



After August 27: how can we win jobs, peace, and freedom?

Where do we go from here?

We have come to Washington, D.C., and San Francisco August 27 to demand from the government jobs, peace, and freedom.

Through the initiative of the major Black civil rights organizations, a broad-based coalition was formed to build these actions — an unprecedented alliance of Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, and the organized labor movement.

We clearly represent the vast majority of U.S. society. Our demands are in the in-

terests of all working people — those marching and those unable to be here.

reap gigantic profits from the labor of the great majority.

As long as this system remains, war, unemployment, racism, and discrimination against women will continue to plague us.

We also have to understand that, even though we are addressing our demands here to the government, this government will never represent the interests of working people. Nor, in spite of its pretenses to the contrary, is it a neutral arbiter between the employers and the workers. It is an institution for upholding the domination of the employing class. The military forces, courts, cops, two-party system, and the entire governmental bureaucracy are used to defend this class and to help it squeeze more profits out of workers.

We saw how the Reagan administration smashed the air controllers strike two years ago. Today the National Guard and state troopers are mobilized to herd scabs into

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Militant/Mark Berry

EDITORIAL

terests of all working people — those marching and those unable to be here.

The success of the march clearly opens up a needed discussion on how to maintain the unity we have achieved and how to use that unity to win the demands raised by the marchers.

How? That's the question.

To answer it we must understand why Washington spends trillions of dollars on weapons and wages wars of aggression against oppressed peoples; why millions are out of work; why Blacks and Latinos are forced to suffer miserable and humiliating conditions because of their skin color; and why women are subjected to discrimination and harassment.

The reason isn't to be found in bad policies or evil men, although there are plenty of both. Rather it is to be found in the economic and political system of capitalism. In this system a tiny handful own the factories, mines, transportation system, banks, and most of the land. They

Nicaraguan peasants repel terror raid

BY JANE HARRIS

SAN RAFAEL DEL NORTE, Nicaragua — Things haven't been the same in this town for the last few days. Not since townspeople turned back a surprise attack by counterrevolutionaries August 15, killing 29 and wounding others.

The counterrevolutionaries, called *contras* here, are based in Honduras and financed by the U.S. government. They are mostly ex-members of the National Guard of Nicaragua, which terrorized Nicaraguans before the revolution here in 1979.

"The contras acted with incredible arro-

gance. They thought everyone here was reactionary. What stupidity!" Marcos Antonio González, head of the voluntary militia here, told the *Militant*.

"Here the motor force of our defense is the peasantry. Just about everyone is a small producer or they are unemployed."

The contras are hated not only for what they did before 1979. Their attacks on Nicaraguan villages since January have left some 600 people dead. Many have been mutilated and scores of women raped. Others have been kidnapped and dragged across the border to Honduras.

During the late 1920s, San Rafael del Norte was a major headquarters in Gen. Augusto César Sandino's battle to drive out the U.S. Marines. The contras began their attack last week by trying to kick down the doors of the Sandino museum, hoping to make a big splash in the international press.

They came up against 13-year-old militia member Lucas Rodríguez, who shot two of them. They were also confronted by 19-year-old militiaman Maria Axiel Rodríguez, who picked up her father's rifle after he fell, and killed another contra.

This town of 9,000 has become a symbol throughout Nicaragua for its heroism and quick action. Its leading combatants received medals of honor.

Speaking at the award ceremony August 18, Humberto Ortega, commander-in-chief of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), put the attack on San Rafael del Norte in the context of other major clashes that have recently taken place in Jinotega and neighboring Chinandega provinces.

"We are confronted with a new counter-revolutionary escalation," he said. "It is bigger than the attack earlier this year." That invasion, beginning in February, was carried out by some 1,500 to 2,000 counterrevolutionaries.

The aim of the right-wing's current offensive, Ortega said, is to carry out the objectives they were unable to accomplish in the earlier offensive — to seize one or two important northern population centers, declare a "provisional government," and call for open U.S. aid.

As a visit here proved, the contras are not going to have an easy time.

Within twenty-four hours after the attack, 80 militia members, including 7 women (2 of them pregnant), were mobilized. They have organized a rear guard, arms distribution, clothing, food and shelter, trenches, and everything else within the last few days. Three hundred people, half a battalion, are now armed in the area.

"Before the attack there were a lot of young students who didn't see the necessity of the militia, but now they do," one militiaman commented.

This town, located in the northern province of Jinotega, and other towns nearby

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Troops sent to break Arizona copper strike

BY RICH STUART

MORENCI, Az. — As the sun rose on Friday morning, August 19, striking copper workers in this small mining town were greeted by the sight of seven units of the Arizona National Guard moving into place to help break their strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp.

The guardsmen rolled into town equipped with armored personnel carriers, Huey helicopters, automatic weapons, and massive supplies of tear gas. They took up positions directly on Phelps Dodge property, overlooking the gates of the mine and the

union picket lines. Hundreds of state troopers outfitted in full riot gear joined them.

Backed by this show of force, Phelps Dodge announced it would reopen the Morenci mine the next day. At 6:00 a.m. the next morning, the guard and the cops escorted a long caravan of cars, rented buses, and company trucks filled with scabs and salaried personnel through the gates of the mine.

This joint action by Phelps Dodge and the state government dealt a big blow to the copper workers' strike, which began July 1. Although negotiations continue, na-

tional solidarity from the labor movement is urgently needed to aid the embattled workers.

At the beginning of August, strikers had scored an important victory. Mass picket lines at Phelps Dodge's Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas, Arizona, mines stopped the company from bringing in large numbers of new strike breakers from outside the area. The picket in Morenci led the company to shut down the mine there (its largest operation) for a 10-day period. In addition, the company was forced back to the bargaining

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Hundreds of state troopers invaded copper town of Morenci, Arizona, to herd scabs into struck mine.

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Initial reports indicate that the *Militant's* front-page coverage last week of the Arizona copper strike was popular, not only with Arizona copper miners, but at industrial worksites around the country and among striking telephone workers.

The regular, weekly plant-gate sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are bringing coal miners, steelworkers, garment workers, and others the copper miners' side of the story.

In fact these are the only national publications that are doing so regularly.

Socialists in Phoenix sold their bundle of 250 *Militants* and *PMs* in a couple of days, and needed to order 150 more.

Two hundred papers were sold in Morenci, the small mining town in southeastern Arizona where the strikers were successful in forcing Phelps Dodge to shut down the mine for a week.

The rest were sold in Globe, a copper mining town east of Phoenix.

Socialists from Phoenix and Tucson got together and went door-to-door in Morenci and Ajo, a mining town south of Phoenix. They sold 45 *Militant* subscrip-

tions to copper miners and their families.

The Morgantown, West Virginia, SWP sells many of its papers to coal miners and their relatives. They reported that workers virtually snatched the paper out of salespeople's hands when they saw the picture of two Ajo strikers — one male and one female — holding a chain to prevent scabs from passing through.

There were many other reports of the way that particular picture, which said so much about the determination of these workers, inspired other workers and convinced some to check out the *Militant*.

At a picket line of five telephone workers in downtown Newark, New Jersey, two of the strikers bought the *Militant*. Salesperson Brigid Clark reported that the workers immediately read the back page article on the telephone workers strike and then turned to the coverage of the copper strike and read that through.

Karen Newton, who works at the Exxon oil refinery in Bayway, New Jersey, reported that one of her coworkers is from Morenci and supports the strike. His father is a retired copper miner and had sent him newspaper clippings about the struggle there.

He asked Newton for a copy of the *Militant's* article on the strike, read it, and wants to regularly fol-

low the *Militant's* coverage.

SWP and YSA members have also been distributing the *Militant* and *PM* at telephone workers' picket lines and demonstrations.

As soon as the phone strike began, Los Angeles socialists released a solidarity statement, which they distributed along with their newspapers.

In Baltimore, supporters of the SWP mayoral campaign of Joey Rothenberg, a steelworker, participated in a demonstration of 700 telephone workers. The *Militant's* coverage of the August 27 march and its opposition to the U.S. war in Central America netted a friendly response from the crowd. So did Rothenberg's call for a labor party based on the trade unions as a fighting alternative to both the Democrats and Republicans.

In Washington, D.C., a Communications Workers of America (CWA) picket captain came to a film showing sponsored by the *Militant* on the revolution in the Caribbean island of Grenada.

In many cities, socialist workers who talked to telephone strikers distributed leaflets for August 27 and found that many of these workers plan on being at this important action for jobs, peace, and freedom.

For example, at the struck Western Electric plant in Kearny,



Militant/Rich Stuart
"Militant" coverage of copper miners' battle to defend unions was welcomed in Arizona mining towns.

New Jersey, socialists reported a better than usual response from the workers there who were part of the strike against AT&T.

Socialist Louise Halverson reports that while the cops' presence

was too overwhelming for anyone to feel comfortable selling or buying the *Militant*, strikers welcomed their support, were eager to talk, and willingly took August 27 coalition leaflets.

Nicaraguan peasants repel U.S.-backed terror raid

Continued from front page

have been recent targets of the contras.

González explained that coffee accounts for 25 percent of Nicaragua's export income. Sixty percent of that coffee comes from Jinotega and Matagalpa provinces. "The contras' strategic goal in the region is stopping the coffee harvest. By terrorizing the people, they hope to make it hard to get pickers."

Capt. Francisco León Picardo, head of the region's militia, described the military situation in the area:

"It is a difficult war, a war of constant ambushes and withdrawals. Our idea is to let them pass over the border so we can annihilate them on our own territory. If we can't do that we want to at least neutralize them. By that I mean kill 60 percent of them, so they will be forced to go back to Honduras and regroup."

González agreed to escort us some 15 kilometers south to La Concordia, a town of about 5,000 people. "La Concordia is even more revolutionary than San Rafael del Norte. Maybe because it's poorer," he told us.

We arrived at the militia office at dinner time and found some very good food — all donated from the local farming cooperative — cooking over a fire.

Teolinda Rivera, one of the town's teachers who has volunteered to cook brought over a plate full of tortillas, beef, fresh cheese, and a cup of coffee for each of the new arrivals.

"We haven't had classes all week since the contras came," she explained. "Everything has been for the defense effort. About 100 militia members have been mobilized."

At dawn the next day we saw them assembling, an impressive force of all ages. The youngest member, aged 12, is about as tall as his rifle; the eldest is Nieves Moradon, 67-years-old, who served as a messenger for Sandino's forces more than 50 years ago.

'One united army'

Some 20 well-armed militiamen were assigned to protect five journalists on our five-kilometer hike to the cooperative at Las Chichiguas, inaccessible from La Concordia by car.

We were told that there were still contras in the region. Estimates ranged as high as 800. The militia took no chances, stopping us every five minutes, while a scouting team set out ahead. These militiamen were all members of the same agricultural cooperative. Only a couple of days ago

cooperative members shot two contras entering their land after retreating from San Rafael del Norte.

"After the combat, we saw that the counterrevolutionaries were wearing two sets of pants, civilian over their uniforms. And they always go with their Bibles, claiming that they are killing in the name of God. What hypocrisy — killing children and raping women!" Edgar Herrera Baldivia, a 19-year-old member of the cooperative, put in.

"We're all Catholics here," he continued pointing to the crosses on their homes. "We're also all members of the militia, the reserves, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers [UNAG], and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). There is no other way forward. Before we were humiliated by the National Guard, the rich, by the Somocistas. For us the only command is the FSLN."

"And here on the co-op we have to function as one united army," Herrera added.

In the last week the co-op dug trenches and made sure that all the families were armed — a task made easier by the recent arrival of hundreds of brand-new Soviet AK-47 assault rifles.

While this was the first attack on this particular co-op, the 106 people who live

there have felt the effects of the contras for some time.

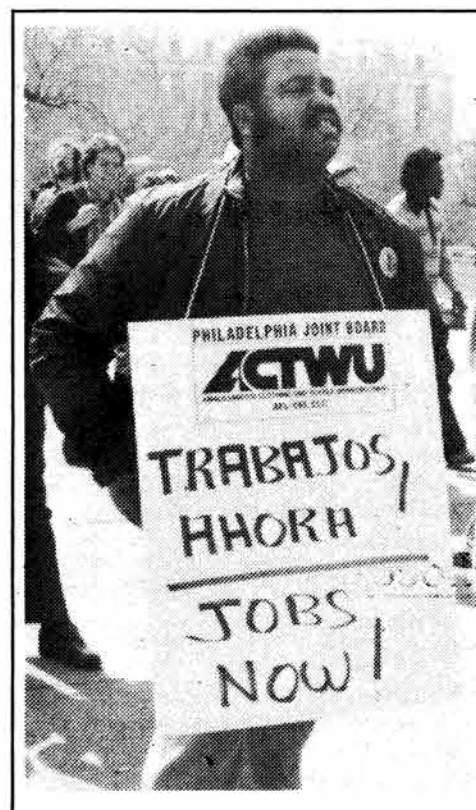
Impact of attacks

For example, while adult members of the co-op, who passed through the 1980 literacy crusade, are receiving adult education for two hours after their 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. workday, their children receive no formal education.

"The school in La Concordia is too far. You saw how difficult the path is. We are afraid they will be kidnapped," one father said. "Maybe, with time, the revolution will be able to give us materials to build a school here. But we lack teachers as well," he added.

The co-op raises cattle and grows beans and corn. The beans were ready to be harvested when the contras came. With 17 of the 30 members mobilized in the militia, they know they will lose some of the harvest.

And what they do harvest will be gathered with rifles slung over their shoulders, because in the last six months some 120 of their fellow members of UNAG have been killed by the contras throughout Nicaragua.



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Marcos dictatorship guns down opponent as opposition grows

BY FRED MURPHY

The cold-blooded murder of opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr., by the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines points up that regime's desperation in face of mounting mass opposition and a deep economic crisis.

Marcos, one of Washington's key clients in Asia, brazenly organized the assassination of Aquino, despite the fact that the international spotlight was turned on the Philippines when the country's leading oppositionist returned from three years in exile.

The dictatorship had publicly warned Aquino to stay out of the Philippines, claiming plots had been discovered against his life.

"The only assassins I'm afraid of are Mr. Marcos's firing squad," Aquino had responded. He had been sentenced to death by a military court in 1977 for his opposition to Marcos.

Marcos blames communists

Aquino was gunned down at point-blank range on August 21, seconds after soldiers removed him from the plane on which he had arrived at Manila's international airport. Troops and police had cordoned off the area, and journalists and other passengers were blocked from leaving the plane while the execution took place.

Marcos claimed afterward that a "professional killer" disguised as an airport employee had somehow infiltrated the area and shot Aquino. This unidentified alleged assassin was immediately killed by the soldiers that had surrounded the plane. But the August 23 *New York Times* cited a Japanese journalist on Aquino's plane who said "that he had witnessed one of three military guards who escorted the opposition leader off the plane fire at him from a distance of less than three feet."

The journalist said further "that immediately after Mr. Aquino was shot, a man was pushed out of a military van and was shot dead by the armed guard."

Television film of the incident showed Aquino leaving the plane with two guards directly in back of him and one in front. How then could the supposed killer have walked up and shot Aquino in the head from behind?

Because the regime had been trying to block his return, Aquino kept his exact arrival time and flight secret and traveled under an assumed name. How then did the alleged gunman know Aquino was on that particular flight when even his family did not?

The regime's responsibility for Aquino's murder could hardly be clearer. Nonetheless, Marcos sought to blame his victim for returning to the Philippines despite warnings of death plots, and even suggested that Aquino's killing had been a "communist rebut job."

The Aquino murder is but the most drastic move in a crackdown on all opposition

Aquino's murder protested in Seattle

SEATTLE — Forty spirited picketers, predominantly Filipino, marched today in front of the Philippine Consulate in response to the murder of former Philippines opposition leader Benigno Aquino. The demonstrators demanded a halt to U.S. aid to the Marcos regime and the immediate closing of all U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Chants such as "Hey, hey, U.S.A., get your bases out today" and "No arms, no aid to the Marcos regime, U.S. out of the Philippines" were accompanied by a loud-speaker and a drumbeat that could be heard for several blocks around the consulate.

Activists in the Committee Against the Marcos Dictatorship — Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN) handed out leaflets explaining the ties between Marcos and the Reagan administration.

launched by Marcos a year ago. Emboldened by the unconditional support offered to his rule by Washington, Marcos jailed dozens of trade-union leaders, dissident priests and nuns, and opposition journalists. Last December a major counterinsurgency drive was launched in the countryside with extensive U.S. advice and support. In April Marcos revealed secret decrees issued in 1981 imposing the death penalty for political crimes such as "seditious" writings and speech or the organization of opposition rallies.

These moves were in response to a big wave of strikes and labor struggles brought on by a sharp deterioration in the Philippines' economy. Austerity measures have been imposed by the regime at the behest of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which are providing loans to help Marcos cope with a \$22 billion foreign debt and a balance-of-payments crisis.

Marcos also confronts a growing guerrilla movement in large areas of the Philippines countryside under the leadership of the New People's Army. The NPA has expanded its military activity and geographic scope considerably in the past year and has gained increasing popular support. It has close ties to the National Democratic Front (NDF), a bloc of trade unions, peasant organizations, and organizations of women, students, health workers, teachers, lawyers, and journalists. Since leading a successful mass campaign for a boycott of Marcos' phony elections in 1981, the NDF has outpaced the bourgeois opposition forces grouped around Aquino.

Marcos evidently feared that Aquino's presence in the Philippines could serve to rally the various currents of opposition in a new campaign against the dictatorship. Aquino had recently begun calling for efforts to take advantage of economic discontent in order to bring down the dictatorship.

In the speech he had prepared for delivery upon his return, Aquino was to call for



Philippine Assemblyman Salvador Laurel addresses demonstrators outside Manila airport who had come to greet returning opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr.

"national reconciliation . . . but only with justice." There could be "no deal with a dictator," he wrote, "no compromise with dictatorship."

"The nationwide rebellion is escalating and threatens to explode into a bloody revolution," he said. "There is a growing cadre of young Filipinos who have finally come to realize that freedom is never granted, it is taken."

Washington's complicity

Benigno Aquino's blood is also on the hands of the Reagan administration, which has made all-out support to the Marcos regime a cornerstone of its policy for southeast Asia. In June, a new, five-year U.S. aid package totaling \$900 million was announced as "rent" for Washington's huge military installations in the Philippines — Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base. Almost half the sum is direct military aid, while the rest will be largely devoted to military projects in the guise of "economic" aid.

U.S. police agencies have subjected Filipino opponents of the Marcos regime

living in the United States to spying, harassment, and the threat of extradition to the Philippines on Marcos' trumped-up charges. There is even evidence suggesting U.S. complicity in the murder of two young Filipino trade unionists by Marcos agents in Seattle, Washington, in 1981.

U.S. officials have repeatedly stressed their backing for Marcos. "We love your adherence to democratic principles and democratic processes," Vice-president George Bush told the dictator in 1981. Last year, Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger affirmed that Washington would remain "a steady and reliable partner" of the Marcos regime. And during a visit to Manila this June, Secretary of State George Shultz hailed the "very special" relationship between the United States and the Philippines.

Reagan himself is set to visit the Philippines in November. In a further demonstration of support for Marcos, Reagan refused to cancel the trip following Aquino's murder. The White House announced that it was confident Reagan would be well protected. **From Intercontinental Press**

Va. Aug. 27 group backs Bell strike

BY CHARLES BARNET
AND RICHARD BOLITHO

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — The coalition building participation in the Norfolk-Newport News area for the August 27 march on Washington has passed a resolution in support of striking telephone workers.

The resolution, which was introduced by a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), one of the striking unions, states:

"To the Communications Workers of America — AFL-CIO, The Tidewater 20th Anniversary Coalition of Conscience would like to extend greetings and solidarity to you in your work stoppage against AT&T Corp.

"As we build the August 27 demonstration for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom, we are reminded that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stood for the right of working people to organize and defend themselves against those who would seek higher profits at the expense of human justice.

"It is in this spirit that this body — which represents a broad coalition of trade unions, civil rights, civic, religious leaders, and community activists — extends its solidarity."

Two coalition members read the resolution at a meeting of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 2205 in Newport News and received a lengthy ovation. The resolution was also sent to CWA locals 2202 in Norfolk and 2275 in Virginia Beach.

The coalition voted to have a representative from the CWA speak at a rally August 20 in preparation for the Washington march.

The CWA has some 2,700 members in the Norfolk-Newport News area. On August 14, 1,000 CWA members and supporters from other unions and the community

marched and rallied in downtown Norfolk.

In Newport News there has been a flying picket squad of 80 CWA members which travels from worksite to worksite to reinforce picket lines.

Coalition members have visited picket lines to express solidarity and distribute literature on August 27.

The Tidewater 20th Anniversary Coalition has substantial labor participation. The CWA has been active in building August 27 since before the strike.

Other unions building August 27 include United Steelworkers of America Local 8888 at the Newport News shipyard, United Auto Workers Local 919 at the Ford truck plant in Norfolk, International Association of Machinists, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, United Food and Commercial Workers, International Longshoremen's Association, and A. Philip Randolph Institute.

August 27 marchers — come to an open house

3:00 p.m. — right after the march

Discuss:

Socialist Strategy in Fight for Jobs, Peace, Freedom

In Washington:

Hear: Ed Warren, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Chicago. Others.

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In San Francisco:

Hear: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco

Location:

Coliseum II, 1525 Mission St., near 11 St.

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Utah AFL-CIO vows solidarity with miners

BY MARY ZINS

SALT LAKE CITY — The Utah State AFL-CIO convention, meeting August 17-19, passed an emergency resolution supporting the copper strike against Phelps Dodge union-busting.

"Be it resolved," read the resolution, "that the Utah State AFL-CIO, in convention assembled, does hereby call upon all affiliated unions to support this strike in any way that the unions or its members can."

The resolution went on to urge "that the Utah State AFL-CIO organize a tour of the striking Arizona copper miners before affiliated local labor unions, funded by local contributions, to get out the truth of this strike and to extend solidarity to our union brothers and sisters in Arizona and to build support for their fight against union-busting."

Finally, the resolution said, "the Utah State AFL-CIO calls for the reinstatement of all copper miners fired for their union activity during the strike and calls for a halt to all further victimizations of strikers."

The resolution passed unanimously at the Friday resolutions session.

The previous day delegates heard a report on the strike by Grace Carroll, coordinator of the Rocky Mountain Labor School and an AFL-CIO field staff member. Based in Arizona, Carroll explained that she hadn't planned to come to the Utah convention, but the day before, in a meeting with the strikers, they asked her to come and tell their story.

"Sixty-six years ago on July 12," Carroll said, "Phelps Dodge pulled the same thing they're doing today." She explained that in 1917 Phelps Dodge sent armed guards into Bisbee, Arizona, against strikers. Only 300 to 400 miners were members of the union, the Industrial Workers of the World, but 50 percent of the 4,900 miners had come out in support of this strike.

The armed guards went into people's homes and rounded the strikers up at gunpoint and took them to the town plaza. They rounded up businesspeople who supported the strike as well. The armed guards marched the miners from the plaza to the ballpark field. At the field, they gave the miners the opportunity to go back to work. Some did.

The guards then herded 1,186 workers into railroad boxcars and shipped the miners to the desert in New Mexico, where Phelps Dodge left them to die.

"No one died," explained Carroll. "We union people are more resourceful than the company would have us — but only 67 ever returned to live in the Bisbee area."

"Today, in 1983," she continued, "Phelps Dodge is using the same kind of tactics, though they can't send armed guards into your home."

The mines in Arizona are in company towns. "Phelps Dodge," said Carroll, "owns the store, the light company, the bar, the movie house, and the drug store. As far as you can see, they own it. The

feeling every day that they're right on top of you is bad enough when you are working. You can't imagine what it's like when you're out on strike."

This was the first time that Phelps Dodge ever tried to operate its mines after a strike call. "Our people," reported Carroll, "held fast, they picketed in an orderly way. But then came the day the company sent the first scabs in. And if that person took a job, you knew you were never going to have a job again."

Carroll said the miners decided the scabs weren't going through. The miners stood up to the armed state troopers and the sheriffs. Phelps Dodge finally declared a 10-day moratorium at the Morenci mine, but continued to run scabs into the mines at Ajo, Bisbee, Douglas, and El Paso.

And since July 1 and throughout the moratorium, Carroll reported, there have been "no meaningful negotiations on the part of the company."

Phelps Dodge harasses the strikers continuously. They control the school board, the supervisors, and the sheriff.

But, Carroll concluded, "We aren't dead in Arizona. . . . And there's no way they are going to take us back 66 years."

Troops sent to break Arizona copper strike

Continued from front page

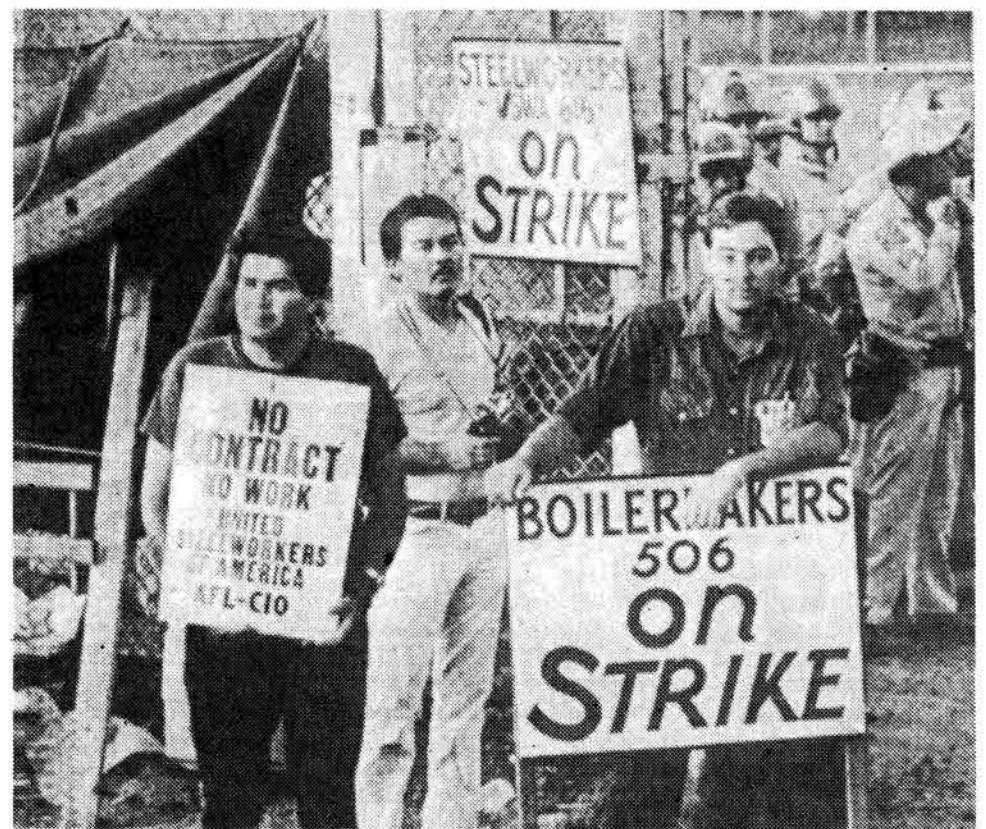
table to resume negotiations with the 13 unions that represent Phelps Dodge miners.

But the company simply stonewalled at the bargaining table. In fact, early in the negotiations, company representatives did not even have the authority to make any decisions. But it soon became clear that one decision had been made by Phelps Dodge bosses in New York — to use every means at its disposal to crush the strike.

After the massive and powerful mobilizations of strikers in Morenci on August 8 and in Ajo and Douglas on August 9, Phelps Dodge began sending suspension notices to union members who had participated in the mass pickets. The suspensions were soon followed by termination notices.

Phelps Dodge also owns the electric companies in the mining towns. Strikers behind on their utility bills are receiving shutoff notices. The Phelps Dodge-controlled Valley National Bank has begun foreclosing on strikers who are behind on house or car payments.

High school students in Ajo have been sent letters from the principal welcoming them back to school but warning them that if they discuss the strike at school they will be suspended. Four of the five school board members in Ajo are Phelps Dodge salaried employees and the school board president is Phelps Dodge's general mine foreman in Ajo. Students in Morenci were told, while registering for fall classes, that



Pickets outside Morenci copper mine, with state troopers behind them.

if they used the word "scab" they would be suspended.

The big-business-controlled news media in Arizona has joined Phelps Dodge's anti-union campaign.

The editors of the Arizona Republic, the state's largest newspaper, have repeatedly demanded that the state government use all necessary force against the copper miners. The media has consistently referred to the strikers as "the mob."

On August 19, the day that Phelps Dodge announced it would reopen the Morenci mine, the Arizona Republic's lead editorial said, "The plant's reopening will be a test of Phelps Dodge's right to operate freely and the rights of nonstriking workers to hold jobs without fear. It will also be a test of whether order can be maintained in a labor dispute. Taking steps to preserve the peace is not an endorsement of Phelps Dodge's position — it is placing the law over the instincts of a mob."

The law referred to in the editorial is Arizona's "right-to-work law." This law has been used as justification for the direct strike-breaking role played by Arizona Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt. Babbitt was elected in 1982 with union support as a "friend of labor." Now Babbitt says the "right-to-work" law protects the right of scabs to work strikers' jobs.

The August 20-21 deployment of cops was "the single largest movement of police officers ever to occur in Arizona," according to Department of Public Safety Director Ralph Milstead.

Babbitt commented after the mine was reopened, "I guess we showed them our teeth."

Some of the strikers, Vietnam veterans, watching the invasion of this small mining town in the eastern Arizona mountains, said it reminded them of their stay in Vietnam. At one union office in Morenci, strikers answered the phone, "Welcome to Da Nang."

An older Mexican-American striker said, "The company wants to see another Kent State here."

Another striker, a member of USWA Local 616 in Morenci, told the Militant that his son was now on the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Coral Sea, stationed off the coast of Nicaragua, and that he wasn't happy about either his or his son's dealing with the military.

In Morenci and neighboring Clifton now, helicopters fly constantly overhead bringing food and supplies into the mine. County and state police, taking their lead from Phelps Dodge and the state government, have stepped up arrests and harassment of strikers, their families, and supporters.

Arrests have been made on any pretext,

from traffic violations to, in one case, carrying a concealed weapon, which, in fact, turned out to be a baseball bat in a miner's car.

Dozens of strikers are being arrested for their participation in the mass pickets in Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas August 8 and 9.

Some of the strikers have decided to move away from the area to try to start over.

Other strikers hope for some progress from the ongoing negotiations. But many here question whether the company has any motivation for serious negotiations, since the only movements it has made have been movements of scabs into the struck mines. Some fear that Phelps Dodge will escalate the importation of strike breakers until the mines are operating at full or near capacity.

The reopening of the Morenci mine in this military atmosphere was seen by strikers as a big blow. Most feel that the momentum in the strike has passed to Phelps Dodge.

The high spirits that prevailed after the shutdown on August 8 are turning to anger and frustration.

The strikers are not beaten. But their situation demands immediate action on the part of the entire union movement.

A contingent of copper workers from Kennecott Copper's Silver City, New Mexico, mine visited Morenci on August 20. They told the Militant that all copper workers were watching the Phelps Dodge strike closely, knowing that they would be directly affected by the outcome. The New Mexico miners, members of USWA Local 890, brought a message of solidarity, a \$700 contribution, and joined the Morenci miners' picket lines.

Rank and file members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other unions at an Arizona construction site collected \$5,600 for the strikers, as well as hundreds of signatures on strike support petitions.

These actions are small but important examples of the kind of solidarity the Phelps Dodge strikers need. But as the strike nears the end of its second month, such solidarity is needed on a massive scale.

So far neither the national leadership of the unions involved in the strike, nor the AFL-CIO have taken the bold and decisive steps necessary to mobilize this solidarity. That is what is required to respond effectively to the powerful forces now lined up against the copper miners.

A Copper Strike Relief Fund has been set up by the unions involved in the strike. Financial contributions or messages of support can be sent to the fund at the following address:

c/o Morenci Unity Council
P.O. Box 1017
Clifton, Az. 85533

'I'd rather be left with nothing than scab for the company'

The "Militant" received the following letter from a copper miner on strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. in Clifton-Morenci, Arizona:

Growing up here in this community of Clifton-Morenci, my brother and I were raised to believe that this community was our home forever. We were to raise our families here.

Our father was president of his Boilermakers union and was very proud of it. He taught us to believe, honor, and respect our unions. He worked hard for his family. He was one to fight for the cost-of-living allowance and other benefits.

We are a family of many generations who worked for this company. A company we all respected. But how can we respect this company when it has intimidated and harassed the good people of Clifton and Morenci? Why bring in the National Guard and the Department of Public Safety? Are we in the Vietnam War? Are we criminals?

We are people who are proud human beings, who have the right to strike for a bet-

ter living. If anything should happen in our good community because of the violence, it is the company and the governor who are at fault.

The governor should have concerned himself with the people instead of being bought by this company that pits friend against friend, brother against brother, and neighbor against neighbor, and carries out all this harassment with its union-busting tactics.

These people are the ones who "put guns to our heads."

We are fighting for what are supposed to be our rights, our jobs, and our future.

As a self-supporting mother of three children, I would rather be left with nothing than to SCAB for the company I used to respect. When my union officials go to work, I will follow right behind them.

I am proud to be a member of Machinists Local 1132.

Viva la huelga!
Sincerely, in union solidarity,
Lydia González Knott



Eloise Linger

Militant/Salm Kolis

Blacks protest exclusion of socialist from Boston debate

BY MIKE GALATI
AND HELEN LOWENTHAL

BOSTON — Mayoral candidate Mel King and other prominent Black community leaders denounced the exclusion of Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Eloise Linger from a public debate August 17. The League of Women Voters and the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce barred Linger from participating.

A garment worker and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Linger has been outspoken on issues of Black rights, including defending busing for desegregation, backing the August 27 march on Washington, and protest-

ing attacks on Black voter registration.

Her exclusion from the League-Chamber of Commerce debate produced extensive publicity here, particularly after Mel King announced he would boycott the debate in protest and urged the other mayoral candidates to do likewise.

A group of prominent Black figures issued a statement defending Linger's right to be in the debate. These included Jean McGuire, member of the Boston School Committee; Russell Williams, director of Operation Big Vote, the voter registration campaign in the Black community; Joseph Feaster, former president of the Boston NAACP; Sandra Graham, state representative; and Rev. Charles Stith, pastor of the Union United Methodist Church.

The League of Women Voters refused to respond to the protests and went ahead with the debate, excluding Linger. To cover the fact that it was Linger's views they did not want people to hear, they also excluded candidate Michael Gelber, a supporter of the ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche, in an attempt to make it appear that "extremists of the left and right" were being equally barred. But the real target was seen here as Linger's socialist campaign.

In a statement to the press Linger explained, "It's my ideas and my program that are being excluded. I'm the only candidate who defends busing for school desegregation. I support the formation of a Black political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans. Such a party is needed against the racist, antilabor city government run by the Democratic Party. And it would set an example for the city's labor movement, posing the need for a labor party based on the trade unions."

In explaining why he was boycotting the debate, King said, "I feel it is so important that people be given a chance to hear all the candidates. Even though I recognize the importance of the [TV] exposure I would get, it would be empty when others are being denied fundamental rights of access that I believe in."

King, a former Democratic state representative, is the only Black in the race.

Both of the major big-business newspapers, the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald*, ran editorials against the exclusion of candidates in the debate.

The primary elections are now postponed until October 11 due to a lawsuit filed by Blacks over discriminatory voter district lines. The issue of busing and Black rights in general is moving to the forefront of campaign issues.

The two most prominent Democratic candidates in the race both played roles in the 1970s in trying to subvert desegregation of the city's schools. David Finnegan was president of the Boston School Committee, which constantly resisted efforts to enforce court-ordered busing. Raymond Flynn was on the city council at the time and active in antibusing protests.

Their records are coming under greater public scrutiny now with fresh moves to destroy desegregation in this city.

In late June the Educational Planning Group, appointed by the school committee president, released its recommendations for "improving the quality of public school education." The heart of the plan calls for restructuring the present school districts such that neighborhood schools "would be possible."

This plan has been attacked by the two Black school committee members in Boston, who charged that it amounts to nothing less than "segregation all over again."

Also, during the petitioning process to secure ballot status for mayoral candidates, the Boston Elections Department, in an openly racist move, admitted that it was counting newly registered voters' signatures as invalid. The largest share of these new voters are Black, the result of an intensive voter registration drive going on in the Black community this summer.

On July 27 U.S. District Judge Andrew Caffrey threw out the recently drawn city election districts, because they violated the "one person, one vote provision of the U.S. Constitution." The judge found that the city council, which had drawn the districts in 1982, used census data from 1975 instead of 1980 and thus systematically undercounted the Black and Latino population, which grew significantly between the 1975 and 1980 censuses.

The plaintiffs in this case, including the Latino Political Action Committee and the Black Political Task Force, initiated the suit almost a year ago. They charged that the Boston City Council gerrymandered the election districts, packing the entire Black community into only two of the nine districts and dispersing the Latino community throughout six of the seven remaining white districts.

Pointing out that the Latino and Black communities make up over 33 percent of the city population according to the 1980 census data, they are calling for the formation of a third district comprised primarily of the Latino community.

In the midst of increasing attacks on the political rights of the Black and Latino communities in this city, over 1,500 people, mostly Black, turned out to hear Chicago Mayor Harold Washington August 7. Washington came to endorse Mel King for Mayor.

The open-air rally was the largest political event in the Black community since the massive struggle for busing in 1975-76. It reflected a deepening of the discussion around the candidacy of King and around the general question of exercising Black political power both locally and nationally.

Supporters of Eloise Linger were present at the rally and received a good response from the crowd to her proposal for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties.

Chicago socialist candidate: Blacks, labor need own party

BY LINDA JENNESS

CHICAGO — Pointing to a big "Calendar of Events" chart on the wall, socialist Melvin Chappell said, "Look at this calendar and you'll get an idea of how many people Ed Warren has talked to in the last couple of weeks of this election campaign."

"Just today he appeared on the platform of the Operation PUSH meeting from which Rev. Jesse Jackson's speech was broadcast on the radio, then campaigned on the street, then rushed here for this meeting."

Chappell, a member of the Chicago Socialist Workers 1st Congressional District Campaign Committee, was addressing a crowd of supporters who gathered Saturday evening, August 20, at the Southside campaign headquarters to hear Ed Warren.

Elections for the 1st Congressional District seat vacated by Harold Washington when he was elected mayor of Chicago take place August 23.

There are three candidates on the ballot: Democrat Charles Hayes, vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers;



Ed Warren

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

paigned against the U.S. government's war drive in Central America and for solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and with the rebels in El Salvador and Guatemala.

He campaigned for eliminating the war budget and for using those billions of dollars to put people back to work, improve social services, build low-cost housing, and desegregate the schools.

He said he encouraged everyone he talked with to participate in the August 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., and that his supporters were helping to organize coworkers and other campaign supporters to go to the march.

"The congressional campaign will be over on August 23," said Warren, "and, most likely, Charles Hayes will win. He will become the first trade unionist elected from this district."

"Hayes says that this is a step toward electing 'our own,'" Warren added. "Well I'm all for trade unionists and representatives of the Black community running for office and winning. But it's wrong to tie our hands, our ideas, and our program up in the Democratic Party — a party that proved a long time ago that it can't represent the working people. It, along with the Republican Party, can only represent the ruling rich."

"I'm not for tying us up at all," Warren continued. "I think we should use the power of the Black community, and the power of the labor movement to fight in our own name for ourselves. We need to organize that power into a Black independent party and into a labor party based on the trade unions. That's how we can elect our own."

Warren told his supporters that he had attended the national convention of Operation PUSH held in Atlanta earlier this summer. "Some person told Rev. Jesse Jackson that now wasn't the time for a Black person to run for president," Warren said. "What do they mean, not time? Of course it's time. It's past time. It's long overdue. It's time for us to break with the Democratic and Republican parties. It's time for us to organize our own, run our own. It's time for a Black party. It's time for a labor party. It's time for workers and farmers to run the whole country."

August 23 Chicago congressional election results: Democrat Charles Hayes received 39,627 votes; Socialist Workers Party candidate Ed Warren, 394 votes; and Republican Diane Precely, 2,273 votes. Only 14 percent of the registered voters went to the polls.

Socialist Workers candidate Ed Warren, a laid-off garment worker; and Republican Diane Precely.

"Throughout this campaign," Chappell continued, "the socialist alternative has received a serious hearing from thousands of people, not only in the 1st Congressional District, but from around the city. We collected 10,000 signatures in three weeks to get on the ballot. We sold hundreds of copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. We have distributed thousands of platform brochures and posters."

"Perhaps most exciting, we've been able to participate in the debates among all the candidates that were organized by church groups, community organizations, colleges, and others. We were included in about 15 of these kinds of meetings. There has been a real exchange of ideas within the Black community and among trade unionists during this campaign, and we've been a serious part of it."

In introducing Ed Warren, Chappell pointed out that the socialist candidate and his supporters would be throwing all their energies during the next week into building the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

"This campaign really started over a year ago," said Warren. "It started when I entered the mayoral race on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Harold Washington won that election. His seat here in the 1st Congressional District opened up, and so did discussions about what kind of congressperson Black and working people need to represent us."

Warren told the audience that he cam-

Upcoming Militant Forums

NEW JERSEY

Newark

After the March on Washington, Where Do We Go From Here? Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 2, 7:30 p.m. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m., \$3. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

After August 27: What Next In the Fight for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom. A discussion with Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, member United Mine Workers of America Local 2350; and others. Fri., Sept. 2, 7 p.m. 141 S. Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

OHIO

Cleveland

Report Back on August 27 March for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom: Where Do We Go From Here? Discussion with Socialist Workers Party candidates for school board, Omari Musa and Tamar Rosenfeld. Slide show. Wed., Sept. 7, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

The New Vietnam: Why the U.S. Is at War in Central America. Speakers: Ken Jelink, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Local 98; Mary Nell Bockman, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Aug. 28, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 475-8933 or 464-2565.

'There is no trade union freedom in El Salvador'

Report from U.S. labor fact-finding trip

In June a delegation of U.S. union officials made a fact-finding trip to El Salvador under the auspices of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. They met with Salvadoran unionists, peasants, refugees, political prisoners, and U.S. and Salvadoran government officials.

The findings of the delegation — that trade union, political, and human rights are ruthlessly suppressed by the U.S.-backed regime there — have received scant attention by the major dailies in this country.

The union leaders concluded from their trip that "The government of the United States should end all military aid to the government of El Salvador" and open a dialogue with all political forces in that country, including the liberation fighters.

The text of their report was released to the media July 19. Below we reprint the first half of the document, on the conditions faced by trade unionists and peasants in El Salvador. The second half of the report, which will appear in a future *Militant*, takes up the issues of political and democratic rights, and the committee's proposals for a solution to the conflict there.

A final, printed version of the report is being prepared now by the committee. For more information, write National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 242-0700.

The National Labor Committee is chaired by Douglas Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers; Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Other officials on the committee include William Bywater, president of the International Association of Electrical Workers; César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers; Robert Goss, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Gerald McEntee, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Willard McGuire, president of the National Education Association.

INTRODUCTION

On June 5, 1983, the first independent U.S. trade union fact-finding delegation arrived in El Salvador. The seven of us in the delegation represented four different unions: the United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO), the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO), the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), and the National Education Association.

We came to Central America as well-read North Americans who believed that U.S. policy toward El Salvador was misguided. We left stunned by the human toll that policy has wrought.

As a trade union delegation, we focused our attention on Salvadoran trade unions and the men and women they represent. But we did not — and could not — limit our sights to Salvadoran labor.

We met with officials at the heights of Salvadoran governmental, military, and business power.

We visited poverty-stricken refugees and tortured political prisoners.

We spoke with soldiers of different political stripes and dissidents who would only dare meet us behind very closed doors.

We came to El Salvador ready to learn. We left not as experts, but as witnesses to a terror that sings every strata of Salvadoran society.

Our delegation was sponsored by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Sal-

vador. The committee, which currently includes 13 national United States unions, has worked diligently to mobilize the U.S. labor movement — and the public — for peace in El Salvador. We hope this report will contribute to that ongoing effort.

The delegation:

Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO)

William Lucy, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)

Ted Barrett, Region 9A director, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)

John DeMars, special assistant to the executive director, National Education Association

Jack Howard, assistant to the president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)

Dave Dyson, Union Label director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO)

Sam Pizzigati, associate director of communications, National Education Association

FINDINGS

In El Salvador, trade unions cannot function freely.

Trade unions exist in El Salvador. The workplace landscape of El Salvador abounds with the acronyms of labor organizations. There are traditional industrial unions in the cities and towns of El Salvador and peasant unions in the countryside. There are private sector unions and public sector unions. There are unions that reflect every hue in the Salvadoran political spectrum.

But there is no trade union freedom in El Salvador, no semblance of the trade union rights we as North American trade unionists consider fundamental to democracy. In El Salvador, we spoke to trade unionists whose wages had been frozen, whose meetings had been disrupted, whose offices had been bombed, whose bodies had been tortured, whose co-workers had been disappeared — and murdered.

It is important to note at the outset that Salvadoran trade unionists are not unfortunate neutrals caught in the crossfires of a war they do not understand. Salvadoran trade unionists, like their fellow trade unionists in other nations, are workers who have organized to fight for dignity and decency. In the twisted logic of politics in El Salvador today, this will to fight makes them "subversives" — and prime targets for right-wing repression, official and unofficial.

We found that even those Salvadoran trade unionists who politically repudiate the "left" fear the right — and carry guns under their *guayaberas* [shirts] for protection against El Salvador's death squads and security forces.

That trade unions can survive at all in the current Salvadoran political and economic climate is a tribute to the courage of Salvadoran trade unionists.

Trade unions in El Salvador enjoyed a brief and effective heyday. In the late 1970's, an explosion of popular political activity reenergized a lackluster labor movement. Trade unions joined in militant "mass fronts" of peasants, students and organized slumdwellers whose civil disobedience tactics won victories on everything from minimum wages to public services for El Salvador's working-class ghettos.

The mass fronts — whose only parallel in a U.S. context might be the civil rights movement — kindled an enthusiasm that helped extend unions into previously unorganized workplaces. They also provoked, starting in 1979 and 1980, right-wing violence against the labor movement. There were arrests, disappearances, and murders.

In all, estimates the leftist labor federation FENASTRAS (Federación Nacional

Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños), 8,239 Salvadoran trade unionists were either murdered, abducted, disappeared, or wounded between 1979 and 1981.

Over these years, trade union offices were also ransacked and dynamited. Meeting halls were gutted. We visited one textile workers hall that had been destroyed three times. In San Salvador, we were told, every union hall has been either vandalized, bombed, or burnt.

"We have what we consider a permanent state of siege," an official of the centrist FESINCONSTRANS (Federación de Sindicatos de Construcción y Transportes y Similares) labor federation told us, "in which not are only individual human rights abridged, but workers are besieged in every aspect of everyday life."

FESINCONSTRANS, a federation certified as "democratic" by the U.S. Embassy, has had its members jailed for striking. In 1979-80, the current FESINCONSTRANS secretary-general notes, many of the federation's members were murdered, including Felipe Zaldívar, the then secretary-general.

The experience of the El Salvadoran teachers' union, ANDES (Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños), provides perhaps the clearest example of what happens in El Salvador when an employees' organization aggressively attempts to defend its members' interests.

ANDES traces its history back to 1965 when El Salvador's teachers, outraged by a proposal to slash retirement benefits, staged an unprecedented protest march that drew most of the nation's 20,000 teachers.

Three years later, the fledgling ANDES staged an even more historic 58-day national strike. The walkout shook the nation. No labor group had ever mounted such a nation-wide action.

The impact of the teachers' strike was felt in nearly every Salvadoran village and town. Teachers took their case to their communities and set up meetings with local *campesinos* — peasants — to explain why they were striking and to ask for support.

For many peasants, these meetings represented the first time that an educated person in El Salvador had ever treated them as anything more than a "domesticated animal." El Salvador's oligarchy was predictably outraged by the whole affair.

As one Salvadoran colonel told a member of our group, "The trouble all started with the 1968 teachers' strike."

In a way, the "modern" era of El Salvadoran repression may have started with that strike, too. In San Vicente province, a striking teacher was pulled from his home at night, according to ANDES and assassinated by the National Guard.

During and immediately after the 1968 strike — and then during and after another national teachers' strike in 1971 — repression also took other forms. There were



U.S. officer directs Salvadoran troops. "That trade unions can survive at all is a tribute to courage of Salvadoran trade unionists."

many arrests, pay cuts, and arbitrary transfers. Teachers' demonstrations were broken up by tear gas and gunfire.

Despite the intimidation, teachers' activism continued throughout the 1970s as ANDES joined repeatedly with peasant, religious, workplace, and the increasingly active "mass front" groups.

Finally, in 1979, the murders, as ANDES leaders put it, began "in earnest." Since 1979, 264 ANDES activists have been killed. Between January, 1980 and January, 1982, at least one teacher was assassinated every month for 25 consecutive months. After a five-month respite, the murders resumed. Three ANDES members were killed this past April.

Since 1979, 44 other ANDES members have been disappeared. Thirty-two other ANDES members were relatively "lucky." They were only arrested as political prisoners. Twenty-seven of these arrests came last summer. All the arrested are now out of prison and in hiding. The only safe place for them is out of the country.

Incredibly, with this atmosphere of terror and death, ANDES still attempts to function as a union. ANDES remains a certified legal organization. It even has a public office in San Salvador. But ANDES officers seldom visit the office — because they fear that if they visited their office, they would be followed to their homes and seized by Salvadoran security forces. The secretary-general of ANDES has been at the ANDES office only once so far this year.

ANDES holds membership meetings and conventions, but the meeting places are never advertised or published — for fear of raids by the security forces in uniform or attacks by civilian-clothed Death Squad thugs.

What ANDES does advertise, in the only Salvadoran newspaper that will accept notices from trade union and human rights groups, is the time and date of negotiating meetings it still is able to schedule with the Ministry of Education. By making these meetings public, ANDES leaders feel they are forcing the Minister of Education to take open responsibility for their safety.



"For our delegation, it was difficult to see how [land] reform, as currently structured, could ever significantly impact on El Salvador's campesinos."



Left, government troops patrol San Salvador. Right, inmates at Mariona Prison, where U.S. labor delegation met with jailed union officials.

But ANDES leaders also take other precautions for these negotiating sessions with the Education Ministry. They carefully plan out secret entry and exit routes to each session and bring family members and friends to the Ministry to act as witnesses. None of these precautions guarantees safety, so, as a final precaution for the organization, ANDES never sends its entire executive board to any of these negotiating sessions with the Ministry of Education. Should the worst happen, ANDES reasons, at least some leaders must remain free and alive.

"We are not underground," notes one ANDES leader, "just discreet."

Other unions have not been able to "adapt" as well as ANDES. At a textile factory we visited in the heart of San Salvador, the workers' union had ceased to become a factor in the workplace equation. We asked the company official who gave us the factory tour whether the plant had a union. Yes, of course, the management official answered, but we soon discovered that he could not give us the union's correct name.

It turned out that the union representing the textile factory's workers had last negotiated a contract in 1980. The contract expired in 1982, but was extended under provisions of current law. That contract can now be extended into perpetuity. To get a new contract, the union at the textile plant would have to request renegotiation. But no one expects that to happen soon since the union no longer exists.

Workers at the plant currently make the equivalent of \$80 per month.

The situation at this textile plant is not apparently unusual. According to officials of ANEP, El Salvador's National Free Enterprise Association, trade union membership is down about 40 percent since 1980, and, according to Salvadoran trade unionists, the member companies of ANEP are taking full advantage of the situation. Firms are ignoring contract terms and refusing to negotiate fixed contracts.

Some unions have been hit considerably harder than others. Public employee unions bear a particularly difficult burden. El Salvador's public services have, in effect, been militarized, and Decree 296 suspends the right of public employees to organize and forbids "the collective abandonment of posts" — the militarized phrase for striking.

The government has dissolved some unions for their strike activity. The electrical workers organized in STECEL (Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Empresa Comisión Ejecutiva Eléctrica de Río Lempa) were dissolved under the terms of Decree 44.

The repression against Salvadoran trade unionists is very much ongoing. The Sunday we arrived, a top leader of the leftist FUSS (Federación Unitaria Sindical Salvadoreña) federation was picked up by heavily armed civilians. A few days later his co-workers learned that he was in custody at the National Police headquarters, but they were not allowed to see him. Our own delegation petitioned the U.S. Embassy to be able to see the FUSS leader, but the request was denied by the National Police.

Salvadoran trade unionists gave us many other examples of recent repression. In March, they told us, a cardboard factory owner asked the military to take over his plant. The military reportedly forced the resignation of all the trade unionists in the factory at gunpoint.

At Mariona Prison, the prison where male political prisoners are held, we found other examples of recent repression against the labor movement. Oscar Armando Cintigo, a trade unionist affiliated with the FESTIAVTSCE (Federación Sindical de Trabajadores de Vestimenta y Textiles del Salvador) federation at the Cosmos shoe factory in Santa Ana, told us that he had been brought to Mariona May 11.

Cintigo had actually been "captured," as he put it, several weeks earlier, on April 19. Two vehicles full of men in civilian clothes had driven up close to his home and grabbed him. Cintigo at that time was in the midst of a tense labor dispute with the shoe factory's owner who planned to close his plant down without making severance payments to his workers.

Our delegation also met at Mariona Prison the secretary-general of the mineworkers union, who had been arrested December 30, 1982, and the secretary-general of FENASTRAS, in prison since August, 1980.

Is United States involvement in El Salvador likely to extend the space for free trade union activity? We doubt that. The U.S., as explained by the Embassy, has other priorities.

"Our goal," noted Ken Bleakley, the Embassy's deputy chief of mission, "is to put a floor under the economic fall and give private investors confidence."

As experienced trade unionists, those words grate. Strong unions do not flourish when government officials strive to give private investors "confidence" at the expense of basic trade union rights.

The agrarian reform is not working. More significantly, the agrarian reform is structured not to work.

In El Salvador, most workers are agricultural workers. As American trade unionists, we quickly learned that to examine the reality facing Salvadoran workers, we had to closely examine the reality facing Salvadoran *campesinos*.

The administration of the entire agrarian reform effort, incredibly, is now in the hands of those who have opposed the program from the start. The Minister of Agriculture in the current government is from the ARENA (Nationalist Republican Alliance) Party, the far-right group that has strongly fought the reform from the start. The autonomous agency that actually runs the day-to-day operation of the land reform program — ISTA — is also in ARENA hands.

El Salvador's agrarian reform, as originally designed, fell into three phases. Phase I of the reform addressed the approximately 300 large farms that make up 15 percent of El Salvador's arable land, and 35 percent of its sugar and cotton capacity. Under Phase I, these farms became peasant cooperatives, and the previous owners were promised compensation.

Since El Salvador's 1982 elections, the ARENA Party has campaigned actively to reverse the Phase I program and return the land to its original owners, who are closely tied to ARENA.

The U.S. Embassy confirms that 15 percent of the Phase I cooperatives are either now out of business or on the brink of bankruptcy. More failures are likely. Credit — which the cooperatives desperately need to become self-sufficient — is only available at 27 percent interest, a rate most cooperatives cannot possibly afford.

Phase II of the agrarian reform — the most important of the program's original

three phases — was supposed to address El Salvador's middle-sized agrarian properties. Much of El Salvador's profitable coffee crop comes off these mid-sized holdings.

But Phase II has never been implemented, and, as authorities of every political persuasion agree, there are no plans pending for its implementation. Phase II, in other words, is politically dead.

The most widely publicized phase of the Salvadoran land reform, the Phase III "Land to the Tiller" program, was scheduled to be shut down to new peasant applications by El Salvador's Constituent Assembly this past spring. But the centrist labor confederation, the UPD (Unidad Popular Democrática), organized three straight days of protests to demand an extension of the application deadline. The extension was eventually granted.

But peasant union leaders are quick to point out that their victory was limited. The law still states that only those peasants working the land before April, 1980 can apply for title of that land under the Land to the Tiller program.

There is a common perception in the United States that the El Salvadoran land reform program is actually transferring land to peasant ownership. This is not entirely accurate. Enormous bureaucratic bottlenecks — created by the Phase III program's 16 separate administrative steps — have denied actual land title to all but 1,050 of the 38,000 *campesinos* who originally applied for it.

Peasants who do gain title under Phase III of the agrarian reform program do not immediately become landowners. They only actually become owners of the land when the government redeems the bonds given as compensation for the land to the original landowners.

That redemption may be 10, 20, or 30 years away depending on the maturity of the compensation bond.

What, eventually, will the Phase III peasant own 10 or 30 years hence? The American Institute for Free Labor Development, the AFL-CIO agency in El Salvador that has promoted the land reform, couldn't give us an actual figure for the average plot of land under Phase III, but *campesino* leaders point out that the plots involved range from one-eighth of an acre to 17 acres. Many of these plots are so overcultivated or overgrazed that peasants can barely support families on them.

Many U.S. Embassy and Salvadoran government officials see the current agrarian reform as an essential element of the new, liberalizing El Salvador. But, for our delegation, it was difficult to see how the reform, as currently structured, could ever significantly impact on El Salvador's *campesinos*.

The Salvadoran economy is in an advanced state of collapse

The El Salvadoran economy is rapidly evolving into a classic Third World basket case. Some of the main causes of the current four-year slump are not difficult to identify. As the U.S. Embassy notes, international prices for the agricultural commodities produced by El Salvador have slumped enormously. Coffee, the country's chief generator of export earnings, is down 60 percent. Sugar and cotton prices are similarly depressed.

The ongoing war, of course, has also disrupted normal economic activity, but it is not clear to what extent. The U.S. Em-

bassy maintains that the FDR/FMLN [the rebel forces of the Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] has specifically set out to destroy the Salvadoran economic infrastructure as one of its chief war aims. That may be true. Out in the countryside, however, we saw a somewhat more complex reality.

Our delegation visited La Palma, the tourist handicraft capital of El Salvador, which sits on the only commercial highway that links San Salvador north to Honduras. La Palma has been controlled by the FDR/FMLN since last January, yet handicrafts are still being manufactured and heavily laden banana trucks are still plying the highway between Honduras and San Salvador. In La Palma, at least, the economic infrastructure is very much intact.

In any case, for whatever the reasons, the economy is sick. We visited a large textile factory in San Salvador — or what used to be a large textile plant — and saw vivid evidence of the nation's economic collapse. IZALCO textiles, we were told, had gone bankrupt almost a decade ago and was now running on government subsidy. Inside the cavernous plant, small handfuls of workers were busy making the only product the plant currently produces: camouflage cloth for the army.

"We don't have enough dollars to buy the dyes we need to import," the plant engineer told us. "That's why we're under-capacity."

The burden of El Salvador's economic collapse has fallen on workers

Unemployment in El Salvador, says the U.S. Embassy, has risen to upwards of 40 percent. Construction workers have been particularly hard hit. As many as 1,000 construction firms used to do business in El Salvador. Now there may be as few as 15.

Since 1980 wages have been frozen by Decree 544. The U.S. Embassy labor attaché Eduardo Báez told us that a one-time 10 percent wage increase had been allowed in February, 1982. We asked several Salvadoran workers about this, and none said they had received this one-time hike.

Workers have essentially no defense against their shrinking, inflation-riddled paychecks. Decree 544, article 11, sets narrow parameters on bargaining. The government must essentially approve all contract proposals and settlements.

Other government actions have added to the economic burden on workers. The sales tax — the most regressive of taxes — has been upped from 2 to 5 percent. The government has also eliminated the "thirteenth month," the end-of-the-year bonus that is traditional in Latin American economies.

How does all this affect the average union member? ANDES, the teachers' union, supplied us with detailed information on its members' economic health. The average teacher makes the equivalent of \$200-250 per month. Minimal housing stock — hovels, actually — can run \$90 monthly. Decent housing often runs double that rate. Teachers get by only with moonlighting and working second shifts.

The economic pressure on Salvadoran working people stands in stark contrast to the economic free-ride handed Texas Instruments, Kimberly-Clark, Phelps Dodge, and the other multinational corporations who have located operations in El Salvador. These companies operate in free-trade zones and pay no taxes for products manufactured in or exported out of the country.

Discussions deepen among Blacks, Latinos, and unionists over political strategy

BY MALIK MIAH

The August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom brings together representatives of the decisive social and class forces in U.S. society that can bring about fundamental social change: organized labor, Blacks, Latinos, women, and farmers.

The social demands raised are quite important too: for jobs in the context of high unemployment that is especially devastating for the oppressed nationalities; for peace in the context of the government's bipartisan escalation of a new Vietnam in Central America; and for freedom in the context of deepening attacks by the government to undermine working peoples' hard-won democratic rights.

The broad unity around August 27 — the forging of a Black-Latino-labor alliance in action — poses a number of questions about the course working people should follow to advance and defend their political interests.

There is general agreement in the Black, Latino, and labor movements that some type of an alliance is needed to oppose the employers' attacks.

How do the leaders of the Black movement, officials of the trade unions, and Latino leaders see this alliance?

Can the objectives of working people be advanced by deepening their participation inside the Democratic and Republican parties and the capitalist government? Or should working people aim to further their goals by organizing independent of and against the governing parties?

A review of what leaders of the Black and Latino movements and officials of the trade unions are saying about building a new alliance should provide answers to these important questions.

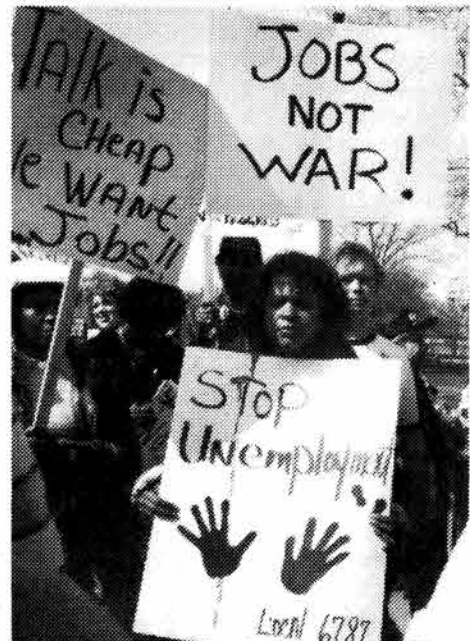
Impact of Chicago mayoral election

When Harold Washington unexpectedly won the Democratic Party nomination for mayor of Chicago in February, and then won the general election in April, an important political discussion and debate opened among Blacks over political action and how to achieve more political power.

Washington's victory particularly led Black leaders in cities like New York and Philadelphia to talk about forging a coalition of Blacks, Latinos, and organized labor as Washington did in Chicago to win top office.

Chicano and Puerto Rican leaders also held similar discussions. Farmers and women's rights groups, and organized labor too pointed to Chicago on the potential of forging a new coalition to advance their interests.

However, the perspective of the traditional Black and Latino leaders and the trade union officials is not to break from the capitalist parties, but simply to try to alter their direction. They strive to gain more positions of influence and legitimacy inside capitalist institutions, particularly inside the Democratic Party.



Unemployed demonstration in Washington, D.C., March 1983. Issues of jobs and war are being debated in labor movement.

This liberal approach — ineffective from the standpoint of most Blacks and Latinos — can be clearly seen in the "established" leaders' stance toward the upcoming 1984 presidential elections.

'Black leadership family'

Let's first look at the views of the traditional Black leadership.

A group of Black civil rights and political leaders — known as the "Black leadership family" — propose a massive voter registration drive to increase Black political influence in capitalist politics and inside the Democratic Party. They say Blacks should present their own "people's platform" around issues such as school desegregation, jobs, and peace as a way to judge the various 1984 presidential candidates.

While the "family" is all Black, they have made it clear that their proposals are relevant to labor, Latinos, farmers, and others. Jesse Jackson, for example, has repeatedly explained: Blacks have numbers without proprietorship. We must renegotiate our relationship with the Democratic Party. We're not arguing a Black agenda, we're arguing a national agenda from the perspective of Blacks.

Voter registration drive

Operation PUSH and NAACP are the main organizations leading the campaign to register Blacks to vote.

Operation PUSH has launched a Southern Voter Registration Crusade to register two million more Black voters. Jackson and other PUSH leaders have already visited Mississippi several times to help lead the campaign there.

The NAACP at its recent convention decided to center their registration drive mainly in northern cities. On August 13 Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, kicked off its "Overground Railroad" Voter Registration program in Shelbyville, Kentucky, at the Underground Railroad tunnel where escaped slaves began their journey up North. The "Overground Railroad" will culminate in Detroit on Labor Day.

These efforts by the NAACP and PUSH to register Blacks to vote are aimed at getting more Blacks to vote for liberal Democrats. Yet for the thousands of Blacks registering for the first time in states such as Mississippi where racist officials still make it difficult to register and vote, to get this democratic right enforced reflects the continuation of the decades-long battles to win some real political representation. That's one reason why the fight to enforce this democratic gain of the civil rights movement is so important and should be supported.

Today, as the government and employers increase their attacks on all democratic rights, the struggle for voting rights can be part of the process of opening up broader discussions on political action in general.

Black presidential candidate?

The "Black leadership family" also endorsed the concept of a Black seeking the Democratic Party presidential nomination. But there are differences among these Black Democratic Party leaders over whether a Black presidential candidate, even as a Democrat, can bear fruit for the Black community, particularly for themselves.

In a recent interview in *U.S. News & World Report* Jackson outlined his position. The reason a Black should seek the Democratic Party nomination, he explained, is "Because the Democratic Party must open up at every level to all Democrats. No longer should people be punished because they are black, Hispanic, female or Jewish."

"A Democrat," he added, "who is black should not run a campaign for blacks only. Of critical significance to a serious campaign is forming a broad-based coalition — a 'rainbow coalition' of the rejected in our society."

Jackson later said, "If you run you may



Jesse Jackson organizing Blacks to register to vote in Mississippi. He and other Black leaders aim to register 2 million more Blacks. Jackson opposes, however, using this gain to run an independent Black candidate for president.

lose. If you don't run, you're guaranteed to lose."

At the same time, as Jackson told the recent PUSH convention in Atlanta, he is opposed to an independent Black campaign for president. His aim is to reform what he even calls at times the racist Democratic Party in order to include the "rejected of society." That's why Jackson explains, "If a black candidate ran as an independent, it would be in the role of a spoiler" and thus "could perhaps take away enough votes from the Democratic Party to elect Mr. Reagan." For this reason, Jackson says, he will not run or support an independent Black campaign.

Why then is Jackson getting such a positive reception among large numbers of Blacks and other workers?

It is because he's focusing on issues such as jobs and war, which are of great concern to Blacks and other working people. His social program is to the left of the other presidential hopefuls.

That's why progressive-minded whites in Iowa and New Hampshire applauded him. Many liked his program calling not only for stronger voting rights and affirmative action programs, but calling for a "new course" in U.S. foreign policy — one based on ending "gun boat diplomacy" in Central America and around the world, and cutting the military budget.

In addition, many Blacks simply asked the obvious question: "Why not a Black president?"

Support for a Jackson candidacy is growing among a layer of Black Democrats. At a recent meeting in East St. Louis, Illinois, an ad hoc committee of Black religious leaders, known as the Volunteer Clergy Committee, issued a manifesto pledging their support to Jackson.

The committee plans to launch a national petition drive to draft Jackson for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. They hope to get one million signatures; raise enough money to get Jackson federal matching funds; and help expand Jackson's constituency to include, in addition to Blacks, "Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Native Americans, Asians, Irish, Poles, Arabs, and Italians; in short, all people who share our concerns."

At the same time there are other Black Democrats who fear the logic of Jackson's initiative. They see it as dangerous. While agreeing with Jackson that Blacks must never break with the Democratic Party, they fear a challenge to the status quo even within the capitalist parties can lead to major shake-ups detrimental to the system and thus their own narrow interests.

Benjamin Hooks, for example, considers the Black presidency idea as off base and unrealistic at best. "To be realistic," Hooks explains, "it doesn't appear to us that in 1984 there is a realistic chance for a Black to be elected president."

The NAACP Board of Directors adds that such a campaign could have the effect

of "diluting the Black vote" and hurt the fight against the Reagan government.

This discussion is broader than among Black Democrats.

The leaders of the small political formation, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), for instance, oppose the Jackson candidacy from the opposite standpoint as the NAACP leadership. Although NBIPP doesn't have an official stand on the question, many of its leaders have explained that Jackson's potential candidacy is not a break with the racist, capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Other NBIPP leaders have added that the discussion around such a candidacy opens the door for them to explain NBIPP's view that Blacks should have an independent political perspective.

Outside the Black community the possible Jackson candidacy is having an impact on the top levels of the Democratic Party. Like Hooks, they fear such a move could lead some Blacks to move toward independent Black politics.

Mondale's offer

Thus in early July former Vice-president Walter Mondale — a leading Democratic Party hopeful — made an attempt to buy Jackson off. Mondale tried to convince the Democratic Party National Committee to give Jackson the post of national voter registration head if he wouldn't run for president!

A Mondale campaign aide later denied that such an offer had been made. But the fact that Mondale felt compelled to meet with Jackson about the 1984 elections shows the impact of this discussion of a Black candidacy and the threat it poses to the "old coalition" in the Democratic Party where the Black vote is taken for granted.

Discussion among Latinos

Parallel discussions among Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Latino leaders on political action and the prospects of building a broader alliance with other social layers is also taking place. Although at a less developed stage than in the Black movement, it is an important discussion.

The heart of the discussion among Chicano and Puerto Rican Democrats concerns forging an alliance between Blacks and Latinos. This comes in the context of the large Latino vote for Harold Washington and the election of Chicano mayors in Denver and San Antonio.

At the recent League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) convention in Detroit, for example, the outgoing president, Tony Bonilla, made the point: "Black/Brown coalitions are a thing of necessity and must be aggressively pursued by both communities. We both must understand that despite whatever differences may exist we basically come back to both being treated the same."

Continued on Page 19



Picketing New York telephone workers

Who are women's allies and enemies in struggle for equality?

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Tens of thousands of women will be participating in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Thousands will be in step behind the banners of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which has been an active builder of the march. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) will be there as well.

The contingent from the Communications Workers of America (CWA) will include many women, given that union's majority female membership.

Women will be a big component of the contingents from the various civil rights organizations.

And although the striking women copper miners from Arizona probably won't be able to attend the march, they will certainly be there in fighting spirit.

Women have good reason to march

The big participation of women in this march is dictated by the pressing problems they face.

Unemployment, inflation, war, cutbacks in social services, and union-busting, which hurt all working people, have an especially devastating impact on women.

On top of this are the government's attacks on affirmative action, abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and child-care funding.

In the process of publicizing this march, women's rights fighters have become a part of the important discussion taking place today over how to forge a political alliance of Blacks, Latinos, labor, women, and farmers that will be able to effectively combat the war, racism, sexism, and austerity policies of the government and the employers.

Black rights fighters take the lead

This is a discussion that was initiated by forces in the Black community in the wake of the election of Black Democrat Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago earlier this year.

The most energetic proponent of the alliance idea is Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH.

Jackson is calling for a "rainbow coalition of the rejected" to band together to defeat Reagan in the 1984 elections.

He advocates the idea of a Black candidate running for the Democratic Party presidential nomination as a way for the "rejected" to "renegotiate their relationship with the Democratic Party." Black and Latino voter registration drives are also being organized.

Women and political power

Following the example of the civil rights groups, many women's organizations have gotten together to register women to vote and to turn women out on Election Day.

These include NOW, CLUW, and the National Women's Political Caucus. Former NOW president Eleanor Smeal and others have raised the idea that a woman should be included on the Democratic Party's 1984 presidential ticket.

NOW's national conference, which will take place September 30-October 2, will focus on the 1984 elections and how to get some political power for women.

The NOW leadership, especially, has begun to echo Jackson's call for a coalition of Blacks, Latinos, women, and labor to

"defeat Reagan at any cost" in the 1984 elections. Like Jackson, their vision of defeating the reactionary policies associated with Reagan is to replace him with a Democrat.

In discussing political action, leaders of women's rights organizations tend to concentrate on the idea that women have recently achieved political clout because of the appearance of what they call the "gender gap." The major media and Democratic and Republican party politicians have also advanced this theme in a big way.

'Gender gap'

What does the term "gender gap" refer to? The fact that since 1980 — for the first time — polls show that more women vote than men; that women are more anti-Reagan than men; and that women are more inclined to vote for the Democratic Party than men.

It is true that women are becoming more aware of their common interests as an oppressed group, and are becoming more politically active.

This certainly signals enhanced opportunities to mobilize women to fight for their rights.

But the idea that this sentiment should be parlayed into voting for Democrats *hurts*, rather than aids, the liberation of women.

It assumes that the reactionary policies that go under the heading of "Reaganism" result from the actions of one man, or one party. And it assumes that the simple act of voting for this or that candidate can in and of itself change the situation of women for the better.

The argument that women can make progress by simply voting against Reagan obscures the fact that women's problems stem from the class-divided nature of this society. The oppression of women is one of the necessary props of this system.

The ruling rich, who own the banks and factories, *profit* from women's oppression. This tiny owning class utilizes the government, which it controls through its two parties — the Democrats and Republicans — to protect its interests against the majority.

The government is run by *two* parties in the interests of *one* class.

The fact that the corporations, the government, and both major parties are all on the same side of the fence is becoming clearer to growing layers of women, especially working-class women. That's because these women suffer the most from sexual discrimination and are being impelled into the front lines of the fight for the rights of all women.

It's no wonder that polls show the "gender gap" is a lot wider among working-class women. And a January 1983 Gallup poll showed that only 8 percent of Black women approve of what Reagan is doing.

'We refuse to be broken'

Opposition to government policy is certainly growing among the women copper miners who are fighting to prevent Phelps Dodge from busting their unions.

One of the first women hired at the mine in Ajo, Arizona, told the *Militant* how she was jailed during the strike after being attacked by a scab.

She said, "My kids asked me, 'Mommy, how come you went to jail?' I feel I'm setting a good example for them. They don't have to bow down to anyone. We're not slaves. The only way to fight back is through the union. . . . The major issue

is they [Phelps Dodge] want to break the union and we refuse to be broken."

A young Chicana worker at Ajo explained: "It was the union that got women the right to work in the mine; that got civil rights. The union sued to get us our jobs."

Wives of the copper workers in Ajo have formed a women's auxiliary to support the strike.

Women are also in the forefront of the telephone workers strike. The working condition of operators — most of whom are women — and their right to be trained to do more skilled, higher-paying jobs, are among the issues in the strike.

The telephone workers' picket lines in every area are a testimony to the role of women — especially Black women — in this strike.

These are all important battles in the ongoing struggle for the equality and dignity of women.

Some important lessons

These vanguard fighters are learning that it's not just the companies that they're up against. In fact, what makes these companies so powerful is that they have the government on their side.

It's the government that called out the National Guard against the Arizona copper strikers.

It's the judges appointed by Democratic and Republican politicians who issue injunctions against striking telephone workers. It's the cops, backed up by the two capitalist parties that prowl the picket lines looking for some heads to bust in the name of protecting private property.

These are the same two parties that defeated the ERA and cut off Medicaid funds for abortions. The same two parties that are dragging us to war in Central America.

But just as women are learning who their enemies are, they also are seeing who their real allies are: their male coworkers; their unions; the Black and Latino communities.

It's the experiences that women are going through, particularly working women, that are shaking their faith in the two-party system, and motivating them to look toward an alliance with the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

New political instrument necessary

This kind of alliance needs to have its own political instrument if it is to be effective and to seriously fight for a new kind of government.

The leading role that Blacks are playing in trying to forge this alliance points to the need for Blacks to form their own independent party. Given the overwhelmingly working-class composition of the Black

nationality, such a party will not be beholden to the bankers and businessmen, but to Blacks and working people.

Women will only benefit from such a party, which will champion their demands.

The formation of an independent labor party, based on a fighting trade union movement, will be another big step toward ending the forced dependence of working people and women on the Democrats and Republicans.

Like a Black party, a labor party will be a powerful instrument in the hands of the oppressed to lead a fight against this system.

Fighting movement

Building a new political party based on an alliance of the oppressed and exploited is connected to the process of building a massive, fighting women's liberation movement independent of the two capitalist parties.

The fight for women's rights needs to be oriented to the needs of the majority of women — working-class women. It must start from their needs: Medicaid funding for abortions, affirmative action quotas to get hired in the coal mines and steel mills, passage of the ERA, full government funding for child-care, an end to the U.S. war in Central America, and an end to government-company union-busting.

This will lead to involving masses of working women as the ranks and leaders of a fighting women's rights movement. Such a movement will find itself squarely up against the government and employers and on the same side as the unions and the Black and Latino communities.

An inspiring example

Women in the United States can get a glimpse of what can be accomplished by looking at what the sisters in Nicaragua have done.

Nicaraguan women were part of the 1979 revolution that overthrew domination by the same companies and imperialist government that we're fighting here in this country today. This revolution established a government of workers and farmers, which sides with women and workers *against* the bosses.

The women's liberation movement in Nicaragua today works *with* the government to educate on women's oppression and liberation, and to make concrete strides forward in advancing the status of women as part of building the new Nicaragua.

In the discussions today in the United States about alliances and political action, women would do well to keep the example of Nicaragua in mind.

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by Margaret Jayko

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1963 civil rights march and struggle to smash Jim Crow

BY HARRY RING

Jobs. Peace. Freedom.

These are the main issues confronting Black people — and working people as a whole — as we mobilize in Washington August 27 to focus on these three demands.

They were also the central issues for working people 20 years ago when the first March on Washington was held.

Then, as now, many of those who built the action recognized that it had to be viewed as part of a *process*. A process of forging a political alliance of the Black and labor movements to achieve the goals of both.

And there is the continuing discussion: What kind of politics? Politics within the two major parties? Or political action independent of, and in opposition to, both parties?

The present march, however, is not simply a rerun of 1963. Far from it.

The movement at that time had registered certain gains which would stand us in good stead today.

But we have also made some big political advances since 1963.

In 1963, a heroic battle to smash the system of legal Jim Crow was being fought in the South and it succeeded in evoking a powerful support movement in the North.

Militant forces had substantial weight within the movement and there was significant sentiment for an independent Black political party.

But there were important weaknesses too.

Role of AFL-CIO

In 1963, the top bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO shamelessly refused to endorse the Washington march. They not only took a dim view of the civil rights struggle in general, but also refused to fight racism within the unions.

One glaring example of a union officialdom standing aside from the civil rights struggle was the heads of the United Steelworkers of America. The fact that they had a big membership in Birmingham, the site of a gigantic civil rights battle in the spring of 1963, made this particularly odious.

Prior to the march, the National Executive Council of the AFL-CIO rejected a resolution to endorse the Washington march. Acting at the behest of the late George Meany, then president of the AFL-CIO, the council instead adopted a resolution that charitably recognized the "right" of organizations to conduct such a march, and conceded the right of union affiliates to participate.

The resolution also threw in the officialdom's hope that the march would be "helpful and peaceful," thus violence baiting it in advance.

This resolution was opposed by the late Walter Reuther, then head of the United Auto Workers (UAW). The UAW did participate in the march.



1963 police attacks on civil rights marchers in Birmingham triggered nationwide protests.

Others pressed for union action as well. For years, A. Philip Randolph, president of the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had pressed the unions to throw their weight behind the Black struggle, particularly in the area of jobs.

But it was an uphill fight.

Today, of course, there is still deep-going racism in the top levels of the union officialdom. But in response to rank-and-file pressure, this time the AFL-CIO has officially endorsed the march and a number of unions are working actively to build it.

The 1983 march also has the added demand for peace, which was not raised in the 1963 demonstration, despite the fact that the U.S. war in Vietnam was under way. Today broad layers of Blacks and other workers recognize that you can't fight for jobs and freedom without fighting against war.

Battle to smash Jim Crow

The historic significance of the 1963 march is that it marked a climactic point in the battle to smash southern Jim Crow. That vital struggle for legal rights was won. With that victory, Black people — North and South — were in a stronger situation to wage war against all the fundamental aspects of racist oppression in this country.

And, in the course of that momentous fight, the beginnings of alliances were forged with at least sections of the labor movement and other progressive forces.

It's in that sense that the 1963 march, and the gains it represented, opened the way for today's battles and the gains we're now in a position to win if we follow the right course.

To the extent that such a thing can be pinpointed, it can be said that an embattled civil rights movement in Birmingham, Alabama, crystallized the national movement that culminated in the August 1963 March on Washington.

Birmingham is a major southern steel-producing city and a coal mining area as well. It's one of the most heavily unionized cities in the South, and many of those who fought in the civil rights movement of the time were union members.

In the spring of 1963, Birmingham's Black community escalated an ongoing drive against the racist practices of the city's downtown merchants. They demanded jobs be opened to them and that, as customers, they receive courteous, equal treatment. They also demanded fair employment practices by the city itself.

Despite a massive cop presence, resolute demonstrators marched through downtown Birmingham, voicing their protest.

The aroused Black community was led by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Its central leader was Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a militant, courageous fighter.

Pitted against the community were cops with dogs. They were commanded by police commissioner "Bull" Connor, a notorious racist.

Within a few days in early May, more than 1,100 civil rights fighters had been jailed. The next day, student protestors boycotted school. Another thousand were arrested.

On May 6, some 3,000 people filtered through the police cordon and again demonstrated downtown.

By then the jails were filled to overflowing. So, instead of more mass arrests, the cops and their dogs moved savagely against the demonstrators. In addition, high pressure fire hoses were turned on the people.

National solidarity

Meanwhile, the failure of the federal government to act in defense of the rights of Birmingham's Black community was creating a national scandal.

All the major civil rights groups of the time demanded of Pres. John Kennedy that there be a federal presence in Birmingham



Aug. 28, 1963, March on Washington. Blacks and their allies are in stronger position to continue struggle today.

to protect the rights of the people there.

The NAACP called for demonstrations in northern cities in support of this demand.

Large numbers of people responded.

In Boston on May 12, a majority Black demonstration of 10,000 occurred.

On May 26 in San Francisco, 30,000 people poured out for a "Freedom in Birmingham" march.

Then, on June 12, Medgar Evers, Mississippi field secretary for the NAACP, was shot from ambush. Evers had been under FBI surveillance and his home bombed several weeks before. Yet the FBI failed to prevent his assassination.

With the murder of Evers, the national outcry swelled.

On June 24 in Philadelphia, a movement fighting for jobs for Blacks called for a four-hour work stoppage to mourn Evers.

It was not determined exactly how many people actually walked off the job. But the local media agreed it was a significant number. During the stoppage, 4,000 people picketed city hall.

The Philadelphia action came a day after the mightiest local demonstration of them all.

On June 23 in Detroit, a march estimated as high as 250,000 jammed the nine lanes of Woodward Avenue, the city's main thoroughfare, and overflowed at a huge downtown rally site.

The march had significance beyond the vast turnout. For one thing, it was initiated and led by the militant wing of Detroit's Black leadership.

The principal figure involved was the Rev. Albert Cleage. A year later he was to take a step toward breaking from the twin capitalist parties by running for governor as the candidate of a newly created Michigan Freedom Now Party.

Cleage and those working with him ensured the success of the Detroit demonstration by working for the broadest participation and support.

In a welcome departure from the exclusionary practices of the "established" Black leadership, everyone who wanted to help build the demonstration was welcome, radical groups like the Socialist Workers Party included. All were officially listed as sponsors.

In addition, endorsement was won from the Michigan AFL-CIO; the NAACP; and the Detroit Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, the initiator of the 1963 March on Washington and a forerunner of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Two months later, on August 28, came the national March on Washington. A quarter-million strong, it was the biggest national civil rights demonstration in the nation's history. It was not until the massive movement against the Vietnam War that the capital saw bigger protest actions.

Union participation

Despite the disgraceful stand of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, a number of unions participated. Among the union banners along the line of march were those of the United Steelworkers of America, UAW, National Maritime Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Union of Electrical Workers, and District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.

Events at the demonstration reflected the

tension between the militancy of the rank-and-file participants and the conservative timidity of the principal official leaders — top figures in the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress on Racial Equality, plus prominent white liberals and union officials like Reuther.

These officials did their utmost to keep the demonstration from developing into a confrontation with the Democratic administration of Kennedy. By and large, they persisted in supporting Kennedy despite his stubborn refusal to act decisively against racism.

One scandalous result of the determination of march officials to shield Kennedy, and the Democratic Party, from well deserved attack was the censoring of a speech by John Lewis, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Although it had begun as the youth section of SCLC, SNCC had moved a good distance to the left of it.

It was moving toward the ideas of Black nationalism as articulated by Malcolm X, and coming to recognize the fundamentally racist nature of both capitalist parties.

Lewis' speech reflected the growing radicalism of SNCC and rally officials who saw an advance text refused to permit him to speak unless sections of it were deleted.

The *Militant* published the text of the uncensored version of Lewis' speech. (See page 11 of this issue for full text).

A key point in it, which the censors undoubtedly most strenuously objected to, posed the fundamental political question confronting the movement — then and now.

"The party of Kennedy," Lewis declared, "is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater."

"Where is *our* party?"

(Sen. James Eastland was a conservative Democrat from Mississippi. Sen. Jacob Javits, a liberal Republican from New York.)

'Declaration of Washington'

Even though John Lewis was silenced on this point, those pushing the idea of an independent Black political party did make their voices heard.

William Worthy, veteran Black journalist, joined with others in issuing a "Declaration of Washington" calling for creation of a nationwide Freedom Now party.

They held a well-attended news conference in the capital the morning of the demonstration and the manifesto received national media coverage.

The issue of the *Militant* sold at the demonstration headlined the manifesto and was bought by several thousand marchers.

The march itself was a powerful demonstration of the strength of Black people in this country. It established beyond doubt that the struggle for Black emancipation is a central issue in U.S. politics and that the well-being and future of all working people is bound up with it.

And it did register gains.

In 1964 a grudging Congress added new provisos to civil rights statutes. And, in 1965 it enacted voting rights legislation that has since been utilized by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities to win the

Continued on Page 19

John Lewis' uncensored speech to '63 rally

'We can't depend on any party; both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed'

During the 1960s, one of the most militant forces in the civil rights movement was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC was comprised mainly of young southern Black rights fighters who were in the forefront of the fight to smash official Jim Crow.

On the platform at the 1963 March on Washington rally was John Lewis, a central leader of SNCC.

But Lewis got to deliver only parts of his planned speech. In order to get the microphone at all, he was compelled to submit to political censorship by conservative elements among the platform officials who objected to his forthright attack on the two major parties.

The *Militant* alone, in its issue of Sept. 9, 1963, printed the complete, uncensored text of Lewis' speech.

In an introduction, we reported that a Catholic archbishop slated to give the invocation at the rally read an advance copy of Lewis' speech and threatened to walk off the platform if it was delivered as written.

Equally disgraceful, the late Walter Reuther, then president of the United Auto Workers, reportedly played a key role in censoring the speech.

Various reasons were given for this bureaucratic act. But, the *Militant* noted, the real objection "was to Lewis' blunt criticism of [President John] Kennedy and the Democratic Party. That is why the statement that the Republicans and Democrats had 'betrayed' was stricken out. . . ."

We believe Lewis' indictment of the two parties is as valid today as it was then. For the interest of today's readers, we again present the complete, uncensored text of that speech.

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. For hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages — or no wages at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses, for engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

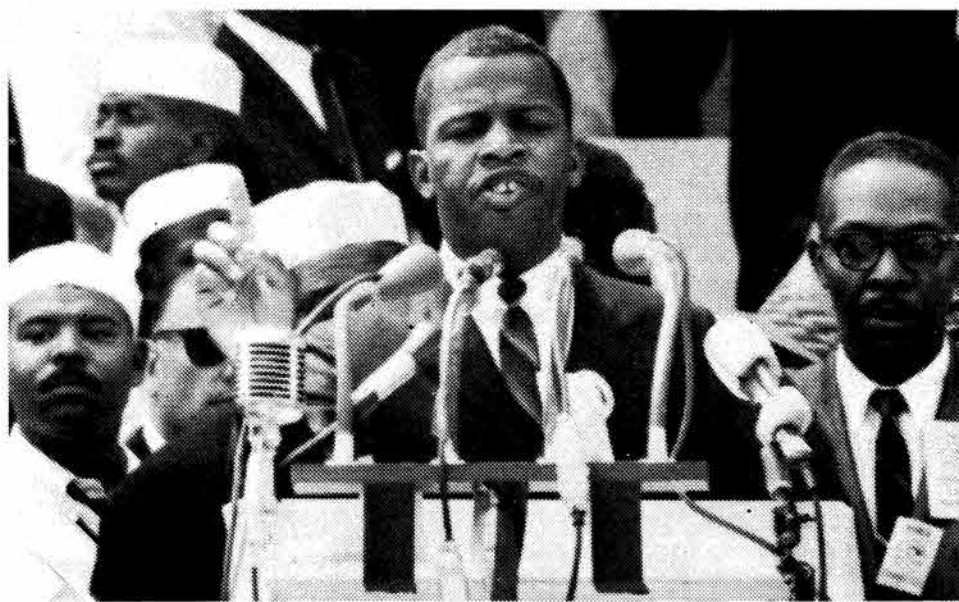
The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of Black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama, and Georgia, who are qualified to vote, but lack a sixth grade education. "One man, one vote," is the African cry. It is ours, too. (It must be ours.)

People have been forced to leave their homes because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?

For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation 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 [President John] Kennedy is also the party of [Sen. James] Eastland. The party of [Sen. Jacob] Javits is also the party of [Sen. Barry] Goldwater. Where is our party?

In some parts of the South we work in



John Lewis addressing 1963 March on Washington

the fields from sunup to sundown for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by Dixiecrats but by the federal government for peaceful protest. But what did the federal government do when Albany's Deputy Sheriff beat Attorney C.B. King and left him half-dead? What did the federal government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the federal government and local politicians in the interest of expediency.

Moreover, we have learned — and you should know — since we are here for jobs and freedom — that within the past 10 days a spokesman for the administration appeared in a secret session before the committee that's writing the civil-rights bill and opposed and has almost killed a provision that would have guaranteed in voting suits,

for the first time, a fair federal district judge. And, I might add, this administration's bill, or any other civil-rights bill — as the 1960 civil-rights act — will be totally worthless when administered by racist judges, many of whom have been consistently appointed by President Kennedy.

I want to know, which side is the federal government on?

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The non-violent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we must say that, "Patience is a dirty and nasty word." We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our

freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political, and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle we must seek more than more civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace, and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all the people.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the street and put it in the courts. Listen Mr. Kennedy, Listen Mr. Congressmen, Listen fellow citizens, the Black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off" period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation, until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and all over this nation. The Black masses are on the march!

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, [Mississippi Gov. Ross] Barnett, [Alabama Gov. George] Wallace, and [Sen. Strom] Thurmond won't stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own "scorched earth" policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground — non-violently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!

Louisville Aug. 27 meeting blasts U.S. war

BY CRAIG HONTS
AND DAVID WELTERS

LOUISVILLE — Opposition to the Reagan administration's war in Central America and its war on workers and farmers in this country was the theme of a broadly sponsored rally here at Lampton Baptist Church on August 12.

The rally was sponsored by the Kentucky Coalition of Conscience, which is organizing the Kentucky contingent in the August 27 march on Washington. The coalition has united civil rights organizations, labor unions, women's rights advocates, peace groups, and religious organizations in the fight for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Benjamin Hooks, the executive director of the NAACP, was a featured speaker. He had come to Louisville to kick off a national voter registration drive. He assailed the Reagan administration's domestic and foreign policies.

Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond told the rally Reagan has led an economic attack on Blacks "unsurpassed in our history. And we've seen a military buildup in the United States that can surpass all the destruction of all our wars.

"In Latin America," Bond said, "American guns kill American nuns. The United States last year alone sent \$90 million in military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador, \$19 million from the CIA to destabilize the government of Nicaragua, and \$26 million in military assistance to Honduras."

Bond reminded the crowd how protests against the war in Vietnam forced Pres. Lyndon Johnson to abandon plans for reelection "as an angry nation shouted 'No' to his plans for war, financed at the expense of the American poor.

"That shout should be heard again throughout this country at every ballot box, at every forum, at every place where people gather," Bond said.

Other speakers at the rally included state NAACP Pres. John Johnson, Rev. Ron Robinson, Mattie Jones of the Kentucky

Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and a representative of the Kentucky Commission on Women.

Scottie Smith, head of the Kentucky AFL-CIO, left the rally before being called to speak, but his presence on the platform was indicative of the significant labor support for the demonstration.

Even though the AFL-CIO nationally is focusing on local Labor Day activities instead of the August 27 march on Washington, unions here will be sending contingents of tobacco workers, auto workers, possibly striking communication workers, and others to the Washington demonstration.

Hal Hamilton, a leader of the Kentucky Farm Survival Association and an executive board member of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), pledged support for the march and announced that NAFA will participate with its own banner.

Hamilton explained that farmers face a serious crisis that is forcing families off the

land at a rate of almost 1 percent each month. "The land ought to return to the hands of the families who care for it," he explained.

"Prices farmers receive are the lowest since 1932, and farm debt has increased 10 times since 10 years ago," Hamilton said. "In 1982 interest payments were greater than net farm income.

"Farmers need help," he said, noting that they are reaching out in solidarity to other working people to achieve their goals.

The speech of Victor Rubio, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, clearly had a big impact on the audience.

Rubio solidarized with the struggle for jobs, peace, and freedom in the United States and said there was an urgent need for the peoples of both countries to denounce the injustice that Reagan is perpetrating against the people of Central America.

"We also have a dream," Rubio said, "a dream of justice, freedom, and love.

"Our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua are seeing their dream become reality," he explained, with the Sandinista victory four years ago.

"And we, the people of El Salvador, are at the threshold of our dream. But we are witnessing the U.S. government trying to stop our dream, siding with a corrupt, ruthless dictatorship."

Rubio said that over \$1 billion has been spent since 1979 to stop the revolution in Central America, not including the current massive troop maneuvers in Honduras and the operations by naval task forces in both the Caribbean and the Pacific coasts off Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras.

But, Rubio said, the revolution in El Salvador is a historical necessity to achieve justice and freedom for his people, and that "no amount of aid will stop this revolutionary process."

"Mr. Reagan's policies will fail," he said, "because we are determined to fight on to final victory."



Militant/Osborne Hart
Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond told rally, "In Latin America, American guns kill American nuns."



Malcolm X: 'The Ballot or the Bullet'

As we march in Washington, D.C., on August 27 we are reminded of discussions that occurred in the Black movement in the early 1960s over political perspectives and strategy.

A leading participant in those discussions was Malcolm X — one of the most outstanding Black leaders in U.S. history. Malcolm articulated many of the political questions facing Blacks in their struggle to win full equality and self-determination. Although he was assassinated in 1965, his views remain alive today among many radical-minded Blacks and other workers.

For these reasons the *Militant* is reprinting below excerpts from Malcolm's 1964 speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet." (The full speech is available in *Malcolm X Speaks*.)

Malcolm gave this speech to a symposium entitled "The Negro Revolt — What Comes Next?" sponsored by the Cleveland chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Malcolm takes up in this speech his conception of Black nationalism and explains how the Democratic and Republican parties are used by the government to keep Blacks oppressed.

His main point, which is relevant for today, is that an effective civil rights strategy must be based on independent Black politics.

"Brother Lomax" refers to Louis E. Lomax, a Black writer, who also spoke on the panel.

Mr. Moderator, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies: I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend and I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet.

I am one who doesn't believe in delud-

ing myself. I'm not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on that plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American. Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why if birth made you an American, you wouldn't need any legislation, you wouldn't need any amendments to the Constitution.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver — no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

22 million victims

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to only look at. They're becoming politically mature.

It was the Black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. Your vote, your dumb vote, your ignorant vote, your wasted vote put in an administration in Washington, D.C., that has seen fit to pass every kind of legislation imaginable, saving you until last, then filibustering on top of that.

In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the Senate, there are 67 senators who are of the Democratic Party. Only 33 of them are Republicans. Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them.

And what have they given you for it? Four years in office, and just now getting around to some civil-rights legislation. Just now, after everything else is gone, out of the way, they're going to sit down now and play with you all summer long — the same old giant con game that they call filibuster.

All those are in cahoots together. Don't you ever think they're not in cahoots together, for the man that is heading the civil-rights filibuster is a man from Georgia named Richard Russell. When Johnson became president, the first man he asked for when he got back to Washington, D.C., was "Dicky" — that's how tight they are. That's his boy, that's his pal, that's his buddy. But they're playing that old con game. One of them makes believe he's for you, and he's got it fixed where the other one is so tight against you, he never has to keep his promise.

So it's time in 1964 to wake up. And when you see them coming up with that kind of conspiracy, let them know your eyes are open. And let them know you got something else that's wide open too. It's got to be the ballot or the bullet. The ballot or the bullet. If you're afraid to use an expression like that, you should get out of the country, you should get back in the cotton patch, you should get back in the alley.

They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negroes big jobs. Those big Negroes didn't need big jobs, they already had jobs. That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing. I'm not trying to knock out the Democrats for the Republicans, we'll get to them in a minute. But it is true — you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last.

Dixiecrats are Democrats

Look at it the way it is. What alibis do they use, since they control Congress and the Senate? What alibi do they use when you and I ask, "Well, when are you going to keep your promise?" They blame the Dixiecrats. What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. The titular head of the Democrats is also the head of the Dixiecrats, because the Dixiecrats are a part of the Democratic Party.

They have got a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle. It's time for you and me to wake up and start looking at it like it is, and trying to understand it like it is; and then we can deal with it like it is.

I say again, I'm not anti-Democrat, I'm not anti-Republican, I'm not anti-anything. I'm just questioning their sincerity, and some of the strategy that they've been using on our people by promising them promises that they don't intend to keep.

When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power. I doubt that my good Brother Lomax will deny that. A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. That's why, in 1964, it's time now for you and me to become more politically mature and realize what the ballot is for; what we're supposed to get when we cast a ballot; and that if we don't cast a ballot, it's going to end up in a situation where we're going to have to cast a bullet. It's either a ballot or a bullet.

Racist government

So, what I'm trying to impress upon you, in essence, is this: You and I in America are faced not with a segregationist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy.

Everyone who's filibustering is a senator — that's the government. Everyone who's finagling in Washington, D.C., is a congressman — that's the government. You don't have anybody putting blocks in your path but people who are a part of the government. The same government that you go abroad to fight for and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education.

You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of Black people in this country. And you should drop it in their lap. This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely

failed the Negro.

So, where do we go from here? First, we need some friends. We need some new allies. The entire civil-rights struggle needs a new interpretation, a broader interpretation. We need to look at this civil-rights thing from another angle — from the inside as well as from the outside. To those of us whose philosophy is Black nationalism, the only way you can get involved in the civil-rights struggle is give it a new interpretation. That old interpretation excluded us. It kept us out. So, we're giving a new interpretation to the civil-rights struggle, an interpretation that will enable us to come into it, take part in it.

Black nationalism

The Black nationalists, those whose philosophy is Black nationalism, in bringing about this new interpretation of the entire meaning of civil rights, look upon it as meaning, as Brother Lomax has pointed out, equality of opportunity.

Well, we're justified in seeking civil rights, if it means equality of opportunity, because all we're doing there is trying to collect for our investment.

Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return — I mean without a *dime* in return. You let the white man walk around here talking about how rich this country is, but you never stop to think how it got rich so quick. It got rich because you made it rich.

This is our investment. This is our contribution — our blood. Not only did we give of our free labor, we gave of our blood. Every time he had a call to arms, we were the first ones in uniform. We died on every battlefield the white man had. We have made a greater sacrifice than anybody who's standing up in America today. We have made a greater contribution and have collected less. Civil rights, for those of us whose philosophy is Black nationalism, means: "Give it to us now. Don't wait for next year. Give it to us yesterday, and that's not fast enough."

The political philosophy of Black nationalism means that the Black man should control the politics and the politicians in his own community; no more. The Black man in the Black community has to be re-educated into the science of politics so he will know what politics is supposed to bring him in return.

Don't be throwing out any ballots. A ballot is like a bullet. You don't throw your ballots until you see a target, and if that target is not within your reach, keep your ballot in your pocket. The political philosophy of Black nationalism is being taught in the Christian church. It's being taught in the NAACP. It's being taught in CORE meetings. It's being taught in SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] meetings. It's being taught in Muslim meetings. It's being taught where nothing but atheists and agnostics come together. It's being taught everywhere.

Black people are fed up with the dilly-dallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom *now*, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

By and about Malcolm X

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Martin Luther King, Jr.: 'Beyond Vietnam'

Washington's war against the peoples of Central America brings to mind an important speech Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave on the Vietnam War on April 4, 1967 — a year to the day before his assassination.

The fact that the Aug. 27, 1983, march on Washington includes the slogan for peace — unlike the 1963 civil rights march — reflects the political advance of many Black leaders and the Black movement as a whole. Opposition to U.S. war policy is now seen as part of the struggle for civil rights.

Although King makes clear in his speech his opposition to Marxism and communism, he argues that "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today" is the U.S. government.

Titled "Beyond Vietnam," King's speech was given to a New York meeting of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. It is an important contribution to today's discussion among many Blacks and other working people about why we should oppose U.S. intervention in Central America today.

Excerpts from the speech are reprinted below.

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have several reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America.

A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor — both Black and white — through the Poverty Program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings.

Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched the program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the

necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the Black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem.

Cruel irony

So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years — especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action.

But they asked — and rightly so — what about Vietnam? They asked if our nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the

changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today — my own government.

For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a civil rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for Black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself unless the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear.

Autopsy must read Vietnam

If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them too because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

They must see Americans as strange

liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1945 after a combined French and Japanese occupation, and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony.

Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not "ready" for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination, and a government that had been established not by China (for whom the Vietnamese have no great love) but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945, we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam.

Before the end of the war, we were meeting 80 percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Ben Phu, they began to despair of the reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva agreements. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators — our chosen man, Premier Diem.

The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly routed out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by U.S. influence and then by increasing numbers of U.S. troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused.

When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictatorships seemed to offer no real change — especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

American promises

The only change came from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received regular promises of peace and democracy — and land reform.

Now they languish under our bombs and consider us — not their fellow Vietnamese — the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps

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"We must continue to raise our voices if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible," King explained.

Revolutionary heritage of working class

BY DAVID FRANKEL

More than 1,000 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance took part in an educational and activists conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, from July 30 to August 6. About half of the men and women attending the conference were currently working in industrial jobs. Another quarter were either on layoff or else actively looking for work in industry.

These socialist workers came together from all over the United States (and there were guests in attendance from a score of countries, including 75 from Canada). They discussed the current stage of the class struggle, learned from the experiences of other revolutionary workers — both past and present — and advanced the work of building revolutionary workers parties in North America and around the world.

Seven major talks dealing with central issues in the class struggle were presented to the conference. In the opening presentation, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes touched on the various themes that were further developed in the course of the week. Taking note of "something we're very proud of this year," Barnes pointed out that "half of the morning talks to everybody here to orient American revolutionaries in the class struggle are going to be given by fellow revolutionaries from other countries."

Steve Tyson, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, spoke on the national question in the imperialist epoch. Brian Brewster of the Socialist League, the SWP's sister party in Britain, spoke on the communist road to peace. And Dodie Ellis, also of the Socialist League, discussed the centrality of the fight for women's liberation to the socialist revolution.

All three are members of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, as are the SWP leaders who gave major talks. (The Fourth International is an international Marxist organization founded in 1938 by Bolshevik-Leninists following the degeneration of the Communist International. The SWP, while barred by reactionary U.S. legislation from formal affiliation to the Fourth International, actively supports it and participates in its meetings.)

The SWP's three national chairpersons, Barry Sheppard, Mary-Alice Waters, and Malik Miah, spoke respectively on the current stage of U.S. politics, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the next steps in building a revolutionary workers party in the United States.

'Revolution has begun'

Referring in his opening talk to the revolutionary victory in Cuba nearly 25 years ago, and to the new victories in Grenada and Nicaragua, Barnes declared that "the American socialist revolution has begun, has expanded, and is marching along."

This reality, Barnes explained, "the reality of the living, ongoing socialist revolution, fighting arms in hand to extend itself and to defend itself," is central to the per-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Conference banners trace continuity of revolutionary workers movement from *Communist Manifesto* to Nicaraguan revolution.

spective of socialist workers in the United States. What these revolutions have begun can only be completed successfully through the working class in the United States wresting power from the hands of the U.S. ruling class.

"We are in a preparatory period prior to the working class challenging the imperialists for power," Barnes stated. During this preparatory period the cadres of the communist party that can lead that fight are being gathered, are gaining experience, and are learning how to apply the Marxist method in the course of the class struggle.

Such a party, Barnes explained, can only be a workers party, "a party deeply committed to and deeply part of the struggles of the working class as it exists, and rooted in its strongest organizations as they exist today."

Discussions, meetings, and classes

In keeping with this perspective, a key aspect of the conference was the meetings of the nine national industrial union fractions of the SWP and YSA. These meetings discussed the work being done in the industrial unions and set plans for further activity.

Alongside discussions about the activity of SWP and YSA members in the unions, Black organizations, the National Organization for Women, and other groups, the conference featured dozens of classes. These were on Marxist theory, the history of the workers movement, and revolutionary struggles around the world. Some of these were given by participants in these international struggles.

Special emphasis was placed on studying the continuity of the revolutionary workers movement from the time of Marx and Engels, to the Russian revolution of 1917 and the first five years (1919-23) of the Communist International, up through the emergence of new mass revolutionary Marxist parties in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

'The march of a class'

In discussing this revolutionary continuity, Barnes pointed out that one aspect often ignored is that the *Communist Manifesto* was not just the work of two brilliant young men, but "was the document of a group of organized workers."

Describing the process that led to the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, which remains to this day the basic programmatic document of the revolutionary workers movement around the world, Barnes explained, "What happened is exactly what happened to almost everyone in this room."

"Marx and Engels began to get involved in politics . . . and at a certain stage they got recruited to a party by a number of experienced worker-Bolsheviks . . . a group of German workers who became more and more convinced that communism had to be put on a scientific foundation, who more and more saw the march of a class."

Marx and Engels "were recruited to a

party. They argued out the politics and they were given the assignment to write the document."

Internationalism was an essential element of the Marxist movement from its beginnings, as indicated in the famous call for workers of all countries to unite. But the development of Marxism and of Marxist parties could only come about on the basis of the growth of the working class.

Thus, the Socialist International, which held its first congress in 1889, was limited primarily to Europe and North America.

'A parasitic imperialism'

By the turn of the century, however, the development of monopoly capitalism had led to the division of the world among a handful of oppressor nations. "That is what opened the 20th century," Barnes noted. "A parasitic imperialism, an imperialism that Lenin said 60 years ago lived on the back of the Negro, lived on the superexploitation and brutal colonization of people of color around the world and in the imperialist bastions themselves."

Along with the development of imperialism came the imperialist wars, civil wars, wars of national liberation, and proletarian uprisings that characterize our epoch. "It is this imperialist system that is the source of these wars," Barnes declared, "and, most important of all, it is the overthrow of imperialism which can bring an end to war. The imperialist ruling class cannot, has not, and will not be disarmed. That is impossible. But it can be overthrown."

With the imperialist epoch, the fight for women's rights, for independence in the colonial countries, for national liberation, and for agrarian revolution all became world questions for the first time. But decades of prosperity in the imperialist countries and the development of what Lenin described as the aristocracy of labor ate away at the revolutionary fiber of the Socialist International.

The labor aristocracy, "a layer of the working class in the imperialist countries that had the most employment and received the best wages," became convinced, Barnes explained, "that to one degree or another their future and the future of their families lay with tying themselves to their bosses, not to other workers — especially the colonial peoples."

Lenin declared that the Second International had become "the international of the white race," both because its base was limited to the European workers and because of its support to the imperialist rulers, which was revealed for all to see with the outbreak of World War I. Most of the parties of the Second International called on the workers to support the imperialist war.

A new leadership arises

"Out of this disaster and out of this carnage rose a new world party, the Communist International," Barnes said. This was a leadership based on the most oppressed and exploited layers of the working people.

"It was a movement that hated every aspect of the oppression of women, that sought reports at its conferences, organizations, and conventions from the women of the Far East, from women of all parts of the world, about their battles. It was an organization that called on the masses of the colonial world to rise up in war against their oppressors and offered them unconditional support. It was a world movement that promised the toilers of the countryside it would fight to the death with them to get the landlords and the imperialists off their backs. It was a leadership like they have down in Central America and the Caribbean today."

The deep internationalism of Lenin and of the Communist International during Lenin's time is especially important for revolutionaries in the United States. As Barnes stressed, "The American working class is involved in two continents, and the working class of the United States is and always has been a working class that is multinational."

He quoted Louis Fraina, one of the delegates from the United States to the second congress of the Communist International, held in 1920. As Fraina saw it, "the movement in the United States and in Latin America must be regarded as one single movement. Our strategy and tactics must start from the standpoint not only of the world revolution but of an American revolution involving the whole of America."

An indication of how seriously this perspective is taken by the SWP and YSA was that fully 44 percent of those attending the conference were either fluent in Spanish or studying Spanish. All of the major talks at the conference and many of the classes were translated into both Spanish and French. In addition, more than a dozen classes were given in Spanish.

Capitalist expansion and witch-hunt

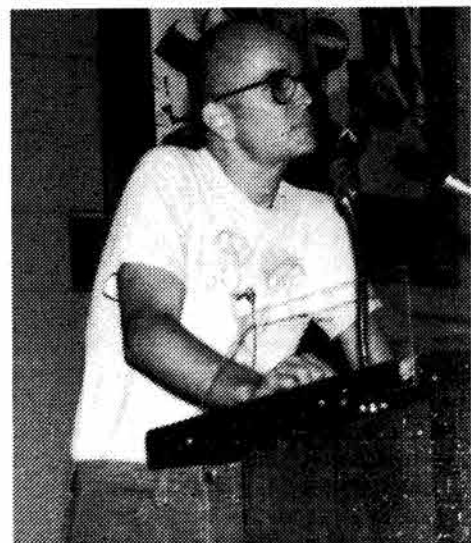
SWP National Chairperson Barry Sheppard took up the current political situation facing U.S. workers in more detail. He began by recalling that with the end of World War II "the world capitalist economy entered a long period of capitalist expansion," an expansion that was accompanied by "a major political retreat of the American working class."

In that period of retreat the labor bureaucracy tightened its grip on the industrial unions and joined the witch-hunt initiated by the ruling class, driving communists — and many militant workers in general — out of the unions.

With the rise of the civil rights struggle in the South and later the movement against the war in Vietnam, Sheppard noted, there was a "revitalization of the class struggle . . . a bouncing back from the retreat of the decade before."

But the revival of the class struggle primarily took place outside the unions. The union bureaucracy blocked the labor movement from taking the lead in the fight for Black rights, and even from actively supporting that struggle. The AFL-CIO

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Militant/Salm Kolis

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions signaled "the American socialist revolution has begun, expanded, and is marching along."



Militant/Osborne Hart



Militant/Osborne Hart

Barry Sheppard (left) and Malik Miah (right) presented major talks at conference.

New steps forward in building a party of socialist workers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The progress being made by the Socialist Workers Party in building a revolutionary party of industrial workers was one of the major themes of the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Ohio July 30-August 6. Two major talks presented to the entire conference by SWP national officers Barry Sheppard and Malik Miah discussed this in depth.

Miah's talk, presented at the conclusion of the gathering, brought together some of the key lessons being drawn by socialist industrial workers and outlined some of the big tasks facing the party. Chief among these is the fight against the escalating U.S. war in Central America.

The framework for all these tasks, Miah explained, is the party's base in the industrial working class, particularly nine of the major industrial unions where the party is concentrating its forces. These are the United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steelworkers of America (USWA), United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), United Transportation Union (UTU), Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), International Association of Machinists (IAM), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

One of the most important components of the conference was the series of meetings of socialist workers who are active in each of these unions. While much of the conference took up political developments in the working class on a national and international level, these meetings were aimed at discussing the particular developments in each of these unions and among the workers in the industries they organize.

Several of these meetings were enriched by the participation of revolutionists from Canada and Quebec, who are members of some of the same international unions as socialist workers in the United States. Some meetings also included other international observers as well.

Impact of upturn

Drawing on the discussions in these meetings, Miah took up the impact of the recession on both the working class and the SWP and the new opportunities posed by the upturn in the capitalist business cycle.

The massive and often devastating unemployment in many basic industries forced tens of thousands of steelworkers, auto workers, railroaders, and others out of their jobs. Socialist workers, who had built the beginnings of an important base in unions in these industries, lost their jobs along with many other young workers.

In spite of these obstacles, the party continued to deepen its orientation to the industrial working class. "It would be wrong," explained Miah, "to say that we simply hung on during the recession, waiting for new job openings." In fact, he observed, "we actually strengthened the party during this past period."

One important way in which this was accomplished, said Miah, was by further developing the party's orientation toward garment and textile workers, a particularly oppressed and exploited section of the working class, and toward the key unions that organize these workers, the ILGWU and ACTWU.

On the very first day of the conference a meeting of close to 100 socialist workers

who are employed in these closely related industries was held. It voted unanimously, on the basis of the recommendation of a leadership meeting of socialist garment and textile workers held in July, to concentrate its forces decisively in these two unions.

This was the result of a two-year process in which the party had begun to develop a base among these workers. This decision, which was only possible as the product of this experience, brought the party's orientation toward garment and textile workers in line with its general orientation of concentrating its forces in the major industrial union in each industry. This step was an important acquisition for the entire party, Miah explained.

He also pointed to a similar decision made by electrical workers at the conference. In this case the SWP decided to concentrate its forces at this time in the IUE because of its role as the dominant union organizing the giant electrical plants.

Plant gate sales

Another way in which the party was strengthened, said Miah, was through its decision to establish regular weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates as a norm of party membership. This involved more of the party membership in regular political discussion with workers in key industries and unions in each city, including those at plants where deep layoffs prevented young revolutionists from working side by side with these workers on the job.

Moreover, these plant-gate sales have made the SWP more attuned to important developments in the working class. Miah pointed to an inspiring example provided by socialists in Arizona who have been regularly traveling three and four hours to the copper mining towns of that state to support striking copper workers. Organized in the USWA and other unions, the copper workers have been on the picket lines since July 1.

Miah told the conference that, at a workshop earlier in the week where the party's progress in plant-gate sales had been discussed, Arizona socialists had reported selling more than 600 copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, to the strikers.

Miah also observed that plant-gate sales are teaching the party how to make better use of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Through this effort the party is learning where the largest concentrations of Spanish-speaking workers are in each city and is selling to them more regularly.

Self-confidence

Pointing to the high level of enthusiasm among conference participants and the intensive political discussion throughout the week, Miah said the party would leave the conference a more self-confident organization. However, this renewed confidence is not based solely on the party's accomplishments in the face of the recession. It is also in response to new developments in the working class.

With the upturn in the capitalist business cycle, profits are up and, while millions remain unemployed, workers are being recalled from layoff and new hiring is taking place.

Workers watching this begin to develop a new confidence. Some, like auto workers at Chrysler, see the opportunity to fight to

regain some of what they lost in the past few years. A greater willingness to stand up to employer demands for concessions develops as well.

The exact pace of these developments cannot be predicted. However, several important contracts are up in key industries this fall or early winter. These may be important tests of developing combativity among workers. These include contracts at Chrysler Corp.; in the aerospace industry, starting with the giant Boeing Corp. in October; and in the oil refineries.

The most important immediate step the party can take, Miah explained, is to redouble its efforts to concentrate its membership in the nine industrial unions where the party is building a national presence.

The progress the party is making on this score was clearly demonstrated in the meeting of socialist workers active in the UAW. As one of the unions hardest hit by the recession, it is also one where socialists have been hard hit by layoffs.

But the Oberlin meeting was one of the largest of socialists active in the UAW that has been held for some time. The meeting welcomed a number of new participants who had obtained jobs in plants organized by the UAW just weeks before.

At the conference itself this process was accelerated. Miah reported that one socialist worker had actually left during the middle of the conference and traveled to another city, where he was hired at a UAW organized plant.

A socialist from Toledo had recently received a recall notice from the big Jeep plant in town. She had been laid off almost four years ago.

This illustrates another point made in Miah's report. Other companies, like Jeep, will also recall workers who have been laid off for long periods. Socialists, like other workers who receive these recall notices, do not all find themselves still living in the cities where these plants are located. Because of the importance of socialists reestablishing an active presence in these plants, this may involve moving back to these cities to take these jobs.

Steps like these, which were welcomed by participants at the conference, are sim-

ply part of implementing the party's fundamental and permanent orientation of basing itself in the key organizations of the industrial working class, the trade unions.

Miah explained that the party's self-confidence would not exist "if we hadn't made the turn to the industrial working class and its trade unions five-and-a-half years ago. That crucial decision is why the party has survived as a revolutionary proletarian party."

Turn to industry

In his report on the current stage of U.S. politics, Barry Sheppard reviewed some of the political thinking behind the party's turn to industry that began in 1978. He explained that the turn "was not merely and is not merely to industry. It's to the industrial unions, those conquests of the working class which still remain, although their power has been gutted by all these years of being saddled with a class-collaborationist bureaucracy."

Despite the problem posed for workers by the existence of this bureaucracy, which attempts to cooperate with the employers rather than lead a militant fight-back against their attacks, the industrial unions themselves are a product of working-class struggle. Therefore, "as the capitalist crisis and stagnation goes on and the ruling-class assault on the working class continues," said Sheppard, "the ruling class must take on the power of these workers."

This explains why a revolutionary party must take hold of every opportunity to establish itself firmly in these decisive organizations of the working class where historic battles must, and will, unfold.

U.S. politics today

Sheppard's talk also took up what is happening in working-class politics today and discussed how this affects the party's activity in the labor movement. This was discussed further in the meetings of socialist workers in each of the nine unions.

U.S. politics, Sheppard explained, is marked by "a deepening class polarization

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Militant/Susie Winsten

Contingent of textile unionists protest training of Salvadoran troops at Ft. Benning, Georgia. Opposition to new Vietnam in Central America remains deep in working class.

Revolutionary heritage of working class

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leadership was also on record in support of Washington's war of aggression in Indochina.

Sheppard pointed out, however, that "this period of longterm capitalist expansion came to an end in the late 1960s and early 1970s on a world scale, and here, too. . . . And in reaction to that, we saw the first stirrings in the working class." Workers began to look for "ways to push back against the developing capitalist offensive."

A turn to industrial unions

Following the 1974-75 recession, "in the steelworkers union, there was the campaign around the Steelworkers Fightback and an important strike on the Minnesota Iron Range. . . . And our response was to do everything we could to relate to that movement, and we began to build our first — in many years — national industrial fraction in the steelworkers union."

Another big change in the union movement was heralded by the self-confidence and combativity of coal miners who overthrew the Boyle bureaucracy in the United Mine Workers of America and made important gains in the fight for union democracy. This was followed by the militant miners' strike of 1977-78.

Sheppard explained that "through experiences in the working class and our own experiences in relating to signs of resistance, in 1978 we launched the turn to get the great majority of the members of the Socialist Workers Party into industry."

In making this move, Sheppard continued, "we saw that we could end the period of enforced isolation of the revolutionary movement from the industrial working class and its unions." Making the turn to industry was a return "to what was natural to any Marxist party," since Marxism is simply "the explanation of the historical role of the working class and of the industrial proletariat as the leading force of the working class."

Any other course would have led to the SWP losing its proletarian orientation. This same political imperative has become clear throughout the world. At its world congress in 1979, the Fourth International voted "to immediately organize to get a large majority of our members and leaders into industry and into industrial unions."

A serious, Marxist party

As the SWP carried out its turn to the industrial unions, it learned that it needed to study and understand more about Marx's ideas. This led to the SWP setting up a leadership school in which members of the party's National Committee could devote five months' serious study to the works of Marx and Engels.

At the Oberlin conference there were many classes given by former students of the leadership school. These included classes on Marxism vs. anarchism, Marx and Engels on the housing question, Marx and Engels on colonialism, Marx and Engels on the labor party question in the United States and Britain, *The Communist Manifesto*, and Marx and Engels on the 1848 revolutions.

A special class series on the birth of the communist movement in the United States was based on the second volume of Farrell

Dobbs' *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States*. Some 520 copies of Dobbs' book, which was fresh off the press, were sold at the conference.

Classes on revolutionary struggles in Central America, the Middle East, Africa, and Indochina; on the political situation in Britain, Canada, and other countries; and on topics such as the history of the civil rights movement, the U.S. farm question, and the Marxist view of violence against women were also presented.

Need for a revolutionary dictatorship

What is the goal of the social and political struggles of the working class? This question was taken up by SWP National Chairperson Mary-Alice Waters.

Going back to the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, Waters explained, "The overthrow of bourgeois supremacy and the conquest of political power by the proletariat — that's the immediate aim" outlined by Marx and Engels.

Once the working class has raised itself to the position of ruling class, Waters went on, Marx and Engels said that "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie. To centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class. And to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"And, they said, of course, this cannot be effected except by despotic inroads on the right of property as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production."

Out of the actual experience of the revolutions of 1848-51 in Europe, "Marx and Engels refined their understanding of the need for the revolutionary dictatorship of the revolutionary classes to smash the state institutions of the reactionary classes and crush their resistance." They summed up this concept in the phrase, "dictatorship of the proletariat."

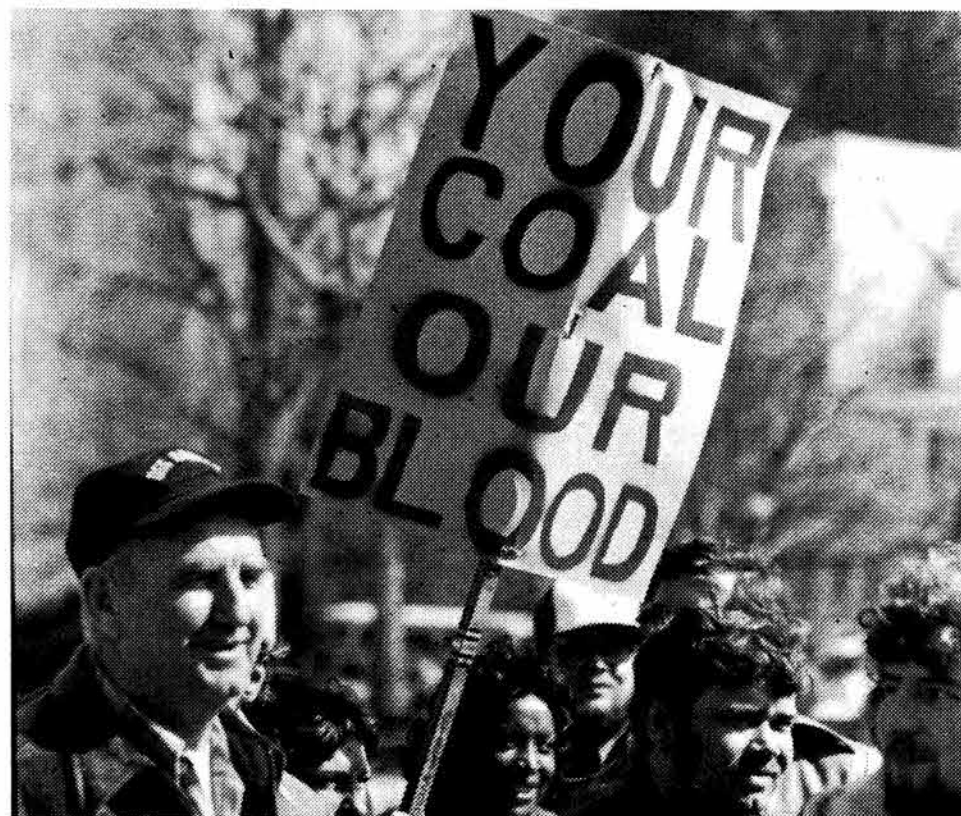
What is involved is not a police state, but a government that does whatever is necessary to advance the interests of the toilers.

A guide to action

"The dictatorship of the proletariat — that is our starting point, that determines our trajectory and is the goal of everything that we, as a proletarian party, do," Waters declared. "We seek to follow this logic of the class struggle through to the end, and to help advance our class and its revolutionary vanguard along this path . . . so that the dictatorship of U.S. capital can be wiped off the face of this earth as rapidly as possible by the one and only class that can offer humanity a future — the working class."

Such a dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin explained, "can be based on one and only one power, on the authority of the armed people, the authority of a revolutionary people that smashes the old and creates its own new instruments of rule."

It is this kind of revolutionary dictatorship, Waters continued, that has been established in Nicaragua. "A workers and farmers government based on the armed authority of the masses of workers and peasants, on their mobilization, on their direct participation in the tasks of administering, governing, and implementing the



Militant Coal miners strike in 1977-78 and the miners' fight for union democracy were among changes in unions that convinced SWP in 1978 to get majority of its members into industry.

measures that progressively undermine the prerogatives of capital in their country."

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Waters stressed, is also "what guides and determines everything we do" here in the United States today. "There is no question facing humanity in the epoch of imperialism that is not a question of advancing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It was in this framework that the participation of socialists in national liberation struggles, in the fight against imperialist war, and in the struggle for women's liberation was taken up in the next three talks to the conference.

National liberation and socialism

Canadian revolutionary leader Steve Tyson spoke on the national question. He explained that "no mass revolutionary party can be built in any capitalist country unless it is clear on the centrality of the national and colonial struggles; unless it is able to build a proletarian, multinational leadership of the oppressed and exploited; unless it understands in its every bone and sinew how to utilize the lever of the national liberation struggle in the fight to replace the dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Since World War II the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries of Asia and Latin America have been in the vanguard of the world socialist revolution, as have the oppressed nationalities within the imperialist countries.

"The fight for national liberation is a powerful form of the class struggle," Tyson noted, adding that "nationalism is the initial form of the development of revolutionary class consciousness in oppressed nations."

The working class must advance a revolutionary democratic program that can forge an alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities and peasant

masses. "Our unconditional support for the struggles of the oppressed and our intransigent opposition to all forms of racism, chauvinism, and national privilege . . . is based on our profound conviction that . . . we have a common interest in waging a unified struggle against imperialist rule," Tyson stressed.

Record of Bolsheviks

Just as Marx and Engels warned the English workers that they could not achieve their liberation without supporting the national struggle of the Irish people, Lenin explained, "The Great Russian proletariat cannot achieve its own aims or clear the road to its freedom without systematically countering" the Tsarist propaganda favoring the subjugation of non-Russian nationalities.

Tyson traced the record of the Russian Bolsheviks in supporting the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, in contrast to the reformist forces in the Socialist International. This was expressed both by the Bolsheviks' governmental policies and their activities in the Communist International. As a resolution adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922 put it, "The Black question has become an integral part of the world revolution."

Here in the United States, support for the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities is at the center of the struggle to transform the trade unions into revolutionary instruments. In Canada it is the Québécois. And in both North America and most European countries immigrant workers and their struggles play a key role.

Fight against imperialist war

Similarly, the fight against imperialist war also plays a key part in the process of forging a revolutionary majority in the working class and in building the kind of communist party that can lead the workers in the struggle for power.

Right now, war is the central issue facing the U.S. working class, as Washington's warships and troops surround Nicaragua and as the imperialists push deeper into the Salvadoran civil war. "The task of workers and peasants throughout the world is to join with the Nicaraguans, the Cubans, the Grenadians, and Salvadorans to ensure the defeat of the U.S. in this war," Brian Brewster declared.

Brewster noted that "the stronger and more intransigent are the Cubans and Nicaraguans," and "the more intransigent are the workers in the imperialist countries, the greater the obstacles to imperialist war."

"We stand for peace," he continued, "but in the Sandinista way. This is the only road for the workers and peasants. Peace



Militant/Mark Berry

Veteran Irish activist George Harrison (left) gave class on history of Irish struggle. Concert in solidarity with Nicaragua by Brazilian jazz guitarist Thiago de Mello and his band, Amazon, was high point of week's entertainment.



Militant/Larry Lukehart



150,000 armed people march in Nicaragua for peace. SWP National Chairperson Mary-Alice Waters explained goal of working class struggle is to conquer political power and establish dictatorship of the proletariat in order to save humanity from dictatorship of capital.

through overthrowing imperialism.

"The communist attitude to war in the imperialist epoch was laid out by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the course of the fight against World War I. Lenin pointed out that we are not against war in general. We are against imperialist war, but we are for wars of national liberation."

For proletarian revolutionists, Brewster explained, "the fight against war is inextricably bound up with the deepening of the class struggle — to the point of overthrowing the capitalist rulers and bringing to power a workers and farmers government to start building socialism."

Experience of World War I

Pointing to the example of the Bolsheviks during World War I, Brewster said that "the Bolsheviks seized every opening, no matter how slight, to organize workers against the regime. When the bosses took collections in the plants for victims of the war, the Bolsheviks organized independent collections. When the bosses cut food supplies, the Bolsheviks demanded that the workers be put in charge of food distribution. The government set up committees to increase production in the war industries; the Bolsheviks campaigned for boycott."

"Of course, such a perspective is only serious to parties rooted in the industrial heartlands of our class. It is only there that we can practically begin the process of assembling, educating, organizing, and clarifying the vanguard of our class on the need to build a Bolshevik-type party and the need to take power."

Does the advent of nuclear weapons mean that the Bolshevik strategy is no longer correct?

"Nuclear war," Brewster replied, "while raising the stakes, does not remove such war from the class struggle. Indeed, as we can see in Central America, so-called local war is actually the way that nuclear war will be posed."

Movements that substitute calls for peace in the abstract — or for universal disarmament — for the fight against imperialism, which is the source of war in the world today, play the same role as the mass pacifist movements that preceded World War I and II. They cannot prevent war and only serve to deflect the working class from the real fight that must be waged.

"Our perspective is the fight against imperialism and for the extension of the proletarian revolution," Brewster declared. And part of this perspective is the defense of the workers states, where the proletariat has overthrown capitalist rule, from the Soviet Union, to Vietnam, to Cuba.

Role of workers states

"The existence of the Russian workers state has been a mighty lever for peace," Brewster said. "Workers everywhere have a stake in defending the Soviet workers state."

In this regard, Brewster continued, "all

questions like 'militarism' have to be judged in relation to imperialism." As Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian revolution, put it:

"After the conquest of power, the proletariat itself goes over to the position of 'defense of the fatherland.' But this formula thenceforth acquires an entirely new historic content. The isolated workers state is not a self-sufficient entity but only a drill ground for the world revolution. Defending the USSR, the proletariat defends not national boundaries but a socialist dictatorship temporarily hemmed in by national boundaries."

"Today," Brewster continued, "we can see how Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are becoming the drill ground for the world revolution."

Women advance in Central America

The stake that women have in the extension of the world revolution, and the necessity for communists to fight in behalf of the rights of women as an essential part of the struggle for power by the working class, was discussed by Dodie Ellis, another leader of the British Socialist League.

Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, each in their own way and according to their own specific conditions, Ellis explained, are seeking to free women "from their double job — their job at home and at work — so they can play a full role in society."

In these countries, "Millions of women are coming out of the isolation of the home. They are getting involved in totally new experiences. Learning how to read. Winning new skills. Joining women's organizations. Leading their local neighborhood committees. Working in their unions. Running cooperative farms in the countryside."

Ellis quoted Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge, who explained the perspective of the Sandinistas by saying that "it is society that has to provide the necessary daycare centers, laundries, people's restaurants, and other services that will, in effect, free women from household work."

The Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Grenadians, Ellis continued, "like us, are learning from the experiences of the Bolsheviks and the Third International." The basic ideas put forward by the Comintern, Ellis explained, "are ideas that we base ourselves on today. They were a benchmark in drawing up our resolution on women's liberation, adopted by the 1979 world congress" of the Fourth International.

Marx and Engels laid foundation

At the core of the Comintern's approach to the oppression of women was the historical-materialist analysis presented in the early writings of Marx and Engels.

Marx and Engels "explained how women's oppression isn't determined by biology, but by social and economic factors. That oppression emerged only as class society started to develop, and the private accumulation of wealth became possi-

ble. . . .

"Marx and Engels understood that only when the working class seized power and reorganized society on a new economic foundation would the conditions exist for an end to class divisions and the centuries of oppression women have faced as a consequence. . . .

"As industrialization proceeded ruthlessly, Marx understood why women had to be an organized part of the workers movement and the First International. Huge numbers of women were in key industries, like textiles and garment. Without women in the organized vanguard of the working class as well, there was no way to lead the class — the whole, united class — against the capitalist governments in full force."

Women played a leading role in the Paris Commune of 1871, and mass struggles by women also played a prominent part in the 1905 revolution in Russia. Socialists campaigned for the right of women to vote, and both the German and Russian sections of the Socialist International had mass-circulation women's papers. These played a big part in the fight by the left wing of the Second International for an internationalist position during World War I.

It was also "the resolute actions of women" that detonated the revolutionary explosion in Russia in 1917. "With the victory of the October revolution and the es-

tablishment of the first workers power, the first dictatorship of the proletariat," Ellis continued, "for the first time in history women had a government and a state power that supported women in the battle to eradicate their oppression as a sex."

"The status of women began to change dramatically" as the Bolsheviks legalized abortion, guaranteed maternity benefits, liberalized marriage and divorce laws, and established free public education for children of both sexes.

On the international level, "For the first time communists not only said that revolution was possible in economically backward countries and nations oppressed by imperialism, but that women of the colonial and semicolonial world — the most downtrodden sector of society — had a role to play in the class struggle."

Role of women today

Since that time, women around the world have become increasingly proletarianized, and as a result their social weight has also increased. The growing role of women in the class struggle today as a result of this is already evident. "Alongside the tremendous involvement of women in the fight against cruise missiles in Britain," Ellis pointed out, "some of the hardest fought battles to maintain living standards and against layoffs under the Thatcher government have been led by women."

Ellis noted that "our parties are not separated from our class. As Lenin explained, they are rooted in the experience of the working class and represent its most resolute fighters."

Because of this, "Women, and especially those from the most oppressed layers of the working class, will lead our parties in a way unthought of in the past" in the coming battles in the class struggle.

On the final day of the conference Malik Miah discussed the many opportunities now before the SWP and YSA. He stressed the openings for expanding the number of socialist workers in key industrial areas as a result of the economic upturn and hiring in many industries, including auto and rail.

"The biggest discussion of course that we see on the job and in the unions is on the imperialist drive toward war in Central America," Miah said.

As socialist workers left the conference to return to that discussion in the working class it was with the spirit of Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, who recently told a group of Canadian trade unionists, "I am not optimistic in regards to peace. But I am absolutely optimistic in terms of victory."



Cuban militia women. Cuba is showing way forward for emancipation of women, freeing them from double job at home and at work, so they can play a full role in society.

Building a party of socialist workers

Continued from Page 15

and the beginnings of working-class radicalization."

By polarization, he said, "we mean that under the ruling-class offensive, the capitalist economic stagnation, and the beginnings of working-class resistance, there is a growing tendency for opposing class interests to be reflected in political life more and more openly."

One result of this is that "the working class and the unions come more and more towards the center stage in politics." Consequently, "there's less coverup and confusion about the different classes in society than in a period of capitalist expansion and social stability."

Sheppard also explained that there is a growing ideological polarization, a growing battle of ideas. And in this battle of ideas, opposing class interests are represented.

This process of polarization, Sheppard stressed, does not mean that "all the workers are moving to the left." In fact, "some, especially relatively better off workers, identify more, under the impact of the crisis, with the interests, as they see them, of 'their' country, 'their' boss and 'their' industry." The trade union bureaucracy fosters this, as opposed to explaining where the real interests of workers lie.

One way this came up at the socialist conference concerned the August 27 march on Washington, the Solidarity Day III demonstrations on Labor Day, and the way both are being discussed in the labor movement.

The August 27 action, called by national civil rights leaders to demand "jobs, peace, and freedom," is objectively in the interest of every worker. In fact, the AFL-CIO National Executive Council endorsed the march shortly after it was called.

However, socialist workers at the conference reported that top officials of many of their unions were doing little or nothing to build the march. In the Bay Area of California, socialists active in the IAM reported that members of their union were being told that, despite the IAM's endorsement of August 27, the priority for the union was Solidarity Day III, called by the AFL-CIO. Socialist steelworkers reported that in Pittsburgh USWA plans to rent buses for August 27 had been canceled.

At the same time the union officials were playing up one particular side of the Labor Day actions. Socialists active in the ILGWU and other unions reported that the officials were stressing that Solidarity Day III would be a big opportunity to march against imports.

In Minnesota, the leaflet for the Labor Day action urges workers to come to a "foreign car bang."

Rather than going all out to build a march on Washington that workers could use to lay the blame for the capitalist crisis squarely on the government where it belongs, these union officials urge workers to unite with the employers to blame workers in other countries for unemployment.

While the development of class polarization does not mean that all workers are moving to the left, it is connected to a process of working-class radicalization. Under the blows of the relentless ruling-class assault, a larger and larger number of workers become open to new, more radical ideas about how to resolve the crisis.

'Unions have potential to lead'

Both Sheppard and Miah reaffirmed that it is from its base in the industrial unions that the party carries out all of its political work. "It's here that the future leaders of the Black struggle and women's struggle are going to be found," said Sheppard. Miah developed this further, "It is the unions that have the potential to lead all social struggles."

This approach leads the party to begin its activity in the union movement with the big political and social questions of the day such as the fight against the war in Central America and massive unemployment and the fight for Black and women's rights.

At the same time, the party also participates actively in union struggles for better wages and working conditions, battles around issues of health and safety on the job, and efforts by rank-and-file workers to win greater democracy within the unions themselves.

Fall activities

Based on this foundation, Miah outlined some of the big party tasks for the fall.

The most immediate post-conference task, Miah said, was redoubling the party's efforts to help insure the maximum turnout of working people for the August 27 march on Washington. This was a theme of discussion in all the meetings of socialist workers active in different unions. In many cases socialists were already working with others to overcome the roadblocks put up by some union officials and turn out workers for the march.

In addition to being an important action for Black rights and for jobs, in the context of the rapidly escalating U.S. war in Central America the march includes the potential to be one of the most important antiwar actions to date.

The fight against the war will remain at the center of party activity after the August 27 march as well. Reports from the meetings of socialists active in the various unions, Miah said, indicated that the war remains the number one topic of political discussion on the job. Furthermore, the discussion and debate about it continues to deepen in the labor movement itself.

On the one hand, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland has joined the Kissinger war commission, established by the administration to help justify further escalation. On the other hand, a prominent group of national trade union leaders recently returned from El Salvador and issued a report sharply criticizing U.S. intervention (see page 6 for report).

This situation creates new opportunities to win more workers to active participation in the fight against the war and this will remain the party's central campaign.

Miah also discussed new openings in the fight for Black rights. In particular he pointed to the discussion initiated by Oper-

ation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson on the possibility of running a Black presidential candidate.

While the SWP disagrees with Jackson's perspective of working within the Democratic Party, socialist workers are genuinely interested in participating in the discussion about how Blacks, and all working people, can fight for their rights and begin to struggle for political power.

The history and dynamics of the struggle for Black liberation were also taken up at the conference in many classes and workshop sessions. These included meetings of SWP members and other conference participants who are members and builders of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Similarly, many classes and workshops dealt with the struggle for women's rights. In his talk, Miah observed that the same questions of how to best fight for political power are on the minds of women as well as Blacks. He called attention to several important meetings of women's rights organizations that socialist workers will be participating in where this, and other issues, will be discussed. These include the September 30-October 2 national conference of the National Organization for Women in Washington, D.C., and the October 28-29 Coalition of Labor Union Women conference on organizing the unorganized, to be held in New Orleans.

Subscription drive

Another important party campaign will be the effort to sign up 4,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* over an eight-week period beginning September 24. This drive will be conducted alongside the party's permanent weekly plant-gate sales effort.

Another arena of party activity, Miah noted, is running socialist campaigns in local 1983 elections. A successful workshop of over 100 conference participants discussed how the SWP can best use these campaigns to explain socialist solutions to the many problems on the minds of working people today. The workshop also discussed current efforts to get party candidates on the ballot, as well as making preparations for a big drive to win ballot status for the party's 1984 presidential and vice-presidential ticket.

Marxist tendency in the unions

All of the party's campaigns in the working class, from sales of the *Militant* to participation in demonstrations like August 27, fit into a broader perspective that guides party activity in the labor movement, Miah explained.

That perspective is one of winning a majority of the working class to the view



Militant/Larry Lukehart
Farmer activist John Enestvedt gave class on problems facing working farmers. How to relate to allies of working class was one theme of conference.

that a revolutionary change is needed in society in order to defend working people from the economic suffering, racism, discrimination against women, and Vietnam-style wars that are basic to capitalism.

The effort to win this revolutionary majority must include a struggle to transform the trade unions into organizations that will fight for revolutionary policies to defend workers rights. This will occur in the course of big class battles.

Socialists cannot determine at what pace these battles will occur, but all current revolutionary activity in the trade unions is aimed at preparing for these battles. Today this centers on building a revolutionary Marxist current or tendency in the industrial unions — that is, those workers who, through today's experiences, can be won to revolutionary ideas.

"We view this process of winning a layer of the most class-conscious workers and union activists to revolutionary Marxist ideas today as the first step in our long-term perspective of building a powerful opposition within each union, whose objective is to transform the union into a revolutionary instrument of class struggle," Miah explained.

Such oppositions will involve tens of millions of workers who will constitute a class struggle left wing in the labor movement that will challenge the proemployer policies of the entrenched union bureaucracy. The ultimate goal of this strategy is the taking of political power by the working class and the formation of a workers and farmers government to replace the current government of big business and the banks.

Such a government, Miah said, "will use its power to move toward the construction of socialism."

Firings fought at People Express

BY CONNIE ALLEN

NEWARK — People Express Airlines clerks here have been fighting to get their jobs back for eight months.

Close to 650 reservation clerks were fired from People Express between Jan. 17, and May 31, 1983. The great majority of those fired were women and Blacks, who were paid \$5 an hour — far below union rate. They were replaced almost entirely by white college students.

A drive to organize a local of the International Union of Electrical Workers was under way when the mass firing occurred.

The fired workers organized the People Express Workers Association (PEWA) to fight for their jobs and to get out the truth about this racist union-busting. They have filed a suit with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which is now investigating People Express for discrimination. The PEWA is demanding that all fired workers be reinstated at current union scale with no recrimination, full back pay, and representation by the union of their choice.

Roland Butler, speaking for PEWA at a recent Militant Labor Forum here, described the role of their struggle in the nationwide union-busting drive in the airline industry:

"One of your deepest concerns is that the other airlines are looking at People Express and are saying, if they can do employees like that, we'd like to do it too. Of course, if we had a union in there, certainly we would have been able to push more, we would have had more support as far as keeping our jobs."

People Express is an offshoot of Texas Air Corp., which set up the nonunion New York Air. Continental Airlines, currently attempting to break the International Association of Machinists strike, is also a subsidiary of Texas Air Corp.

When People Express was set up in Newark, the Federal Aviation Administration bent the rules governing the establishment of new airlines. A deal was made with the city of Newark in return for which People Express promised to provide jobs for minorities for a two-year period. That two years was up in January of 1983.

People Express then began firing all reservation clerks — claiming they were temporary employees — and hiring college students through the Cooperative Education Act. This act provides the company with a tax write-off for each student hired.

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JOIN THE SWP

Political discussion deepens among Blacks, Latinos, labor

Continued from Page 8

Jesse Jackson, who spoke at the conference, said, "It's time for a shift in American politics." Latinos and Blacks, he said, must "turn to each other and not on each other."

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

Labor's stand

The discussion on the need for a Black-Latino-labor alliance is also taking place in the organized labor movement. The size of the Black working class alone would lead to this discussion being reflected inside the labor movement.

But more is involved. Facing sharp blows from the employing class — attempts to bust unions as in the case of the copper miners' unions in Arizona and the machinists' union at Continental Airlines — organized labor is trying to reestablish the "old coalition" of Blacks and labor inside the Democratic Party.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, is hoping to use the Federation's earlier than usual endorsement of a Democratic Party candidate (set for later this fall) to increase labor's influence on the Democratic Party nominee.

The differences between the AFL-CIO officialdom and the "Black leadership family" are not over fundamental policy toward the two capitalist parties, but rather reflect the pressure for more radical solutions coming from the Black community.

Thus the "Black leadership family" projects a social program critical of the capitalist parties on some issues and U.S. foreign policy, while the AFL-CIO tops are more conservative. In fact many are leading reactionary campaigns against imports that are mainly directed at foreign workers and undermine solidarity against the boss at home. They also advocate strong support in general for U.S. foreign policy.

That's why Kirkland — as a "labor statesman" — gladly accepted an appointment to Reagan's war commission that seeks to help legitimize Washington's intervention in Central America.

On the other hand, the liberal Black leaders — who also support U.S. capitalism — are the main initiators of the August 27 march that includes a demand for peace — a demand clearly aimed against U.S. policy in Central America and the Middle East.

The "peace" section of the march call is something the AFL-CIO officials strongly object to. Most top union officials don't consider the peace slogan as a civil rights or labor issue.

That's one central reason why most top officials consciously modified their support for the August 27 march (giving lip-service or reserving buses for as few workers as possible) and projected as their central priority building Labor Day rallies primarily around the issue of "jobs" — with a heavy emphasis on opposition to imports.

Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO's endorsement of the August 27 march is a reflection of the contradictory pressures the labor officials feel today (something they didn't feel in 1963): that is, they must respond to the sentiments of the rank-and-file who are demanding action against the government's and employers' attacks; and a membership that is more supportive of Black civil rights.

This also explains why Kirkland isn't openly attacking the idea of a Black Democrat seeking the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

In fact at a recent Cincinnati news conference Kirkland said, "I think it [a Black candidacy] could definitely have the effect of increasing voter registration and could be a very positive force, assuming that if he is nominated the party sticks together."

Now, of course, Kirkland and other labor officials have not talked this idea up. Their main campaign is to defeat Reagan at all costs.

But the fact that he even made this comment reflects the pressures the AFL-CIO

officialdom feels from growing numbers of working people, particularly Black workers.

Blacks in social vanguard

There are two points that can be made about the discussions on a Black-Latino-labor alliance to date:

First, the traditional leaderships of the Black, Latino, and labor movements do not favor an alliance that points away from capitalist politics — one against the Democratic and Republican parties. They instead seek to build a new coalition to increase their political influence in the capitalist parties and system.

The Black and Latino leaders and the trade union officials in particular do not have as their objective replacing the big-business government with one of their own.

Second, these discussions have been initiated and are being led by the Black nationality — the most oppressed section of the working class.

This role being played by the traditional Black leaders, feeling pressure from Black workers, is opening up big discussions on political action among all working people, including on the need for a new alliance of working people.

That's why Lane Kirkland told a rally of 13,000 in support of Harold Washington's candidacy for mayor last spring 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."

What's different today is that more and more workers don't believe "the instrumentality of the Democratic Party" is effective anymore. Thus they are open to new perspectives — at least for some discussion. They want change.

That's a step forward. The question is: what should the perspective be for working people today?

We do need a new alliance. We do need

unity of all working people to fight the employers' attacks.

But we don't need an alliance with the class of warmakers and big industrialists and bankers responsible for working people being unemployed and responsible for the wars in Central America against the workers and peasants there.

A working-class perspective

We need a working-class alliance based on a class-struggle program and strategy.

Working people need to build an alliance to fight the government. It needs to have a strategy based on mobilizing the masses of working people in political struggles against the employers and their government. It needs to have as its conscious objective replacing the capitalist government with one it controls — a workers and farmers government.

Only a workers and farmers government can begin to mobilize the masses to end racism, sexism, unemployment, and imperialist wars.

A workers and farmers government will be based on the real democratic control of society by the people for the people — that is, the working people — without regard for "old" laws and institutions that have been used to keep working people divided, oppressed, and exploited.

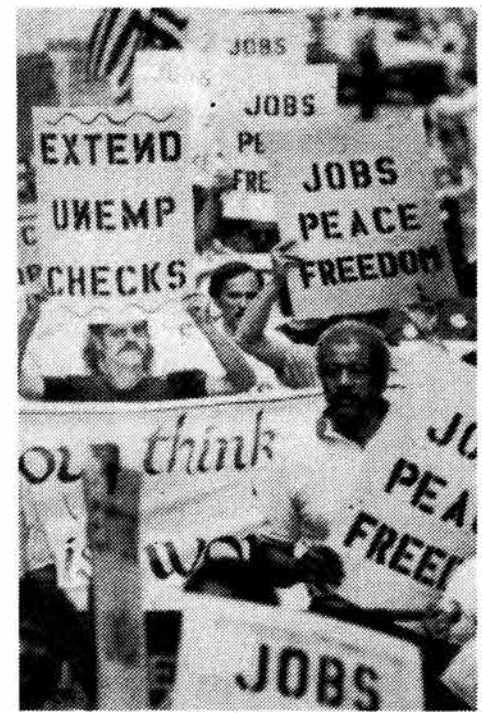
To get such a government will require a massive struggle against the government and the employers.

For a Black party and a labor party

It will require working people carrying on big political battles to win real equality, to end political and national oppression, and to end the exploitation of all workers.

Those battles will include demonstrations like August 27, strikes against employers' takebacks and other political campaigns.

Most important today, it will require working people breaking with the capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and establishing their own instruments of



Unemployed workers march in Pittsburgh. Independent Black and labor political parties will advance fight for jobs, peace, freedom.

political struggle.

The vanguard of working people is the Black nationality, which is leading the discussions today. This fact creates the basis for waging a fight to establish an independent Black party as the first stage of working-class independent political action.

That's what Blacks in Chicago and other cities need to do. Black workers will be a decisive force in such a party, but not the only one. It will win the support of farmers, women, and others who are oppressed.

Such an initiative could inspire the unions to take that giant step as well. Not having its own mass political party that fights for workers' interests is the biggest problem before the labor movement.

A labor party would be composed of all sections of the working class and would fight for the interests of all working people. It would champion the struggles of Blacks and Latinos especially.

Both a Black and a labor party would have to stand on broad social programs in order to win the support of women, farmers, and other victims of capitalism.

That's the perspective working people in a Black-Latino-labor alliance need in order to advance and defend their interests today.

PUSH backs asylum fight by Marroquin

The July convention of Operation PUSH, held in Atlanta, adopted a resolution strongly protesting the attempt to deport socialist Héctor Marroquín.

Born in Mexico, Marroquín fled that country when he was framed up on murder charges for his political activities. He came to the United States where he became active in union, antiwar, and antiracist struggles. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is trying to deport Marroquín because of his antiwar and prolabor views. They have rejected his demand for political asylum. Marroquín's case is now before the Supreme Court.

The Operation PUSH resolution states: Whereas: The deportation policies of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, which seeks to deport individuals seeking political asylum from Central America and the Caribbean if they have been active in the social change movements in their respective countries, and

Whereas: we have seen the racist character of this immigration policy as demonstrated in the Haitian refugee situation, and

Whereas: the case of Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican school teacher, who has been living in this country for the past several years as a political exile, is another case in point, which demonstrates how the treatment of refugees fits into the general pattern of exploitation of Latin America by the United States, and

Whereas: Mr. Marroquín's case will be heard by the United States Supreme Court this Autumn and has far-reaching implications for immigration policies in general,

Therefore be it resolved that the national convention of Operation PUSH protests these discriminatory immigration policies and calls on Alan Nelson, Commissioner

of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to halt deportation proceedings against Héctor Marroquín and grant him asylum in the United States.

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.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing Marroquín's fight. 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.



Héctor Marroquín
Militant/Lou Howort

1963 civil rights demonstration

Continued from Page 10

elementary right to cast a ballot and run for office.

Today the right to register and vote is again under fire in the South and in parts of the North as well. Nor is this an isolated problem. All of the rights won over the years by Black people are under sustained attack today. And so are the rights of Latinos, women, and working people generally.

But today we are in a far more powerful position to respond to this attack and to gain additional ground as well.

The coalition that was only beginning to crystallize in 1963 is far more advanced today. Blacks, women, Latinos and, yes, a growing number of white workers are coming to recognize they have a common problem, face a common enemy, and must meet the enemy in a united way. Together we are stronger than we were two decades ago.

As we assemble and march in Washington we have the power to press for full emancipation. What's needed is to build an independent Black party that can help give an impetus to the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

Such a political movement must necessarily have as its goal the abolition of the capitalist profit system, the root source of racism, as well as the source of the exploitation of all working people.

The significance of August 27 goes beyond the valuable show of strength manifested by a big turnout.

It will be another big step in the necessary politicalization of Black liberation and working-class fighters. It will help to deepen the realization that we must not only march together, but must build the kind of political force capable of winning jobs, peace and freedom by uprooting capitalism.

Could have a lottery — Now that the government has agreed to a program of hospice care for the terminally ill, budget director



Harry Ring

Stockman is exploring means of keeping the cost down. One idea he's exploring is to limit the bene-

fits to 31,000 dying people per year.

A matter of priorities — For two years they've known there are cancer-causing compounds in the rubber nipples on babies' milk bottles. An EPA official said one manufacturer has succeeded in reducing the level of the carcinogen. But he refused to identify the company because "it would put the others at a disadvantage."

Dept. of Justice — An ex-EPA consultant who supervised tests at Love Canal and other hazardous sites and testified in court as an expert witness for the government

was indicted on charges of faking his academic credentials. The consulting firm that employed him was advised two years ago his credentials were phony but continued using him and continued including his fake resume in bids on federal projects. The company was not indicted.

Maybe we'll tune in more often — Complaining that big biz gets a bum rap in the media, a Mobil Oil "public service" ad cites a study that alleges "one of the clearest messages of television is that businessmen are bad, evil people and that big businessmen are the worst of all."

P.S. — Broad-mindedly, Mobil concedes that businessmen do "make their share of mistakes," but assures that business "is the producer of virtually all of the goods we as a nation consume." And we were silly enough to think that was what working people did.

The press at work — New York officials made a survey of residential real estate ads in major New York papers, including the *New York Times*. Of 168 display ads studied, 162 were found in violation of the federal Truth in Lending Act. Sounds like the same proportion of truth as the

news and editorial sections.

Shopping tip — Cartier's, the jewelry folk, now accepts all major credit cards. However, its own credit card will now only be good for purchases over \$1,000. But it will automatically be renewed annually if you simply make one \$1,000 purchase a year.

Strike 3? — *Goodlife*, a mag we've never seen — it's aimed at upper income folk — has a new publisher. The two previous ones went bankrupt. Chief adviser to the new chief exec is Gerald Rafshoon. He was Jimmy Carter's media adviser.

Martin Luther King speaks on 'Beyond Vietnam'

Continued from Page 13

where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move or be destroyed by our bombs. So they go — primarily women and children and the aged.

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals, with at least 20 casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform?

What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe?

Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only non-communist revolutionary political force — the Unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men. What liberators!

Somehow this madness must cease. I speak as a child of God and a brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted.

I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours.

We must all protest

We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is the path now being chosen by more than 70 students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors.

These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on

the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

There is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in come circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing Clergy and Laymen Concerned committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa.

We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end, unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as children of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past 10 years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which now has justified the presence of U.S. military "advisers" in Venezuela.

U.S., France wage war on North Africa

Continued from back page

regimes in the area have issued a barrage of wild propaganda aimed at portraying Libya as the aggressor, accusing Qaddafi of seeking to take over Chad.

Such accusations turn reality on its head.

It is the imperialist powers — foremost among them Washington, Paris, and London — that have for decades imposed a system of brutal colonialism on the peoples of North Africa (and the rest of the continent as well). They have toppled governments, sought to crush popular rebellions, and constantly interfered in the daily political life of those countries.

The imperialists hate the Qaddafi government. It has repeatedly defied their dictates, denounced imperialist policies in the Middle East and Africa, and given political and material support to numerous revolutionary and national liberation movements around the world.

This has included aid to forces in Chad that are in conflict with French and U.S. imperialism. Chad is a former French colony, and Paris has sought to determine what government rules it ever since it won independence in 1960.

Washington also intervened in Chad to undermine the previous Goukouni government, which had friendly ties to Libya. The CIA, along with the French imperialist government, helped Hissène Habré oust Goukouni from power in 1982.

Following his defeat in June 1982, Goukouni and his followers reorganized their forces. They drew together a broad coalition of political and military groups and set up the Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT) in the northern town of Bardaï. It includes representatives from most parts of the country.

A political platform issued by the coalition earlier this year focused on three

This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells us why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Colombia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken — the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.

Get on right side of revolution

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

points: "End Hissène Habré's dictatorial regime, which is in the pay of international imperialism; establish peace, security, and national unity; set up a popular, democratic, socialist, and progressive government."

A single opposition military force was established, the National Liberation Army (ANL). It launched major military operations in northern and central Chad, and has also carried out some actions in the south (against facilities of the French-owned cotton monopoly Coton-Tchad). In June, the ANL forces began to make significant advances, taking a series of villages and towns in the north and east, including Faya-Largeau, Fada, Oum-Chalouba, and Kalait.

The Libyan regime recognizes the GUNT as the legitimate government of Chad, and has provided assistance to the ANL forces as part of its efforts to defend Libya from imperialist attack and prevent the country's encirclement by hostile, proimperialist regimes. It has every right to provide such assistance.

While the actual extent of this Libyan aid is unclear, it has obviously been exaggerated by Habré and his imperialist backers in order to justify their intervention in Chad.

Alarmed by the advances of Goukouni's troops, the initial reaction in Paris and Washington was to rush additional military aid to Chad to bolster Habré's regime.

Although the French government initially claimed that it had no intention of sending troops into Chad, it began to do so indirectly. By early August, some 150 French "advisers" and mercenaries had arrived in Ndjamen.

The U.S.-backed regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre sent close to 2,000 troops to help counter the rebel advance.

With this external backing, Habré's

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against the old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before: "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light."

We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that, because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has the revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated.

Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

troops managed to recapture all the major towns that had been taken by the ANL forces.

On August 10, however, the ANL launched a second offensive, and after several days of heavy fighting around Faya-Largeau again captured that strategic northern town.

In response, the imperialists escalated their intervention to massive proportions.

The number of French troops in Chad steadily increased. According to French officials, it may reach 3,000 by the end of August. The troops are supported by helicopters, jet fighters, and bombers.

Gen. Jean Poli, a veteran of the war against the Algerian independence struggle, was assigned to Chad to command the French forces.

In addition to launching the Bright Star '83 military maneuvers, the Reagan administration boosted its military aid to Habré by an additional \$15 million and sent two AWACS electronic surveillance planes and eight F-15 jet fighters to neighboring Sudan in an effort to intimidate Libya. The planes were accompanied by 550 U.S. ground personnel. Three U.S. military "advisers" were sent to Chad itself.

Mobutu sent more Zaïrean troops, boosting the total number in Chad to 2,700.

Despite this massive imperialist aggression, Goukouni's forces have pledged to continue their struggle against the Habré regime.

According to Mahamat Nour, the GUNT's minister of foreign affairs, "Foreign intervention in Chad is nothing new. We have already faced the [French] legionnaires before. Nothing can stop a people that is determined to win its freedom."

From Intercontinental Press

Alice Walker's 'The Color Purple'

The Color Purple, by Alice Walker. Washington Square Press (Pocket Books), 253 pages, \$5.95.

BY DIANE JACOBS

Alice Walker is a Black writer from Eatonton, Georgia, who won a Pulitzer Prize for this book. She deserves it. I read the first page of *The Color Purple*, then reread it, because I just couldn't get over the beauty and power of it. She writes about love, sisterhood, change and growth, religion, betrayal, jealousy, sexism, racism.

But the first thing that grabs you is the voice. It belongs to Celie, a 14-year-old Black girl from a dirt-poor

BOOK REVIEW

family in a rural Southern town in the 1920s. She's just been raped by a man she believes to be her father. He warns her, "You better not never tell nobody but God. It'd kill your mammy."

She takes him at his word, and begins her series of letters to that deity, the only person she can talk to. These letters are funny, tragic, ironic, and true. They change as she changes and, along with the letters to her from her younger sister Nettie (who becomes a Christian missionary in Africa), they chronicle her family's history in the period between the two world wars.

The book is composed entirely of the two sisters' letters.

Celie's are written the way she talks. She regrets her lack of education: "I feel bad sometime Nettie done pass me in learnin'. But look like nothing she say can get in my brain and stay. She try to tell me something bout the ground not being flat. I just say, Yeah, like I know it. I never tell her how flat it look to me."

She's forced to marry a cruel man, a widower who comes to court Nettie but settles for Celie because he needs a nursemaid for his children. Celie is so alienated from this man she refers to him as Mr. _____.

When she begins to change and learn, the lessons about her own strength come from women. Her stepson Harpo finally brings home a wife with a mind of her own, probably the first woman Celie has met who's not submissive to men:

"Sofia . . . a big strong girl. Arms got muscle. Legs, too. She swing that baby about like it nothing. She got a little pot on her now and give you the feeling she all there. Solid. Like if she sit down on something, it be mash."

Can't tolerate independence

Harpo can't tolerate his wife's independence of spirit. He tries to beat it out of her, but she fights back. Eventually, his intolerance drives Sofia away.

Celie learns about romance from an unlikely source. One day Mr. _____ brings home his first and abiding love, Sugar Avery, who's made a name for herself singing Bessie Smith songs and some of her own. Mr. _____ had once wanted to marry her, but lacked the will to oppose the wishes of his father, who thought she was "trash." So he married Celie's predecessor instead, a meek woman who bore his children.

Mr. _____ and Shug stayed close throughout his first marriage, but parted ways a while before Celie moved in. Celie, who doesn't have much use for men, especially after her treatment at their hands, finds an old photo of Shug and becomes infatuated with this compelling image. When Shug finally arrives at her house, sick and

mean, Celie nurses her back to health. The community is scandalized, but, for the first time, Mr. _____ and Celie close ranks around their charge. A love develops between Celie and Shug that proves to be more enduring than Shug's and Mr. _____'s, whom she alone calls Albert.

Celie learns to appreciate her body and her emotional needs when she and Shug become lovers. As men come and go through Shug's life, Celie feels jealous and sometimes abandoned, but she gets the most important lesson there is about loving somebody:

"She got a right to look over the world in whatever company she choose. Just cause I love her don't take away none of her rights. . . . Who am I to tell her who to love. My job just to love her good and true myself."

Shug always comes back.

Midway through the book, Celie decides to stop writing god and start addressing letters to her sister. She explains why to Shug:

" . . . he give me a lynched daddy, a crazy, a low-down dog of a step pa and a sister I probably won't ever see again. Anyhow, I say, the God I been praying and writing to is a man. And act just like all the other mens I know. Trifling, forgetful and lowdown."

Shug responds with her beliefs, and her rejection of organized religion: "How come [god] look just like [white folks]. . . . Only bigger? And a heap more hair. How come the bible just like everything else they make, all about them doing one thing and another, and all the colored folks doing is getting cursed? . . . I believe God is everything, say Shug. Everything that is or ever was or ever will be. And when you can feel that . . . you've found It."

Celie is transformed over time from a defeated little girl to a resourceful woman.

In one of the book's most disturbing incidents, Sofia becomes the victim of an ever-present racism. She, her children and prize-fighter boyfriend go to town one day, "looking like somebody." The white mayor and his wife pass them, and the wife stops to patronize:

" . . . all your children so clean, she say, would you like to work for me, be my maid?"

"Sofia say, Hell no."

The mayor slaps Sofia; she slugs him back. Police arrive and beat her almost to death. She's locked up, but Celie persuades the sheriff to let her in the cell:

"When I see Sofia I don't know why she still alive. They crack her skull, they crack her ribs. They tear her nose loose on one side. They blind her in one eye. She swole from head to foot. Her tongue the size of my arm. it stick out tween her teef like a piece of rubber. She can't talk. And she just about the color of a eggplant."

A wry wit

Sofia is sentenced to 12 years, serves a few in prison, and the rest as maid to the mayor's wife. She manages to retain her indomitable spirit, but, to survive during this time, learns to erase herself just like Celie used to do, and to exercise a wry wit about her captors. "They have the nerve to try to make us think slavery fell through because of us, say Sofia. Like us didn't have sense enough to handle it. All the time breaking hoe handles and letting the mules loose in the wheat . . ."

The other primary plot involves Celie's sister Nettie, who disappears on page 18. We don't hear from her again until years later, when Shug discovers her letters to Celie that Mr. _____ had been withholding out of spite. Nettie was taken in by a preacher and his wife, the same couple who adopted Celie's two offspring — the result of the rapes by her stepfather. Nettie's letters are those of an



Militant/Diane Jacobs

Alice Walker

educated women, grammatical and richly observant, but not half as poetic as Celie's.

She travels to Africa, by way of England, to do missionary work with the couple. Because her horizon is broader than Celie's, she gets a chance to document the hypocrisy of white missionaries, the terrible destructive effects of colonialism, and finally, the devastation and ruin of her beloved Olinka tribe when their land is appropriated by an English rubber planter who forces them to pay rent and water tax.

Every character in *The Color Purple* has a story, and every character develops. Celie's children come of age in Africa. Nettie marries the preacher after his wife's death. Mr. _____ learns that love is more than "what folks do together with they bodies." He grows close to Celie through their common feeling for Shug Avery, and ends up helping her sew in the pants-making business she develops, Fokspants, Unlimited.

There is one small incident that struck me as the essence of what *The Color Purple* is about. When Sofia's mother dies, she and her two sisters decide to serve as pallbearers with their three brothers. People don't do this, Harpo tells her:

"What it gon look like? say Harpo. Three big stout women pallbearers look like they ought to be home frying chicken. . . . Women weaker, he say. People think they weaker, say they weaker, anyhow. Women spose to take it easy. Cry if you want to. Not try to take over."

"Try to take over, say Sofia. The woman dead. I can cry and take it easy and lift the coffin too."

And she does along with her sister and three brothers:

"They all march stoutly in, shaking the church, and place Sofia mother in front the pulpit."

"Folks crying and fanning and trying to keep a stray eye on they children, but they don't stare at Sofia and her sisters. They act like this the way it always done. I love folks."

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After Aug. 27: how can we win?

Continued from front page

the copper mines in Arizona at the request of the copper magnates.

The capitalists are haunted by the fear that tens of millions of us will get together with the objective of ending their domination. So whenever workers raise the banner of solidarity, the capitalists respond with divide-and-rule tactics. They seek to pit us against each other — whites against Blacks, men against women, skilled against unskilled, English-speaking against Spanish-speaking, and U.S.-born against immigrants. By such measures they get layers of the working class to believe the myth that they have a stake in defending capitalist rule.

The results of these divisions are seen in a number of ways. For example, the average income for Blacks is only 56 percent of that for whites — the same as it was 20 years ago. This shows that in spite of the magnificent achievement of the civil rights movement in wiping out Jim Crow segregation, racism's deep roots in the capitalist system have prevented any qualitative advance in economic equality.

The same is true for women. They continue to earn an average of 59 cents to the dollar that men earn.

The women's liberation movement has given many women more self-confidence and has won some improvements, particularly in employment. However, as with the oppression of Blacks, the capitalist system needs the oppression of women.

What about jobs? Despite the upturn in the economy there are still 10 million unemployed workers. For Blacks and Latinos, unemployment is twice the national rate.

Yet the employers continue to demand major wage and contract concessions from unionized workers. Every cut in pay and benefits for these workers leads to even lower wages and worse working conditions for the 78 percent who are not organized.

Black, Latino, women, and younger workers get hit the hardest. More and more they face entry-level wages 30 to 40 percent less than for other workers, as well as racial and sexual discrimination. The employers continue to attack affirmative action programs and refuse to modify discriminatory seniority systems.

Neither adequate jobs, decent wages, equality, nor freedom exists for the majority of U.S. working people.

This situation is made worse by the employers' offensive against workers and farmers in other countries. In order to preserve the superprofits they get from cheaper labor in the semicolonial countries, and to safeguard sources of raw materials, markets, and investments, they maintain a gigantic military force. They respond to rebellions in oppressed countries much as they respond to strikes in this country. They use all the force they can muster to try to smash them.

And the cost of the huge war budget is borne by us. U.S. battleships are now off the coast of Nicaragua. Over 4,000 U.S. troops will be engaged in military exercises in Honduras for an indefinite period. The government has set up a bipartisan war commission with leading Democrats and Republicans to provide cover for this deepening of the war in Central America, aimed in particular at the revolutionary governments in Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba.

U.S. Marines are stationed in Lebanon to oppose the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples for self-determination.

The U.S. government is also supporting France, which is stationing troops in Chad aimed at the Chadian and Libyan peoples.

The struggles of toilers in other countries are interconnected with our struggles because each time they score a victory against U.S. imperialism, it weakens our employers and strengthens us.

As the employers step up their military threats, attacks against Blacks and women, and demands that workers make more concessions or face union-busting, it becomes increasingly imperative for working people to organize directly against the employers and their government.

Our objective must be to replace the racist, capitalist government with a government of workers and farmers.

The struggle for jobs, peace, and freedom will help lay the basis for bringing such a government to power.

Such a government cannot be voted into office. It will require the mobilization of millions of working people in struggle. Unions and mass organizations much broader than unions will be used by working people to carry this fight through to the end.

As a first step this means building broad alliances of all the oppressed and exploited to fight the government's racist, antilabor, and prowar policies. It means active solidarity by working people with all victims of capitalism — at home and abroad.

Moreover, it means politically breaking with the capitalist government and its two parties.

There are no "friends" of Blacks, Latinos, women, and unions in the White House, the Capitol, or the Supreme Court. They serve another class. Whatever they appear to do for us is only the result of what we have been strong enough to take from them. Throughout U.S. history all laws and court decisions favorable to working people — from civil rights, to labor and farm legislation — came in response to the big struggles we waged, not before.

Today we need to end our support to the Democrats and Republicans. We need our own independent movement organized to struggle around a social program that aims to place working people in power.

That's why we propose to Blacks who initiated this march and raised the banner of jobs, peace, and freedom that they form an independent Black party. The winning of Black self-determination requires that Blacks reject all political compromises with the capitalists. History teaches that Black freedom — as Malcolm X explained — is impossible if Blacks remain tied to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The program for a Black party would be in the interests of all working people just as the demands of the August 27 march are. It will begin from the standpoint of the problems of Blacks, but its objectives will serve the needs of all — Latinos, women, farmers, and labor.

An independent Black party that fights against U.S. military intervention in Central America and for a jobs program — massive public works, shorter work week to spread the available work, and affirmative action for Blacks and women — will encourage trade unionists to take the giant step of forming a labor party.

Blacks are a big part of the labor movement. Thus a labor party based on the unions will include a program for Black rights. It will fight for the demands of other allies such as farmers.

Neither a Black party nor a labor party exists yet. But the march on Washington, and the broad unity forged under the leadership of Blacks, show the potential for such parties.

The sooner such steps toward political independence are taken either by Blacks or labor, the quicker we will be on the road to placing political power in the hands of a workers and farmers government.

1955 telephone strike and civil rights fight

BY HERMAN CHAUKA

To some, the South appears to be an invincible open-shop fortress where unionism cannot hope to prevail.

That belief was even stronger before the 1960s, when legal segregation — Jim Crow — prevailed.

Yet history has demonstrated that, even during the days of Jim Crow, unity and solidarity could be achieved and the bosses beaten back.

This was demonstrated in the spring of 1955 when 30,000 rail workers and 50,000 phone workers fought lengthy strikes to beat powerful corporations.

While a minority of the workers directly involved in the strikes were Black, the two strikes advanced the fight against Jim Crow.

The *Militant* featured prominent coverage of both strikes, the violence directed against them, and the solidarity they evoked.

It reported that in Chattanooga, Tennessee, a Southern Bell strikebreaker deliberately ran over two pickets.

Another striker was shot in front of the Pensacola, Florida, phone exchange.

In Mt. Pleasant, Tennessee, a striking rail unionist was murdered by a scab who shot him in back of the head.

In Knoxville, Tennessee, the mayor armed his cops with machineguns against phone workers, ordering them to "shoot to kill."

The rail workers were members of nonoperating unions affiliated to the AFL. (This was shortly before the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

merger of the AFL and CIO.) They were striking against the Louisville and Nashville line and five of its subsidiaries.

The phone workers, members of the Communications Workers of America, were affiliated with the CIO and were striking Southern Bell in nine states.

The April 30, 1955, *Militant* reported that despite a "blizzard of injunctions, all sections of Southern labor, AFL, CIO, and independent, rallied to the strikers' cause."

"Financial support came from small locals, central labor bodies, and international unions."

"Picket lines were observed by members of all other unions, and frequently bolstered by them."

The *Militant* added that the sight of Black and white workers picketing together "had an impact greater than the statistics would indicate."

Reporting on the broad public sympathy for the strikers, the paper cited the following: "One example, among many, of this sympathy, was the demonstration of 200 college students before the telephone exchange in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, where 20 of their classmates, lured by the full-page ads of Southern Bell, were scabbing. They pulled the scabs off the job."

At the big U.S. Steel plant in Birmingham, where a good part of the work force was Black, a spontaneous walkout came after cops in nearby Montgomery brutally clubbed strikers, and a rail worker was shot and killed by a scab.

Only the bureaucratic intervention of David McDonald, then president of the United Steelworkers of America, forced an end to the sympathy walkout and thwarted what might have developed into a general strike in the city.

The militancy of the striking rail and phone unionists was so high, and the solidarity with them so broad, that both won their key demands. The rail workers had been out 58 days, the phone unionists, 68.

Bell was forced to give modest wage increases to all of the workers, although it had initially refused any increase for 5,000 of them. Bell was also forced to retreat on other contract issues.

In the rail strike, the company fought against establishing a health plan already conceded by other major rail lines. They claimed it was a matter of moral principle not to make compulsory deductions from their workers' wages for their half of the premium. This "moral conflict" was resolved by an arbitrator's ruling that the company should pay the entire premium.

Full-scale union organization of the South — and the battle against racism that goes with it — remain a major responsibility of the trade union movement. The 1955 rail and phone strikes confirm it can be done.

For further reading:

Workers in the Changing South: The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement. By Nelson Blackstock. 30 pp., \$.95.

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

Gov't attacks Jesse Jackson

"Two Jesse Jackson Groups Misused \$1.7 Million, Auditors Say."

That was the headline on an August 19 Associated Press story.

Read the actual text of the story carefully and you learn that there is no evidence of "misuse" of funds. Federal auditors have simply "leaked" to the press the fact that they examined the books of two organizations associated with Jackson that have received federal grants. There was a "lack of documentation" for some expenses, the auditors claim.

What's obviously involved here is an attempt to smear and harass Jackson, the head of Operation PUSH, for his political activities.

Jackson has been in the forefront of a massive effort to register Blacks to vote in the South, against the will of local Democratic officials there.

He has sharply condemned the escalation of U.S. military involvement in Central America. This escalation, says Jackson, "is nothing but preparation to send the Black, the brown, and the white poor to fight and die to protect rich interests."

And he is campaigning for the idea of a Black running for president in the 1984 Democratic primaries.

Things like this lead to federal "audits."

Operation PUSH Inc. and PUSH for Excellence Inc. have received federal funds for their projects to improve the education of Black youth.

Secretary of Education Terrel Bell — a notorious opponent of education rights in general and the rights of Black students in particular — claims the audits are just "routine."

He adds, "The reason there is all this publicity is the Rev. Jesse Jackson is considering running for president."

Indeed. When was the last time the government did a "routine" audit of segregated white colleges or investigated school boards that refuse to carry out court-ordered busing for desegregation?

When was the last time the Justice Department took action on charges by civil rights organizations that Blacks attempting to register to vote have been harassed and intimidated by local governments?

The "fraud" smear against Jesse Jackson and Operation PUSH is aimed at all supporters of civil rights, in the hopes of intimidating those who oppose U.S. government policy from speaking out. It should be roundly condemned.

Telephone picket line

Prior to the tentative settlement announcement in the telephone strike, I spent some time on the picket lines here talking to striking members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

Striker Larry Cramer told me, "People that have been on strike understand what we're doing. The others, if they knew what it's about, they'd support us."

Another picket, Debbie Bond, said, "A lot of city workers drive by and tell us to hang in there. Some drop off a few cold six-packs of Pepsi."

One Black striker explained, "The biggest deal for me is the medical benefits. I've got three kids, and now AT&T wants me to start paying 25 percent of my medical. With \$7.2 billion last year AT&T can't pay medical bills!"

Other workers expressed concern about job security. "Ma Bell has been introducing more computer technology and has used that as an opportunity to downgrade and eliminate jobs."

One striker told me that her job is now performed primarily by women using new computer equipment. They are paid \$100 a week less than the craftsmen who had previously done the work.

"They say they treat men and women equal," this woman said, "but you see they don't. Now that

women are doing the work — and we're supposed to do more things besides — the company won't pay us for it because we use computers."

This same striker pointed to increased company harassment before the strike began. "Five or six people got fired lately for things like making a personal phone call."

While the spirits on the picket line were high, strikers admitted they were feeling the economic strain. "They told me at the food stamp office that I'm not eligible," said one. "That sounds like union-busting to me. They try to make it so we have to cross the picket line."

Nevertheless, strikers I talked with seemed pretty determined. "Look at what happened at Chrysler," Larry Cramer told me. "That was a bad move, those concessions. Now all the companies want to get in on it. Me? I'm going to keep what I've got."

Kathleen Denny
Cincinnati, Ohio

Violence against women

Our New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women has held a couple of interesting discussions on rape and other violence against women.

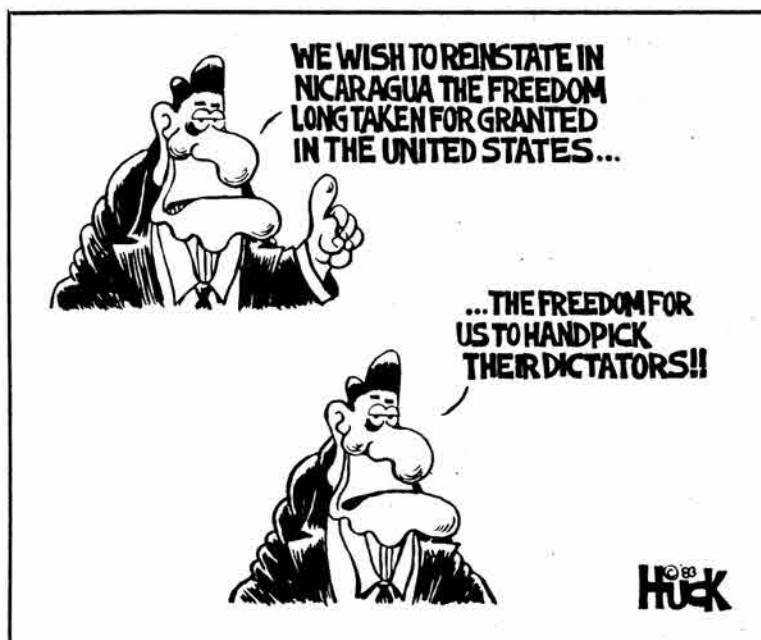
At a discussion in May, Susan Schechter, author of *Women and Male Violence*, spoke about the social institutions that condone and encourage such violence. At the August membership meeting, a program on rape prevention was led by Pam Donnell of the Safety and Fitness Exchange (SAFE). Donnell is a 10-year student of martial arts so most of the discussion centered on individual self-defense techniques.

There was also the beginning of an interesting discussion, raised mostly by Black and union women, about the problems in our society that lead to violence against women, particularly on the job.

A Black woman expressed frustration that so many women are trapped in jobs where we have to put up with sexist treatment because of our limited job options. Another woman pointed out that a very high percentage of women who leave their jobs do so because of sexual harassment.

A woman who works on the docks in New York, where the workforce is only 1 percent female, talked about how she has dealt with sexual harassment and a rape threat.

She said it was important to speak up and talk with other workers, male and female, and to discuss in the union how sexual



harassment and violence break down the solidarity that is so crucial to everyone's safety on the job. Another woman said that getting stronger unions, regardless of the percentage of women on the job, is a real advantage in fighting against sexual harassment.

Another point to consider is how important the struggle for affirmative action is to combating sexual harassment and violence. Efforts by the women's rights movement and the unions to work together to expand and improve women's employment has a big impact on the conditions that iso-

late women and make us the target of rape and sexual harassment on the job.

Ellen Haywood
Susan Zarate
Brooklyn, New York

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

The case of Klaus Barbie: Hypocrites at work

BY HARRY RING

An especially disgusting example of political hypocrisy was the *New York Times* editorial congratulating Washington for admitting it had employed — and concealed — the Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie.

"How rare it is," the August 18 editorial sanctimoniously declared, "for a proud and powerful nation to admit shabby behavior."

Shabby indeed. The Justice Department's admission that Barbie had been hired and harbored came only after he was extra-

capitalists to the struggle of workers and other oppressed people for a new and better life.

In the period after World War II, Nazis were among those used to curb the rising European working class. The workers there wanted to build a new, socialist society.

Essentially, that same process is occurring in many parts of the world today, most particularly in Central America.

There, long oppressed and impoverished workers and peasants are determined to end the imperialist domination responsible for their plight.

And the central business and financial interests in this country are equally determined to hold onto their colonial "backyard," by any means necessary.

Countless reports have emerged of the right-wing butchery in El Salvador. Perhaps the best known case is that of the murder of the four U.S. church women.

Consider a single, added example.

It was presented in a carefully researched article in the July 31 *Miami Herald*.

The killer in this story did not murder on the same mass scale as Barbie. But the two men are truly blood brothers.

Manuel Portillo was a sergeant in the Salvadoran militia, the U.S.-trained outfit delegated to guard local areas against "communist subversion."

From late 1980 until early this year, Portillo was in command of the militia unit in the town of Apastepeque in San Vicente province.

During his tenure there, Portillo shot or hacked to death at least 20 people. Manuel Guzman, mayor of the town, provided the *Herald* names, dates, and places. His account was confirmed by four other town officials and local funeral records.

For instance, on the afternoon of March 14, 1981, Portillo and two of his men arrived, drunk, at the home of two brothers.

The brothers were taken to a local cemetery. There, according to Mayor Guzman, Portillo, with the help of his men, "cut off their heads, their arms and their legs. He left the parts around in the grass."

Portillo then returned and tied up the wife and two children of one of the victims.

He raped the wife, the mayor said, and then took her and the children out to the highway. "There he shot them, tore their stomachs out and cut them to pieces," Guzman testified.

The *Herald* account includes more of Portillo's sickening rampage.

What happened to him?

After protests by local citizens and an area bishop, Portillo was transferred to duty in another town.

There he killed again.

Transferred once more, he deserted the Salvadoran army.

Where is Portillo now?

The *Herald* tersely reports:

"Today, military authorities say, he is living with his

wife in the United States."

Is there a Rat Line from El Salvador to here?

Is Portillo still helping to fight "communism"?

One can only speculate. But this much is for sure: Manuel Portillo and Klaus Barbie are authentic symbols of Washington's fight against communism.

The people of Central America, in increasing numbers, understand that. That's why they resist U.S. intervention so stubbornly.



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AS I SEE IT

edited by Bolivia to France where he was long sought for "crimes against humanity."

Moreover, the report is a whitewash, intended to minimize what Washington did and to suggest there were only a few cases where Nazis had been so employed.

In fact, from the time Washington initiated the cold war against the Soviet Union, it employed literally thousands of Nazis as experts in combating "communism."

Among others documenting this is John Loftus, a former investigative official for the Justice Department, who recently wrote an exposé, the *Belarus Secret*.

The readiness of Washington to make wholesale use of Nazis in combating "communism" confirms that it did not fight Germany in World War II to defeat fascism, as it demagogically claimed, but to defeat it as an imperialist rival. Wall Street's drive for world domination, not any concern about democracy, was the motor force of the U.S. war.

The Barbie case is damning. During the German occupation of France in World War II, he was head of the Gestapo in Lyons, one of the country's largest cities. There he was responsible for the mass slaughter of Jews and other innocents, earning the title, the "butcher of Lyons."

When the U.S. Army hired Barbie in 1947, it knew exactly who he was. He was then already listed on a central registry of the Allied powers as a war criminal wanted in France.

In 1950, when the French government let it be known that it knew Washington was using and shielding Barbie, he was spirited out of Europe to Bolivia via an underground route for fascists dubbed the "Rat Line." The Rat Line was operated by a notorious Croatian fascist priest.

In Bolivia, Barbie did nicely for three decades, collaborating with the various military regimes there and, undoubtedly, with U.S. agencies as well.

It was only recently, when mass pressure from the Bolivian workers forced a change in the regime there, that Barbie was extradited to France.

But this is no sordid story from the past. Washington is using exactly the same types as Barbie in many countries throughout the world in its present drive against "communism."

Such vermin are natural recruits for anticommunism, which is, essentially, the brutal response of the ruling

Washington and France wage war against peoples of North Africa

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Washington and Paris have joined in a war against the peoples of North Africa.

Several thousand French troops — backed up by helicopters and jet bombers — have poured into Chad to prop up the beleaguered proimperialist regime of Hissène Habré, which is engaged in a civil war with a coalition of forces led by former President Goukouni Oueddei.

It is the largest French military intervention in Africa since the war against the Algerian independence struggle two decades ago.

At the same time, on August 10, the Reagan administration sent some 7,000 U.S. troops to Egypt, the Sudan, and other countries in the region for a series of military exercises, code-named Bright Star '83. The operations include armor and infantry maneuvers, mock air attacks by B-52 bombers, and the use of AWACS electronic surveillance planes. A U.S. naval fleet has been positioned just off the coast of Libya. It is the most massive show of

U.S. military force in North Africa since World War II.

Officials in Washington have made little effort to conceal the fact that Bright Star '83 is intended as a threat to the Libyan regime of Muammar el-Qaddafi, which has provided assistance to Goukouni's forces in Chad.

Although the French government of François Mitterrand has attempted to portray its intervention in Chad as a separate initiative from Washington's campaign against Libya, the military efforts of the two imperialist powers are clearly coordinated. Washington and Paris are carrying out a joint military intervention that is directed most immediately against the peoples of Libya and Chad, but also against all those in the region who dare to challenge continued imperialist domination and plunder of their countries.

As a cover for this naked aggression, the Reagan administration, the Mitterrand government, and the various proimperialist

Continued on Page 20



Chadian liberation forces are standing up to U.S.-backed French invasion of their country. At center of photo is rebel leader Goukouni Oueddei.

Phone workers protest company violence-baiting

BY CARLA HOAG

NEWARK, N.J. — Workers on strike against Bell and Western Electric in New Jersey found themselves fighting a heavy barrage of attacks from the courts, cops, and media, as well as the company.

On August 10, Judge John Marzulli of Essex County Superior Court issued an injunction against the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 827, prohibiting "violence," and "sabotage or destruction of company property." With this as a rationale, the injunction also limited the number of pickets allowed at New Jersey Bell facilities.

The former set of prohibitions were part of the violence-baiting of the strikers, which has made big headlines in New Jersey papers.

After the first three days of the national telephone workers strike, New Jersey Bell charged that there had been 25 acts of sabotage against phone company property. They immediately pointed the finger at the IBEW though they have produced not a shred of evidence to back up that assertion.

IBEW Local 827 has a membership of 13,000 statewide, ranging from linemen and installers to office personnel. The union denies the company's accusations of sabotage. Blake Hanssen, an IBEW strike

captain from Bayonne, said, "The union doesn't sanction any form of vandalism or destruction."

Some picketers offered the suggestion that perhaps management had cut their own phone cables, as a way to weaken public support for the strike.

In an escalation of the company-government campaign against the striking workers, New Jersey Bell called in the FBI to investigate what it said was sabotage of the phone cables at a military installation, the Military Ocean Terminal in Bayonne.

Bell also ran a "wanted" ad in local papers on August 13, announcing a \$5,000 reward for "information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person or persons who damage or remove telephone cable or Central Office switching equipment." In case there was any question about who Bell wanted turned in, the ad emphasized that the alleged "malicious damage was done" after the telephone workers went on strike.

Members of IBEW Local 1470 at the Western Electric manufacturing plant in Kearny, New Jersey, joined 40,000 other Western Electric workers across the country, who went on strike August 15.

While AT&T tried to push a takeback contract down their throats, Western Elec-

tric is moving to ax the job of all 4,000 Kearny employees, citing the age and unprofitability of the Kearny plant.

Some workers at Kearny suspect that there's more to this shutdown than what the company is saying.

After an eight-year court battle against the company, women workers at Kearny finally won an affirmative action program, which went into effect in 1981. Soon after that, Western Electric decided to close down the plant for good.

The women workers plan to contest the findings of a court-appointed special masters report, which concluded that the affirmative action program was not a factor in Western Electric's decision to close down this plant.

The IBEW at Kearny also won a round in court. Local police had set up barricades to prevent workers from picketing the front gate.

The cops' "reason" for this illegal obstruction?

"We did it for their own safety," said Kearny Deputy Chief George King. "At a strike, the cars coming in have a tendency to panic. We don't want them [picketers] hurt. They have a right to picket, but we have a duty to protect them."

A Superior Court judge gave the strikers limited picketing rights.

The striking telephone workers have found allies in other unions. The New Jersey Industrial Union Council offered its full support for the strike.

And the recent National Executive Council meeting of the AFL-CIO voted to back the striking Bell workers and called on its affiliates to support the strike "in every way possible."

Tentative settlement announced in strike

August 24 — As the *Militant* goes to press, officials of all three unions involved in the 700,000-person nationwide telephone strike have tentatively accepted a new contract. The unions are: Communications Workers of America (CWA); International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Telecommunications International Union.

The strike against American Telephone and Telegraph Corp. began August 7.

CWA president Glenn Watts said the proposed settlement contained "a substantially improved response by the company in the key areas of our bargaining demands." He announced that he hoped union members would be back to work by August 25, while a membership mail ballot vote proceeds. Results of the vote won't be known until September 17.

The unions' demands included: protection from layoffs; increased wages; rejection of company attempts to increase the amount of health insurance costs shouldered by employees; opposition to company proposals to replace craft workers by substantially lower-paid "service assistants"; and steps to alleviate the extreme job stress suffered by operators and other workers.

According to media reports, the proposed contract includes some provisions for training workers in new skills whose jobs are phased out by technology; a 5.5 percent wage hike in the first year of the contract; and dropping of the company's demands for workers to pay for medical insurance and to establish "service assistants."

One hundred local bargaining units of the three unions have to resolve local issues before strikers return to work.



Cop threatens pickets outside Western Electric Co. in Kearny, New Jersey, where workers eventually won court order against police harassment.