since its birth. "The U.S. and Israeli rulers are determined to destroy the drive by the Palestinians to regain their homeland," he writes, "and the Syrian regime, for its own reasons, has joined in the campaign against the PLO."

A differing view is offered by Livio

Maitan, a leader of the Fourth International and a contributing editor to *IP*. Maitan tends to view the rebellion within the PLO as basically progressive, arguing that "it is necessary to transform the structures and the methods of functioning that have prevailed [within the PLO] up till now."

Along with these articles is an interview with Col. Saed Musa, the leader of the rebel forces within the PLO.

Also featured in this issue of *IP* is the second article in a three-part series on South Africa by Ernest Harsch. Harsch's article takes up the history, activities, and views of the African National Congress, the main organized group in the fight by the Black majority for its liberation. Other currents within the Black population are also discussed in Harsch's article. The first part of his series examined the growth of the Black union movement in South Africa, and the third will deal with the failure of the racist regime's attempts to stem the mass radicalization in the country.

Reactions to the pope's trip to Poland in June are featured in *IP*'s "Selections From the Left" department, which excerpts the views presented in various left newspapers from around the world.

Two interviews with Pedro Camejo are reprinted from the Australian socialist newspapers *Direct Action* and *Resistance*.

Camejo recently completed a speaking tour in that country.

Copies of the July 25 *IP* can be obtained by sending \$1.25 to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Better yet, fill in the accompanying subscription blank and get *IP* regularly.

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Farrell Dobbs on multinational character of U.S. working class

The following is the concluding section of the preface to the second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States* by Farrell Dobbs. This volume is subtitled "Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922." Dobbs has been a communist since 1934. A leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, he was the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to unionize over-the-road drivers. He served 13 months in federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, for his political opposition to U.S. imperialism's course in World War II.

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

This second volume of the series will go on sale in August. It is copyright 1983 and reprinted by permission of the Anchor Foundation.

BY FARRELL DOBBS

I have tried both in this volume and the previous one to avoid the adjective "American" in reference to the United States, using "U.S." instead. Although "American" is commonly used, and has been by many Marxists inside and outside the United States, I have chosen not to do so for two reasons.

First, the Americas stretch from the arctic regions of English Canada and Quebec to the southernmost parts of Argentina and Chile, with two continents, the entire Caribbean basin, and an isthmus in between. Are the only things "American" those "from the Redwood forest to the New York island"? Clearly not. The working people of America hail from Toronto, Bogotá, Kansas City, Havana, Tegucigalpa, Port au Prince, and São Paulo — not just New York, Birmingham, Kansas City, and Los Angeles.

Second, in the U.S. context, the term "American" has often come to connote the opposite of "foreign." In this chauvinistic usage, promoted by the bourgeoisie through schools, press, and pulpit, something is "as American as apple pie" or somebody "a red-blooded American," while something else or somebody else is not. If you speak English, were born in the United States, and, preferably, are white, then you're a "real American."

Multinational working class

One of the central lessons from both this and the previous volume of *Revolutionary Continuity*, however, is that the working class and its allies in the United States have always been multinational and multilingual — native born and foreign born; English-speaking, non-English-speaking, and bilingual; white, Black, Latin American, and — of course — American Indian. The fight to build a communist party that can lead the U.S. working class and its allies to power

has from the outset required the gathering of a proletarian cadre, of a membership and leadership, that reflects this multinational character of the toilers of the United States.

This relates to another question of terminology — one that figures prominently in Theodore Draper's 1957 history, *The Roots of American Communism*, which is still today the most widely used and only relatively thorough history of the founding years of the communist movement in the United States. Throughout that book, Draper repeatedly uses the term "foreign language federations" to refer to the organizations in both the Socialist Party and the Communist parties in the United States that grouped together many immigrant workers on the basis of their language and national origin; that published newspapers and other literature and held internal and public political events in those languages; and that elected their own leaderships. A number of things are wrong with the picture of these organizations presented by Draper.

First, the term "foreign language" federations was never that used by members of those organizations themselves; a language — including English — is only "foreign," to those who don't speak it as their first tongue, not to those who do. Generally these organizations called themselves, for example, the Russian Socialist Federation or the Russian Communist Federation, the Finnish Socialist or Communist Federation, the Jewish Socialist or Communist Federation, etc.

Second, Draper gives the incorrect impression that all or virtually all foreign-born workers in the U.S. socialist and communist movement belonged to one or another federation. The truth is that many did not, including central leaders of the SP left wing who helped form the communist movement. They held membership directly in the Socialist Party or one of the Communist parties.

Ultraleft sectarianism

Moreover, Draper's entire framework gives the impression that the mere fact of being foreign-born and non-English-speaking somehow made these militants politically sectarian toward the struggles by workers in the United States. This is not true. Immigrant and non-English-speaking workers were part of the vanguard of economic and political struggles by work-



Men's clothing workers strike in New York in 1919. Garment as well as other U.S. industries at that time had many immigrant workers as they do today.

ers in the United States at every point in the history of the U.S. labor movement.

As I indicate, the majority of the leaders of the various communist language federations affiliated to the Communist parties were certainly ultraleft sectarians. But they had no corner on the market. Ultraleft sectarianism was a serious problem of the entire communist movement at that time, among both foreign-born and native-born leaders. The early communists were not as a whole deeply integrated into the living mass movement in the United States. Had they been, they would have been involved in struggles and labor organizations that often were heavily composed of immigrant workers; in some major industries, the majority of the workers were foreign born or Black.

The specific problem of organizational and political autonomy of various federations within the communist movement resulted from a lack of knowledge and experience among U.S. communists in constructing a centralized, Marxist workers' party, not from some peculiar innate streak of indiscipline among the foreign born; it was fundamentally the same question that Lenin had fought out in the early Russian Marxist movement.

The central conception of Draper's work is that communism was an "alien" concept in the United States, imported first by immigrant workers, and then from the Bolshevik leaders of the Russian revolution. It was never able to take root in the U.S. working-class movement, Draper claims, since it conflicted with homegrown "American" radical traditions.

This view makes "America" an exception to the laws of world history and the class struggle that hold good for other countries. It forms the link between Draper's anti-"foreign" twist and his anti-Russian and anticommunist conclusions. Scientific socialism itself, of course, was also a "foreign" import. Its attractive

power to thinking workers in the United States, however, came from the road forward it showed them in the class struggle, whose effects they experienced every day, regardless of their country of origin or their bosses' nationality.

So, in this book I have used the term "language federations" when referring to these organizations, specifying the language or national grouping when a particular one is being referred to.

Further reading

Finally, a note on sources. I have spared the reader the encumbrance of citations or footnotes in the text. Following the pattern of what seems to have been a useful appendix to the first volume, which included primarily letters from Engels to Marxists in the United States, I have added to the end of this volume several writings by Lenin referred to in the book. They will be cited at the appropriate point in the text.

No comprehensive collection of the reports, resolutions, and proceedings of the early congresses of the Communist International exists in English today. However, the bulk of the material from the Comintern congresses referred to in this book can be found in the following books, all of which are available from Pathfinder Press, the distributor of *Revolutionary Continuity*.

The main resolutions are available in *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International* and in a two-volume collection on the *Second Congress of the Communist International*, which also includes transcripts of the reports and discussion there. The book *Baku: Congress of the Peoples of the East* contains the proceedings from that gathering sponsored by the Communist International in 1920.

Lenin pulled together a team of Russian Communist Party leaders who played the central leading role in the early years of the Communist International and in its Executive Committee gatherings and related conferences. Nikolai Bukharin, Karl Radek, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev all drafted many resolutions and presented reports at the first four Comintern congresses. The record of the reports by Bukharin, Radek, and Zinoviev is largely unavailable in English today. Lenin's are available in his *Collected Works, Selected Works, Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International*, and other selections of his writings. The reports by Trotsky and resolutions drafted by him during those years have been published by Monad Press in the two-volume *First 5 Years of the Communist International*.

In addition, substantial quotations from the documents of the Red International of Labor Unions can be found in the introduction by Joseph Hansen to *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*.

Finally, my aim in this volume remains that indicated in the final paragraph of the introduction to the first volume: "I have had in view above all the oncoming generation of workers — Black, brown, and white, female and male — who are destined through their struggles to write the next chapters in the history of the emancipation of the toilers. Reliable knowledge of the past will help arm them to find the road to victory."

Int'l rally at socialist conference

An international solidarity rally will take place August 5 in Oberlin, Ohio, as part of the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference scheduled for July 30-August 6. The evening rally will salute the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the liberation movements of the Palestinians, Black South Africans, and others fighting for their freedom from imperialist domination

and class exploitation.

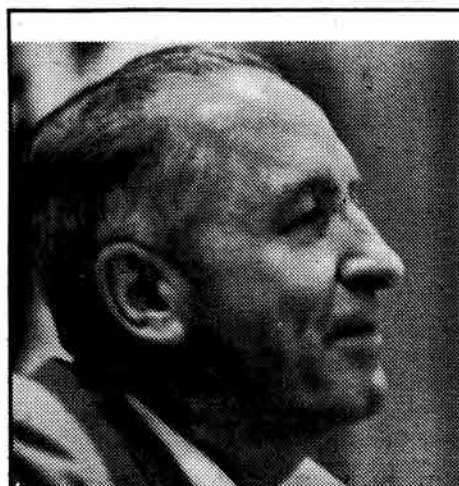
Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will attend the conference from around the country. International guests will also be present.

The conference will focus on the continuity of communism, with daily talks and major class series on Farrell Dobbs' new book (see above).

There will be many other classes, including dozens on the international class struggle from the Middle East, to Africa, Indochina, Ireland, Central America and the Caribbean.

Meetings will take place of socialists working in the steel, auto, coal mining, aerospace, garment and textile, rail, oil, and electrical industries. A final talk at the conference will sum up the results of these discussions of socialist workers and the next steps in the building of the revolutionary party.

If you would like to attend the conference, contact the Socialist Workers Party branch or Young Socialist Alliance chapter nearest you (see page 19), or write to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Revolutionary Continuity

Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922

By Farrell Dobbs. The second volume of this series will go on sale at the August conference in Ohio 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.

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

Socialist workers from across country discuss activity in garment-textile industry

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK — Socialist workers in the garment and textile industry recently made some important decisions in organizing their forces to participate more effectively in the political life of their unions. In doing so, they also developed further their understanding of what it will take to transform these unions into instruments that can effectively defend workers' interests against the employers' attacks.

The occasion for these discussions and decisions was a July 9 meeting here of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from some 20 cities. Most are responsible for organizing the participation of socialists in their cities in the garment and textile industry and unions.

The cities represented indicated the broad geographical spread of these unions. Participants came from shops as far away as California, Texas, and Denver. Several attended from the South, an important center of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) especially. From the Midwest came workers in Chicago, Detroit, and Minneapolis. A number attended from the East Coast, particularly New York and northern New Jersey, the longtime center of the garment industry, where one out of every three members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) works.

The meeting began with a report by Ken Shilman on behalf of the SWP's Trade Union Coordinating Committee. This body, a subcommittee of the party's Political Committee, is responsible for organizing the party's participation in the trade union movement.

Shilman's report proposed that socialist garment workers concentrate their forces in two key unions, the ILGWU and ACTWU. The report was adopted unanimously. It will next be presented to a meeting of all socialist workers active in the garment and textile industry who will be attending a national Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, July 30-August 6. This meeting will include not only ILGWU and ACTWU members, but also members of other smaller garment and textile unions, as well as socialists who are employed in non-union shops, which make up much of the industry. If the report to the Oberlin meeting is approved, these workers will redouble their efforts to seek employment in ILGWU and ACTWU shops.

The July 9 leadership meeting also voted to prepare separate meetings of socialist workers active in the ILGWU and ACTWU during the Oberlin conference.

Learning about the industry

The decision to concentrate socialist forces in the ILGWU and ACTWU, and in particular in the larger work sites organized by these unions, was the result of a process of learning about the industry and becoming actively involved in the unions. Leaders of the party's work in the New York garment industry discussed how this process has unfolded in that area. They explained that it took time and experience to learn that, while fruitful political discussion and work can be conducted among all sections of the working class today, in garment as in other industries, it is most valuable for socialists to be part of the strongest organizations of the working class in their industry.

Further discussion at the meeting made clear that socialist workers have already gone through a number of valuable experiences in the industry and in the two unions.

A diverse work force

The composition of the ILGWU and ACTWU reflect the changing face of the U.S. working class. Participants in the meeting from New York and California reported on the large number of Latino workers employed in the industry. Many of these workers are immigrants from Central America, including Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and others. Some of these workers bring with them experiences from the revolutionary and labor movements in their countries.

In New York and California, as well as



International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union struggle in New York's Chinatown last summer to enforce contract (left), and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union contingent in June 25 march at Ft. Benning, Georgia, to protest U.S. training of Salvadoran troops. Socialist workers in garment-textile industries plan to focus their activity in these two unions.



Militant/Susie Winsten

in Boston and elsewhere, a growing number of Asian immigrants are employed in the industry. In the summer of 1982 a struggle was led by Chinese workers in the ILGWU to enforce a union contract in New York's Chinatown garment shops. It demonstrated the militancy and class struggle capacities that these workers can bring to the union.

At the same time, the ILGWU and ACTWU are very much like other big industrial unions that include large numbers of Black and white workers in their memberships.

As in other unions, Black workers in particular play a key role and are among the most union conscious and militant members. Socialists from the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., area, as well as Atlanta, commented on this.

A leader of the party's work in Atlanta reported that young Black workers in a large warehouse organized by the ILGWU where she is employed have been involved in a determined battle with the company over shop floor conditions. These workers have turned to their union and have, in fact, demanded that the union officials respond more aggressively to attacks on their rights.

She also reported that many of these workers have expressed interest in Pathfinder Press' pamphlet *Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs*. While this pamphlet centers on the situation of workers in another industry, her coworkers see the need for class solidarity among all workers and are interested in some of the proposals contained in the pamphlet that relate to how all workers can respond to the employers' offensive.

Susan LaMont, a member of ACTWU in Maryland, reported on experiences that socialist workers at a local mattress factory have been through. In addition to shop floor struggles, the workers there, predominantly young Black men, have been involved in important anti-Ku Klux Klan protests, as well as an armband day in the plant on January 15, Martin Luther King's birthday.

August 27 march

Another socialist from Atlanta who is active in ACTWU reported on the preparations being made by her union and the rest of the Atlanta labor movement for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Organizing for the August 27 demonstration was another theme of the July 9 meeting. SWP National Cochairperson Malik Miah gave a special report on this, which stressed the importance of this action, not only as a march for Black rights, but as a key opportunity for the entire labor movement. He proposed that the party redouble its efforts to build the march, particularly in the union movement.

Betsy Farley, a member of the ILGWU in Pittsburgh, pointed to one of the problems facing unionists who are trying to do this. She reported that an ILGWU international staff representative in her area, asked by union members about August 27, responded that the ILGWU would not be building the demonstration. The union, this representative said, would instead be concentrating on local parades on Labor Day, around the theme of opposing foreign imports.

All of the ILGWU members who spoke at the July 9 meeting pointed to the depth of the protectionist, anti-imports campaign that is being led, with an almost evangelical fervor, by top officials of the union. This drive seeks to give the impression that these officials are actually doing something about the jobs crisis.

However, by placing the blame for unemployment, not on the capitalists who are responsible for layoffs, but on workers from other countries, the ILGWU officials reveal their inability and unwillingness to lead an effective defense of the interests of garment workers, including waging a real fight for jobs.

One ILGWU member at the meeting from Cleveland pointed out that ILGWU top officials' longtime support of U.S. government foreign policy also plays a role in their fervent support for the anti-imports campaign.

For these bureaucrats the protectionist drive is also an important tool in their ideological arsenal aimed at breaking down any idea of international working-class solidarity. This includes trying to blunt the deep opposition to a new Vietnam in Central America, which is widespread among garment workers and other working people.

Miah explained that the Labor Day parades, which the AFL-CIO has called across the country, should not be counterposed to August 27. He said that the march on Washington, with its call for peace and freedom as well as jobs, should be the central priority for all progressive unionists. The Labor Day parades can be an opportunity for workers to again oppose anti-working-class government policies. Socialists will participate along with other workers and raise their views on protectionism and U.S. war in Central America.

In her remarks, Farley stressed that the lack of support by some ILGWU officials for August 27 should not stop ILGWU members from building the demonstration. She explained that the ILGWU, along with the entire AFL-CIO, is on record in support of August 27 and that many rank-and-file garment workers are eager to march on Washington. This was confirmed by a report from Susan Apstein, a Detroit ACTWU member, that 80 garment unionists attended a meeting to receive information about the demonstration.

Don Mackle, a sewing machine operator active in ACTWU in Philadelphia, reported that his union is part of a big effort in the Philadelphia labor movement to build August 27. A leaflet is being produced by the local August 27 coalition urging workers to march "before one more plant closes; before one more person dies in Central America; before one more KKK demonstration."

Fight against war in Central America

Opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, and especially U.S. intervention in El Salvador, was another theme of the discussion at the New York meeting. In ACTWU especially a great deal of discussion is taking place in the union about how best to oppose the U.S. war.

In his report, Shilman pointed out that ACTWU is the driving force behind the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. ACTWU's international secretary-treasurer, Jack Sheinkman, is one of the committee's three cochairs. And David Dyson, an ACTWU staff representative, is the national labor committee's executive secretary.

This group, which calls for an end to all U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime, recently sponsored a visit by a broad labor delegation to El Salvador. Both Sheinkman and Dyson were members of the delegation. Dyson is scheduled to address a labor-community speakout in Pittsburgh, July 22, sponsored by United Steelworkers of America Local 1397, at which he will report on the conclusions of the group.

ACTWU members at the July 9 meeting reported a number of other developments on this issue in the union.

The union's southern regional joint board rescheduled its June meeting to take place in Columbus, Georgia, so that it would coincide with a protest that day at Ft. Benning against the training of Salvadoran troops that is taking place there. The union adjourned its meeting and a contingent of 75 unionists, wearing ACTWU t-shirts and hats and carrying a union banner, joined the march. Nick Builder, the director of the joint board, was one of the speakers at the rally.

In Philadelphia, ACTWU's education director, Bernard Dinkin, participated actively in a committee that planned a tour of that city by Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara, organization secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). Dinkin arranged for Molina Lara to visit a garment shop in the area at lunch time, where he met with about 50 workers, predominantly Black women, and conducted a lively discussion.

It was clear from the comments of members of both ACTWU and the ILGWU at

Continued on Page 16

The fight for independent working-class

How can labor-Black-Latino alliance be forged?

The following is the first part of a report by Jack Barnes adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party the first week in May. The concluding portion, dealing with the offensive against democratic rights, will be published next week.

BY JACK BARNES

The Political Committee thought we should concentrate in this report on several things that are new, or at least that we see in a substantially new way, since our last meeting in November. First, we want to step back and look at the events in Chicago around Harold Washington's campaign to win the Democratic primary last February and the Democrats' subsequent victory in the election for mayor in April. We want to discuss this not simply as a Chicago election campaign and as something we were very much involved in, but within the framework of its impact nationwide.

Second, we want to look briefly at the upturn in the capitalist business cycle, and the continuing employer offensive against workers, from the standpoint of what it means for the labor movement and the working class as a whole.

And, finally, we want to put before the National Committee our broader conclusions based on our experience with the trial the party was put through in federal court in Los Angeles, placing this also in the broader context of the evolution of the class struggle in this country, and the fight to defend democratic rights.

Like most people, I was surprised on February 22 when Harold Washington won the Democratic primary in Chicago, defeating Jane Byrne and Richard Daley. Most people outside of Chicago, and, I suspect, many people inside Chicago, were surprised. Not only were we surprised, but so were the AFL-CIO officials, the leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW), and the liberal politicians in the Democratic Party.

They were unpleasantly surprised because they had endorsed the wrong candidates. Mondale, the frontrunner, was badly off in his guess: he backed Daley. The NOW leaders endorsed Byrne. The AFL-CIO union heads who endorsed a candidate in the primaries, either openly or in fact, gave the nod to either Daley or Byrne. But Washington won the Democratic primary.

All of a sudden, what only a few outside of Chicago had paid attention to became a focus of nationwide discussion. Every political person from that day on began watching Chicago and trying to understand exactly what was going on.

The morning after the primary, the initiative in Chicago was grabbed by the rightists. While everyone else was surprised and off balance, including the predominant forces in the ruling class, the rightists took the initiative and stamped a racist tinge on the campaign against Washington. This was graphically shown when the first forces mobilized in an organized way were the white cops. Right after Washington's victory in the primary, the cops announced they were going all out for the Republican, Epton. They said they would spend all their spare time staffing Epton campaign offices.

The capitalist news media immediately jumped in on this. They grabbed the rightist, racist initiative and presented to the whole country the false picture of an electoral race war in Chicago. What was happening in Chicago, they claimed, was the electoral expression of a gigantic Black-white conflict, pure and simple. They added, of course, that this was really "most disturbing"; both Washington and Epton should cease and desist from campaigning in a way that might spread this conflict.

But the fact that the rightists, the real rightists, seized the initiative after the primary didn't mean they were on the offensive in the more general sense. They weren't. The offensive was held by Black Chicago, which had held that offensive for some time. That became clear as the campaign unfolded.

Disintegration of Chicago Democratic machine

What was involved in these events was not accidental. We can list particular, accidental factors, such as that the primary pitted Washington against two candidates who were white, rather than just one, allowing him to win with only 36.3 percent of the vote. There were such accidental factors, like there often are in such events, but that doesn't explain what was really going on.

What we saw was a manifestation of the partial breakdown of one of the instruments of capitalist political rule — the "machine." And when you talk about the machine in Chicago, you are talking about an aspect of the Democratic Party itself. You are talking about how the Democratic Party functions in Chicago, how it administers the city on behalf of the ruling class and how it maintains itself as an effective political instrument.

Behind this breakdown is the bigger, and the more general, phenomenon, which is the crisis of capitalism. This deepening crisis is producing changes in the consciousness of the working class and its allies, and this is



Militant
Historic Aug. 28, 1963, March on Washington heard John Lewis, chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Censored parts of his speech asked, "Where is our party?"

being reflected in the uneven but real erosion of the instruments through which the ruling class fools people and convinces them. This was reflected in Chicago.

One of the rulers' instruments had largely disintegrated, and they had done little to prepare for it, to adjust and make a smooth transition to new forms. The capitalist rulers were unprepared for what happened in Chicago. They were more behind than anyone on the morning after the primary. They hadn't figured on being confronted with a Democratic candidate who was Black at that moment in Chicago.

There was no ruling-class decision to back Epton over Washington in the general election. That's false. And that is not what happened. Something much more important happened to them: they were totally unprepared for the degree to which their machine had disintegrated. They were caught by surprise.

Class polarization, working-class radicalization

It is useful for us to discuss the broader lessons behind this development. What is reflected in the events around the Chicago mayoral election is the class polarization that is taking place. We sometimes have a tendency to blur together the concepts of class polarization and working-class radicalization. But they are not identical.

By the term "class polarization" we mean the growing tendency for the basic opposing interests of classes to find expression and to be reflected in political life more and more openly as class interests. This class polarization is a product of the deepening capitalist crisis. The confusion and cover-up of conflicting class interests that predominate in periods of relative prosperity and social stability tend to give way and be more and more replaced by open and direct expressions of the conflicting interests of the basic classes in society.

This class polarization gives an impetus to ideological wings on both right and left. It gives a push to the radicalization of a layer of the most advanced workers. But it also gives momentum to the rightists to make probes, to be bold, to be more "radical" themselves. This reflects the shifts in the two major classes.

Polarization does not mean that the working class as a whole necessarily moves to the left. What happens is more contradictory than that. There is a growing ideological differentiation within the working class. As some workers advance, others, especially among the relatively privileged layers of the working class, regress politically.

A layer of workers responds to the blows coming down by identifying more with the interests of "their" country, "their" industry, "their" boss. They become even more susceptible to the ideological weapons that the rulers use, especially all the varieties of chauvinist, racist, antiwoman, and other reactionary ideas that cover up and obscure the opposing class interests.

But at the same time, a growing number of workers — largely young — increasingly respond to the spectrum of political questions in a way that leads in the direction of openness to the need for independent working-class political action in the broadest sense. This is what the term "working-class radicalization" refers to. It is not the same as combativity, as willingness to fight, although it is connected with that. It is a political understanding that heads toward breaking from the various forms of collaboration by workers with the capitalist class and its political instruments.

It is the process of understanding that "we" is not us and the bosses. "We" is the working class and its allies — at home and around the world. "They" are the exploiters and oppressors. The working-class radicalization is the

growing willingness to struggle for the interests of us, however far that struggle leads, whatever the consequences may be for them, and however deep-going or radical the solutions required may be.

Separating out these two phenomena helps us to see the different dynamics involved. The working-class radicalization doesn't proceed at the same pace as, or in a one-to-one relation to, the class polarization. There can be lags in consciousness as the polarization deepens, which can then lead to big uneven bursts forward.

The class polarization that is going on is a reflection of the fundamental conflicts in capitalist society. It takes all the forms we have been seeing. On the ruling-class side are things like the increasingly bipartisan character of the domestic policy projections of the Democrats and Republicans. These are more and more openly presented as what is needed to protect the interests of the American employers. Along with this are the attacks on democratic rights, the systematic moves to take back what has been won on affirmative action, the attacks on women's rights, and so on.

On the other side you have more and more workers and workers organizations arguing as workers, fighting as workers, thinking as workers about what to do about these attacks and the deepening crisis.

Rightist initiative in Chicago

What we saw breaking out into the open the day after the Chicago primary was a rightist initiative, whose common ideological tool was straight racism, to try to mobilize their vanguard and put their stamp on the contest for mayor in Chicago. But we also saw the other side of the relationship of forces come into play. Because, while the rightists seized the initiative, their initiative ran into obstacles. They made a lot of noise, but each day of the campaign that passed demonstrated that they were not the most powerful force in Chicago.

It was not in the interest of the rulers to support a rightist attempt to carry through to the end its anti-working-class initiative. They weren't ready to go to the barricades to start a race war, as they saw it, in Chicago. That course would have been a serious error on their part.

The rightist initiative also ran into the real class relationship of forces and its reflection within the working class. What we saw was proof of the radicalization, proof of the changes in the working class, and in the consciousness of the labor movement over the last decade or so. The obstacles to this rightist thrust were even greater when you remember the percentage of the Chicago working class that is Black.

The outcome of the election registered, in distorted ways, the limits the rightist initiative ran up against. It is important to remember what Andrew Pulley told the SWP election-eve campaign rally in Chicago: "This is not the Chicago that it was 10 or 15 years ago."

In 1966, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assaulted by a racist mob and civil rights demonstrators were forcibly prevented from marching for open housing in parts of Chicago. That wouldn't happen today.

Pulley recalled the significance of the strike of the Chicago fire fighters in 1979, when the unions, made up primarily of workers who are white, refused to bow down to Jane Byrne's union-busting campaign. Instead they went out on strike and appealed to the Black community for support.

The union united with the Black community in mass action, and they decided to force the city to carry out an affirmative action program for the fire fighters. And they won the strike. The solidarity between the fire fighters union and the Black community spelled victory, and it was an important day in Chicago.

This was the reality that the ultrarightists' racist initiative ran up against. And it is this reality that is reflected in the fact that while the rightists seized the initiative, they could not reverse the tide. They could not mobilize, on their racist and reactionary ideological line, enough of the working class that is not Black to prevent the election of a mayor who is Black.

'White racism versus Black racism'

We had something else in Chicago, and that is the "white racism versus Black racism" fraud.

The whole capitalist press presented the idea that the danger in Chicago is voting Washington because you're Black and voting Epton because you're white. That's two racisms, white and Black. The liberals moaned about the horrible conflict between the two equal evils, Black pride and ethnic pride.

One aspect of this fakery was the term they all threw in: the "white voter." There is no such thing as the "white voter." That is, the term has no meaningful political or social content. What does it mean? A Nazi or a bourgeois who is white in a polling booth has nothing in common with a class-conscious steelworker who is white trying to find some way to advance workers' interests in the capitalist electoral set-up. But for the capitalist analysts, they're both "white voters."

s and Black political action today



Above, Harold Washington addresses AFL-CIO support rally of 18,000 during Chicago mayoral campaign.

Another part of the fakery is the term "ethnic pride," which "white voters" supposedly were expressing. But his ethnic pride exists primarily in this country as a code word for some form of reactionary or racist prejudice. The nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor are the opposite — they are not parallels or two examples of the sin of pride.

The capitalists and their supporters don't like to admit that this is a racist society, so they try to find terms like ethnic pride to cover it up. How could I have any ethnic pride? What would it be pride in? What "ethnic" thing? Maybe some distant ancestor who fought in the German peasant wars or something?

This seems obvious to us. But the extent to which this fakery was worked by the media is important. The analysis presented by most of the press was that you had Black pride and ethnic pride confronting each other in Chicago, and this was a danger to stability and good order.

It's important not to lose sight of the importance of how far this broke down. One of the things that happened in Chicago was a shattering of the ethnic pride fake. The real truth of the matter is not the false abstraction of the "white voter," but the class divisions and their political differentiation and evolution, depending on political developments and experiences in the class struggle.

Vanguard role of Black nationalism

We also had another very important test. That is the confirmation once again of the vanguard role for the working class as a whole played by Black nationalism. We have explained this logic many times. And it is more true today than 20 years ago because of the changes in the working class as a whole and in the labor movement. We saw this confirmed again in Chicago, although you can lose sight of it if you look exclusively at the electoral side of what was happening there.

Many workers who are white voted for Washington in the general election. The only reason to do so that could make sense to them was the idea that they were voting for a social program that was superior — from their point of view as a working person — to voting the other way.

This is the reality. It is quite different from the picture presented by virtually the entire left in this country, in which what was going on was a Black campaign and the only workers who were not Black who were going to vote for Washington were those who were morally convinced that if they didn't they were racists.

To the contrary, the white workers who voted for Washington did so for the reason that they usually vote for Democrats — they thought it was better for them. And they did so in spite of whatever racial prejudice they may hold. The most important thing in the Chicago campaign was not the racism that persists, but the extent of the radicalization and the degree of the breakdown of racism as the prime obstacle blocking working people from trying to express, in whatever distorted way, their class point of view.

Labor-Black-Latino alliance

Some radicals said, Washington is a "traitor." Washington's not a traitor, he is a Democratic politician. That is what he has always been, and he's never made a secret of it.

The Washington campaign, and many in the labor movement who endorsed Washington after the primary, pointed to the need to build a coalition of labor, Blacks, and Latinos in this country. This was not just trickery. Of course, there was some trickery involved. But we lose the broader political point if we see it solely that way. Part of what was involved for those in the labor movement who endorsed Washington was laid out at a campaign rally organized by the AFL-CIO, which was at-

tended by 18,000 people. The speakers included AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland; Doug Fraser of the United Auto Workers; and Bill Lucy, head of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Fraser told the audience that what he called "the old coalition" of workers, Blacks, and Latinos "is being tested in Chicago by forces trying to tear us apart." Kirkland said that for 50 years "most of the progress made in this country has come from the combined effort of labor, minorities, women, youth, and the disadvantaged working together — usually through the instrumentality of the Democratic Party." The fact is, we have never made progress through subordination to the Democratic Party.

But there was more to this presentation than simply getting out the vote for the Democratic candidate, although that was all Fraser, Kirkland, and the rest had to propose. There was also a big element of mobilizing against the stench of racism and of the broader social reaction that was being rallied around the Epton campaign. This reactionary, labor-hating force posed a threat to the entire working-class movement and even the Kirklands and the Frasers felt it.

In many ways the most important response in the election to this racism was the swing in the Mexican-American and Puerto Rican vote — a largely working-class vote. In the primary, a very small percentage of Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans voted for Washington. But this switched over time, and when the general election was held, 75 percent voted for Washington.

The democratic right to vote

We don't think enough any more about the democratic right to vote because it's often taken for granted, and because most of us — like most of the rest of the workers in the United States — don't vote most of the time. Most of us don't think you actually solve many things by voting.

But it would also be an error to look at the huge voter registration drive in Chicago and the voter registration drive that Jesse Jackson is spearheading in the South as simply a Democratic Party operation. The democratic right to vote is not the same as whether it's right to vote Democratic.

There is something else involved that we can't lose sight of, and that those who responded to the voter registration drive are deeply conscious of: what has been gained can also be taken back. The right of Blacks to vote was actually won less than 20 years ago, in a thoroughgoing nationwide sense.

There's a difference between casting a ballot and your democratic right to do so. We don't confuse the two, ever, in our program. But Black Americans who have been denied that democratic right for several hundred years don't necessarily look at it so neatly. And they see winning the franchise as intertwined with attempts to find a road to using numbers for political power, finding a way to exert some power to influence conditions of life in this country.

As the polarization deepens and rightist moves grow in this country, pressures will come down on all democratic rights, including pressures on the right to use the franchise. Recognition of this is partly what was involved with the response to the voter registration drive in Chicago. And the evolution of this in the rest of the country, including in the South, is important to follow closely.

What happened in the Chicago mayoral election goes far beyond Chicago. And aspects of it will be repeated. We shouldn't think that just because candidates running somewhere who are Black are bourgeois politicians, or are conservative, they won't be subjected to racist attacks by a wing of the ultraright. What begins as a voter registration drive and a series of discussions about electing a mayor who is Black can reflect and put broader forces in motion and raise important political questions. That's been demonstrated in Chicago.

Nationwide discussion of 1984 campaign

The center of national political discussion around the 1984 elections has now shifted some. There are two components of this discussion now going on.

One part of it is the push by Jesse Jackson and others to run a candidate who is Black in the Democratic primaries no matter what the consequences are. The debate between Jackson and those who support him on the one hand, and those — like Benjamin Hooks, Andrew Young, and Lane Kirkland — who are against such a move on the other, will take place in open and veiled forms.

But it will be intertwined with another debate, which is where we come in. We don't come in on the Democratic primary component of the debate. But this element will be intertwined with the debate over broader questions, where we do come in.

Is forging the alliance of labor, Blacks, and Latinos a decisive question for working people in the United States? We say, "Yes." Is it crucial to mobilize that power regardless of the promises or desires of the enemies of labor, Blacks, and Latinos? Again, we say "Yes." The discussion then takes place on how to do this. The key to participating in and affecting this broad polit-

ical discussion is to begin with what, at least in words, is being posed in a common way.

Hooks opposes the idea of a candidate who is Black. He says the NAACP is "unilaterally opposed to a Black candidate in the general election, because it seems to us that it would insure the election of a Reagan-type candidate."

Jackson, of course, says the opposite. If you've seen these debates on television the last few weeks, with the momentum coming out of Chicago, you can see the kind of broad political discussion that is underway. And at this stage Jesse Jackson is mopping up the floor with the people he's debating.

Every time he's challenged, he says the same thing. Hamilton Jordan did it just the other day on the *Phil Donahue Show*. Jordan started hollering at Jackson: You can't do this, even if you're right about Black people, because the logic of what you're saying is that farmers should run farmers, and labor unionists should run labor unionists.

Jesse Jackson comes right back at him and says, that's exactly our idea. Of course, Jackson is talking about the Democratic Party primaries. But the class character of politics is posed in a way, and the stability of the Democratic Party more so.

It is not only motion directly toward a Black party or a labor party that can weaken the lesser-evil framework and raise new ideas in the minds of workers. That is why the nationwide discussion sparked by Jackson's initiative is such an important one for us to be part of.

Broad social program

There is more involved than simply a debate within the Black movement. And there is more involved than some leaders who are Black using this discussion for their own opportunist purposes. That's true, but there is something more in motion. When Jackson goes to places like New Hampshire to campaign for instance, he often speaks to all white audiences. He doesn't say, "Vote your race." That wouldn't make any sense. He also doesn't say, "Vote against racism." Read the speeches and listen to them.

Jackson and others are presenting a social program that is to the left of anything any of the other Democratic candidates for president are saying. And they present a picture of the depth of the crisis of capitalism that is a little closer to being accurate than what the "major" Democratic Party candidates are saying. You see interviews on television with working people coming out of these meetings in churches and town halls in New Hampshire saying things like, "That man has more to say than any other candidate."

When you present yourself as being in the vanguard of the coalition you pretend to build — that is, being in the vanguard of the working people in the United States — you are pressed to answer broad social questions.

The rally the AFL-CIO held in Chicago for Washington was also revealing. Of course, the AFL-CIO officials believe it's crucial to elect a Democratic president in 1984, and they hope the Chicago election will help that along. But they also see, and address themselves to, the role of racism in dividing the working-class movement. They, too, have to pose these questions, although they do it in their own way, of course.

Kirkland told the rally that "if the working people of Chicago are divided along racial lines, the only beneficiaries will be the Reaganites." And the losers will be "not only the people of Chicago . . . but also the millions of unemployed . . . the weak and the needy . . . and all Americans who look to their government to promote social and economic justice and equal rights."

The Chicago AFL-CIO message of congratulations to the new mayor was also interesting. They told Washington that they are especially happy about his victory, the *AFL-CIO News* reported, because of his "repeated expressions of support during the campaign for collective bargaining rights for public employees and for payment

Continued on next page



Militant/Jon Hillson

Ed Warren (left), Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago this spring, explained that break from capitalist politics is needed to mobilize potential power of labor and Blacks in effective fight.

Continued from preceding page

of prevailing wages on public contracts." A little promissory note for conflict coming down the road.

The discussion unfolding over what demands should be raised, what the labor-Black-Latino alliance should fight for, presents us with an opportunity to present to broader audiences our program. It gives us an opportunity to point the way toward the necessary transition from struggles that break out around immediate issues to absorbing the more generalized lessons of what working people face and along what lines we have to act to advance our class interests.

Among other things, the result of the mayoral election opened the congressional seat that Washington held in the 1st District, which is primarily south Chicago and which goes down around the steel district. It is overwhelmingly Black and overwhelmingly working-class.

Another step has now been taken there. Charles Hayes, who is an international vice-president and regional director of the United Food and Commercial Workers, has announced his candidacy for Washington's seat. As far as I know, he is the highest ranking trade union official to seriously run for Congress or Senate in recent decades.

He's doing it, he says, because "it is time for a trade unionist to run for the post." "I would be the voice of the working people," he says. Unfortunately not. But that goal is at the center of the real political discussion we want to see unfold today.

And, if the Washington campaign had a big impact on the discussions on political action going on in the Black movement and the labor movement, a serious campaign by Hayes to win a congressional post and to urge others in the labor movement to do the same thing will accelerate that even more. It will pose anew the same questions.

Lessons of Chicago summed up

So these are some of the key things to look at in the events surrounding the Chicago election and the discussion that has now opened up on a broad scale.

First, to understand that behind the shakeup of things in Chicago is an unfolding capitalist crisis, and not merely electoral machinations of different wings of the Democratic Party. Those machinations are going on and they will continue, but they are not what is most significant for us.

Second, what we saw in the mayoral campaign was the advancing breakdown of a part of the Democratic Party, its Chicago machine. Don't make the mistake of doing what all the liberals in the Democratic Party want you to do, which is to think of the machine in Chicago as an aberration, a hangover from the past that has nothing to do with the Democratic Party today. No one who has ever lived in Chicago believes that; it's nonsense. The Chicago machine is part and parcel of the Democratic Party. And that breakdown and fight will continue.

Third, Black leadership and social leadership can't be completely divided. Any serious move forward to give leadership to the struggle of an oppressed nationality in this country involves, necessarily, presenting a social program and reaching out with it to other components of the working class. And a layer of workers of all races is attracted to or interested in this.

Fourth, behind the turmoil in Chicago is the deepening class polarization and the stage of the radicalization, not simply racism. Opposition to every racist attack and probe, of course, is bedrock for any serious approach to defending the working class. But there is much more involved, as we have seen. What we saw in Chicago was not the eruption of some kind of Black-white race war, but the breaking out of the class struggle in a certain form.

Fifth, we should take as our starting point for participation in the discussion that is opening up the same starting point that the major figures in the labor movement and in the organizations of the oppressed nationalities who are involved in this claim to take. I stress, what they claim to take. Let's take their words at face value for starters. The starting point is that the alliance of labor, Blacks, and Latinos; the working class and the oppressed nationalities — however it gets formulated — must be formed.

This alliance must struggle to use its power to change the direction of this country, given the economic conditions, the social conditions, and the threats and dangers of war. It has got to fight — as the August 27 march organizers put it — for "jobs, peace, and freedom." And it must not subordinate this struggle to the needs of any political party.

This is the alliance that we need — not the alliance with the bosses and their political parties and retainers.

National Black Independent Political Party

Within this framework we should take a look at the National Black Independent Political Party. Seeing its role as part of all of this helps to put NBIPP in a broader perspective. It also helps us to have a long-run view of the participation of members of the SWP as part of NBIPP.

The most important thing about NBIPP is not the current internal discussions, the ups and downs, the evolution of some of its leaders, which have been disappointing. The important thing is the continuity NBIPP represents of the struggle over the last 20 years for independent Black political action. Despite all the obstacles and leadership defaults, the thrust toward some form of Black political action independent of capitalist politics continues to seek organizational expression.

This is not something that came out of the blue. Regardless of the success — the total success in practical

terms — of the Democratic Party and the ruling class in sidetracking, absorbing, or demoralizing initial efforts along this line, and regardless of the fact that there has been no motion toward a break from capitalist politics from within the labor movement, the striving of a vanguard of the Black movement toward independent Black political action will not go away. It has been there with nationwide attention from the time of Elijah Muhammed's initial call and the formation of the Freedom Now Party in 1963; through the organization of various independent parties and campaigns; through the 1972 conference of the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana; through the different wings of the National Black Assembly; and the formation of NBIPP itself.

And something else is very important. The charter of NBIPP raises a political idea beyond those raised in earlier independent Black campaigns. The charter explains why the coalition must be formed and why it has to be independent, that it is a problem of capitalism and imperialism. And it explains why this is so. This acquisition embodied in the charter cannot be made to simply go away, even for those leaders who don't agree with it and want to get rid of it. It will take an open political fight to rid NBIPP of the charter, and that will clarify things for an important layer of activists regardless of its outcome.

We can't think of the leaders in NBIPP who don't apply the charter as all just clever tricksters trying to get people back into the Democratic Party. To talk about some big trick aimed at getting people back inside the Democratic Party is not where we are today. We have to start by recognizing that there just are not very many politically active Black people outside of the Democratic Party framework right now.

There are those in NBIPP who have consciously thought out a reformist path. There are also those who, unlike us, have not thought out to the end a complete strategic line of march for developing independent working-class political action. But they are trying to find ways to move toward a Black political party genuinely independent of and opposed to the Democrats and Republicans. Some of these people, unfortunately, think that this, too, can include at times voting Democrat.

Not everyone that votes Democrat is a traitor. Of course, this sounds idiotic since most people we work with in the unions vote Democrat. People we collaborate with on different projects, the most militant, and most serious, often in large numbers vote Democrat. The overwhelming majority of Black workers in Chicago who vote, vote Democrat.

This is important. If what existed in NBIPP was a group of Democrats who had pulled a maneuver within an independent political formation to pull it back into capitalist politics, the job of revolutionists would be simple. They would debate for a few months and walk away from it. But that's not the case.

The contradictions inside NBIPP are the contradictions of the long and complicated march toward independent working-class political action in all its forms in this country. The obstacles that face NBIPP are the genuine obstacles that in one form or another will confront every attempt at breaking through toward independent working-class political action.

How the debate in NBIPP will ultimately turn out we don't know. What is important is this process and the participation in it of members of the SWP who belong to NBIPP. We support the NBIPP charter, and we support the coalition between Blacks, Latinos, and labor that has to be built. And we never tire of explaining that to move forward the political expression or expressions of this coalition will have to be independent of the political parties of the exploiters and oppressors and of their petty-bourgeois agents.

It is a life-and-death matter for the entire human race that independent working-class political power be brought to bear in the United States, that it be organized independently of the capitalist class. The only way this can be done is to break from the political parties and all the half-way houses of the employers.

What SWP campaign accomplished

Finally, what do the events in Chicago tell us about the SWP? What did we accomplish with our election campaign? The most important thing about our campaign is very simple.

We were part and parcel of the debate that was unfolding in Chicago.

It sounds funny after the fact, but some people thought we would be driven off the streets in the last few weeks of the campaign because we were not urging a vote for Washington — that Ed Warren and his supporters would be seen as enemies of Black people asserting political power. Well, the fact was the opposite. We had fewer problems, and more successful campaigning than any recent campaign — among Black, Latino, and white workers. This was indicated by the 800 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* the SWP campaigners sold at plant gates and on the streets in the last week of the campaign.

We were so much part of the Chicago political scene that Ed Warren was even offered a million-dollar bribe to step aside and turn over the party's ballot spot to some brokers for Jane Byrne. When he told them, "My party is not for sale — at any price," they said, "You communists are downright un-American!"

Nearly 4,000 votes were recorded for Ed Warren. Fourteen thousand people cast a ballot for Nicky Bransen, our candidate for city clerk, and 20,000 did the same for Craig Landberg, SWP candidate for city treasurer. In other words, many thousands who voted for Washington for mayor split their ticket to register their political sup-

port for the socialist candidates and perspective.

We were part and parcel of the discussion and the thinking that went on around the Washington campaign. And we had to learn how to do this. We had to learn on the *Militant*, we had to learn on the Political Committee, and we had to learn out in Chicago, how to do this. And we know better now how to do it.

We presented ourselves as a voice unconditionally defending the Black community in Chicago, and everywhere, in exercising its democratic rights. We presented ourselves as a voice for organizing the potential power politically, for trying to build the alliances that can wield real power for working people, for moving toward radically transforming the capitalist system in this country and working to build a socialist society.

And we explained the kind of government — a workers and farmers government — that can do this. We were a campaign of the working people of Chicago who were trying to think through and argue out all of the questions that were posed by the events as they unfolded, and by the conflicts and the crisis that lie underneath.

This is important because this is different than presenting yourself as the "anti-Washington" campaign. We can't assume that everyone automatically knows we are anti-Epton, anti-"Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, and anti all the rest of the capitalist politicians.

And we found out, through the experience of the campaign, that going out on the street and — starting with the abstract principle of never voting for capitalist candidates — announcing that you are against the "traitor" didn't get anything but confusion. Declarations of principles don't convince many people who don't agree to start with. But once we started learning how to explain the line of march toward independent working-class political action, why Black people have to break from the Democratic Party, the stakes involved, addressing the problems and discussions that are going on, and explaining why a vote for Ed Warren is a real and realistic step toward a solution, it was a totally different kettle of fish. Then we got a serious hearing. All of our campaigners did, not just Ed.

Maybe this sounds elementary, but it's not. One of the things that everyone who joins our movement knows is that we don't vote for Democrats. But they don't fully understand why. When they first get into an argument they often just stand on this article of faith that they have accepted. It is an easy one: the Democratic Party is not really our party. We get common agreement from all kinds of working people on that all the time.

But repeating that article of faith against someone who's arguing from a lesser-evil position in a situation like the one in Chicago isn't good enough. We have to say more than just it is a principle not to vote for Democrats. We have to explain a line of march toward independent working-class political action — we have to pose a common class starting point with the people we are trying to influence. We have to honestly explain its practicality as against the hopeless task of reforming the Democrats to serve our class.

Once we do that, the abstract principle comes to life. The logic, the line of development in life on which it is based, becomes clear. The possibilities of fighting and winning start to look more concrete to a number of workers. If that's not understood, however, belief in those principles can be awfully fragile.

It is important to note that most organizations in this country that call themselves socialist endorsed the Democratic Party mayoral campaign in Chicago, with the exception of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. The Democratic Socialists of America, the Communist Party, the Communist Workers Party, and the Workers World Party all took this position. So did the *Guardian* and *In These Times*.

The Workers World Party typified the stance of these groups. Although until now they have never openly endorsed a capitalist party campaign, the Workers World Party campaigned enthusiastically for a vote for Washington. They tried to cover their tracks with a little "dialectical" demagoguery, paying tribute to what for them is now just an abstract article of faith that they had stood on in the past.

They presented it this way: "The Chicago election was only an election in form. It was, in reality, a referendum on racism."

"A referendum is different from an election, in which the general political program of two or more candidates are what's contested. A referendum is a yes-or-no vote on one issue."

"The Chicago election issue was very simple: Racism — yes or no?"

Poor Hegel! This playing with "form and content" remains one of the last refuges of scoundrels.

I leave aside the transparent fakery of the argument that what everybody thought was an election for mayor wasn't an election at all. Behind it, however, is an instructive point for us. It helps us to see the trouble you can get into by looking at referenda as somehow not part of the capitalist political setup. If all you have is the article-of-faith principle not to vote for Democrats, you can slide all over the map when it comes to various referenda and initiative campaigns that are totally tied into the framework of capitalist party politics.

It is a lesson in why it is an error to ever be neutral or indifferent toward electoral phenomena that are part of the capitalist party political framework, that do not represent a step toward a break from capitalist politics. The idea that "a referendum is different from an election" is part and parcel of getting drawn into the camp of capitalist politics, just as the course followed by Workers World demonstrates.

The Workers World caps off its argument with the fol-



Wilson Foods has new method of breaking union contract — filing for bankruptcy.

lowing: "In Chicago, before there can be any talk of 'independent, working-class' politics, the workers, that is the white workers, need to be educated on racism, need to see that racism is a deadly poison that divides them and keeps them separate and weak and easy prey for the bosses."

If we wait to fight for independent working-class politics until racism is eradicated in the working class, all we'll do is guarantee the eventual victory of fascism, which won't exactly help the fight against racism. A working-class vanguard — which will be substantially Black in this country — will understand this very well even if the Workers World sect no longer does.

New congressional campaign under way

The Chicago SWP branch has decided to launch a campaign to fill the seat vacated by Washington in the 1st Congressional District. The election is on August 23. And they have decided to run Ed Warren — the well-known Ed Warren.

We will go out of here and start petitioning right away. We'll get the signatures and we'll get the party's candidate on the ballot for the August election. This campaign will be a vehicle for deepening our work in the whole Chicago-Gary area, especially as we build on the experiences we gained toward the end of the mayoral campaign.

But this is also something that we can use nationally. We can use it to further deepen our understanding of how to present the ideas we have been talking about. We can use it in a way that can be a help to comrades in Philadelphia and Birmingham and San Francisco, and many other places where we are running and are going to be running important election campaigns where there will be echoes of the Chicago events. And we can use the campaigns to think through and develop an electoral platform for our 1984 presidential campaign.

Labor party and Black party adjustment

One of the things that we are proposing to the National Committee for discussion here is the necessity of making an adjustment on our use of the labor party and Black party slogans. Several years ago we made an adjustment, which has been proven correct, toward making the labor party idea the center, the axis, of our presentation of the idea of independent working-class action.

We decided to subordinate our use of the slogan of the Black party to this, in harmony with the changes that were going on in the working class, the evolution in the connections and relationships between the Black movement and the labor movement, and the discussions that were beginning to open up inside the labor movement.

But now we need to modify that — not by changing the labor party axis, but by bringing our propaganda around independent Black political action more to the fore. Looking back on it, I was struck by a mistake we made in the *Militant*, and in some of the initial campaign literature in Chicago. We explained everything about the need for a labor party very well, but we didn't say a word about a Black party at a time when the entire Black community in Chicago was mobilizing to elect for the first time, as they saw it, a Black mayor.

We have to make a shift, to talk a little more interchangeably about the different forms of independent working-class political action. We should not lag behind the actual discussions going on. We can use the Chicago example and the debates involving Jesse Jackson and others nationwide to advance the perspective of an independent Black political party alongside of the perspective of a labor party. The August 27 march on Washington will be one excellent opportunity to do this.

We've discussed many times that the labor party and

the Black party are not contradictory, and that you can't substitute one for the other. At what pace and in what order they appear will all be decided in struggle. We cannot make predictions; and that's not the point. What is important is that advancing the independent Black party perspective now gives us a way to be more concrete about independent working-class political action. It gives us a tool that helps us explain a little less abstractly the perspective of a labor party based on the trade unions.

We can show that the labor party and the Black party are two interrelated ideas expressing the need to advance the fight of working people, of Black people, to move forward by breaking out of the no-win framework of capitalist politics.

Our job is to take this idea of the Black-Latino-labor alliance and explain how it can be built and how it can win real political power. Our job is to explain how a Black leadership that acts boldly can win allies for the fight and can lead the entire working class forward.

'Where is our party?'

As we approach the demonstration this August 27, on the 20th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington, we should recall the famous confrontation over the speech that John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, had prepared for the rally. He wasn't able to give the entire speech because the union bureaucrats like Walter Reuther and leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wouldn't let him. But the *Militant* got hold of the whole speech and ran it the next week, uncensored.

The battle over Lewis' speech centered on a short passage. "This nation," Lewis said, "is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic, and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say 'My party is the party of principles'? The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater."

"Where is our party?"

That remains the question. That is the question of questions for the forthcoming march on Washington. It is a good question for all working people.

"Where is our party?"

These are the questions that are posed. If we look at the opportunities this way, if we organize ourselves to take advantage of them along these lines, then we can make some substantial gains in the next few months in our press, in our discussions in the plants, in the mines, in the shops where we are working, and we will deepen our experience as part of the process.

Bipartisan character of bosses' offensive

One of the sources of the growing pressure that constantly pushes toward bursting out of the capitalist two-party framework is the increasingly bipartisan character of the bosses' assault. The difference between what is said by the Democrats and Republicans is very narrow, compared to the gap between the answers of either and the needs of working people.

The pressure of the employers' takebacks is continuing to bear down on the labor movement. We have seen the kind of pressure that Caterpillar put on the United Auto Workers, forcing a 7-month strike, the longest in the history of the union. The union was in a defensive battle, fighting to hold down the number of concessions they would have to give up in the new contract.

We saw what happened in steel, where after twice rejecting the bosses' takeback contract proposals under intense membership pressure, the union presidents in basic steel voted to accept a 41-month contract with an outright pay cut.

Now, just when you think you've heard everything, you haven't. Wilson Foods is using the bankruptcy laws to force the meatpackers to accept a huge cut in pay. That's a new one. Under the bankruptcy law, when you declare bankruptcy you can get rid of all your contracts. This, says Wilson, includes labor contracts. So they filed for bankruptcy and told the workers, if you want to work, you can work for half of what you were getting before. As far as Wilson is concerned, their filing for "reorganization" under the bankruptcy act means that the United Food and Commercial Workers is "no longer the bargaining agent" for the workers.

The union has filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board. Someday the Supreme Court, in its wisdom, will balance carefully all the constitutional questions, and decide how much of this is legal. In the meantime, wages have been cut and benefits slashed.

At the same time, we see the continued chipping away at social benefits provided by the government. This is happening on virtually every front, from cutting the food stamp program, to slashing funds for job training, to undermining even further unemployment compensation.

A clear example is what the rulers are doing to Social Security and life-and-death medical care. It is not just a question of the employers and their agents resisting the extension of government programs for medical insurance to those who are not covered where they work. More and more of what has already been won is being taken away.

There is an incessant drive in the direction of making every health and welfare benefit depend on the health and welfare of the profits of the boss you work for — if you're employed. If you're out of work, of course, you're out of luck when it comes to even the most elementary rights to medical care, retirement pensions, and other social needs.

At the same time there is no hesitation whatsoever

about the employers getting as much aid as they can. That's a different kettle of fish. That's not charity. That's social responsibility.

The best one was in the papers a couple of days ago. They had a little story about Chrysler. After all the aid from the government to help Chrysler's big stockholders in their time of trouble, it turns out that one of the deals, one of the justifications for the federal loan guarantees, was that it gave the government the right to buy back Chrysler stock in the future at a fixed amount that was way above its price back in 1980. At that time all the pundits figured that the market price would be way below this amount for a long time to come.

But, like the price of most pieces of fictitious capital, the price of Chrysler Corporation stock has soared. It's now selling at nearly two-and-a-half times the price at which the government has the right to buy gigantic hunks of Chrysler stock. So some bureaucrat suggested that the time has come to pick up this Chrysler stock and to turn a fast buck for the government. You know, solve the balanced budget problem, etc.

So Gerald Greenwald, vice-chairman of Chrysler, called a press conference to protest this. He said, "At some point you have to define what the term usury means." Doesn't that move your heart? Greenwald said the terms imposed on Chrysler by the Loan Guarantee Board were too onerous.

Chrysler is complaining that it may have to pay back even a little bit of the hundreds and hundreds of millions that came out of the value we produce, went through the government, and was handed back to them.

Upturn in capitalist business cycle

It's now clear that our estimate in December that the capitalist business cycle has turned up was accurate. The downturn we just went through was the longest one since the 1930s. It was 17 months long. What's more, the upturn that preceded it was extremely shallow and uneven and lasted barely a year. The downturn we just went through was the deepest one, by far, in everything that affected working people.

With the upturn, the bosses are increasing production by increasing overtime while holding off as long as they can any new hiring. This is one of the things that happens at the beginning of every capitalist business cycle upturn. And it is happening now in spite of the swollen size of the unemployed population.

But as the upturn continues, the value of labor power will rise more. We make no predictions about the pace and evenness of it, but there will be more new hiring. It has already begun. And as this happens we should be very alert. We will be in a different situation than what we have faced for the last year and a half to two years. It adds new factors to the class struggle.

A certain rise in morale and confidence occurs. You get a certain feeling of strength when you know that overtime is needed by the boss, and when you know that new hiring is being considered. Younger workers come back on the job. The political tone begins shifting to the left.

This is not a social solution for the millions of unemployed, but these shifts are very important in the class struggle. We should be alert to this factor because it will create a better situation for revolutionary minded workers. It will create new openings for building and rebuilding our industrial union fractions — the heart of the party. And our opportunities for more political work through our fractions will improve as workers feel more confidence and more strength. The life of the entire party will change for the better.

Like all workers, we have been deeply affected by the layoffs and the downturn over the last 17 months. We have been hurt by the downturn. Think of all the things we have lived through. The size of our fractions in the industrial unions has been cut down significantly. The character of our fractions has changed, too, along with the work force as a whole.

For instance, all kinds of pressures come down in a different way. You have six members working in a plant, and all of a sudden everyone's laid off except one who is a woman, and in a short time sexist remarks and harassment begin picking up, the pressure builds. Issues are posed in a different and less advantageous way. This kind of thing has happened all over the country.

But now, the counterexamples will begin as the hiring starts to pick up, as we stay alert and take advantage of every opportunity to build and rebuild our fractions. This will help everything from plant-gate sales to Central America solidarity work in the unions, to pressing ahead toward our 1984 election campaign.

But the upturn will not escape being limited by the stagnation of the world capitalist economy. This is what an upturn in the business cycle really means, who gets upturned and for what. Right now, according to government figures, West Virginia has 21 percent unemployed; Michigan has almost 17 percent, and Alabama has over 16 percent. Ohio has almost 15 percent, and Pennsylvania has more than 14 percent. You'll notice these are all places where we have important branches and bases of our fractions.

The slowdown in the rate of inflation is real, and it will continue for a while. But the inflationary bias in the economy will continue to push and have the tendency to explode. In fact hiring in finance, insurance, and real estate has grown twice as fast as employment in the economy as a whole in the last 13 years. It is like a giant malignant mass of paper that keeps swelling.

And this depends greatly on the ability of the U.S. capitalists to suck in value from all over the world. Every time you read about financing and refinancing these bill-

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

Part III of N.Y. rally address: Relations with Cuba; international airport

This week we print the third and last section of the June 5 speech by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, given at Hunter College in New York City.

Bishop visited this country for 10 days to strengthen relations between the people of the United States and the people of revolutionary Grenada, as well as to try to establish an official dialogue with the U.S. government.

In 1979, the people of Grenada — a Caribbean island with a predominantly Black, English-speaking population — overthrew their U.S.-backed dictator, Eric Gairy. Since that time, the remarkable progress Grenada has made has prompted the U.S. government only to make lies and charges against the revolution.

In the last four years, Bishop explained in Part I of his speech, unemployment in Grenada has been reduced from 49 percent to 14.2 percent. Illiteracy has been virtually wiped out. Health care is now free.

In Part II of his speech, Bishop answered Reagan's charges that the new Grenadian government violates human rights and is undemocratic. He described the process now underway of writing a new constitution that will institutionalize the Grenadian system of popular democracy, including the role of the mass organizations of women, youth, farmers, and workers.

In Part III below, Bishop takes on those who question Grenada's links with Cuba and the construction of an airport, scheduled to be completed in March 1984.

The speech has been slightly abridged. Transcription and editorial preparation were done by the *Militant*.

Maurice Bishop

[Critics of Grenada's revolution] have also raised over and over again the question of our relations with Cuba as a second one of these red herrings. Every now and then when the red herring of detainees and elections and the press is finished, you will hear them say: Soviet and Cuban satellite.

You hear them say that the links with Cuba are such that it is dangerous to the security of the region.

What do we say on this question? We say first of all that yes, we have warm, fraternal relations with the government and people of Cuba. That is true. [Applause]

We say secondly that to us this is a matter of fundamental principle. And there are at least three very good reasons why we will always have good relations with the government and people of Cuba.

The first reason: we see Cuba as part of our Caribbean family of nations. One of the greatest curses of colonialism was that they divided the region according to different metropolitan centers. They taught us different languages. And then they made a great play of the fact that you are Dutch-speaking, you are Spanish-speaking, you are French-speaking, you are English-speaking, and, more recently, you are American-speaking.

And based on this linguistic nonsense, they taught us to hate each other. When we were growing up in school, they used to make us believe that the sun sets only in England. We used to be made to go down to Queen's Park on the queen's birthday and stand up in the hot sun all day. And at the end of the day, we're hot and sweaty and tired, and they give us a bun. And I remember the St. John's Ambulance Brigade stop on the corner in case you faint, they catch you quick.

I know the first time I realized just how deep this foolishness went and the extent to which they were miseducating us and trying to make us into little Black Englishmen is when I arrived in England to study law in 1963. One of my first and greatest experi-

ences — shocking experience, traumatic — was when I went somewhere one day. The national anthem started to play — poor little Black me, I jump up fast. When I look around, me only one standing up. Every Englishman sitting down.

You know like old [calypso singer Mighty] Sparrow. Sparrow is such a great Grenadian, so articulate. Sparrow points out in one of his best songs that the way they were educating us, they were really educating us to make us into fools.

One Caribbean, one struggle

They tell us if you're speaking Dutch, you're the best. If it's English, you're the best, French is the best, Spanish is the best, American is the best. And all of us hating each other.

When in fact we are one people from one Caribbean with one struggle and one destiny. [Applause]

We see it therefore as one of our historic duties and responsibilities to pull down these artificial barriers of colonialism and to develop that oneness and that unity that we nearly lost.

We believe it is critically necessary to have close relations with all of our neighbors. That is why I have done state visits to Mexico, to Venezuela, to Panama, to Cuba, to Nicaragua, to Ecuador. The reason has been a conscious attempt on the part of this new government to try to build those bridges and to make sure that all of this alienation of the past disappears.

The second reason is, we are a nonaligned country. We believe in nonalignments. And to us, nonalignment means that you have the right to choose your own friends. Nonalignment to us means that we have the right and the duty to diversify and expand our relationships and our friendships around the world. Nonalignment to us is not something that implies neutrality. Nonalignment is not meant to make you into a political eunuch that can't speak.

Nonalignment is meant to make you speak out loud and clear for what you believe in. And we have principles we believe in. [Applause]

There is also a third reason we will always have relations — warm, fraternal, close relations — with the people and government of Cuba. And that is our admiration and our respect for the internationalism and the achievements of the Cuban people. [Applause] Whether they like it or not, Cuba was the first revolution in this hemisphere to have succeeded. And if there was no Cuban revolution, there could have been no Grenada or Nicaraguan revolution. [Applause]

A sound licking to imperialism

Whether they like it or not, Cuba was the first country in this hemisphere to give a sound licking to U.S. imperialism at the Bay of Pigs. [Applause]

Whether they like it or not, Cuban internationalist soldiers have been the first in the world to charge the racist South African monster and to face it with arms in their

hands while defending Angola. [Chants of Viva Cuba! Viva Cuba! Viva Cuba!]

If there were no Cuban internationalist troops in Angola, how long ago would the South African apartheid monster have overrun Angola with the assistance of several Western powers? Cuba is a great stabilizing factor in that Angola equation. And that is why when they come up with this hypocrisy of linkage, and say that for Namibia to get independence, Cuban troops have to leave, we who are in the Third World understand that and have seen their bluff and will fully back the Cuban soldiers and the Angolan people in ensuring that they stay in Angola.

Nobody's backyard

They can choose their South African and their Haitian and Chilean and South Korean and every dictator friend they wish. That is okay. But we can't choose our friends. Because we too small and poor to have the right to choose. They like to talk a lot about backyard and frontyard and lake. Grenada is nobody's backyard and part of nobody's lake. [Applause]

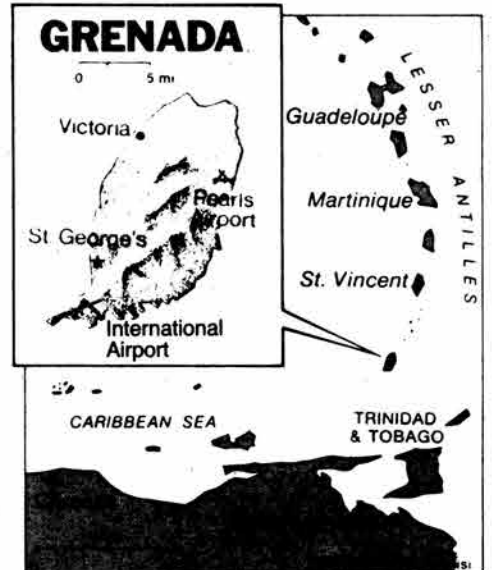
The more desperate that imperialism gets, the more it comes up with the most vulgar and hostile measures to try to keep the poor oppressed people of the world,

“There is a third reason we will always have warm, fraternal, close relations with the people and government of Cuba. And that is our admiration and respect for the internationalism and achievements of the Cuban people . . .”

who are trying to win their national liberation and to build their own future, down. Think of Nicaragua. Nicaragua, a country invaded over the years — two, three times in this century — by the United States. Nicaragua, a country that has been under the brutal heel of the Somozas for over 45 years. Nicaragua, a country that, just like the Americans 200 years ago, finally resorted to their supreme right to overthrow their oppressors and murderers and to take their destiny into their own hands. And when the people of Nicaragua, when the sons and daughters of Sandino assumed their liberation, when they won in July of 1979, what was the crime they committed thereafter?

Their crime was to be bold and mannish and fresh enough to say that their resources belong to them, to say that they want to build their country in their own way, to say that they want to choose their own friends, to say that they are going to build their country after their own image and likeness and not after the image and likeness of somebody else.

And because of that, you have this situation where today the most vulgar, shameful acts of the last year or so can pale only in comparison to what is happening in El



Salvador, or what happened in the middle of last year in Lebanon when the Palestinian people were slaughtered. The most vulgar, shameful act of open CIA activity in their country.

The most open, vulgar, shameful act of even admitting that not only will they resort to covert actions, but if necessary, they will publicly back overt action against the

Nicaraguans. The shamelessness of it can only be exceeded by the way in which sections of the media have chosen to respond. To pretend that the Nicaraguans are losing popular support. To pretend that these murderers, ex-Somocista elements, are some kind of freedom fighters. To pretend that these butchers who will just throw bombs on women and children as they are passing and run when they see the Sandinista soldiers. To pretend that these people deserve to have some opportunity to rule the people of Nicaragua — the shamelessness of it is really extraordinary.

Contadora initiative

And perhaps the only good thing that has come out of this recent episode, sisters and brothers, is the fact that for the first time in a long time, the people of Latin America themselves have tried to find a solution to the problems. That has been the historic meaning of the get-together of Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, and Panama on Contadora, to launch the Contadora initiative. Because what this Contadora initiative is all about is really extremely important for us.

It says first of all, that we the people of Latin America and the Caribbean will try to solve our problems ourselves. [Applause]

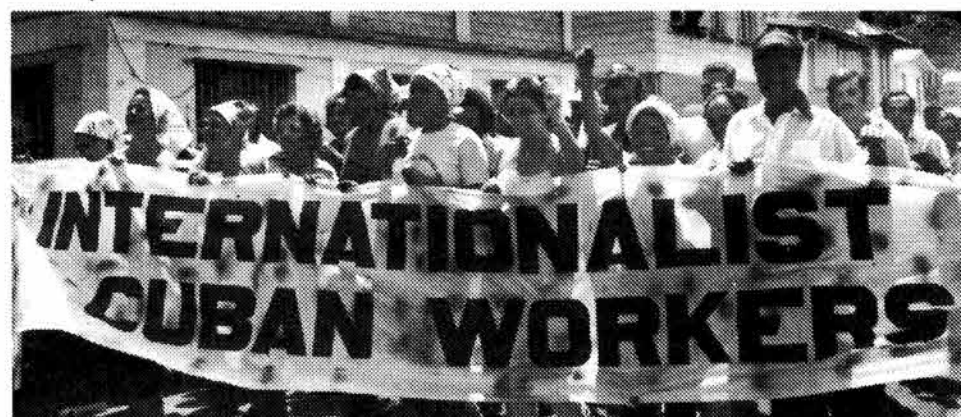
It says secondly that we do not accept the use of violence as a means of settling our disputes.

It says thirdly that we must always sit down and engage in negotiations and discussions before taking any other measures.

And it says fourthly that we are not prepared to accept that any country in our region, far less any country outside our region, has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

And even though this Contadora initiative is fast becoming all things to all men — you hear everybody saying, yes, they're backing Contadora, which must mean that some people are trying to use Contadora in ways different than the original objectives were intended — nonetheless, it is an historic first step.

But these people have also thrown out another allegation against Grenada. I want



Cuban internationalist workers who are helping build Grenada. Internationalism is cornerstone of Cuban policy toward Caribbean, Central America, and Africa. Of role of Cuba in Angola, Bishop says: "If there were no Cuban internationalist troops in Angola, how long ago would the South African apartheid monster have overrun Angola with assistance of several Western powers?"

to deal with it but I know people want to go home, it's getting late. [Shouts of No!, No!]

This other allegation concerns the question of our international airport project. This one is of course the most comical one of all.

According to the formulators of this famous theory, Grenada's international airport is now going to become a military base, and will now become a strategic jump-off point from where we can launch an attack on the great big, powerful, mighty United States. It looks as if we have become a superpower. [Laughter]

But the reality of the airport, of course, is well known to all those who make those statements. This airport is an ancient dream of the people of our country. [Applause] This international airport has undergone a quarter-century of studies. There are more than six voluminous reports and studies on this international airport. All previous governments from 1955 have spoken about the need for the airport.

And if you understand the situation in our country, that would be no surprise to anybody. The present airport is called Pearls. Pearls has a strip 5,500 feet long. That means only turboprop planes can come in. The turboprop planes that come in carry a maximum of 48 passengers. And better still, these planes can only land during the day between 6:00 and 6:00 because there are no night lights. And we cannot put night lights there because the airstrip happens to be conveniently located between the mountain and the sea. And unless we knock down the whole of the island, you cannot put an international airport in Pearls.

We had to make a strip of 9,000 feet because of all the manuals that were done by European and American companies — I can think of McDonnell Douglas, people who do the DC-8, I can think of Boeing, and so on. They have produced manuals saying what length of strip is required if



Maurice Bishop between Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro on May Day, Havana, 1980.

ABC television also discovered that there was in fact a terminal building being constructed. Because in President Reagan's photograph, the one the spy plane took, there was a nice big cloud covering the terminal building. Quite by accident, of course. But when these people went down, that accident did not take place, so they caught the terminal building.

So they came back to put it on "Nightline" and the people of America were able to see that here genuinely was an international airport, with a full terminal building. But two days later, ABC comes back. Same crew. So I say, what's the problem now, fellows?

They say, all right. They say they agree it's not a sophisticated air base, they won't say that again. They're sorry about that. But, they now discover we have sophisticated communications facilities.

So we say, all right. We don't know anything about them. We don't know where they are. But feel free to go around the country. If you can find them, we also would like to see them. [Laughter]

So they spent another day or two going around. They didn't find them. They send the film back again, after asking questions and satisfying themselves that this was also nonsense.

Would you believe, the next day afterward they were back again. In other words,

workers who are building the airport are living.

They also discovered that time that on the same airport site are workers from a British company called Plessey, and workers from a Finnish company called Metex, who are down there right now installing the communications equipment, the navigational aids, the electronics, etc. — all the things you need to get an airport functional. Working and living together.

They also then discovered that last year an American company called Layne Dredging from Miami spent nine months in Grenada helping to build this famous military base. [Laughter] That this company was dredging a section of the sea where the strip has to pass. A section called Hardy Bay. And therefore for these nine months they too were working and living with Grenadian and Cuban workers, building this airport.

So I said to these fellows, well look, as you know, Grenada relies in part on tourism. So we don't mind seeing you all again. I don't mind if they send you back down tomorrow. But if you're coming back down tomorrow, try to bring a few more ABC people. [Laughter, cheers] And secondly, if they will tell you it's sophisticated something else, at least make sure they come [up with something] better than saying sophisticated pants, or socks, or shoes. It had really become that ludicrous.

Gateway to future

This international airport project as we see it is the gateway to our future. As we see it, it is what alone can give us the potential for economic takeoff. As we see it, it can help us to develop the tourist industry more. It can help us to develop our agro-industries more. It can help us to export our fresh fruits and vegetables better.

As every Grenadian who has gone back home and as anybody here in this audience who has ever traveled to Grenada will know, coming to Grenada right now is a literal nightmare. Coming to Grenada right now is like a labor of love. You have to be a martyr to want to come. The amount of trouble will make you sick. And what this airport will do is remove all of that trouble and inconvenience and allow our people to

fly straight into our own airport. [Applause, cheers]

That is why we have made an exception this year. Usually every year at the end of December we announce what the next year will be called: the Year of Education, or Production, or whatever it is. But last month, six and a half months ahead of schedule, we announced to our people what the name of next year will be. So they can start from now to mobilize, including mobilizing overseas around the name, because 1984, next year, will be called the year of the International Airport. [Applause, cheers]

And the fact of the matter is, next year is also significant for us because on the 13th of March, '84, it will be the 5th anniversary of the revolution. And as you know, people always make a fuss about the 1st anniversary, about the 5th anniversary, about the 10th anniversary, and so on. So we have reason to make an extra fuss next year. And therefore, what we want to do



Reagan's "spy-plane" photo of international airport, portrayed in his March 23 "Star Wars" speech as a military airfield. This charge, says Bishop, is "the most comical one of all."

during the 5th festival on the 13th of March itself is to open our international airport on that date. [Cheers]

And I want to say to you sisters and brothers here and particularly to our Grenadian nationals, there is a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and excitement building all over the world because all of them want to be on the first flight that touch down.

Inaugural flights

When I was in London last month, addressing a rally much like this one, the Grenadians in the audience were all insisting that they will organize an inaugural flight, but the one condition is they must be the first plane to touch down. So what we have decided to do, because of course we

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“They like to talk a lot about backyard and frontyard and lake. Grenada is nobody's backyard and part of nobody's lake . . .”

their planes are to land. So unless we born big and stupid, you cannot expect us to put down a strip that planes that can carry people, normal jet planes, won't be able to use.

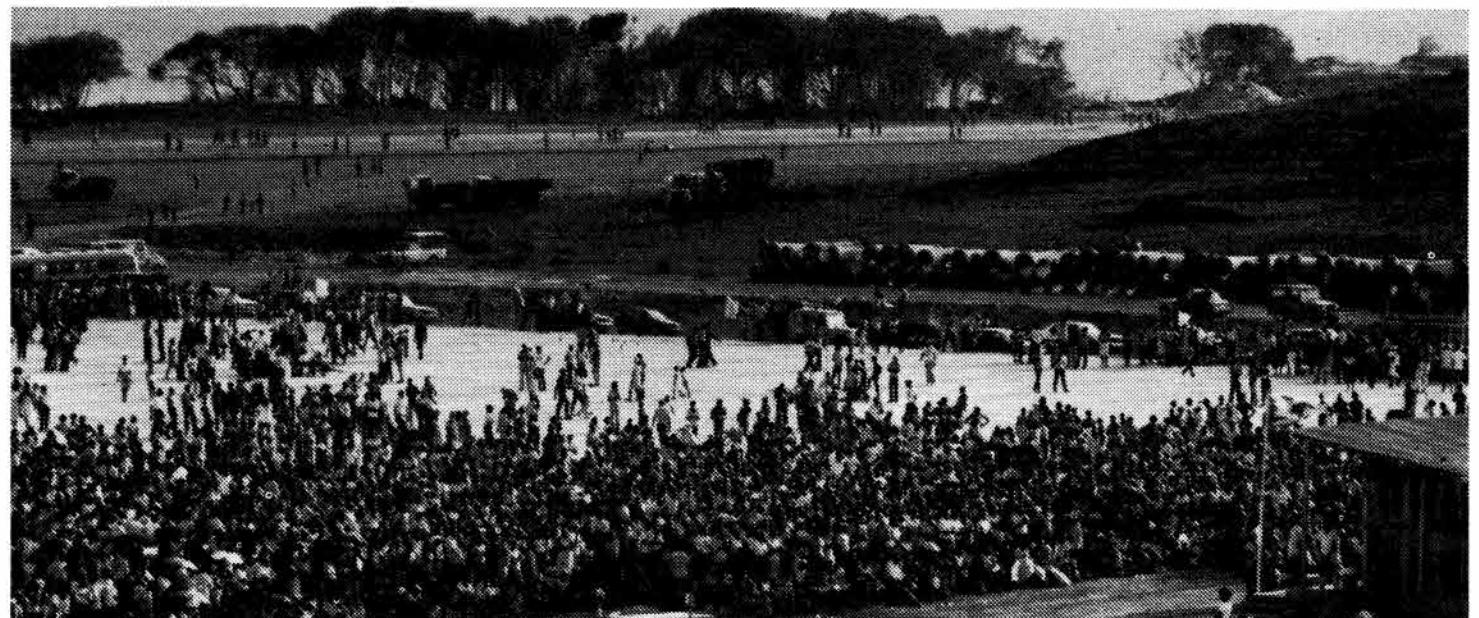
ABC's investigative reporting

This famous military base [Laughter] — let me tell you about it in a different way. I'll give you a little joke about it. After President Reagan's statements, one television crew — ABC in fact — came to the country. And they came and they wanted to do an interview, and they had a big fact file with all the questions. But the main question focused around the fact that we were building a sophisticated military base or at least a sophisticated military strip. So we said, okay, let's go down to the airport and take some photographs.

So these people went down there and they took photographs. They discovered that the airport had become the number one tourist attraction of the country. Every tourist on the island was taking a peek. They discovered at the end of this strip, which is also the end of the peninsula, at least two dozen Grenadians go every single evening to fish. They discovered that right at the beginning of the strip — at a distance of this podium to, let us say, the front row of that balcony, a few inches away — is the medical school, where 700 American students live and study. And they discovered that these medical school students, American students, were running up and down the strip, jogging, every day and every night. [Laughter]

three times in six days. And this time they came back, they said, we have another question for you. It is not sophisticated military base. It is not sophisticated communications facilities. But we understand you all have sophisticated barracks. [Laughter]

Of course, they discovered that this sophisticated barracks they were talking about was no more than temporary sheds which had been constructed on the airport site in which the Grenadian and the Cuban



Rally at Grenada's international airport site. Due to be opened on 5th anniversary of the revolution, March 13, 1984, airport project is "the gateway to our future, what alone can give us the potential for economic takeoff, developing the tourist and agroindustries."

Militant/Flax Hermes

We were really worried about that — A Pentagon spokesperson assured members of Congress that



Harry Ring

although the U.S. Navy did not have all the weapons it felt it needed, in wartime no carrier

would be forced to go to sea without ammo.

Brace yourself — Philip Dusenberry, assertedly one of the top "creative" people on Madison Avenue, believes electronic sound will replace music in commercials. "In the world of jingle warfare," he explained, "you're going to have a sound that's more than music was in the past."

Our rational society — Madison Avenue forecasters anticipate that GM and Procter & Gamble,

the soap folk, may sink more than a billion each in advertising next year.

Ah, romance — Bloomingdale's and Altman's, two of New York's spiffier department stores, now have computerized systems where brides-to-be can list their gift preferences. Relatives and friends then obtain printouts as shopping guides. Bloomingdale's "corporate director of bridal and gift services" said the lists are sometimes compiled a year in advance.

A steal of a deal (I) — A few Lotus Turbo Esprit sports cars will be available here. They accelerate from 0 to 100 m.p.h. in 17.6 seconds and have a top speed of 148 m.p.h. A \$1,000 deposit is required to get on the list for one. The price? As the ad puts it, "Don't plan on getting too much back from a \$50,000 bill."

A steal of a deal (II) — John DeLorean, currently facing drug conspiracy charges is looking for a few good investors to sink \$12.5

million into putting his bankrupt car company back into production. He says his creditors — he's into them for \$60 million — would be paid off from royalties in car sales. A lawyer for one said maybe it was a joke.

A steal of a deal (III) — A specialist in unloading assets of troubled companies is offering \$13,000 off "the 1983 sticker price" (\$34,000) of a DeLorean sports car. Mostly they were made in early '82.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

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.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Norma Rae. Film about a militant union struggle to organize textile workers in the South. Sun., July 24, 5 p.m. 2205 E. Iowa. Donation: \$5.00, includes Mexican dinner. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 294-0459.

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.

COLORADO

Denver

Stop the Deportations! ¡Alto a las deportaciones! — the Government's New Crackdown on Immigrants and Refugees. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Rev. Pat Valdez, pastor, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church; Charles Wheeler, chief attorney, Colorado Rural Legal Services; Agnes Ann Schum, Sisters of Loretto, World Peace and Global Affairs Commission of Colorado Council of Churches; Lorraine Garcia, American Friends Service Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 23, 7:30 p.m. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 36 Kalamath. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

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.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Grenada Today. A slide show on the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution. Tues., July 26, 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.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Speak-out in Defense of Democratic Rights and Against Right-wing Attacks. Speakers: Andrew Mitchell, president, Stokes County NAACP; Gary Sanderson, cochair, Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America; Meryl Lynn Farber, Socialist Workers Party; representative of National Black Independent Political Party; others. Sat., July 23, 7 p.m. 1400 Glenwood Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Bookstore. For more information call (919) 275-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

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.

Socialist workers discuss garment industry

Continued from Page 9

the July 9 meeting that efforts to involve their local unions and rank-and-file workers in the fight against Washington's war in Central America are at the heart of their political work. They see this as a vital part of the process of building a Marxist current in these two unions and as part of strengthening the unions themselves.

State of unions

Many of the socialist garment workers pointed to the weak state of these two unions. The top leadership of both share a general approach of cooperation with the capitalist class in the political arena, as do all top AFL-CIO officials today. Consequently they urge workers to vote for capitalist candidates, usually Democrats, as the solution to their problems. The anti-imports campaign is another example of the way in which top union officials seek to collaborate with the employers on the political and economic level. In this sense they have many weaknesses in common with other unions today.

While sharing these common problems of political outlook and perspective, the unions in each industry have particular features and face special challenges. The decision made by the July 9 meeting will result in deepening the understanding of socialist workers of the particular challenges and problems facing the ILGWU and ACTWU.

Participants in the meeting from California highlighted one of these. While the garment industry has historically had its

biggest center in the New York area, and both unions have a strong presence there, much of the industry is moving to the South and Southwest — especially California.

Nonunion shops

There the employers hire many immigrant workers, including thousands who do not have legal papers, and exploit them unmercifully. Many bosses maintain classic sweatshop conditions and refuse to pay even minimum wage. Many workers are forced to take home work in order to make ends meet.

Both unions are much weaker in this part of the country. The overwhelming majority of garment workers in Los Angeles, the largest garment producing center in California, for instance, are not members of either union. Neither the ILGWU nor ACTWU appear to be on any significant drive to reverse this situation. This fact, Shilman pointed out, poses a big problem not only for socialists who recognize the importance of working union, but also for all garment workers and for the unions themselves.

The large nonunion component of the industry and the generally low wages and poor working conditions are problems that will have to be solved by rank-and-file garment workers. They must develop a strategy and approach that can forge a new leadership in both the ILGWU and ACTWU. The New York meeting revealed that this process has begun at an elementary level among the most class-conscious

workers. The discussions and activity of Black ILGWUers at the Atlanta warehouse are a good example.

Because of the size and social weight of the industry and these two key unions, this process has important implications for the entire labor movement. The socialist garment workers left their New York meeting confident that they are on the right road to becoming a more integral part of this development in the working class.

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

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Bishop speaks to U.S. workers

Continued from Page 15

can't have all of them first, is to settle for inaugural flights by zones, or by cities. London will have its own inaugural, Liverpool will have its own inaugural, New York, no doubt, will have its own inaugural [Applause], Washington is going to have its own inaugural. And what is going to be important, sisters and brothers, is to make sure you get on that inaugural because, as you realize, you'll be coming down to see the most widely publicized airport the world has ever known. [Applause]

I think we should give a special round of applause to those responsible for the free publicity. [Laughter] You know some people have even suggested that the best name we can give the airport is the Ronnie Reagan International Airport. [Laughter, shouts of No!] Of course, they are not serious. But as you know, one of the things that has been launched at home is a competition to find a name for the airport. And we would like our people overseas to also be involved in that competition.

Sisters and brothers, I think it really is time to close, it is. [Shouts of No!]

Long live the people of free Grenada! Long live the workers, farmers, youth, and women of free Grenada! [Cheers]

Long live the people of the United States! [Cheers]

Long live Grenada-U.S. relations and friendship! [Cheers]

Long live the people of Cuba and Nicaragua! [Cheers]

Long live the people of Angola and Mozambique! [Cheers]

Long live the people of Palestine! [Cheers]

Long live the people of South Africa! [Cheers]

Long live the people of El Salvador! [Cheers]

Forward ever! [Backward never!]

Forward ever! [Backward never!]

Forward ever! [Backward never!]

One love, one heart! [Prolonged cheers and standing ovation]

Receive and distribute Maurice Bishop speech

With the accompanying subscription blank, new readers can be assured that they receive all three parts of the Bishop 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 19.

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'In Concert with Cuba': celebration of revolution

BY STEVE CRAINE

NEW YORK — Thousands of supporters of revolutionary Cuba celebrated the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban revolution in authentic style here.

On July 15 two popular Cuban musical groups and singer Caridad Cuervo presented two shows — "In Concert with Cuba" — at the Beacon Theater in Manhattan. The mainly Latino audience of over 2,000 responded en-

IN REVIEW

thusiastically to the music of Orquesta Aragón, Los Bravos, and Cuervo.

The concert was scheduled close to July 26, the major revolutionary holiday in Cuba. It was on July 26, 1953, that Fidel Castro and about 150 other revolutionaries opened the struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship with an armed attack on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba. While most of the revolutionaries were captured or killed in the action, the heroic assault launched the July 26 Movement, which led the Cuban workers and peasants to power in 1959.

In the context of the U.S. government's increasing threats against Central America and the Caribbean, the recently imposed ban on travel to Cuba, and visa restrictions on Cubans wishing to travel here, this concert represented an important opportunity for direct contact between the Cuban people and the people of this country. This is precisely what Reagan's travel ban and interference with Cuban publications is designed to stop.

This political aspect of the concert was pointed out by Jack Agüeros, executive director of El Museo del Barrio (a museum of Puerto Rican culture), when he introduced the musicians. "Millions in Cuba are celebrating July 26," he said. "Unfortunately we can't be there with them, but we have brought some of Cuba here."

"Tonight we are here to celebrate," he continued. "These groups will play as if we were living in a world of peace — as if there were no plans for war in Central America, no prohibition on travel to Cuba, and no radio propaganda assault on the Cuban people from this country."

Solidarity with other liberation struggles being fought around the world was not forgotten. When Agüeros read a list of international delegations present at the concert, heavy applause greeted the names of the African National Congress, Palestine Liberation Organization, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and, especially, the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

The political significance of large numbers of New Yorkers showing that they are "In Concert with Cuba" was not lost on right-wing opponents of the Cuban revolution, either. But the anticommunists were able to muster only about 50 people for a demonstration against the concert, despite considerable publicity hostile to the celebration in the Spanish-language newspapers here.

One of the prominent banners they carried identified the Cuban right-wing terrorist organization Alpha 66. The hecklers chanted, "Don't give your U.S. dollars to Castro," but did not succeed in turning concert-goers away. At the second show, some right-wingers got inside and booed during Agüeros's introduction.

The audience was mainly Latino and included a sizable number of middle-aged people. Many were fans of Cuban music, especially of the Orquesta Aragón. After almost every number there were shouts from the audience requesting favorite songs. A warm response was also given to the introduction of well-known Cuban-American jazz musician Mongo Santamaria, who was attending the concert.

The music was well-suited to the occasion. They sang to fast-moving and exuberant rhythms that express a celebration of life and close contact with the traditions of the Cuban people. Both the Orquesta Aragón and Los



Los Bravos

Bravos were formed before the triumph of the revolution in 1959.

Since the revolution, the government has encouraged the development of Cuban culture, especially the reclaiming of its African roots. The African origins of Cuban popular music were evident in all three performances, and especially in the music of Los Bravos, a percussion quartet that danced through the aisles, with a good portion of the audience following them out after the finale.

The fight for independent political action today

Continued from Page 13

ions of dollars of loans to Mexico and Brazil and other countries in the semicolonial world, remind yourself that it's not really about "finance." It is about the way U.S. imperialism rakes off its percentage of the surplus value squeezed out of the workers in the colonial and semicolonial world. That's what it is all about.

These are not exchanges between banks. When a big bank in Honduras pays a creditor in the United States, Morgan Guaranty Trust, a hundred million dollars in interest, don't think of that as a gift — "usury," as Chrysler officers say — from one banker to another banker. Think of the source of that money as the surplus value extracted under the most extreme pressures from the toilers of Honduras and then transferred disproportionately to the stronger of the capitalists. When you think of imperialism, always think of this side of it, too — the parasitic and superexploitative side.

Struggles and resistance to rulers' offensive

At the same time the struggles, the resistance, the willingness to fight goes on in many different forms.

A notable one was the recent rejection of the Armco contract. Armco Steel, in Middletown, Ohio, is one of the biggest steel mills in the country that is not organized by the Steelworkers union. There is a company union there. But, ironically, even though it is a company union, the members have the right to vote on the contract — unlike the members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The bargaining committee brought back the same contract that was crammed down the throats of the USWA and finally accepted by the local presidents at the basic steel conference. But the membership overwhelmingly

rejected it in April. This was a sensation in the labor movement and front page news all over that part of Ohio. It is a sign of what's going on.

We also see the continued resistance of the coal miners. And we see, especially, the determination and combativity of the women miners who have fought their way into the mines against many obstacles and are now pressing to win the support of the union and mobilize it behind the battles for affirmative action in hiring and job training and for an end to sexual harassment on the job.

The struggles of the farmers and the truckers, whatever their limitations and whatever the differentiations among them, are a sign of resistance among the allies of the working class. We see a parallel phenomenon in the deepening involvement of employed workers through their unions in reaching out to and championing the demands of the unemployed.

Simultaneously we see the deepening discussion within the labor movement on the war question and on Central America, the debates over the immigration laws, and the continuing battles to defend affirmative action, which include some successful fights. This is all part of what's going on that we can lose sight of if we look only at the setbacks.

At the same time the government and the employers are pushing without letup to reverse, as much as they can, the gains won in the struggles of women and Blacks to win jobs and to keep them, instead of being wiped out when layoffs come.

Increase in rightist propaganda

There is an increase in rightist propaganda that goes along with all of this. People make jokes about Reagan the quick-draw gunfighter and all that, but we shouldn't

lose sight of what's not a joke. There is a sustained, ultrarightist propaganda offensive that the administration uses to push politics in their direction. An anti-communist campaign. A campaign against Cuba. A campaign against foreign-born workers. A campaign against women. A campaign around the "moral" question, not only to block abortions, but to impose the "squeal rule" to guarantee that the maximum number of young women will need abortions they can't afford and can't get legally and safely.

Above all there is a sustained propaganda campaign along with all the economic and legislative moves to make the enemy someone else, to make the enemy the foreigners — the Japanese especially — the immigrant workers, the commies, the nonwhite races.

The liberals like to make fun of Reagan's speeches about the evil character of communism, about Cuba supposedly being involved in the drug trade, about things like that. But there is a deadly serious battle going on for the minds of the working people in the United States. And these pressures divide working people.

Any idea that all workers have seen through anticommunism is dead wrong. This is not settled, not at all. And it is an ideological battle that is very much tied in with the political battle over U.S. intervention in Central America. The ruling class has not given up — just the opposite. The battles over how much military power the U.S. government should use in Central America will go on for some time, as they keep increasing it. And the ideological battles over who the enemy is will be part and parcel of it.

To be concluded next week

Meatpacking bosses escalate assault on union

Continued from Page 20

nounced in early June plans to close 13 plants employing 2,000 workers. These workers, like those at Wilson, were working under the master agreement in pork packing, which had covered 40,000 workers. (At the end of the month, Armour was bought by ConAgra, a giant agribusiness conglomerate; no one doubts concessions will be demanded.)

Right after the Wilson strike was settled, Swift Independent Packing Co. said it would seek wage cuts for more than 1,200 UFCW members under the master contract at three plants — Sioux City and Glenwood in Iowa and National Stockyards in Illinois. Officials at Hormel and Oscar Mayer have also indicated they expect to demand concessions.

"What Wilson has done is push the timetable up a little bit in our continuing ef-

fort to get labor costs competitive [that is, lower] in the industry," said Michael Berg, labor relations manager for nine Oscar Mayer plants employing 5,100 workers.

Now that the packing bosses have gouged wage cuts and concessions out of the union members, will you able to buy meat cheaper? Not likely.

According to a June 28 article in the Omaha *World-Herald*, "Consumers shouldn't look for any drop in the price of Wilson-brand pork products as a result of the wage cuts, American Meat Institute economist Jens Knutson said. Nor should the Wilson workers' pay cuts affect the price of pork products in general, he said."

And the packing bosses' success in their offensive is bad news for farmers as well. "Virtually all analysts agree that the industry's action will result in lower hog prices," the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance

pointed out in a statement printed in the July 12 *American Agriculture News*.

Farmer support

The Wilson strikers won significant support from farmers. At its May meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, the North American Farm Alliance, a coalition of more than 50 farm organizations, backed the Wilson workers.

The Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance statement explained the stakes for farmers: "The clear trend in the industry is to consolidate packing into fewer plants. This reduces the marketing options for farmers and farm organizations. In the end this will have the same effect on farmers as union busting has on workers. We only have to look at the poultry broiler industry to see the implications for family farmers."

The statement continued, "Whatever the outcome of this particular dispute, it is clear that farmers have a stake in assuring that their union is able to take a strong and principled stand."

The companies are clearly united in their assault on the workers and their union. All their talk about competition amounts to one thing: seeing which one can gouge the most concessions from the workers in the shortest amount of time.

Statements by farmers show the potential there was for other meatpackers and unions to rally to the defense of the Wilson strikers. They would have then been better prepared to take on their own companies' demands at contract time. This didn't happen during the course of the Wilson strike. But labor solidarity is vitally needed as the meatpacking corporations prepare new attacks on the UFCW.

Labor versus war commission

Continued from front page

The commission will seek to further unify the ruling class and its two parties, the Republicans and Democrats, behind the drive to war. With unity in their ranks, the rulers plan to push through war moves regardless of the wide opposition among working people.

The warmakers count on Kirkland, whom they present as a "representative" of labor on the war commission, to provide an AFL-CIO seal of approval for their actions. His participation will be portrayed as evidence of the unity of "all Americans" behind the war effort.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The idea that Kirkland represents labor on the issue of war is a fraud.

Massive numbers of American working people oppose this war. That is why the AFL-CIO Executive Council took the step of opposing the sending of arms and U.S. advisers to El Salvador. This was a big advance from AFL-CIO policy during the Vietnam War.

At that time top AFL-CIO officials — with Kirkland in the forefront along with the late federation President George Meany — acted as cheerleaders for Democratic and Republican presidents who sent thousands of working-class youth to their deaths in Indochina.

The deep antiwar sentiment among union members explains the strong antiwar stand taken at the recent United Auto Workers convention. The UAW called for an end to military aid to El Salvador and opposed U.S. efforts to topple the Nicaraguan government.

Similar stands have been taken by a growing list of AFL-CIO central labor councils.

More and more U.S. working people know that this is a bosses' war, a war to defend the investments and profits of U.S. corporations in Central America and around the world.

It is a union-busters' war, aimed at breaking the powerful unions that the Nicaraguan people have built, and at keeping unions and strikes illegal in El Salvador.

It is a wage-cutters' war, aimed at forcing the workers of these countries to serve as a pool of cheap labor for U.S. billionaires.

Millions of unionists are realizing that it is working people who will have to pay the price — a heavy price in lives and living standards — for the bosses' war.

They are also becoming aware that war in Central America will mean sharper attacks on democratic rights here at home, including on the rights of unions. There is no other way for the rulers to carry out an unpopular war without being "hobbled and trimmed" by opposition.

In appointing Kirkland to the war commission, the ruling class expects him to take on some of the tasks of policing the labor movement for the warmakers.

Opposition to the war among unionists was advanced by the findings of a broad delegation of trade union officials who recently returned from a fact-finding tour of El Salvador. It was headed by Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and David Dyson, executive director of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. The delegation included prominent leaders of the UAW, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and the National Education Association (NEA).

The trade unionists refuted Reagan administration claims that the Salvadoran government is advancing human rights, democracy, and social reform.

A statement released by the delegation declared: "We have talked to trade unionists imprisoned in Mariona prison, some of them for two years, some of them arrested only in the past two or three weeks.

"We have met with leaders of the democratic unions who are attempting to build a free labor movement in El Salvador.

"We have talked to the Mothers of the Disappeared whose sons and daughters were taken without explanation, often never to be seen again."

The delegation concluded that "nothing we have seen or heard suggests that there has been any change in El Salvador that would call for different policies from those adopted when the Labor Committee was founded two years ago."

These policies include opposition to U.S. military aid and intervention; support for free trade unions; support for other basic human rights; and encouragement of a negotiated settlement in El Salvador.

Another goal of the Labor Committee is to win the AFL-CIO to a position of stronger opposition to U.S. intervention.

The delegation pointed to the important educational role that the union movement can play: "It is even more urgent for all Americans to become aware of what is happening in El Salvador, and to understand fully the role of the U.S. government. . . . Because scores of innocent Salvadorans are dying each week, we believe that immediate action is called for to bring these facts to the American people."

Top officials of 12 unions are sponsors of the Labor Committee. These include the presidents of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; United Farm Workers; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; NEA; Graphic Arts International Union; AFSCME; and United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers.

Another expression of growing hostility to Washington's war has been the response to the tours by Alejandro Molina Lara. Molina Lara is a leader of El Salvador's biggest national union federation and a supporter of the popular struggle against the U.S.-backed regime — a dictatorship that has killed more than 40,000 of his compatriots.

Molina Lara has brought the truth about El Salvador to scores of union locals and other labor bodies. Recently he got an enthusiastic reception from coal miners attending the Fifth National Conference of Women Coal Miners, supported by the United Mine Workers of America.

From Molina Lara, unionists learn that the Salvadoran workers and farmers are fighting for the same things that U.S. workers and farmers want. They want jobs, decent pay, the right to join a union, education for their children, housing, medical care, freedom from debt slavery, and freedom from repression.

The same U.S. government that is preparing to send troops to Nicaragua and El Salvador is attacking the right of U.S. working people to these basic human needs as well.

Rather than supporting the U.S. war in Central America, Lane Kirkland should be representing the interests of the AFL-CIO's 14 million members by helping to lead the labor movement in the fight against the war. He should get off Reagan's war commission.

The AFL-CIO president should be using union resources to mobilize massive labor participation in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. The AFL-CIO has endorsed this march, but Kirkland has refused to actively build it despite the wide backing it has won in the labor movement.

Unlike the war commission — which has been created to help the rulers stifle the antiwar sentiments of working people — this march will be an opportunity for union members and other working people to speak out against Washington's dirty war.

30th anniversary of truce in Korean war

BY NANCY COLE

July 27 marks the 30th anniversary of the truce in the Korean War.

"From its start the Korean War has been the most unpopular war in American history," wrote the *Militant* in an August 3, 1953, editorial.

The three-year war was pawned off as a "police action" to halt "communist aggression."

But the real story was, the *Militant* explained, that the "struggle in Korea began as a civil war between the rich and the poor with the capitalists and the landlords arrayed against the peasants and the workers. Washington rushed to rescue dictator Syngman Rhee against whom the Korean masses were rising."

U.S. imperialism's chief aim was to overturn the socialist revolution in North Korea and stop its extension into the south. This cost the lives of 33,000 U.S. soldiers. North Korea's military casualties numbered a half million and 1 million civilians were missing at the end of the war. In South Korea there were 300,000 military

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

casualties. One million civilians were killed in the south, and 2.5 million left homeless.

When U.S. troops threatened China's border, the Chinese entered the war on the side of North Korea.

"U.S. intervention in Korea gave Wall Street its longed-for chance to expand its military machine at a headlong pace to step up its global war preparations, and to hitch the faltering capitalist economy behind the chariot of militarism," wrote the *Militant*.

In an analysis of the Korean War in the August 17, 1953, *Militant*, Art Preis described two "absolutely unique developments" in the war that marked a change in the world relationship of forces.

"First and foremost is the gigantic fact that two backward Asian countries but newly emerged from foreign exploitation and colonialism, China and North Korea, have more than held their own against an imperialist army that has had tremendous advantages from the military technical standpoint," Preis wrote.

"Second is the fact that the United States, foremost capitalist power and chief military spearhead of world imperialism, for the first time in its history has come out of a war without a victory. On the contrary, it has just barely held its own and, in fact, on at least two occasions was on the brink of military defeat."

From the beginning, Preis reported, the *Militant* warned against the "arrogant assumption that a war against any colonial people fighting for their national independence is just a pushover, a 'little' war."

Blaming the unfavorable military developments in Korea on the "overwhelming hordes" of the Chinese and Koreans the United States was up against was a fiction, Preis said. The U.S.-South Korean armies numbered 800,000 as compared to a million of the Chinese-North Korean forces. And the United States had immeasurably superior military equipment.

During the war the *Militant* had explained that "the colonial peoples are in revolt and their number is legion. American armies in Korea, or anywhere else in Asia, are confronting a revolutionary tide, millions upon millions of people who are fighting for a cause they believe in and for which they are ready to lay down their lives."

The Korean truce, Preis concluded, "should be an occasion for the American people to soberly review and assimilate the experiences of the Korean war." The Wall Street rulers want to challenge the newly awakened people in Asia and the rest of the colonial world, he wrote, but this will "lead to an immeasurably bloodier and more disastrous war than the terrible Korean debacle."

That prediction came true little more than a decade later with an even more unpopular war in Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism has never given up its goal of overturning the workers state in North Korea. Today 39,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea, helping prop up the hated dictatorship there.

U.S. tactical nuclear weapons are stockpiled in South Korea, and the Pentagon is considering adding neutron bombs to its arsenal there. Record number of troops are regularly used in U.S.-organized military maneuvers that simulate invasions of North Korea. Clearly, 30 years later, the U.S. war is not over.

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Militant/Lou Howort

LETTERS

AFL-CIO and AIFLD

"As a member of the labor movement for 10 years, I know that wherever workers are being massacred, that's where we must be." Those words, uttered by Miguel Machuca, Los Angeles organizing director for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), appeared in a front page article concerning Salvadoran trade unionist Alejandro Molina Lara, in the July 1, 1983 *Militant*.

To me that sentence has an entirely different meaning than what Mr. Machuca had in mind. The AFL-CIO has a long history of destroying workers movements in Latin America as well as other parts of the world.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was founded in 1962 by the AFL-CIO and prominent American business leaders who have extensive property holdings in Central America. Working closely with the CIA, they have succeeded in subverting workers movements and overthrowing governments that don't meet the approval of AIFLD and the U.S. government.

The book, "Yankee Unions Go Home," by Jack Scott, gives a well documented account of the history of the AIFLD. I suggest all

members and supporters of the AFL-CIO read this book.

It is my hope that the membership of the AFL-CIO will force its officials to dismantle this criminal organization.

Peter Saarup
Tempe, Arizona

Aug. 27 and USWA

The *Militant* article in issue 25 titled "Steelworkers say: march Aug. 27" has been useful in building the demonstration in the Gary, Indiana, area.

Our local coalition includes a number of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members and local representatives. The convenor of the Gary coalition is Ola Kennedy, an officer of USWA Local 1273 at Hammond Valve and a leader of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Her local has just gone out on strike.

Locals 1010 at Inland Steel and 6787 at Bethlehem have sent representatives to the August 27 coalition meetings and are planning to send buses. Local 1010's newspaper recently ran an article building the action and Local 6787's Black caucus held a fundraiser for it.

My local, 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, endorsed the action

at our local meeting June 27 and will send at least one bus.

Mitchel Rosenberg
Gary, Indiana

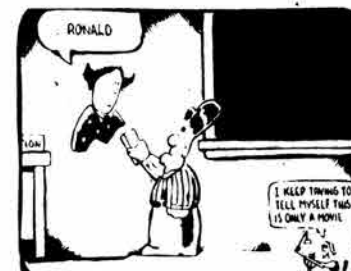
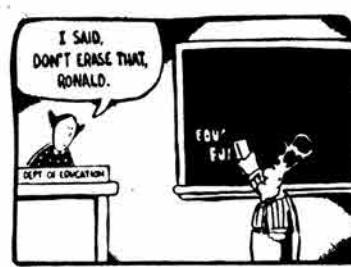
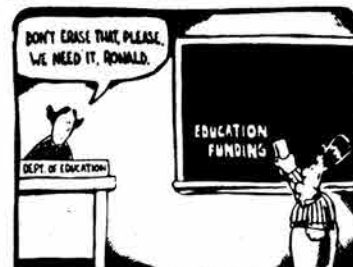
Injustice to Japanese-Americans

In early June a team of Japanese doctors from the Hiroshima Prefectural Medical Association came to the United States. According to *EastWest*, a Chinese-American weekly, this was their fourth visit to the United States since 1977. Their specialty is the treatment of survivors of the atomic bomb.

One might think that this team came here for an educational tour or medical exchange. However, their purpose was to examine their patients, U.S. citizens, mainly Japanese-Americans, who were in Japan at the time of Washington's World War II bombings.

An estimated 800 to 1,000 atomic bomb survivors live in the United States, compared to the 370,000 in Japan. *Hibakusha*, as they are known in Japan, receive government-sponsored care for their special health problems arising from radiation effects.

"In Japan the government pays for two checkups a year. They even pay for your transportation from where you live. Here we get



Toles

nothing," declared Mariko Lindsey at a San Francisco press conference. Lindsey, 37, was in utero at the time of the bombing. Many children of survivors suffered birth defects. Although Lindsey was born normal, she suffers from respiratory and thyroid problems.

Mariko continued, "It's very hard on us. . . . The American doctors don't understand our problems. The Japanese doctors only come once every two years. They can only help us find the symptoms and provide us with information as to what to do. I'm hoping the American government

will help us so that the doctors won't have to come from so far away. . . ."

But, according to Ron Wakabayashi, national director of the Japanese American Citizens League, "There's been a lot of opposition from the Department of Defense because they don't want to expose the government to other liabilities."

I, for one, hope that these survivors are not holding their breath while waiting for U.S. government aid.

Milton Chee
Jersey City, New Jersey

'We cannot yield to discrimination in any form'

The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in a recent issue of *The Hard Hat*, put out by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128 in Long Beach, California.

Can women perform the necessary work in the oil industry? Are women as capable of doing the job as men are? Well at Texaco's Sulfur plant they are.

Five of the seventeen shift operators there are women. Many times in the past there have been two women and

UNION TALK

sometimes as high as three on shift at the same time in a crew of four operators, and you know what??? — Nothing happened!!! There were no fires, explosions of any kind other than normal routine operations.

None of the Union brothers and sisters seemed to think anything was wrong or strange about more than one woman per shift, and the work went on as usual. However, after about 3 months elapsed, the Company took notice of the situation, and the trouble began.

Suddenly the Company began issuing schedule changes for no apparent reason at all. One of the women receiving one of the schedule changes questioned plant superintendent, Bill Dak, as to why, all of a sudden, the company saw fit to issue all the changes. Dak's reply was to the effect that no one has such a thing as a permanent

schedule, and besides the Company was trying to avoid having 3 women on shift together.

Needless to say, that statement caused some discussion. First of all, the women operators talked it over among themselves, and then decided to approach some of the male Head Operators that they worked with. These Head Operators could see no reason why the gender of an operator made any difference either. They acknowledged that everybody had to get the same training, go through the same tests for qualification, do the same work for the same pay, so what the hell difference did the sex of an operator make? Then and there it was decided to file a grievance on sexual discrimination.

The grievance was taken around the plant and everyone was asked to sign it. Most of the people asked to sign, did so. As usual though, two of the age-old questions were bandied about as to the inability to do the muscle work and their apparently inherent tendency to panic in tough situations.

These arguments faded into the sunset when it was pointed out that the plant had some valves that took 2 or 3 men to open and it was the Company's responsibility to maintain their equipment in proper working order. It was also pointed out that during the H2S gas incident; it was a woman who thought of donning the fresh air equipment and then entered the gas area and pulled out a man twice her size.

The problem was next discussed at a Unit meeting, and the committee met with the company the next morning.

The Company immediately took the position that "of course women were capable of performing work at the plant." They went on to say that in the future, they would schedule by seniority, but they would reserve the right to schedule a "balanced shift."

When asked for a definition of this "balanced shift," the company replied to the effect that it would consist of a balance of experience — more experience "balanced" with less experience — not necessarily based on seniority.

The Company also indicated displeasure that the problem was "taken outside the gate to an outside force." That meant it was taken to our Union. It was tactfully and diplomatically explained that our Union is not an "outside force". They were told that the Union was exactly the right place to take a problem of this nature or any other problem dealing with contract violations.

This potentially explosive situation was solved to the extent that at least the Company was forced to give lip service to women's equality on the job, but let's remember — talk is cheap!!! It is always in the best interests of a company if they can keep the Union brother and sister bickering among themselves.

Texaco was more than a little uncomfortable when they saw, not only the signatures on the grievance, but also the unity of purpose behind those signatures. This unity of purpose is a must if we are to strengthen our Union. We cannot yield to discrimination in any form — ever!!!

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Blacks in Harlem demand right to get out truth on cop brutality

BY WELLS TODD

NEW YORK — Shouts of "Let us in to testify!" came from several hundred people outside the Harlem State Office Building July 18 where congressional hearings to investigate police brutality were scheduled.

The federal hearings, requested by Black church and Democratic Party leaders here, never really got under way because officials tried to bar hundreds of Blacks from the meeting. The hearing room, designed to hold 200, was crammed with over 300 people, and several hundred more were forced to stay outside.

Inside the hearing room as the meeting began, people rose spontaneously to sing "Lift Every Voice and Sing," a century-old Black anthem. Koch, in his arrogant racist manner, refused to stand, later claiming he didn't notice everyone else on their feet. Koch had opposed the hearings taking place to begin with.

Meanwhile, those forced to stay outside began their own hearings.

One woman told how her son had been shot seven times by the police. They claimed he had a gun, but no weapon was ever found.

A man said he had been stopped by the police in his car. When he asked what he had done wrong, they told him, "Look, nigger, we can kill you right now. All we have to say is you tried to run away."

In April a Black minister was stopped by cops in his car and beaten brutally with flashlight and nightstick. The police said he tried to "resist arrest."

Fueling the anger of the crowd was the fact that just days before the hearings began, a second white racist was acquitted of murder in the slaying of Black transit worker Willie Turks last year in Brooklyn. (See story below.) The cops and city officials have gone out of their way to make sure the racist thugs get off with light sentences.

The crowd finally decided to demand the hearings be brought outside where all could participate. A delegation was sent to the hearing room.

Inside, the session had only gone for a few minutes when people began to stand up and yell, "This is a sellout!"

"They killed my son!" one woman shouted.

Rep. John Conyers, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, was chairing the meeting. He suddenly called a 25-minute recess. But at the end of the break, the hearings were adjourned. "The intense interest in the subject matter precludes us from going forward with this hearing," he declared.

As Koch and Police Commissioner Robert McGuire left the building, hundreds of Blacks crowded around them shouting, "Get out of Harlem! We don't want you here!"

Some 50 to 75 cops massed on the street corner. Protesters yelled at them, "We don't want you in Harlem!"

Blacks also protested the behavior of the media, which refused to film the menacing police presence.

Although the congressional representatives refused to proceed with the hearings, many people who had come to tell their stories of police violence stayed and testified at an impromptu "people's hearing." Some 50 testified on incidents of racist cop assaults and abuse, far more than had been scheduled to speak on the list prepared for the official hearings.

Among those participating in the protest was Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front, which has documented many cases of cop violence.

Anger was expressed not only at Koch and the police, but at the Black Democrats who were complicit in preventing hearings where the genuine grievances could be heard. Rev. Calvin Butts, executive minister of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, said, "It is hard when you try to follow instructions and rules, try to go along with the system. What we find now is that when we do, not only are we sabotaged by those against whom we fight, but we are also sabotaged by those who claim to speak for us."



Annie Brandon, with family and friends, speaks out against police brutality at Harlem "people's hearing" July 18. Impromptu speakout was organized after congressional hearings were cancelled, preventing truth on cop violence from being aired.

Meatpacking bosses escalate assault on union, wages, job conditions

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

LINCOLN, Neb. — Workers at seven Wilson Foods pork processing plants voted June 26 to end their three-week strike, but the struggle of meatpackers to defend their living standards and their union is far from over.

The strike by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) members was in response to a major union-busting effort launched in April.

On April 22 Wilson Foods filed for bankruptcy. Company officials openly acknowledged that this was simply a legal maneuver to get out of the contract with the union. The company took as their model the bankruptcy filing by the Johns-Manville Corporation to avoid damage settlements in lawsuits by workers exposed to asbestos on the job.

Using the federal bankruptcy law, which was written first of all to protect profits, Wilson unilaterally imposed new wages

and working conditions. The base wage rate of \$10.69 an hour in the master contract signed in 1981 was reduced to \$6.50 an hour. Benefits were cut by nearly 50 percent and comparable changes were made in work rules.

The workers responded by slowing down production, describing it as "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay." When the company refused to negotiate in good faith and began suspending and firing workers, the UFCW members went on strike at the beginning of June.

While the terms of the new settlement have not been officially released, local news reports indicate the following: the base wage rate was set at \$8 an hour, with new hires starting at \$6.50; overtime begins after eight hours a day and forty hours a week (32 under the master contract); the guaranteed work week was set at 36 hours, Tuesday through Saturday. (The old contract provided a minimum of 36 hours Monday through Friday, but that had been cut to 32 hours since April 22.)

Vacation, holidays, and pension payments were also reduced, although not as drastically as under the April terms.

'Slap in the face'

The contract was approved by a fairly narrow margin — 55 percent to 45 percent. According to John Kettelson, vice-president of Local 179 at Wilson's Cherokee, Iowa, plant, "about 80 percent just plain don't like it." One worker called the agreement "a slap in the face for what we've worked for in the past 20 years."

The settlement terms have not been officially released because they are still to be reviewed as part of the bankruptcy proceedings. In fact, the company may be hoping to get new concessions through the court: one of its demands in negotiations was reportedly that the union withdraw all legal opposition to the bankruptcy filing.

When Wilson filed for bankruptcy in April, it had hopes not only of gutting the contract but of getting rid of the union altogether. A company spokesperson went so far as to tell the media that the UFCW was no longer the bargaining agent for its members who worked at Wilson.

The company's strategy was to demoralize the workers and to tie the union down in a long, drawn-out court fight and "exploratory" talks. After all, they would rather pay fancy lawyers' fees than a decent wage.

But the workers' slowdowns and strike forced Wilson to change plans. By fighting back, they were able to retain union representation, force the company to negotiate, and recover some of the takebacks Wilson imposed in April.

Despite this strong resistance put up by the workers, however, the packing companies are in a stronger position against their employees as a result of the Wilson bankruptcy. They have lost no time in following up on this blow with demands for greater and greater concessions.

IBP wage cuts

On June 12, Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) in Dakota City, Nebraska, forced a \$1.07 per hour wage cut down the throats of UFCW Local 222, whose members had been working without a contract for more than a year. During a bitter four-month strike last year, the state government intervened with state troopers and National Guard troops to help the company reopen the plant with scabs. Strikers were gassed, beaten and arrested in attacks on their picket lines by government agents.

After the vote at Dakota City, IBP forced similar cuts on workers at its non-union plants.

Blaming "burdensome, union-negotiated wage rates," Armour Food Co. announced

Continued on Page 17

Outrage over acquittal in racist killing

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

BROOKLYN — Despite eyewitness testimony linking Paul Mormando to the murder of Black transit worker William Turks, a jury acquitted the white youth July 15.

Mormando is the second person to be acquitted on murder charges stemming from the racist mob attack on three Black transit workers last year here. Gino Bova, whose trial took place in April, was found guilty of second-degree manslaughter.

Mormando was found guilty only of third-degree assault, second-degree riot, and two counts of discrimination — all misdemeanors.

At the trial Mormando denied his previously videotaped confession and tried to claim that Turks had attacked him. The

prosecutor withheld other evidence and photos showing Mormando's guilt.

The Committee for Justice was organized by Dennis Dixon, one of the survivors of the racist attack. Rev. Ben Chavis, and others to help get out the truth about Turks' murder.

Denouncing the verdict, Chavis said, "The court system of the City of New York has once again shown its capacity to further the interests of racism. Racist violence is on the rise inside the United States because the United States is escalating racist violence outside its borders, in Latin America, the Caribbean, and South Africa."

"The victims of racist violence along with all progressive forces must unite to put an end to this evil."