

Massive march demands jobs, peace, freedom



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators poured into Washington, D.C., August 27.

BY MALIK MIAH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "We want a holiday — Martin Luther King Day!" "We're all fired up, can't take it no more!"

In sweltering heat close to half a million people from around the nation stretched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial in the largest Black-initiated protest in the history of the United States.

The march was organized by the New Coalition of Conscience launched by Coretta Scott King, head of the Martin Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change, and Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The march won the endorsement of over 700 organizations, including the AFL-CIO Executive Council, National Organization for Women (NOW), League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and most of the major civil rights organizations.

The march began assembling at 8 a.m. at various feeder-march assembly points across the city. The marchers then proceeded to the morning rally assembly point at the Washington Monument where a rally was held at 9 a.m. A number of speakers and entertainers participated in the rally.

At about 11 a.m. the march began down the route — up 14th Street to Constitution Avenue, down 17th Street to the Reflecting Pool in front of the Lincoln Memorial. This was the same march route followed in the 1963 march.

At 1 p.m. the afternoon rally began. The temperature by then was over 90 degrees officially, but more like 120 degrees in the middle of the crowd.

The hundreds of thousands of Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans, and whites — most of them working people — came here demanding jobs, peace, and freedom and national recognition for the central figure in the historic March on Washington held in 1963 — Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

They came demanding that King's birthday, January 15, become a national holiday.

They came demanding that King's famous "I have a dream" speech become a reality.

They came demanding that the government end its racist, sexist, antilabor, and prowar policies.

They came from over 350 cities and towns from all states of the country. They came by bus, train, airplane, subway, and by foot.

They came in organized contingents and as individuals. They gathered in over 20 feeder marches. This included separate feeder marches from all D.C. wards.

There were also participants from nearly 40 other countries — South Africa, Brazil, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, Iceland, Finland, India, Great Britain, Ireland, Liberia, Trinidad, Jamaica, and many more.

It was indeed an international march of solidarity between the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world against what King called in 1967 the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world" — the U.S. government.

It was the largest pro-Black rights march ever held.

Moreover, it was the most integrated, multinational march of such size. Unlike the 1963 march where only a few thousand whites participated, this historic gathering included tens of thousands of whites — as unionists, as antiwar activists, women's rights activists, and as supporters of environmental rights.

There were also significant numbers of Latinos — Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and others from Latin America.

There were Asian Americans, and Native Americans under the banner, "American Indians need jobs, education, housing, health."

There was also a group of farmers from Minnesota and several signs demanding relief and fair prices for their products. Prior to the march farmers had participated in a

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U.S. Marines killed defending dictatorship in Lebanon

BY DAVID FRANKEL

For the past year U.S. combat forces have been intervening in a civil war in Lebanon. The death of two marines August 29 and the wounding of 14 others was a sharp reminder of that fact.

As in Central America, the Philippines, and elsewhere around the world, Washington's role in Lebanon has been to back the defenders of social reaction and privilege.

Hiding behind a cloak of legality, the State Department insists that U.S. forces in Lebanon are only there to support the legitimate government of that country. But Lebanese President Amin Gemayel was installed in office by vote of the Israeli army, not of the Lebanese people.

Gemayel rules with the support of the Israeli and U.S. governments and with the backing of the ultrarightist Phalangist militia. The Phalangists are the same gang that carried out the savage massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps one year ago. The majority of the Lebanese people reject this imperialist-imposed government.

The Lebanese government provides no public housing, no health care, no unemployment insurance, and no disability benefits for the working people. But its soldiers — armed and trained by Washington — have been busy evicting homeless people from the buildings that they have settled in. They break up demonstrations, kidnap political opponents of the government, and collaborate with rightist gangs in hopes of terrorizing the majority of the Lebanese people.

These social tensions are the same that led to the civil war of 1975-76. They are heightened by the political and economic discrimination against Lebanon's Muslim and Druse population, which together make up some 60 percent of the total. Gemayel's Phalangist government is based

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What does solidarity mean for labor?

Solidarity. That's to be the theme of the parades, marches, and other activities scheduled across the country by the AFL-CIO on Labor Day — Solidarity Day III.

Solidarity. It's a simple idea — but one with tremendous power. It means working people sticking together. It means sticking together against the employers when they try to attack and divide us. It means sticking together against the government that represents the employers. It means sticking together against the employers' parties, both the Democrats and Republicans, who

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seek our votes on election day but sell us out throughout the year. It means sticking together in defense of our own interests and needs.

Solidarity. The more it is actively practiced the more powerful it becomes. It's not just a sentiment for Labor Day speeches. It must be the genuine watchword of the labor movement.

What does that mean today?

- Solidarity with fellow workers on strike. In Arizona, copper miners have been on the picket lines since July 1. They're up against the national guard and the state cops who were sent into the mining towns by Gov. Bruce Babbitt to escort scabs into the mines and to otherwise assist the Phelps Dodge Corp. in its strike-breaking and union-busting.

An August 27 meeting of union leaders in Tucson decided to step up aid to the embattled miners. The entire labor movement should respond to this move. A national campaign should be launched. Meetings should be organized. Money should be raised. The truth should be told about this heroic strike. We should not let the copper miners suffer the same fate as the air controllers whose union was busted two years ago by government strike breaking.

- Solidarity with those who are victims of racist and sexist discrimination. The Reagan administration is on a full fledged assault against affirmative action programs. In one of its latest moves, the Justice Department filed a Supreme Court brief attacking such a program in the Memphis fire department.

If the idea of "an injury to one is an injury to all" is to have any meaning, the labor movement must respond to these attacks and speak up for the right of Blacks, Latinos, and women to hiring quotas and other preferential treatment. Such affirmative action is the only genuine road to equality after years of discrimination practiced by the employers and the government. For the same reason, the unions should actively defend the right to bilingual education and busing to achieve school desegregation. Without steps like these, any promise of equal rights remains empty.

- Solidarity with unemployed workers. Despite the upturn in the capitalist business cycle, millions of workers remain out of work. This includes a high proportion of young people. The union movement should mobilize an active campaign to demand immediate relief. This should include unemployment benefits at union wages to last as long as an individual is unemployed and a bold program of public works to rebuild the nation's bridges, roads, and pipelines and to construct new housing, hospitals, and schools.

To protect workers from displacement

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SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY LEE MARTINDALE

For several months members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and other supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have been helping to build the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. We've been passing out leaflets and talking to coworkers and people we meet on plant-gate sales about the march and about the socialist strategy for fighting for jobs, peace, and freedom.

So, we want to let our readers know that the *Militant* and *PM* got an enthusiastic response from the marchers in Washington and from those participating in the West Coast march in San Francisco.

And, we want to welcome all of our new subscribers on behalf of the socialist workers who read, write for, and sell the *Militant* and *PM*. We hope you'll find the *Militant's* reporting and analysis as valuable as we do and decide to renew your subscriptions.

While reports are still coming in, so far we know that in Washington 1,165 demonstrators subscribed to the *Militant*, and 78 bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Most of these new readers took advantage of a special offer of \$1 for 4 issues of the *Militant*, or 3 issues of *PM*. Some subscribed at the regular introductory rate of \$3 for 12 issues.

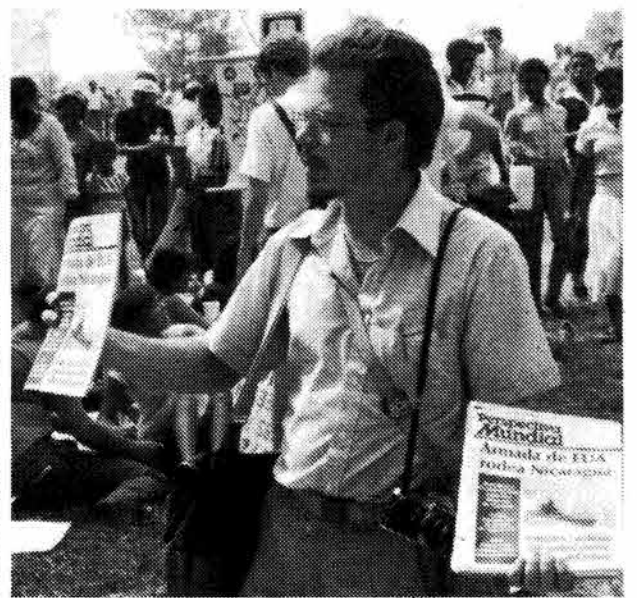
In addition, over 1,600 people in Washington purchased single copies of the *Militant*, *PM* or the *Young Socialist*.

Socialists sold single copies and subscriptions to fellow marchers on buses, at service plazas where buses stopped on the way to the march, from portable literature tables spread throughout the march area, and to people they found themselves marching with.

At the big truck stop in Breezewood, Pennsylvania, a



Militant/Osborne Hart



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

SWP and YSA had big participation in August 27 marches through sales of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Over 4,000 people bought subscriptions and single copies of *Militant* and *PM* at marches in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland.

team of *Militant* supporters from Pittsburgh set up a table early in the morning and talked with hundreds of busloads of marchers on their way to Washington from Midwest cities. They were joined throughout the morning by others who arrived on buses, recognized the *Militant*, and helped sell the paper during their rest stops before climbing back on their buses and heading for D.C. The Pittsburgh team sold 51 subscriptions and 150 single copies of the paper.

Others sold the *Militant* and *PM* on the buses themselves. One person, who came to the march with other members of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 365 in Atlanta, Georgia, reports that the 12-hour trip (which stretched to 18 hours on the way home when the bus broke down) provided lots of time for political discussions. Despite the long ride, her fellow unionists were inspired and full of enthusiasm about the march. "This

is the most important thing our local has ever done," one said. Another, a Black woman, said she couldn't understand the union's campaign to oppose imports. "We're all immigrants," she said, "and all workers. Everyone in this big march got along. I want a world like that."

Wants Castro book

On two buses, organized by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 2325 in New York City, 14 people picked up subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 3 more subscribed to the *Militant*. One of the ILGWU members asked how he could get a copy of a speech by Fidel Castro, after reading a review in *PM* on the trip down. The *PM* salesperson hunted down the book on one of the literature tables in Washington and brought it back to the bus for the ride home.

Socialist workers staffing tables at the march that offered the *Mili-*

tant, *PM*, and the *Young Socialist* as well as books and pamphlets, reported hours of discussion with individuals and groups of marchers who stopped by to look over the literature. The interest of marchers in a broad range of political issues was evident from the literature they picked up. One small table sold out of titles on the Palestinian struggle early in the day. Another team reported that people were eager to read about the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. Titles by Malcolm X were the best sellers of the day.

\$1,750 literature sales

The marchers' eagerness to read about socialism and about struggles all over the world contributed to sales of well over \$1,750 from the literature tables. This is a record for literature sales at a march of this kind.

Militant and *PM* salespeople also distributed leaflets inviting marchers to an open house spon-

sored by the Young Socialist Alliance. Over 250 people dropped by to relax after the march and to exchange their impressions and their ideas on the next steps in the fight for jobs, peace, and freedom. Among those attending the open house were steelworkers from the giant Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, and from the Sparrows Point local in Baltimore; ACTWU members from Atlanta and Minneapolis; and a coal miner from Pennsylvania. Two people at the open house expressed interest in joining the Chicago chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The *Militant* and *PM* were also part of the West Coast action in San Francisco, where 187 people subscribed to the two papers and over 400 more bought single copies.

In Portland and Seattle, where local August 27 actions took place, another 129 subscriptions and 135 single copies were sold.

U.S. Marines killed while defending Lebanese rightists

Continued from front page

primarily on the Christian minority in Lebanon, particularly on the Maronite sect, which accounts for less than a quarter of the population.

The latest fighting in Beirut erupted as a result of an offensive by the Lebanese army, which sought to take over some of West Beirut's poorest Shi'ite Muslim neighborhoods and disarm the population there. But Shi'ite and Druse militia forces, unwilling to leave their people at the mercy of the murderers of Sabra and Shatila, fought back.

Responding in typical fashion, White House officials promptly blamed Syria and the Soviet Union for the confrontation.

Syria, one top Reagan deputy claimed, is playing the "spoiler role" in Lebanon "with encouragement from the Soviets."

U.S. Marine contingents, which have acted as an army of occupation in West Beirut in conjunction with the rightist forces, joined in the August 29 battle, using artillery, mortars, and helicopter gunships.

There are 1,200 marines deployed in West Beirut and another 600 with amphibious boats in Beirut harbor. But these are just the tip of the iceberg, since they are a detachment from the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Commenting on the possibility of escalated fighting in Lebanon in the August 30 *New York Times*, Drew Middleton noted

that "the Marines, drawing on their reserves afloat, appear to have enough men and weapons to launch an attack against the guerrillas in the hills. Such an attack is unlikely at the moment, Pentagon sources said, but given the explosive uncertainties of the situation in Lebanon, the contingency must be considered."

Middleton added that "a Marine Corps source noted that the aircraft carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower is 'around' in the Mediterranean and that in the event of further attacks on the Marines in Beirut the Eisenhower and its 84 aircraft would be available for support."

Meanwhile, the editors of the *New York Times* suggested that the marines in Beirut "may . . . need some reinforcing."

It is clear that as long as U.S. forces remain in Lebanon, there is a real danger of their involvement in a wider war. It is also clear that what Washington is doing there is against the interests and wishes of the majority of the Lebanese people. The marines and the Sixth Fleet should get out of Lebanon and stay out.

Labor news

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Millions of Filipinos march against Marcos

BY MARGARET JAYKO

On August 31, more than one million people participated in the funeral procession of the slain Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino in the largest public protest in Philippine history.

The procession was led by a contingent of 3,000 students chanting "Marcos — killer, dictator, dog!"

They were protesting not only the murder of Aquino, but also the broader crackdown on all opposition in the face of a severe economic crisis in the Philippines.

The massive mobilizations in the wake of the Aug. 21 assassination of Aquino reveal the breadth of the opposition to the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos.

Thousands of people had been waiting at the Manila airport the day Aquino was killed to greet him on his arrival after a three-year exile in the United States.

More than 100,000 people streamed into his house in the following three days to view the body.

They included many who were not political supporters of Aquino, but who were opponents of Marcos and outraged at this cold-blooded murder, which they held Marcos responsible for.

On August 25, 500,000 people accompanied Aquino's body from his family's house to a nearby church so that more people could view the open coffin. Marchers chanted "Confront them!" and sang songs about their "enslaved country."

Two days later, another half million turned out as Aquino's body was moved to Talac, near his birthplace, Concepcion. Chants of "Free our country" and "Fight! Fight! Fight!" rang out from the crowd.

Meanwhile thousands of students held protest rallies at two universities in the capital city of Manila.

One million people lined the streets on August 29 as Aquino's body was returned to Manila to be buried.

Spurred on by the size and militancy of these actions, former Senator José Diokno, a major figure in the Philippine opposition, has called for Marcos' resignation.

Marcos has responded by attempting to absolve his own government of all guilt in the murder of Aquino. The size of the crowds are one indication that he hasn't been successful. All the facts point to the Marcos regime as the culprit.

Seconds after soldiers walked Aquino off the plane he had arrived on at Manila's international airport, he was shot dead from very close range — 16 to 18 inches. The alleged assassin, dressed in the uniform worn by airport employees, was immediately pumped full of bullets by soldiers.

According to Marcos, the dead man is Rolando Galman y Dawang, a "notorious killer" who had been used in the past by organized crime and "subversive elements." Marcos has repeatedly called the murder a communist plot to discredit his regime.

Salvador Laurel, one of the few foes of Marcos allowed to hold a seat in the Philippine National Assembly, has been among those raising a myriad of unanswered questions about the murder.

- The coroner's report indicated that the bullet entered behind Aquino's left ear and traveled downward. How could the supposed assassin, who was six inches shorter than Aquino, make such a virtually impossible shot?

- How did the alleged assassin know where to wait for Aquino when almost nobody knew which of several planes he would be on?

- How could someone with an eight-inch .357 Magnum pistol get into the airport and right next to Aquino when the place was crawling with soldiers?

- Why did the security police take Aquino down the open steps to the runway instead of through the enclosed landing platform to the terminal?

- Why was the alleged assassin killed on the spot, instead of kept alive for questioning?

- Why does the film of the event from the government-owned television station skip over the moment of the killing itself?

Most damning of all is the eyewitness account of Kiyoshi Wakamiya, a Japanese journalist who was on the plane with Aquino. He said that he saw one of the security guards around Aquino shoot him. Then another man was pushed out of a gray



Assassination of oppositionist Aquino has mobilized anti-Marcos sentiment in massive marches

military van and shot to death.

This version is the only one put forward so far that corresponds to the coroner's report.

One thing is already certain, however. The "investigating commission" appointed by Marcos is designed to whitewash his regime and not to uncover the truth. All of its members are Marcos-appointed judges and loyalists. Corazon Aquino, Benigno Aquino's widow, denounced the commission as "Marcos men."

So far, 14 soldiers who were part of the security detachment at the airport have been detained and questioned. But they are being kept cloistered and the results of that interrogation have not been made public.

The massive protests that are rocking Marcos' rule are being felt especially keenly in Washington.

The problem of keeping Marcos or someone equally pro-imperialist in the Philippine saddle is not a small one for U.S. imperialism. The 7,100 islands which make up the Philippine archipelago, with

their 48.5 million people, are of strategic military importance for the U.S. ruling class.

The two largest U.S. military bases in the world, outside of the United States, are located in the Philippines: Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Complex. These bases are key to protecting U.S. economic and political interests in southeast Asia and the oil lanes to the Middle East, as well as to threaten the countries in Asia that have overthrown capitalist rule.

The more than 80 years of U.S. domination of these islands is deeply resented by the Filipino people. It's this imperialist domination that accounts for the Philippines' impoverishment and underdevelopment.

And it's to make the Philippines "safe" for U.S. military bases and economic exploitation that the U.S. rulers back the Marcos regime in its dictatorial policies.

But it's precisely this domination that has also bred the growing organized resistance in the cities and the countryside.

Thus, U.S. support for Marcos, which has continued since Marcos assumed power in 1965, and increased under Reagan, is not a force for progress in the Philippines but at the root of the country's problems.

Reagan's response to Aquino's murder has been to feign concern for an "honest inquiry" — that is, one that will convincingly cover up Marcos' role. But even this has been subordinated to statements reaffirming that nothing will be allowed to cut across White House backing for the Marcos regime.

Exiled opposition leaders in the United States have called on Reagan to cancel his projected fall trip to the Philippines. A few Congressional Democrats have called for a temporary suspension of the massive amounts of U.S. aid to Marcos.

Whatever the U.S. rulers decide to do, their decades-long domination of the Filipino people is facing a growing challenge.

FBI helps silence Marcos foes in U.S.

BY FRED MURPHY

In the wake of the murder of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Filipino activists in the United States have renewed charges that Washington collaborates with the Marcos dictatorship in spying on, harassing, and carrying out physical violence against Marcos' opponents in this country.

At news conferences held in Washington and New York on August 24 and 25, the activists released recently declassified Pentagon documents proving U.S. acquiescence in such activity by Marcos agents.

A Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) circular dated July 23, 1982, reported the arrival at the Philippine embassy in Washington of a five-man defense attaché team.

"The new team," the document said, "is also expected to monitor Philippine dissident activity in the U.S. . . . The attaches will undoubtedly report on, and possibly operate against, anti-Marcos Philippine activists in the U.S." (emphasis added).

This and other such documents were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes. The CJDV's aim has been to expose the complicity of the U.S. and Philippine governments in the June 1981 slayings of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, Filipino activists in Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in Seattle. The two unionists had been playing an important role in building U.S. labor solidarity with the Philippine workers movement.

Evidence developed by the CJDV points strongly to the role of Marcos agents in the unionists' murder and to complicity by Washington. After failing to secure criminal prosecution of a key figure in the kill-

ings, the committee brought its charges before the Federal District Court in Seattle through a lawsuit against the U.S. and Philippine governments. The committee is seeking \$30 million in damages for the victims' families and an injunction against further harassment.

The suit charges that the murders of Domingo and Viernes were part of an illegal operation by agents of the Philippine government assigned to silence the anti-Marcos opposition in this country. It also charges that the U.S. government was complicit in this plan.

Washington's defense attorneys demanded in January that Judge Donald Voorhees dismiss the suit by granting the government "absolute immunity due to sensitive national security and foreign policy considerations."

But the judge refused to do so and the trial is proceeding. Now the Pentagon documents the committee has obtained offer fresh substantiation of its charges.

Other materials released by the committee last week include FBI and U.S. Naval Intelligence documents showing that Filipino dissidents were under surveillance in this country in the early 1970s, and a 1979 report by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee stating that U.S. intelligence authorities were aware that Filipino agents were spying on Filipino dissidents here.

Further evidence was offered by unnamed "high-ranking Carter Administration officials" in interviews with the *New York Times* August 25. According to the *Times*, the officials "said the United States had intercepted messages from Manila to Filipino agents in this country five years ago ordering them to harass opponents of President Ferdinand E. Marcos's Government who were in the United States."

"The former State Department officials said the harassment commonly consisted of efforts by Marcos agents to threaten opponents with retaliation against family members in the Philippines or to disrupt meetings of anti-Marcos groups."

The Carter aides claimed the FBI had been asked to investigate the messages from Manila at the time but said they did not know what action the police agency had taken. Since the FBI itself regularly engages in such spying and harassment and no doubt collaborates with Manila and other foreign governments in doing so, there is no reason to believe it took any action at all.

The Reagan administration has offered a similar story with regard to the latest revelations. The State Department asserted August 25 that Washington "is committed to taking all necessary measures to stop harassment and intimidation of persons in the United States by agents of foreign governments." The FBI would investigate all such allegations, the statement promised, "and if the allegations are substantiated, we will take appropriate measures."

The administration's actions in the Seattle courtroom, where it is trying to quash the CJDV's efforts to bring out the truth about Marcos agents in the United States, speak louder than its words.

To contact the National Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, write P.O. Box 14304, Seattle, Wash. 98114, telephone (206) 682-0690; or 1322 18th St., N.W. Rm. 44, Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 296-1535.

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the Militant**

March demands jobs, peace, freedom

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building rally for the march in the Minneapolis area.

Alvin Jenkins, a leader of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), was intending to participate in the march too, but was unable to due to a court subpoena. He was ordered to appear at trials of farmers in Springfield, Colorado, stemming from protests against farm foreclosures.

Although not in an organized contingent, a number of individual AAM members did take part in the demonstration along with other farmers.

Everyone carried signs or banners — some professionally done and many hand-lettered — making demands on the government against its policies of war at home and abroad.

Blacks and whites carried signs demanding "Affirmative action now," "Jobs now," "Equal rights for all," and others in support of union rights, striking telephone workers, the Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, against apartheid in South Africa and Israeli domination of Palestine and Lebanon, and more.

As expected, some of the largest contingents were all or predominantly Black. This included Black sororities, fraternities, and student organizations (Howard University students mobilized, for example, and provided many of the marshals). It also included the NAACP, SCLC, Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity), and a few chapters of the National Urban League, despite the refusal of that civil rights group to back the march.

Blacks also composed a sizable portion of the union contingents — in most cases being predominant.

But the large presence of other oppressed nationalities and whites in the march was striking to all present, especially to veterans of the 1963 march.

Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta and a former aide to King, took note of this change in his remarks to the afternoon rally.

"Twenty years ago we came as individuals," he said. "We came back as organizations. There were many women here then, but no women's organizations; many Hispanics, many members of organized labor, many handicapped, but none nearly so organized as they are now."

Large union contingents

That was especially true for trade union participation in the march.

In 1963 George Meany, then president of the AFL-CIO, and virtually the entire leadership of the federation refused to endorse the march. Only the United Auto Workers (UAW) as a whole backed the march, and UAW President Walter Reuther spoke at the demonstration.

While giving lip-service to civil rights, the top trade union officials refused to actively build the movement because of their support to the Democratic Party in which the racist Dixiecrats were a powerful component. Many of the union members were also active in the racist White Citizen Councils and the Ku Klux Klan.

Twenty years later the organized labor movement is more Black, Latino, and female, and — white workers included — is more supportive of civil rights. The common suffering caused by the employers' attacks is leading to broader unity on many

issues — economic, social, and political.

Thus at the march at least one-third of the marchers were members of trade unions, while the majority were working people.

The AFL-CIO itself says at least 50,000 to 60,000 union members marched in separate contingents. This is based on the police estimate that only 250,000 people were in the demonstration. It was clear the march was much larger and with many more unionists.

Signs and banners with union names were evident everywhere — green, white, blue, yellow, you name it.

The largest union contingents were the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); International Association of Machinists (IAM); Communications Workers of America (CWA); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); and 1199 National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Other contingents included: United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); American Federation of Teachers; United Electrical Workers; International Union of Electrical Workers; National Education Association (NEA); and American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE).

USWA Local 8888 at the large shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, sent eight buses. Many other union locals filled several buses for members, families, and unemployed youth. Most printed up their own signs or banners.

The IAM printed up hundreds of placards calling for "Jobs not bombs." Most unions made signs with the slogan "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom" or "The dream lives on."

Others said: "AFSCME says: Don't cut Medicare"; "SEIU Local 144 — Bury the bomb, not mankind. Says: protect our union rights, and Says: stop union-busting." A CWA banner: "We won't strike less."

"We want jobs, not food stamps," said a UAW sign; another added, "Jobs and justice not cheese and butter."

A small contingent of UMWA members, most of them women, carried signs saying, "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom" on one side, and "Fight back, get involved, I did!" on the other side.

Members of the Pittsburgh-area Mon Valley Unemployed Committee raised their banner high, which said, "If you think this system is working, ask someone who isn't."

There were also union signs on peace and war. "Reagan wanted for murder in Central America," read a Carpenters Local 1846 sign.

One Atlanta worker in the Graphic Communications Union told the *Militant*, "People are glad to march for peace."

Howard Samuel, president of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, spoke at the morning rally. He kept his remarks brief, general, and expressed solidarity with the march and its call for jobs. "The organized labor movement," Samuel said, "is proud to join its natural allies in the fight for jobs and justice."

Other labor leaders who spoke were William Winpisinger, president of the IAM; Owen Beiber, president of the UAW;



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Black fraternities and sororities mobilized tens of thousands of their members at August 27 march. Modest contingent of miners also demonstrated.

William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of AFSCME and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Cleveland Robinson, District 65, UAW; Addie Wyatt, vice-president, UFCW; Mary Futrell, president of the NEA; Kenneth Blaylock, president of AFGE; Henry Nicholas, president of 1199; and Robert White, president of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Workers.

Baldemar Velasquez of the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee also spoke.

Organized women's contingents

Another noteworthy advance since the 1963 march was the active participation of women's groups in the march.

Judy Goldsmith, president of NOW; Dorothy Height, National Council of Negro Women; Bella Abzug, Women USA; Kathy Wilson, National Women's Political Caucus; and Dorothy Riding, president of the League of Women Voters, all spoke.

Height made special mention of the role that Black women have played in the fight for civil rights — particularly noting that Black women have historically served in leadership roles in the struggle.

Goldsmith said, "Women are, and have always been central to the civil rights movement. Women are peace activists. Women are union organizers and supporters. Women are committed to protecting the environment. We are represented in every movement here, and we come in all colors."

NOW signs and T-shirts were everywhere — green and white ones in support of the ERA; for jobs, peace, and freedom; equal pay for equal work; and in support of gay rights.

One sign read, "Feminists in solidarity with the Central American and Caribbean peoples."

Gay and lesbian organizations also had a contingent in the march; and a Black representative of the contingent spoke at the afternoon rally.

'U.S. out of Central America!'

Although the issues of peace and U.S. wars abroad were not the dominant theme of the march, there was a solidarity contingent with signs and banners hitting U.S. policy in Central America. Antiwar signs were visible in other contingents as well. A number of speakers also discussed the war issue.

Before the march a number of individuals who had backed the 1963 march refused to endorse this one on the grounds the demands were too broad. They particularly objected to the peace demand as an unwarranted concession to those opposed to U.S. support to reactionary dictatorships.

Notable in the attacks on the march were several pro-Zionist Jewish organizations (a number of others did march); Bayard Rustin, head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a central organizer of the 1963 march; and the Social Democrats, USA.

Although many top officials of the AFL-CIO opposed inclusion of the peace de-

mand in the coalition because of their general support to U.S. foreign policy; including in Central America (Lane Kirkland's participation on Kissinger's war commission reflects that fact), they maintained their support for the march. Samuel, in fact, organized a labor support news conference a few days before the march.

At the same time, neither he nor any of the other labor speakers at the rally hit the U.S. interventionist policies around the world. Samuel avoided any mention of the peace demand in his short remarks.

Rustin and company, however, could not even give lip service to the march or its demands. They claimed it was not in the interests of Blacks to "confuse" civil rights with foreign policy questions since doing so, in their view, would undermine the fight of Blacks for equality.

Significantly the march organizers stood firm and strongly rebutted these criticisms. At the morning rally, for instance, Coretta Scott King commented, "We must demand justice in Harlem and in the Bronx . . . but also in the Philippines. We must demand justice in the barrios of Los Angeles . . . but also in El Salvador."

In that context the march organizers invited a number of speakers who are freedom fighters and opponents of U.S. nuclear weapons here and abroad.

Salvadoran leader speaks

For example, a U.S. representative of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), Alberto Arene, spoke at the morning rally before the march began. He was given a warm welcome, including some chants of "U.S. out of El Salvador."

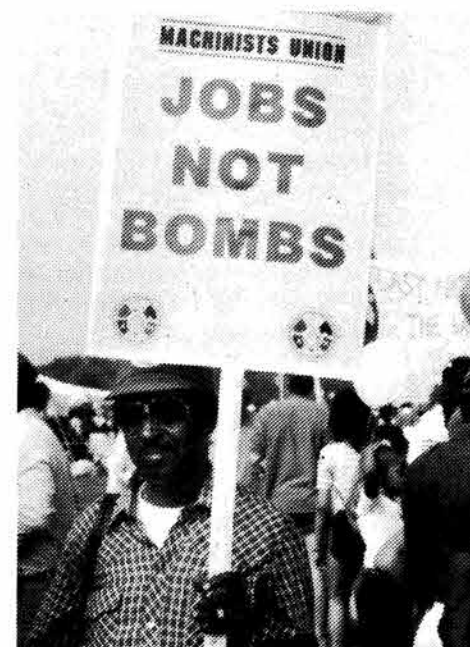
Ossie Davis, actor and activist, introduced Arene as a "Salvadoran freedom fighter."

Arene first told the massive rally that he was speaking in place of Rubén Zamora, a leader of the FMLN-FDR, because the



Militant/Lou Howort

Thousands of women joined NOW contingent at August 27 march.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Many workers carried this sign.

State Department refused Zamora a visa on the spurious grounds that he applied for it too late.

Arene then explained the aims of the FMLN-FDR: "Here today we confirm our commitment to achieve peace. Here today we denounce the presence of troops and warships in Central America that are an obstacle to a political solution. Here today we join the people and governments of the world in demanding the suspension of the 'Big Pine II' military maneuvers and the immediate withdrawal of the fleet from Central American territorial waters.

"The Reagan administration is committed to another Vietnam in Central America. The North American people must say 'No!' to Reagan's war. Your war is at home — a war for jobs, a war for peace, a war for freedom." (See page 6 for full text of speech.)

Entertainer Harry Belafonte followed and received a good response when he gave an excellent rebuttal to Reagan's charge that the reason for revolutions in Central America and protests here is due to the "communist conspiracy."

"There are those," Belafonte said, "who would have history believe that our presence here today is either the result of some massive communist conspiracy or that we represent some small disgruntled group of malcontents who are perpetually dissatisfied in the face of progress and the supposed great strides being achieved by the vast majority of people in this nation. On both points nothing could be further from the truth. Our presence here today is in no way the result of a communist conspiracy. Our pain requires no conspiracy, nor are we malcontents. We who stand here today, these 20 years later, are but a small part of millions upon millions of people all over this world who have watched the great dreams . . . turn into a twilight zone."

In the afternoon rally South African freedom fighter Dr. Allan Boesak, a leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, spoke. He also received a loud ovation.

Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, then described the struggle of Indians for freedom. He was the only speaker to hit the Zionist state of Israel for its support of the Guatemalan dictatorship and its murder of Indians there.

Antimissiles speakers

James Abourezk, founder of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee also spoke, as did Margaret Kuhn of the Grey Panthers, who criticized the government's plans to deploy the MX missile, and Lynne Jones, a representative of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Encampment in Great Britain, who spoke against the U.S. plans to place cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

The banners and signs reflected the peace and antiwar sentiments of the predominantly working-class crowd: "Nicaragua wants peace, U.S. people want peace too"; "Condemn Israeli arms sales to South Africa"; "End U.S. support for Israeli occupation of Lebanon and Palestine"; "Cubans vs. U.S. intervention in Latin America" — Antonio Maceo Brigade; "No U.S. arms to Morocco" — Western Sahara Working Group; and three large yellow banners that said: "Arab-Americans marching for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom."

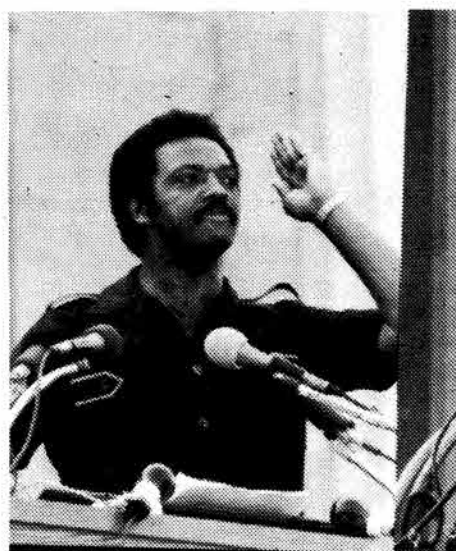
Thousands of small blue pennants were also distributed by the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES). They said: "No U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean — Nov. 12." (November 12 is the date of a national march on Washington against U.S. intervention in Central America being organized by CISPES and other solidarity organizations.)

The solidarity contingent repeatedly led chants of "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

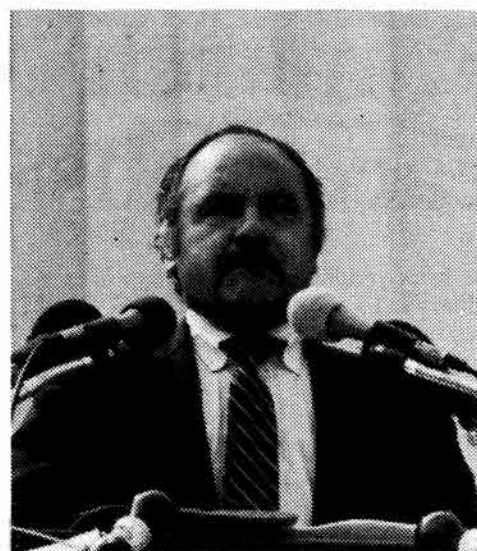
A number of church groups carried signs against nuclear weapons: "It's a sin to build a nuclear weapon" and "Don't send our missiles to West Germany."

How to win demands

Reagan was on "vacation" in California while the march took place. Most of the speeches attacked Reagan and urged marchers to help in a massive voter registration



Jesse Jackson



Tony Bonilla

drive to dump Reagan in 1984.

Interestingly none of the Democratic Party presidential hopefuls were allowed to speak, although four of them were present at the march.

The breadth of the march — with all sections of the working population represented — reflects a potential to build a new coalition of struggle against the policies of the government, the employers, and their two parties — the Democrats and Republicans.

It was the growing anger among Blacks especially — the hardest hit by the employers' racist, antilabor policies — that the march organizers were mobilizing. Their hope and aim is to guide this anger to advance their own agenda within the capitalist parties.

This includes the objective of registering several million more Blacks to vote by the 1984 elections. Despite the intentions of many Black rights leaders and Black Democrats, the voter registration drive is an important campaign. The democratic rights of Blacks, including their right to vote, are constantly coming under attack from the government. The difficulty Blacks in Mississippi and other southern states still have in registering to vote shows why these efforts should be backed.

Nevertheless the organizers of the New Coalition of Conscience have made it clear from the outset of the march that their strategy to win jobs, peace, and freedom primarily means dumping Reagan in 1984 by any means and passing new "progressive" legislation in the Congress around a "people's platform."

National director of the march, D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy, made this perspective clear in his welcoming statement to the marchers:

"We are hopeful that the moral and political forces unleashed here today by this visible demonstration of unity and purpose will serve as the springboard for new legislation in the areas of jobs, peace, and freedom, just as the 1963 march spurred a legislative revolution that eradicated *de jure* segregation and discrimination; provided full voting rights for all Americans; created a War on Poverty; fostered new federal initiatives in education, housing, and urban development; and fostered a mature antiwar movement.

"In the weeks ahead, I urge you to join the New Coalition of Conscience represented here today, in its efforts to have passed legislative initiatives which we believe are *necessary first steps* to preserve the economic, political, and social fabric of our nation."

Fauntroy then listed over a dozen House and Senate bills that marchers should press to have adopted — for making King's birthday a national holiday, for the ERA, for a public works jobs program, and many others.

Interestingly this agenda — only included in the printed program that was not widely distributed — received little serious mention at the day-long rally. There were more than 50 speakers, but none stressed this agenda, except the general call to defeat Reagan and to register people to vote.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, touched on themes that were repeated in other speeches: "We are here because we are committed to the elimination of Reaganism from the face of the earth. We have had enough of it. Reagan no more in 1984. Reagan no more."

Tony Bonilla, former president of LULAC, made a similar speech in urging Latinos to register to vote. "Our united efforts, by registering millions of unregis-

tered voters," Bonilla said, "will enable us to return Ronald Reagan to Hollywood."

'Run, Jesse, Run'

Although the crowd responded favorably to the anti-Reaganism, it wasn't an adequate answer for many participants. They wanted more than the vague legislative platform offered up by the march organizers or the lack of a new perspective being tossed to them by the current Democratic Party presidential hopefuls. They wanted a perspective of change — not the same old thing.

Thus there was a genuine excitement when Jesse Jackson came up to the podium to speak. Jackson's proposal that a Black run for president appeared to many to be such a bold move and alternative perspective. Many people felt such a step should be taken whether Jackson did so as a Democrat or as an independent, a move Jackson strongly opposes.

Jackson was the only major speaker to give an analysis of the changes since 1963 and outline a course for the new Coalition of Conscience to travel in order to fulfill King's "dream."

Because his speech was the most well-received and touched on perspectives, it is worthwhile quoting lengthy excerpts:

"Twenty years ago we came to these hallowed grounds as a rainbow coalition to demand our freedom," Jackson stated. "Twenty years later we have our freedom — our civil rights. On our way to Washington today, we did not have to stop at a friend's house or a church to eat or to use the bathroom. The apartheid of legal segregation is over. But 20 years later we do not have equality. We have moved in, now we must move up.

"Twenty years ago we were stripped of our dignity. Twenty years later we are stripped of our share of power. The absence of segregation is not the presence of social justice or equality. Twenty years ago there were no Blacks in Congress or in statewide offices in nine southern states, where 53 percent of all Blacks live. Twenty years later we still do not have one Black in the Congress in those nine southern states because the Voting Rights Act has been sabotaged. It has been reduced to an Indian treaty, an unfulfilled law.

"The Democratic Party is violating the law," Jackson said, "The Republican Party is not enforcing the law.

"Twenty years ago there were less than four Black elected officials in the land.

Twenty years later we have 5,200. But that constitutes only 1 percent of the 512,000 officials in this nation. We are 50,000 short of our share. At the present rate of one percent every 18 years, it will take us 198 years to achieve parity.

"We must choose the human race over the nuclear race. El Salvador and Nicaragua are our neighbors, not our nemesis. They are our next-door neighbor, not a back-door threat. The rainbow coalition must seek new values in this new world order.

"Black America, Hispanics, women, change your mind," Jackson concluded. "Our day has come. Don't let them break your spirit. Hold onto your dream. Use what you got. Our day has come. To march on. To lift them with your spirit. We will rise, never to fall again. From slave-ship to championship, march on. From the outhouse, to the state house, to the courthouse, to the White House we will march on, march on."

Before Jackson could leave the podium, chants throughout the massive crowd began, "Run, Jesse, run," "Run, Jesse, run."

Jackson's proposal that the "rainbow coalition" that built the march should continue and should strengthen the political position of Blacks and their allies was clearly the highlight of the day's events. It led to many discussions among participants on political strategy — including whether Blacks should break with the Democratic Party.

1983 is not 1963

The discussion on the speakers platform and in the crowd over the differences between 1963 and 1983 was a thread that ran through the march.

For example, comedian Dick Gregory in kicking off the march at the Washington Monument told the crowd: "Don't compare this march to the march 20 years ago.

"When we came 20 years ago," he went on, "most of us were scared. We're not scared today. When we came here 20 years ago, we came to ask other folks to take care of our business. We're here to take care of our own business today."

That added self-confidence of Blacks and other marchers was quite evident. Some newspaper commentators mistakenly took this for lack of seriousness, since in 1963 many Blacks wore their Sunday best.

The change in confidence, however, reflects the gains won by Blacks over the last 20 years. These are gains they don't want to lose as the capitalist system, which is in crisis, seeks to bust unions, weaken civil rights, and undermine democratic rights.

But in 1963, as Jackson explained, Blacks didn't even have legal equality. The smashing of Jim Crow-segregation in the South was essential to lay the basis for the broader unity we now are beginning to see between working people today in this period of greater economic dislocation and instability.

Defeat of Jim Crow

That victory and the formation of industrial unions with the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the

Continued on Page 16



Many Arab-Americans participated in march. Some carried signs opposing Israeli and U.S. domination of Palestinian and Arab peoples.

Aug. 27 S.F. march demands peace, jobs

BY DANIELA DIXON

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 25,000 enthusiastic demonstrators converged on this city's Civic Center August 27. They came from as far away as Utah and San Diego, united around the demands of jobs, peace, and freedom in response to a call from the Bay Area Coalition of Conscience.

Events building up to the demonstration had been very successful. This included the spirited protest in San Diego the day before, when President Reagan addressed a Republican Party women's conference. About 500 people attended the demonstration against Reagan, including two busloads of people organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW) that drove down from Los Angeles.

The Bay Area Coalition of Conscience was formed to organize the San Francisco march and rally commemorating the 1963 March on Washington led by Martin Luther King, Jr. It included the NAACP, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, International Association of Machinists, Service Employees International Union, the American Indian Center, National Conference of Black Lawyers, officials from the San Mateo Central Labor Council, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), a number of Black churches, elected officials, and tenants' organizations.

A broad array of civil rights, labor, women's, and solidarity organizations, and political parties mobilized to protest the U.S. government's war against working people at home and abroad.

A significant aspect of the two-mile march from Golden Gate Park to downtown San Francisco was the participation of the Bay Area labor movement, which marched in its own contingent under union banners. Heading up this contingent were striking telephone, shipyard, and hospital workers. Members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) from the wine country of Napa Valley marched, calling for a boycott of Inglenook wines.

The loudest and most persistent chants came from the labor contingent, linking the demands for jobs and union rights with the problems of military spending and war: "What do we want? Jobs! When do we want them? Now!" "Union-busters hit the road!" "Ronald Reagan, you're a jerk, putting people out of work." "Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco and a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1245, marched in

the labor contingent with a group of supporters under a banner saying, "U.S. out of Central America."

Also prominent in the march was the participation of antinuclear organizations and committees in solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Palestine, and Filipino organizations opposed to the Marcos dictatorship.

Near the podium at the rally site were banners with slogans such as "Bread, peace, and Black power."

One of the first speakers was Democratic mayor of San Francisco Diane Feinstein. She was booed throughout her speech. When she said that Blacks should be proud of having a few Black representatives in local government and Congress, a young Black man in the audience shouted, "What about me? I want a job!"

A Black woman yelled, "Go on back to your fabulous house on the hill."

The best-received speakers were those who took up directly U.S. military adventures abroad. Geraldine Johnson of the CBTU was cheered when she voiced her opposition to U.S. military intervention in Central America and South Africa.

Dolores Huerta of the UFW said, "We don't want bombs, we want jobs. We don't want soldiers, we want an education for our children."

Bill Wapetah of the American Indian Movement demanded that U.S. warships leave Nicaraguan waters. "Our children," he said, "will not register for the draft to fight other Indian people in Central America."

Felix Kury, speaking as an official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, was met with raised fists, cheers, and prolonged applause when he said, "Long live solidarity between the El Salvadoran people and the people of the United States."

Among other speakers were John Henning of the California AFL-CIO, Priscilla Alexander of NOW, and Verna Canson of the state NAACP.

BY MIKE SHUR

SEATTLE — Ten thousand people, about a third of them Black, marched here August 27 for jobs, peace, and freedom. It was the largest civil rights action in Seattle history.

There were several modest union contingents, including from the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers 1199, Ships Scalpers, American Postal Workers Union, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The National Organization for Women had a large contingent, as did Armistice, an anti-nuclear-weapons group.



Militant/Osborne Hart

"U.S. Out of El Salvador!" was one of chants at massive August 27 march on Washington. Alberto Arene, FMLN-FDR representative, received warm welcome.

Salvadoran rebel speaks at mass rally in D.C.

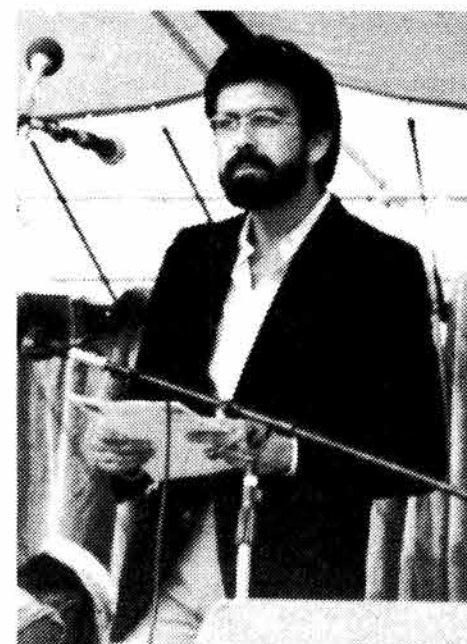
The following speech was given at the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom by Alberto Arene, a U.S. representative of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

We would like to begin by informing you and announcing that our compañero Rubén Zamora, member of our diplomatic commission who was supposed to be here this morning, has been denied a visa by the State Department. The visa was denied on the grounds that the request was not made on time.

We want to state that the organizers of this event, as well as elected officials, did their best at all times to have him here. This is a clear political decision aimed at preventing the rights of the American people to invite their own friends.

Dear brothers and sisters, our friends, the FDR-FMLN, representing the people of El Salvador, are deeply honored to participate in today's homage to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his dream — which is our own — of jobs, peace, and freedom.

Dr. King is no longer physically with us, but his message is fully alive in the world, in this nation, here and now, and among the Salvadoran people. This is why the oldest and bloodiest military dictatorship in the world, the Salvadoran regime that President Reagan supports, has not been invited here today. This is why you have invited



Militant/Lou Howort

Alberto Arene

the struggling people of El Salvador, who share your same ideals.

The FDR-FMLN feels proud of your recognition and friendship. Our presence here today is an implicit recognition that reminds us that exactly two years ago the governments of France and Mexico recognized us as a representative political force, supporting our participation in a political settlement to the conflict. Today we reiterate our position in favor of a political solution through a negotiation whose centerpiece will be the creation of a new broad-based government that will lead to truly free and democratic elections.

Here today we confirm our commitment to achieve peace. Here today we denounce the presence of troops and warships in Central America that are an obstacle to a political solution. Here today we join the peoples and governments of the world in demanding the suspension of the "Big Pine II" military maneuvers and the immediate withdrawal of the fleet from Central American territorial waters.

The Reagan administration is committed to another Vietnam in Central America. The North American people must say "No!" to Reagan's war. Your war is at home — a war for jobs, a war for peace, a war for freedom.

This November 12 we must come to Washington again to say "No!" to Reagan's war in Central America. We believe with Dr. Martin Luther King that if the government doesn't stop the war, then you must stop the government.

Today, we also have a dream that the respect for the will and friendship among our peoples will make possible new and good relations between our nations.

We shall overcome. We must overcome. We will overcome! Long live the dream of Martin Luther King. Long live the unity of the struggles of the North and Central American peoples. Long live jobs, peace, and freedom.



Militant/Osborne Hart

One of several banners at the August 27 march on Washington protesting U.S. intervention in Central America

Reagan woos Latino reactionaries

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — In recent weeks, President Reagan and his White House advisers have been trumpeting the administration's determination to "continue to reach out" to the "Hispanic community" in the United States.

"Reagan has courted the nation's fastest-growing political force with luncheons, speeches, and invitations to the White House," reported United Press International in an August 11 dispatch. "Hispanic Americans" are seen as "a key constituent group," in Reagan's plans for the 1984 presidential race.

(According to the Associated Press, Reagan received about 30 percent of the Hispanic vote in 1980. There are 5.5 million Hispanics eligible to vote, but about 2 million of them weren't registered in 1980.)

Reagan kicked off his Hispanic reach-out campaign with a talk in Washington, D.C., August 11 to about 40 Hispanic appointees of his administration. News reports said the participants "heaped praise on Reagan."

Assistant Housing Secretary Antonio Monroig, who attended the meeting, was quoted as saying that Reagan has been "very sensitive to Hispanic concerns," and further that "if there was unanimity on anything in that room, it was that we [Reagan's appointees] all back his Central America policy more than anything else."

On August 12, Reagan spoke to the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Tampa, Florida, hitting at a theme that he would repeat in subsequent appearances before Latino businessmen in Texas and California. The *San Francisco Examiner* reported that in Tampa Reagan "attempting to boost his political appeal among Floridian Hispanics, denounced Cuban President Fidel Castro . . . and declared the United States would 'pay dearly if it ignored the turmoil in Central America.'"

The fact is that this "turmoil" is coming home.

Right-wing alliance

In San Francisco in recent months, a reactionary alliance of Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, and Cuban counterrevolutionary groups has openly staged regular joint demonstrations in the heart of this city's predominantly Latino Mission District. Last year, there was a right-wing arson attack here against Casa Nicaragua, an organizing center for supporters of the Sandinista revolution.

On June 7 of this year the U.S. government ordered the closing of Nicaraguan consulates in San Francisco and other cities in the United States. Following this a worker at Casa Nicaragua received a death threat in the mail signed by Omega 7, an anti-Castro Cuban terrorist outfit.

On April 16 the *contras* (as the counterrevolutionaries are often called among Latinos) held their first public demonstration in San Francisco, marching several hundred strong down Mission Street. Their signs and chants were stridently anticommunist and slavishly pro-Reagan. Marchers, for example, carried big full-color portraits of Reagan, Vice-president Bush, and UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. In addition, they proudly proclaimed their links with the counterrevolutionary terrorist gangs, financed by the CIA operating out of Honduras.

More marches took place throughout the summer, never drawing more than the few hundred people who participated in the first one. The participants were chiefly members of émigré Central American middle and upper classes who have found it best to flee the revolutions where working people are taking power. But as indicated by their vocal support to the Honduran-based terrorist CIA operation, marching is not their only interest.

According to a lawsuit filed recently by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), along with the Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild, the *contras* have a 200-acre paramilitary training camp in the San Bernardino Mountains in Southern California. Called Camp Yumuri, it is run by members of the right-wing Cuban terrorist gang Alpha 66.

The Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) seems to be the best organized and most well-funded of the *contra* groups in



As Reagan tours among Hispanic businessmen to hustle votes, Republican Party helps organize supporters in U.S. of ex-dictator Somoza's brutal National Guards (center). At right, mothers on Nicaragua's northern border protest murders by Somozaists based in Honduras.

the Bay Area. The FDN is also the organization most closely linked both to the CIA's covert war against Nicaragua and to the remnants of former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza's National Guard. It has a public office in San Francisco and publishes a newspaper and a magazine. The question arises, are the *contras'* activities here also financed by the U.S. government?

Roberto Vargas, first secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, told the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*: "When your president stands there and tells you publicly that he's giving millions of dollars to these covert operations, I don't think he merely means that they're happening on the Honduran border."

Republicans back *contras*

This brings us back to Reagan's appeal to Hispanic voters. According to the *Bay Guardian*, Steve Díaz, California state cochair of the Republican Hispanic Assembly, joined a *contra* march in the Mission June 11. Díaz is also a deputy city attorney in San Francisco. "We're trying to participate in and support the policies of [California] Governor Deukmejian and President Reagan," Díaz told the *Bay Guardian* at that march.

FDN members attend the monthly meetings of the Republican Hispanic Assembly in California. Furthermore, the Hispanic Assembly visibly "helped out" on the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in the Mission by providing the marchers with those full-color placards of Reagan, Bush, and Kirkpatrick. The *Bay Guardian* notes that "Reagan and the Republicans have been trying to win Latino support in this country by backing the most reactionary segments of the Latino community." What other backing, training, or financing are the Republican Party or government agencies giving right-wing terrorist exile outfits right here in the U.S.?

The Republican Party's more-or-less open support to the exiled *contras* and the U.S. government's likely covert support to their activities in this country are a sign of the deepening class polarization of U.S. politics.

Reagan's right-wing appeal to Hispanics on the ideological level is also at bottom a part of the deepening conflict between the capitalist class and workers in the United States. In his August 12 Tampa speech Reagan said Hispanic Americans would be "leading the way" in the business recovery. He challenged them to double the number of businesses they own in the next four

years, according to a report in the *Examiner*.

Reagan of course was talking to the rich Hispanics, to those who have fled to the United States, looting millions of dollars from Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

That same day, on the West Coast, more than 1,000 Latino farm workers found out they were at least temporarily out of work as Sun Harvest Inc., a large Salinas Valley lettuce producer owned by United Brands Inc., announced it was going out of business. Sun Harvest, which owned or leased about 9,000 acres of land in the Salinas Valley, was the first company in the lettuce industry to sign a contract with the United Farm Workers (UFW) in 1970. 800 of the jobs now lost were union-organized. According to the *Examiner*, "the company's decision to quit business in Salinas is part of a pattern in which two other large local companies with union contracts have shut down . . . to be replaced by non-UFW producers growing the same crops on the same leased land."

Voter registration

Major Latino political forces traditionally allied to the Democratic Party, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) with 109,000 members and California's Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) with 21,000 members, are responding to these developments by launching a Hispanic Voter Registration Campaign. This parallels efforts in the Black communities like those promoted by Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH in the South or the Black registration drive leading up to Harold Washington's victory in the Chicago mayoral elections.

The registration of hundreds of thousands of traditionally disenfranchised Latino voters would be a gain for democratic rights. It could spark increased political activity and discussions among Latinos in the United States. It also underlines the potential for a powerful Black, Latino, and labor alliance. Reportedly, LULAC President Mario Obledo and Operation PUSH President Jackson have signed an agreement that, in Obledo's words, "binds the two organizations to work together to resolve common problems in voting rights and jobs."

LULAC also actively participated in the August 27 marches for jobs, peace, and freedom in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco initiated by major Black organizations.

But the same basic questions of how to

use the unity achieved in building the August 27 actions and increased voting power are posed for Latinos as well as Blacks.

Labor party needed

The openly counterrevolutionary nature of the Republican Party's Latino supporters raises the question: do we turn now, once again, to the same old Democratic Party, to the campaign promises and possible Latino appointments of a Walter Mondale or Alan Cranston? Or do we rely on ourselves, on our own strength as Latinos, as working people, to build an alliance with Black, white, and Asian workers in the U.S. and help build an independent party that will fight for our interests?

The answer is that we must chart our own course. An organizational base already exists in the unions to which many Blacks and Latinos belong. This provides the potential structure for forming an independent labor party, a party that would put the interests of working people first.

L.A. garment strike has high stakes

BY MIKE DOWNS

LOS ANGELES — An important strike for the garment industry by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 482 against Southern California Davis Pleating Co. has been going on here for the past month.

The company insisted the union agree to major concessions, which included a 20 percent wage cut, eliminating plant-wide seniority, reduction of vacation time from the three weeks maximum that some workers qualify for to one week maximum, reduction of paid holidays from 10 to 6, and granting the company the right to contract work out.

The strike began August 6 with mass picketing by the union at the two company gates. The company hired West Coast Private Detectives to harass the pickets and obtained a court injunction limiting the pickets to six per gate. The union responded by extending their pickets to other companies that deliver goods to Davis Pleating for finishing.

The Teamsters Union has honored these lines and forced one company, Eddie's Flag, to stop deliveries. Workers from Main On Foods, a company recently organized by the ILGWU, have joined the picket lines. The union has organized committees to prepare and serve food to the strikers.

Tony Orerea, ILGWU organizer, stated: "This is an important strike because the bosses are watching. If Davis Pleating can break the union they will try it."

Only about 3 percent of the garment industry is organized in Los Angeles. Therefore, winning this strike is crucial for the future organizing of the industry. In addition, the union filed suit against the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1977 to stop factory raids on undocumented workers in this shop. This is another reason for the employer-government attack on this local.

Resolutions of support and financial contributions can be sent to: Southern California Strike Committee, ILGWU, 400 W. 9th St., Los Angeles, CA 90015.

Philadelphia strike in third week

BY BILL OSTEEN

PHILADELPHIA — United Auto Workers Local 834 has kept Kelsey-Hayes' Heintz Division plant here shut for three weeks in a strike against deep-going takebacks demanded by the company.

Heintz wants cuts of 85 cents an hour in pay, elimination of Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) and nine paid holidays, and demands that the membership pay a larger part of the health benefits package.

The company demands the elimination of job classifications in many departments, and the virtually unlimited right to subcontract work.

As Frank McGuire, president of Local 834, put it: "The company called the strike;

we are going to provide the pickets."

Kelsey-Hayes is pleading poverty and threatening to close the plant. But Heintz Division has not had a single year when it lost money.

Although a court injunction has limited the number of pickets, members of the local are on the picket line seven days a week, 24 hours a day. Nothing moves, in or out. The union voted to strike July 29.

The plant makes wheels and other parts for the auto and aircraft industries.

Bill Osteen is a member of UAW Local 834 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia.

Attack on Puerto Ricans foiled

Jury deadlocked in gov't move to criminalize independence fighters

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

The U.S. government's campaign to criminalize the struggle for Puerto Rican independence suffered an important setback on August 17. On that day a jury in Brooklyn federal court refused to send to jail two Puerto Rican independence fighters, Federico Cintrón Fiallo and Carlos Noya Muratti. Both were on trial for resisting collaboration with a federal grand jury allegedly investigating the Puerto Rican underground organization, Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

After a day of deliberation the jury notified Judge Eugene Nickerson that they could not agree on a verdict and did not expect to do so even if given more time. The judge was then forced to dissolve the jury and call for a new trial on October 17.

Cintrón Fiallo is a trade unionist and leader of the United Committee Against Repression (CUCRE) in Puerto Rico. Noya Muratti is an activist in the Puerto Rican Socialist League, a proindependence organization.

Both Cintrón Fiallo and Noya Muratti, although residents of Puerto Rico, were called in February of this year to testify before a federal grand jury in Brooklyn.

In keeping with a position long held by many Puerto Rican fighters for independence, both refused to comply. They cite the fact that the grand jury has been historically used by the U.S. government as an instrument of repression to destroy the Puerto Rican independence movement and intimidate its supporters.

In legal terms, the role of a grand jury is to investigate whether sufficient evidence exists to indict an individual or group of individuals. This jury, composed of about 20 common citizens, is not charged with declaring the guilt or innocence of the individual. What it is supposed to do is guarantee that the government does not abuse the courts to arbitrarily and by means of unfounded charges subject political opponents to trial only to harass them.

This democratic function of the grand jury has been totally perverted by the government, which has converted this body into a repressive instrument.

Secret sessions

A grand jury conducts its business in secret sessions. Not even the lawyer of a summoned individual is allowed to be present when the client is questioned.

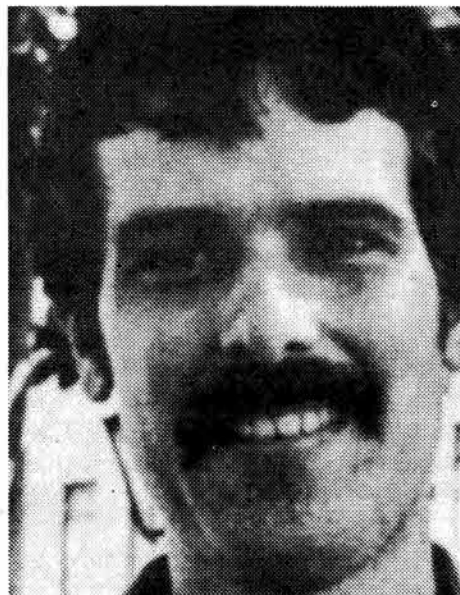
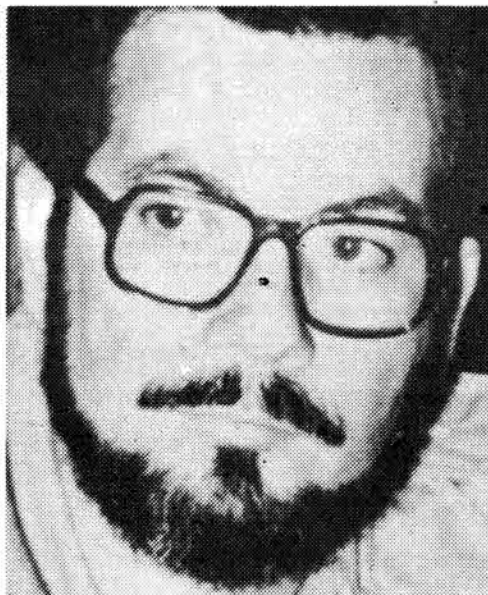
Even if the summoned individual has not committed any action deemed illegal by the government or associated with people implicated in such actions, any information given to the grand jury can be used to persecute and frame up other individuals or groups.

The person summoned to appear before the grand jury has the legal obligation to comply and collaborate with this body. Failure to do so may lead to being declared in "civil contempt." This gives a judge the right to jail this person as a coercive measure until he or she decides to collaborate, or until the grand jury exhausts its legal duration (usually 18 months).

Following the dissolution of the grand jury the person in civil contempt has to be released from prison. However, the government can immediately convene another grand jury, summon this person, and jail him or her again for failure to collaborate.

Since 1975, when a grand jury was convened allegedly to investigate several bomb attacks claimed by the FALN, close to 20 Puerto Ricans and other Latinos have spent time in jail for refusing to collaborate. These victims of the grand jury were not indicted, tried, or convicted of any crime whatsoever, nor were they associated with underground organizations or terrorist attacks. They merely refused to serve the U.S. government in its attempt to destroy the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Last year the government decided to increase the price of noncollaboration. In-



When jury deadlocked on indicting Federico Cintrón Fiallo (left) and Carlos Noya Muratti, judge ordered new trial October 17. Both independence fighters had refused to collaborate with grand jury.

stead of charging noncollaborators with civil contempt, the charges were upgraded to "criminal" contempt.

Victims of criminal contempt

The first victims of this new tactic are five supporters of Puerto Rican independence. They are Puerto Ricans Julio and Andrés Rosado, and Chicanos Ricardo Romero, Steven Guerra, and María Cueto. They were convicted in February of this year for criminal contempt and later sentenced to three years in jail. Their case is now under appeal.

The main difference between civil and criminal contempt is that civil contempt carries a maximum sentence of 18 months in jail while the criminal contempt charge carries a sentence with no specified legal limit. The judge could conceivably impose a life sentence for noncollaboration with a grand jury.

Another factor differentiating the criminal from the civil contempt is that a charge of criminal contempt requires a trial by jury.

Noya Muratti and Cintrón Fiallo were also charged with criminal contempt after declaring to a grand jury in Brooklyn on March 2 that they were firm in their decision not to collaborate with this body.

Noya Muratti had already spent several months in jail after refusing to testify before another grand jury in San Juan, Puerto Rico, last year.

Cintrón Fiallo's brother, Norberto Cintrón Fiallo, also a trade unionist, served more than a year in jail for the same reason.

With Noya Muratti and Cintrón Fiallo the government also introduced a new tactic. Both live in Puerto Rico, yet in order to isolate them from the growing opposition in the island to grand jury jailings, they were summoned to appear before a grand jury in the United States. This was done on the grounds that they were investigating events occurring in the United States, not in Puerto Rico.

Their trial on charges of criminal contempt began on August 16. Most activists expected the trial to be very brief and the verdict to be guilty.

According to the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario/La Prensa* the jury was instructed by the judge and prosecuting attorney to determine "only if the two independentists were correctly summoned and instructed to testify by the court and whether they, in effect, placed themselves in criminal contempt by refusing to comply with this order."

It seemed that the verdict had already been decided beforehand. The judge even refused to allow the defendants to present witnesses, explaining he would be willing to hear them only during the "presentencing" hearing. It was taken for granted that both independence fighters would be sentenced.

As Cintrón Fiallo told *El Diario/La Prensa*, "I understand basically that this is a trial where justice is not sought. They are simply following some formal procedures in order to jail us."

In their final statements before the jury

— statements that the jury was instructed by the judge not to consider in their decision — Cintrón Fiallo and Noya Muratti openly declared they would not collaborate with any grand jury. "We have never denied that we would be willing to disobey the laws of the United States," declared Cintrón Fiallo. "We do not deny that we were presented a summons, and that we refused to comply with it. The question is that legal procedures are being used for a political purpose by the U.S. Government."

'My country will be free'

Noya Muratti in his statement referred to the militarization of Puerto Rico and the industrial exploitation of the island by the United States, adding: "I have not, I am not, and will not be a collaborator. I am a fighter with dignity, and with dignity I will confront the consequences of my actions. My country will be free."

When the jury notified the court it could not reach a unanimous decision on the verdict, an FBI agent assigned to the case was so mad he dashed out of the courtroom when the judge dissolved the jury and called for a new trial.

The two independence fighters and their supporters were surprised but pleased at the result. "We have defeated the FBI's campaign to criminalize the struggle for Puerto Rican independence," declared Cintrón Fiallo. "We put our faith in the people and now I am even more sure that the more we reach out to the people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States, they will better understand the need to struggle for Puerto Rican independence," he added.

Gov't offensive continues

However, the government's offensive against the Puerto Rican independence movement has not ceased; on the contrary it has escalated as Puerto Rico becomes more and more a launching pad for U.S.

intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Last June 29, four Puerto Rican activists in Chicago were arrested and initially accused of being FALN members and planning terrorist actions for July 4. The capitalist press hysterically echoed these charges.

But unable to provide a shred of proof, the government later changed the charge to "seditious conspiracy to seek the independence of Puerto Rico." This charge means that the four — Alberto Rodríguez, Edwin Cortés, José Luis Rodríguez, and Alejandra Torres — face up to 20 years in jail for advocating the independence of their homeland.

The four have denounced through their lawyers that they are subject to "physical and psychological torture" in the prison where they are being held. Family visits are severely restricted, they are kept isolated from the rest of the prison population and denied access to showers and other facilities. A suit has been filed by them against their jailers and the government.

Protests grow

The escalated attacks on the Puerto Rican independence movement, attacks that affect all Puerto Ricans, have provoked protests including from prominent Puerto Ricans that oppose independence.

The *New York Times* recently printed a letter signed by former Governor of Puerto Roberto Sánchez Vilella; former Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico Abraham Diaz González; and a former associate justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, Raúl Serrano Geyls.

The three express their concern "about the growing number of Puerto Ricans being incarcerated for refusing to collaborate with federal grand juries, in San Juan and New York." They add that the refusal by these Puerto Ricans to testify "is based on their moral and political convictions — the advocacy of independence of Puerto Rico from the United States — which to them is a matter of conscience."

The letter states that "Prosecutors' use of contempt charges as a shortcut to jailing citizens, without due process, is a violation of the basic human rights protected by the Constitution of Puerto Rico and the Constitution of the United States."

"If we allow minorities and dissidents to be deprived of their constitutional rights," it concludes, "we are in reality abdicating those rights and inviting upon ourselves the injustice that we would be condoning today."

The grand jury as a repressive tool has not been limited to fighters for Puerto Rican independence. Black and Irish activists have also been victims of this body, and as the U.S. war in Central America deepens, others will fall victim.

To support the just struggle of Puerto Rican patriots such as Cintrón Fiallo and Noya Muratti, among many others, is an indispensable part of the solidarity with the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean against imperialist war.

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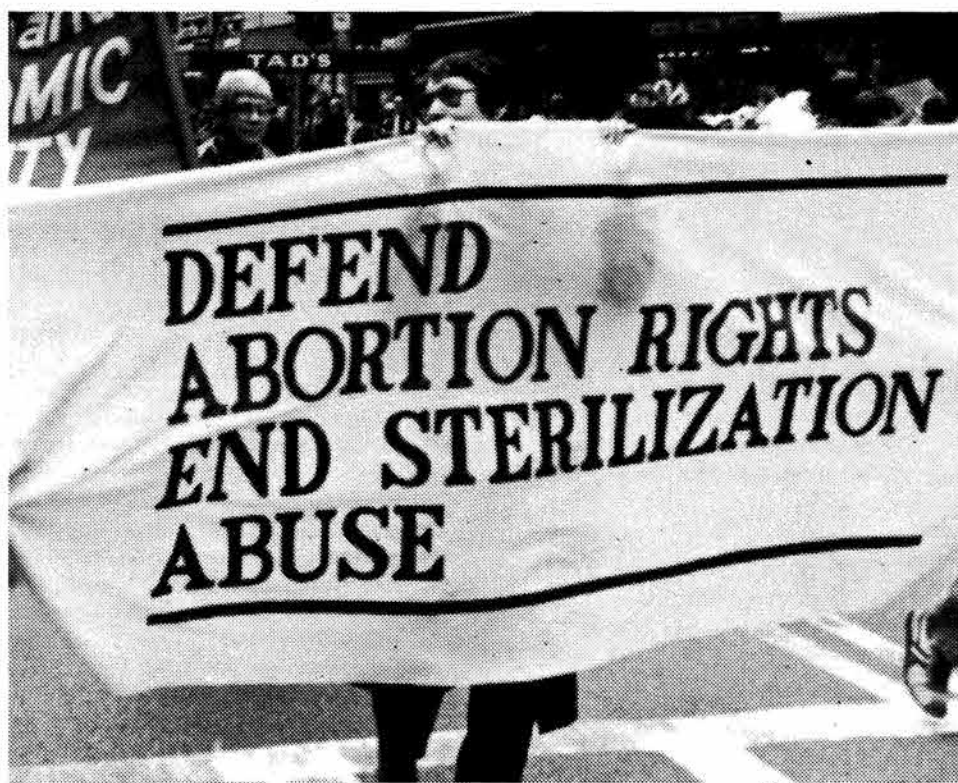
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Gov't admits cutbacks hit poor families hardest

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Cutbacks by the White House and Congress in federal government spending on social welfare programs in the last two years have hurt poor families the most, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) reported August 24.

Forty percent of the cuts fell on families with incomes of less than \$10,000 a year, the report said.

The cuts over the last two years have been substantial: 28 percent of what was to have been spent on child nutrition; 13 percent for welfare and food stamps; 17 percent for financial aid for poor students; 27 percent for guaranteed college loans, and 60 percent for employment and training programs.

The CBO study reported that households with yearly incomes under \$10,000 would lose on the average \$430 per family, compared with \$250 per family making more than \$10,000.

Families with incomes less than \$10,000 per year account for 23 percent, or just under one fourth, of all households in the United States.

Families with incomes of under \$20,000 a year make up 48 percent of all households; they suffered 70 percent of the cuts, according to the report.

The cuts' effects on low-income workers are even worse when cutbacks in unemployment benefits and state social programs and increases in payroll taxes are considered.

The federal cuts have been accomplished in two ways: one, by reducing the amount of money available for the programs. Cutbacks in food stamps were said to be mainly accomplished by this method: cost-of-living provisions in the laws were changed so that food stamps fell even further behind inflation.

The other method used is the so-called

"means test," under which eligibility for federal aid is tightened. This type of cut, in which financial need must be proved, was especially severe, the CBO report said. "Means test" programs were cut 8 percent overall, compared with 4 percent for programs without them.

One result of this was that a million children in families making less than \$10,000 yearly have been dropped from school lunch programs.

The percentage of the federal budget spent on retirement and disability programs will decline from 24.9 percent in 1982 to 24.3 percent in 1985, even though the number of Social Security recipients is expected to rise sharply.

Military spending, the report pointed out, will jump during the same period from 25.7 percent of the budget to 30 percent.

A White House spokesman complained that the CBO report didn't take into account what he called "the obvious benefits of the dramatic upturn in the economy," which he attributed to administration policies, including the cutbacks in social services.

The upturn in the economy is due to reduction of inventories of overproduced goods, or normal changes in the business cycle. It is certainly not due to the cutbacks, which in fact worsen a recession, since people with less money to spend consume less.

Nor is unemployment substantially lower. Labor Department figures through the end of July show 10.6 million officially unemployed workers, of whom only 36.8 percent were drawing unemployment benefits.

The Labor Department also reports that 485,000 jobless workers are not getting benefits because of the cutbacks. This is a reduction of 11 percent.

YSA to hold convention in St. Louis

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance met during the Socialist Educational and Activists conference at the beginning of August in Oberlin, Ohio. YSA members from over 50 cities were represented at the meeting of the YSA National Committee.

The highlight of the meeting was a report given by YSA National Secretary Andrea González which presented the call for the 23rd National Convention of the YSA. It will be held in St. Louis, Missouri, Dec. 27, 1983, to Jan. 1, 1984.

"This convention," González explained, "will be a place where we can bring hundreds of young workers and activists to discuss the fight against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the war against the working class and its allies here. Because the convention coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, a feature of the convention will be a celebration of the anniversary as an im-

portant act of solidarity with the Cuban revolution."

As a focus for all of the YSA's activities this fall, chapters throughout the country will be sponsoring events and activities leading up to the five-day convention. In the discussion at the National Committee meeting, many concrete ideas were raised of how the YSA can publicize the convention throughout the fall. Sending out special teams of young socialists and special speaking tours of YSA leaders in the cities around St. Louis to build the convention were proposed. Plant gate and other sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist* were also seen as ways to publicize the convention.

If you are interested in attending the YSA convention or would like to find out more about the YSA, contact the chapter nearest you listed in the directory on page 19 or write to the YSA National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y., 10014.

Native women slam sterilization abuse

BY MARCIA RESSLER

MINNEAPOLIS — The first activity of the recently formed Women of Color Committee of the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), a panel discussion on "Forced Sterilization and Abortion Rights — One Issue One Struggle" was a great success. Over 40 people attended and NOW gained six new members.

Pat Bellanger, of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Women of All Red Nations (WARN) explained how WARN was formed in 1971 to fight the poverty and oppression faced by Indian women. In the course of working with young women, WARN discovered a high percentage had been sterilized against their will.

Bellanger explained that with unemployment at 70 percent in the Indian community and minimal housing and health care, women are forced to turn their lives over to a welfare system that makes them feel the poverty they face is their fault. The pressures to be sterilized come at them from every direction.

She described a reservation in the Rockies where drinking water and fish became contaminated because of uranium mining. Mothers were blamed for the resulting deaths of their children and were told they should be sterilized.

WARN also discovered the highest percentage of sterilizations on reservations with valuable mining reserves. On many of these reservations, whose land is of poor farming quality, valuable mineral deposits have been discovered. These reservations have become the targets for the latest U.S. government land grabs. On some, up to 80 percent of women have been sterilized.

WARN is also working on developing

contact with Indians from other countries. "We're beginning to talk to people in Central America, for example," Bellanger said. "Their problems are the same as ours; the only difference is there's a war going on there."

Bellanger explained the U.S. government does everything it can to keep Indians apart. "They don't want us to meet. They don't want us to know Indians from Alaska, or Miskito Indians. They don't want us to talk to Indians in South Dakota, let alone Nicaragua."

Carla Whittington, president of Twin Cities NOW, said, "We're here to discuss the battle for reproductive rights. It takes two forms — the fight for abortion rights and against sterilization abuse." Indian women as well as Blacks and Latinas are also hardest hit by the attacks on abortion rights, she explained. NOW's first line of defense must be fighting to reestablish Medicaid funding for abortion. No Medicaid funding has meant a return to back-alley abortions.

Janice Dorlaie, National Black Independent Political Party candidate for city council in the 5th ward in Minneapolis, said Black and Puerto Rican women are also often forced to "choose" sterilization.

She said the attacks on women "must be seen in the framework of the U.S. government's increased war-mongering. The military increases and worsening conditions for women and children go hand in hand. Latinas, Blacks, and Native American women must join together publicly and make our voices heard."

A lively discussion followed. Many were interested in the fact that Dorlaie's campaign is independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Big sales at socialist conference

BY DON DAVIS

More than \$17,000 worth of literature was sold from the tables organized by Pathfinder Press at the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Ohio last month.

Farrell Dobbs' new book, *Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22* was the best seller with 520 copies bought. Another 51 copies of the first volume in this series were also purchased.

Several titles of the early years of the Communist International also sold well, particularly *Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International*. One hundred and six were sold in English and two in Spanish.

Conference participants also bought 59 copies of an important document of this period, *The Program of Action of the Red*

International of Labor Unions.

Leading the sales in the Caribbean and Central America section was *Fidel Castro Speeches, Vol. II: Our Power is that of the Working People*, with 121 sold.

A class on Fidel Castro's report to the Nonaligned Summit Conference, *The World Economic and Social Crisis* led to 62 copies of the book being sold in English and 7 in Spanish.

Books on Nicaragua and El Salvador were popular. Participants bought 50 copies of *What Difference Can a Revolution Make?* on agrarian reform in Nicaragua and 37 copies of *Voices from El Salvador*.

The leading seller in Spanish was a two-volume collection of the works of Carlos Fonseca, a founder of the Sandinista FSLN who was murdered by Somoza's forces. Seventeen sets were sold.

Fidel Castro's July 26th speech in new 'Intercontinental Press'

The September 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, a biweekly international news magazine, features the full text of Fidel Castro's speech at Cuba's July 26 celebration.

IP carries news, documents, speeches, and interviews on struggles from Latin America to Indochina, from Africa to the Middle East to Europe. Much of this material is available nowhere else in English.

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Terror by Salvadoran regime 'continues unabated,' U.S. labor delegation finds

'To exercise democratic rights means signing your own death warrant'

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. Last week we reprinted the first half of the document, on the conditions faced by trade unionists and peasants in El Salvador. In this issue we are reprinting the second half of the report. This part 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.

The current El Salvadoran government is paralyzed.

The current government is a "coalition" of disparate parties. We use the word "coalition" advisedly because a "coalition" implies a grouping that shares at least a few basic objectives and goals. The parties in the current El Salvadoran government are united only in their mistrust of each other. There is no common economic or political

program that parties in the government subscribe to.

Individual ministries are a microcosm of the government as a whole. If the minister of a ministry is from one party, the second-ranking official in the ministry will be from another. The result is stalemate, not cooperation.

In many cases, the ministers chosen to lead the various ministries have no commitment to the mission of the ministries they have been chosen to lead. The Minister of Labor, a Christian Democrat, spent his time with us discussing the political machinations of the capital. He displayed not the slightest interest in what should be the mission of a Ministry of Labor: advancing the interests of workers.

Even if the Minister of Labor were more oriented toward working people, the secretary-general of the centrist FESIN-CONSTRANS (Federación de Sindicatos de Construcción y Transportes y Similares) federation explained to us, he wouldn't be able to accomplish much because the armed forces won't cooperate with the Labor Ministry.

The early elections the United States is pushing on the El Salvadoran government is making the paralysis even worse. Almost all Salvadorans we spoke with oppose having elections in December, but they've come to accept the elections as inevitable, given the U.S. pressure for them. As a result, the parties in the government have already started their electioneering, which has made the governing coalition more fragile than ever.

Trade unionists are excluded from national decision making.

It was no surprise to us to find that leaders of the leftist MUSYGES (Movimiento Unitario Sindical y Gremial de El Salvador)-affiliated unions feel excluded from political decision-making in El Salvador. What impressed and surprised us was the political isolation forced upon more centrist unions.

UPD (Unidad Popular Democrática), the centrist labor confederation, met in May for a major conference — in Costa Rica! UPD leaders feared possible interference if they met inside El Salvador.

The statement that emerged from the Costa Rican meeting — the Declaration of San Jose — announced that the UPD would move "to take part more actively and decisively in the formation of a new government that will support the plank containing the just demands and rights of the workers."

In our meetings with the UPD leadership, we asked if the present government defended the rights of workers? They answered that it didn't. We asked what government they would support? The UPD leaders said they had no confidence in any existing political party.

The Salvadoran government's spring amnesty has been a sham.

The El Salvadoran government earlier this spring announced what was supposed to be a major liberalization: a program that included an amnesty offer for guerrillas and a massive release of political prisoners.

We found that this program in no way represents a liberalization of the government's repressive policies. It is true that political prisoners have been released in significant numbers. These released prisoners, however, are not free. As far as we could determine, the released political prisoners are now either in hiding or have already been secreted out of the country.

At a refugee camp, we spoke with two dozen released political prisoners living and hiding in a makeshift shack. They were there, they told us, because it was not safe for released political prisoners to be out openly on the streets. They felt very strongly that as released political prisoners they were still "subversives" — and thus targets — in the eyes of the El Salvadoran security forces and allied death squads.

One released prisoner, they told us, had already been "disappeared." She was pregnant and had gone back home to her village after her release. She eventually turned up dead, with her fetus lying dead on her chest.

We did not see this corpse. We have no proof that this murder of a released political prisoner actually happened as described to us. But we do know that the political prisoners hiding in that shack believed that incident to be true and feared for their own lives. They told us that they wouldn't leave their shack until plans had been set up to spirit them out of the country.

Indeed, getting the released political prisoners out of the country may be the real goal of the political prisoner releases. For the Salvadoran government, the release program is a propaganda coup that rids the country of "troublemakers."

"Troublemakers" are the one commodity the repressive El Salvadoran government produces efficiently. At the same time the government is releasing political prisoners, it's also arresting new prisoners. The political prisoners are still very much occupied — despite the recent releases.

One newly arrested prisoner we met was a soldier in the Salvadoran Army who had been captured — then released — by the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front]. Once released by the guerrillas, he had been arrested by Salvadoran authorities — as a suspected FMLN sympathizer. In custody, he was interrogated, beaten, and tortured.

This ex-soldier's treatment may help explain why so few guerrillas have taken the government up on its amnesty offer.

There is no sense of freedom in the Salvadoran political atmosphere.

The daily terror of El Salvadoran life continues unabated. To exercise democratic rights, to speak out in opposition to the government, remains the equivalent of signing your own death warrant. We met with the Mothers of the Disappeared, a group that keeps the gruesome tally of the missing. The Mothers of the Disappeared report 96 recent kidnappings, of which 94 were by the right.

One respected source of independent data within El Salvador, the legal aid office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador (Tutela Legal), told us that there have been 1,500 reported political assassinations in the first four months of 1983, mostly around urban areas.

In the rural areas, the Christian base communities have ceased to exist in many areas controlled by the government. The Christian lay communities have been a key element in the political awakening of the Salvadoran peasantry — and a prime target for the right-wing death squads.

We spoke to a rural priest who described what has happened: "They started by frightening the lay preachers. Then they started killing the lay preachers. Then they started killing whoever was available. You can barely find Christian communities in rural areas today because people are afraid to get together."

In San Salvador, we visited the city's largest refugee camp, a church-protected sanctuary for 1,200 peasants driven from their homes over two years ago by a government military offensive against the guerrilla forces who had established a presence in the peasants' home provinces. Nearly every family in the refugee camp had had a family member killed, belongings taken, homes burned. None of the refugees we saw had identity papers — or had left the camp since they entered it. They now fear Death Squad violence should they venture outside the camp gates.

We agree wholeheartedly with the candid appraisal of current Salvadoran reality that we received from the U.S. Embassy's deputy chief of mission, Kenneth Bleakley. El Salvador, he told us, is in a "sick situation."

"There can be no guarantees of anybody's safety," Bleakley told us plainly.

In this atmosphere, the U.S. government presses for early elections that few in El Salvador want.

The judicial system in El Salvador ignores basic human rights protections.

During our stay in El Salvador the best description of the Salvadoran judiciary we heard came from the U.S. counsel for political affairs, Jim Mack.

"The judicial system," he noted, "essentially ceased to function in the late '70s."

Decree 507 sets the current "legal" framework of the Salvadoran judiciary. It is, essentially, an invitation to lawlessness. Those arrested do not have to be officially charged for 180 days, and that limit, the U.S. Embassy acknowledges, is often not observed. In our discussions with present and former political prisoners, we did not meet one who had been formally charged with a crime.

We met with two large groups of political prisoners: one at the Mariona Prison and another — a group of released political prisoners — in hiding at a San Salvadoran refugee camp. From all the political prisoners we met, we heard similar stories of due process denied.

At the refugee camp, all of the released political prisoners we saw had spent at least two years in jail. None had had formal charges filed against them or been brought to trial. Some had been "arrested" by security forces in civilian dress, others by uniformed police. All had been beaten and tortured into signing statements — more accurately, statement blanks that could later be filled in.

The group we saw at the refugee camp was young. Few of the released prisoners appeared older than their mid-twenties. The spokesperson, a young bookkeeper, said he had been beaten twice. We asked him why.

"Anyone who is young and poor is suspect," he explained.

In El Salvador, the official use of torture continues.

On our first night in El Salvador, a veteran U.S. journalist set the Salvadoran mood for us.

"Death is not the problem here," he said. "It's the terror — heads lying in the street, genitals stuffed in mouths, dead chickens up vaginas."

Virtually all the current or former political prisoners we spoke with had been tortured. We spoke to victims of beatings, electric shock, suffocation, and sleep deprivation. The torture inevitably came at the hands of internal security forces, often



Bodies of four U.S. nuns murdered by Salvadoran government troops (left). Right, government soldiers manhandle civilian.



Marianella García Villas (left), president of Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, was slain by government forces; center, death mark on door of peasant leader's home left by government death squad; right, butchered bodies of U.S.-backed government's victims.

in private residences.

We spoke with a Lutheran doctor at Mariona Prison who had had so much electric shock applied to his arms that he thought his shoulder had been dislocated. A bag had also been placed over the doctor's head, filled with a calcium chemical, and drawn around his neck repeatedly until the doctor had lost consciousness.

The chief of El Salvador's National Police, Col. Reynaldo López Nuila, also sits on the government's new Human Rights Commission. The colonel told us that he took exception to the physical interrogation methods of the Treasury Police, another arm of the Salvadoran security forces. His department, the colonel explained, preferred sleep deprivation and other "psychological" methods to the more brutal physical techniques practiced by the Treasury Police.

"If they can take five days not sleeping," he said, "we can take it."

The official El Salvadoran human rights commission is a cruel charade.

This past spring, prior to the Pope's visit, El Salvador President Álvaro Magaña established an eight-member Human Rights Commission. We spent considerable time with various members of his official Commission, including the commission's staff director. We concluded that the Commission is, at best, a public relations gesture and, at worst, a cruel charade.

The Commission is structured to be ineffective. It has no "subpoena" power, no power, that is, to force the cooperation of witnesses or government security forces. The Commission maintains that 35 percent of the 333 cases that have been brought before it have been solved, but "solved" means merely that a disappeared person has been identified or a case has been passed on for judicial process. There is no guarantee that the judicial process will seriously consider the Commission's information.

Indeed, in a climate where aggressive judges are threatened by Death Squad reminders, there are many reasons why Commission information will fall on deaf judicial ears.

We found one case described to us by a Commission member to be of particular interest. That member, a wealthy lawyer, had been approached by an old friend whose daughter had been disappeared. The daughter was no revolutionary. She was, in fact, an ardent supporter of the ultraconservative ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] Party and working as a security guard for the Constituent Assembly. The father blamed the disappearance on the Treasury Police. His daughter was apparently a victim of the internecine warfare between elements of El Salvador's right-wing.

We asked the Commission member if he had been able to help his friend find his daughter. He told us he hadn't. We found that rather significant. If a wealthy, well-connected lawyer on the government's official Human Rights Commission is not able to help an old friend find a daughter who, for her own part, was well-connected to a major party in the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly, what relief can an average Salvadoran *campesino* [farmer] expect to find from the Human Rights Commission?

The members of the Human Rights

Commission don't appear bothered by their powerlessness. They don't particularly appear committed to human rights sensibilities either. We asked one member of the Commission how he could justify Decree 507 — the measure that allows the admission of extrajudicial evidence into court proceedings. Extrajudicial is, of course, a euphemism, for torture. The response was revealing. Before Decree 507, we were told, the guilty were getting off scot-free, and security force morale was sinking. To save police morale, the government had no choice but to allow extrajudicial evidence in official court proceedings.

The current Salvadoran government is shifting steadily toward the right.

The March 1982 elections, highly touted at the time as a step toward democracy, have served to effectively erode the influence of what the U.S. Embassy calls El Salvador's "democratic center."

After the March elections, the far right was able to consolidate the minority showings of five rightist parties and propose a coalition candidate, Roberto D'Aubuisson, for the presidency of the Republic. Blocked politically by the U.S. from the national presidency, D'Aubuisson was named president of the new Constituent Assembly, and his ARENA Party, formed only months before the election, gained control over the crucially important Ministry of Agriculture and ISTA, the land reform agency.

The Christian Democrats remain politically impotent, held in contempt by ANEP — the National Free Enterprise Association — and the San Salvador Chamber of Commerce. Two weeks before our arrival in El Salvador, an unidentified body with a note attached was dumped in our hotel parking lot. The note was a warning to a local Christian Democratic member of the Constituent Assembly who had strongly criticized Death Squad excesses. During our stay in El Salvador, gunmen also machine-gunned San Salvador's Christian Democratic Party headquarters.

Anti-Americanism flourishes in El Salvador — among those we are presumably trying to "help."

We met with El Salvadorans from all walks of life and of all political persuasions. We met with government and business leaders and with opposition leaders. In all these meetings the only time we felt the targets of anti-American contempt was at a session with the El Salvadoran elites American tax dollars are supporting. Among these groups, the attitude that the U.S. has no right imposing human rights concerns on El Salvador is commonplace.

In their meeting with us, leaders of ANEP — the Salvadoran National Free Enterprise Association — attacked what they called a U.S. double-standard on human rights. They cited U.S. discrimination against blacks and U.S. support for Israel as reasons why North Americans had no right complaining about rights violations in El Salvador.

"The war in El Salvador has nothing to do with poverty or oppression," one ANEP leader told us. "We are simply next on the list of the international communist conspiracy."

CONCLUSIONS

The government of El Salvador is making no real progress toward human rights.

The U.S. Embassy cites several developments as evidence that the government of El Salvador President Magaña is moving forward. Officials point particularly to the amnesty and the formation of an official Human Rights Commission. As we have noted in our findings, both these actions have much more to do with public relations than human rights.

None of the current government parties offers a solution to El Salvador's ongoing conflict. The elections planned for next December can only be cosmetic.

None of the trade unionists we spoke to in El Salvador had high hopes for the elections the United States is pressing the government to conduct next December. The political parties that make up the current government have governed so incoherently that even centrist union leaders despair of any meaningful reform coming from these parties in the future.

We agree. The same factors that frustrate meaningful reform in El Salvador today will continue to frustrate reform after a December election, if all that election does is pit the same parties against each other that competed in 1982.

Continued U.S. aid will not alter current political and military realities in El Salvador.

U.S. military officers readily admit that the FMLN forces who have taken up arms will not and cannot be defeated militarily by the Salvadoran government. There is, as we were told repeatedly by U.S. officials in San Salvador, no military solution.

If that is the case, we asked, why must the United States pursue a military course? The answer: "Because we have to convince the other side that their military strategy won't succeed."

In other words, we bankroll and outfit El Salvador's military machine in order to convince the other side victory can't be won. And if the other side remains unconvinced, what then? Still more military aid? An escalation of U.S. involvement? The current rationale behind our military policy in El Salvador cannot but lead us into another Vietnam.



Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was murdered under orders of right-wing thug Roberto D'Aubuisson, shown receiving U.S. flag from American Ambassador Deane Hinton (left).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Until there is an end to terror and a respect for human rights, peace and democracy will be unattainable goals for El Salvador.

Given the history and record of U.S. intervention in El Salvador, we believe that a nonmilitary international presence is essential to prevent a regional escalation of adventurism and bloodshed.

We believe that such a nonmilitary international presence is a necessary precondition for the creation of a climate in which death squads cannot operate with impunity, free trade unions can be established and function, and the killers of religious and trade union activists can be brought to justice — by a judicial system that operates with a decent respect for the rights of all Salvadorans, rich and poor alike.

Specifically, we recommend that:

- the people and Congress of the United States oppose President Reagan's certification of Salvadoran human rights and economic reform progress under the International Security and Development Assistance Act of 1981. The government of the United States should end all military aid to the government of El Salvador.

- the government of the United States support efforts by concerned Latin American and European nations to:

- restore a climate of respect for human rights inside El Salvador. Without such a climate, free elections are not possible.

- build a judicial structure that can effectively prosecute the killers of the U.S. trade unionists, Michael Hammer and Mark Perlman, killed in 1981; the four U.S. church women killed in 1980; and the many thousands of Salvadoran assassination victims.

- provide economic and humanitarian aid, under international auspices, that would serve the needs of the suffering people of El Salvador whatever their political preferences. The economic aid sent directly to the Salvadoran government so far has not reached those most in need.

- foster a dialogue — without prior conditions — among all representative political and economic factions in El Salvador, including the FDR-FMLN, to end the current violence and build a stable and democratic framework for political, social, and economic reconstruction.

- create the conditions — and a process — that would allow meaningful free elections to take place inside El Salvador. Pushing ahead with hastily planned elections can, at this point, only set back the search for democracy in El Salvador.

During our entire stay in El Salvador, the most eloquent person we met may have been an official of the UCS (Unión Comunal Salvadoreña), El Salvador's centrist peasant union. His words have stayed with us:

"To workers, to us at the bottom, the majority, all we have is the daily pain. We don't have a gun in our hand, and we don't have power to influence decisions. There should be peace, and, for that to happen, there must be dialogue. There must be dialogue between those who have guns."

Without that dialogue, there can be no peace in El Salvador.

U.S. targets 2 African liberation groups

'Investigation' of files by gov't meant to aid apartheid South African regime



Oliver Tambo (left), president of African National Congress; Sam Nujoma, leader of South West Africa People's Organisation. U.S. is harassing these organizations despite their diplomatic status at UN.

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — The U.S. Justice Department has let two southern African liberation groups know that it intends to rummage through the files at their United Nations offices here. This is despite the fact that both groups have diplomatic standing with the UN.

On August 18, department investigators appeared at the door of the UN Mission of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's predominant liberation organization, and announced they were there for a look at financial records. They were instead sent packing by members of the mission and their attorneys.

This visit followed a June 23 letter to the ANC, in which the department demanded "dates, locations, and speakers at lectures given at various universities, church gatherings, public meetings and to media interviews."

A similar letter was received July 25 by the UN Mission of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is battling in Namibia to wrest control of that territory from the South African regime.

In that letter, Justice Department official Joseph Clarkson warned, "This office plans to examine . . . all correspondence, memoranda, cables, telegrams, and teletype messages, as well as an audit of all bookkeeping and other financial records relating to your activities."

Clarkson is chief of the Registration Unit of the department's Internal Security Section, Criminal Division.

SWAPO holds the rank of permanent observer at the UN; the ANC has observer status. Both missions are financed by UN appropriation.

Neither group has yet been accused of wrongdoing by the U.S. government. The

latter nonetheless insists on its right to peruse their files to see what might be of interest to it.

Upon receipt of the Justice Department notice, Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO permanent observer to the UN, dispatched letters to Paul Lusaka, president of the UN Council for Namibia, and to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

The letter to Lusaka noted that SWAPO is "actively participating, on a continuous basis, in the work of the UN Council for Namibia," and stressed "the confidential and diplomatic nature" of this work.

"It follows from these considerations," it continued, "that, in our view, this kind of indiscriminate inspection being planned by the U.S. government would be inconsistent with SWAPO's status at the United Nations."

Gurirab also pointed to "the tone and import of the letters that we have received from the officials of the US Administration," which left SWAPO "forced to interpret this action as setting a pattern of harassment."

Gurirab's letter to Pérez de Cuéllar asked that he "avail the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General for the purposes of clarifying to the U.S. Government SWAPO's position in the United Nations."

The ANC and SWAPO's problems with the Justice Department date back to the 1960s, before they obtained diplomatic standing. At that time, each was compelled to register with the U.S. government as a "foreign agent."

Simply put, a "foreign agent" represents the interests of a foreign individual, group, or government in this country. The statutory definition, however, is broad enough to let the U.S. government use the designation on almost anybody it wants. Often this turns out to be a political organization it doesn't like: the Communist Party and the Northern Ireland Aid Committee are among those Washington has tried to stick with the "foreign agent" label.

Once stuck, the law requires a "foreign agent" to make sweeping disclosures with regard to personnel, finances, and political activities. It is this requirement that the government claims as license to fish through the files of the ANC and SWAPO.

The law specifically exempts diplomatic personnel and missions from registering as "foreign agents." But the government has made clear that this is not what it thinks SWAPO and the ANC are. Calling attention to public meetings and such is, in part, by way of backing this contention.

The matter of opening SWAPO's books first arose one year ago, during what Gurirab's letter to Pérez de Cuéllar called "serious and delicate negotiations" to re-

solve "the outstanding issues relating to Namibia's independence."

Back then, Gurirab wrote, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, a party to those negotiations, assured all concerned "that the matter would be dealt with through their own internal channels and that there should be no cause for concern on SWAPO's part."

And that is what SWAPO thought had been done, until a year later when it got the July 25 letter from the Justice Department.

"It is worth noting," Gurirab's letter added, "that this is the first time, even though the SWAPO Mission here has been registered with the US Department of Justice for about eighteen years, that such an inquisitorial demand has ever been made by any US Administration."

The administration's goals in this current campaign to get at SWAPO and the ANC can be summarized as follows:

- By demanding detailed accounts of public activities, to put a damper on the ability of SWAPO and the ANC to make their views known to workers in this country. The effect of this is to restrict the right of U.S. workers to hear these views.

- Stigmatize SWAPO and the ANC by suggesting they represent interests that are somehow alien — "foreign" — to U.S. workers, and by implying they have something to hide by not throwing open their books to the government.

- Dig up the names of supporters of these two organizations, so they may be individually harassed.

- Render a service to the apartheid regime in South Africa, with which Reagan has warm relations, by making life difficult for its two main opponents.

The proposed inspection of files is one in a chain of events that could lead to closing the ANC and SWAPO missions in this country.

Seoul sinks N. Korean fishing boat off Japan coast, raises 'spy' scare

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

South Korea sank an unarmed North Korean fishing vessel on the high seas close to Japan, attacking the peaceful boat with shells and missiles from a destroyer and an armed helicopter.

The North Korean fishing boat, the 80-ton fish-finder *Pungsan*, was sunk 320 miles from the South Korean coast, 230 miles from the nearest South Korean island, Ullung-do, and just 60 miles off Japan.

The attack, which the Democratic

Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK) termed an act of "grave piracy committed by the South Korean military gang in wanton violation" of recognized international law and international custom, occurred August 13 and was observed by non-Korean fishermen in the area. North Korea noted that some crew members were killed and demanded the return of their bodies.

The South Korean government of General Chun Doo Hwan confirmed the sinking, claiming the fishing vessel was a "spy boat" disguised as a Japanese fishing ship. Three North Korean "commandos" were killed, the South Koreans claimed.

Earlier, South Korean warships fired on two Japanese fishing boats in international waters, for which the Japanese government demanded and received an apology.

The South Koreans contended they fired warning shots at the boats, prior to identifying them as Japanese vessels, while searching for an alleged North Korean "spy ship." The "spy boat" was said to have escaped after South Korea claimed it sank a North Korean boat August 5 landing agents near Wolsong, the site of a nuclear power plant.

That North Korea would try to send two boats to land agents off Wolsong — 230 miles away — is highly dubious, to say the least. The coast is heavily patrolled by South Korea and is especially so at present; the Chun regime is holding naval maneuvers in the area.

The DPRK charged that the "spy ship" sinking was a "fabrication needed by the puppets [the Chun government] to shift on to us the responsibility for the continuing social confusion [in South Korea] before the Inter-parliamentary Conference in Seoul [the capital of South Korea] and legalize the brutal military terror rule established in South Korea."

The Chun government is hosting a conference of the Inter-parliamentary Union in October to try to boost its international



Star indicates where North Korean fishing boat *Pungsan* was sunk near Japan by South Korea August 13.

Dutch farmer tells AAM members: 'Our family farms in trouble too'

The following article appeared in the August 23 issue of *American Agriculture News*.

Arie van den Brand grew up on a 43-acre farm in Holland. His family has been 300 years on the same place, and his brother will take over this year.

Arie is spending his time organizing farmers, and has a few months to travel the U.S. to find out what is going on here.

"What you don't know is, that in Europe family farms are in trouble too," Arie told those at the Grass Roots AAM [American Agriculture Movement] reunion at Cheney Lake, Kansas, August 13.

"Your minister of agriculture tells you European farmers are heavily subsidized . . . 500,000 farmers in Europe left agriculture in 1982. Fifty-five percent of Dutch farmers last year earned less than minimum wage, and we aren't even talking about all the unpaid work of the farmer's wife. The family farm is the best place to underpay labor, and that's what is going on in Europe."

"They tell us to get rid of surpluses. The

family farmers leave, the cows stay," he said, explaining that the production isn't really cut, but the farmers are driven off the land to work in factories.

"We should have a guaranteed minimum price, planned production in relation to demands, better pay, and reasonable working conditions. We are willing to accept regulations," he said.

"Young farmers are always working. The farmer's wife works off the farm," he said, adding that the wife needed time to take care of the kids, go to school meetings, and have some time for her husband.

"The corporations are playing the game 'divide and rule' very well," he said. As an example, a group of 4,000 to 5,000 farmers formed a cooperative and grew potatoes for starch. Cargill came to the county and built a factory to make corn starch from US corn. "This will put 4,000 to 5,000 farmers out," he said.

He explained that the peace movement is very strong in Europe. "We in Europe don't want your missiles. We don't want to be the battlefield again, so please keep your missiles over here."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Members of armed forces listen to Commander Daniel Ortega at revolution's 4th anniversary celebration, where he announced proposed draft law.

Nicaraguans welcome proposed draft law

Women discuss their role in military

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — "Without youth ready to sacrifice, there is no revolution!" This was the response to a proposed law on Patriotic Military Service by a delegation of Sandinista Youth members invited to the Council of State here August 9.

The delegation was expressing the pride of Nicaraguan youth for their revolution and their determination to defend it.

In fact, in the four years since ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza was overthrown, the revolutionary government has defended itself against U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary raids with an army, reserve, and militia composed entirely of volunteers.

The proposed new law will establish military conscription. That does not mean the will to defend Nicaragua has declined. To the contrary, it has increased.

In the face of escalating attacks and the threat of expanded U.S. intervention the new law reflects a step forward in the organization and institutionalization of the defense of the Sandinista revolution. It is based on the enormous progress that has been made — politically and militarily — in consolidating the core of the new revolutionary armed force since the destruction of Somoza's National Guard four years ago.

The proposed new law requires that men between the ages of 17 and 50 be part of active or reserve military service. It requires two consecutive years of active military service for men between the ages of 17 and 25 years of age. Women between the ages of 18 and 40 are required to serve in the reserve military service if the conditions warranted such a call-up.

As with most laws that affect the Nicaraguan people as a whole, the discussions on the proposed draft law went way beyond the Council of State. They are being held throughout the country — at bus stops, in classrooms and factories, and in rural border areas. Assemblies of unionists, students, religious people, women, professionals, health workers, and others are discussing, studying, and improving the text.

This lively and educational discussion has been overwhelmingly enthusiastic in support of the law. But as well, various shades of opposition to it are being displayed.

For example, Julio Ramón García Viliche, a lawyer and delegate for the Social Christian Party to the Council of State, proposed that the law speak of two types of service: one voluntary and the other "obligatory" in case of war. His suggestion, however, has fallen on deaf ears, espe-

cially in the northern provinces, where war has been taking its toll for the past year and a half. The Social Christian Party subsequently withdrew its representative from the legislative commission on the draft law.

Then, there was the case of the *La Prensa* (right-wing daily newspaper) reporter who casually asked Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, "what is going to happen to those of us who are not Sandinistas and do not want to take part in Patriotic Military Service?"

Ortega responded that such service was the patriotic obligation of all citizens. At the same time, army spokesmen have assured others who asked the same question that out of concern for the quality of the armed forces all potential draftees will be politically screened beforehand.

A few well-to-do youths have slipped out of the country to avoid the service, an act that is illegal as long as the law is pending.

However, many Nicaraguans are ready to say good riddance to "those *chicos plasticos* [phony boys] with their bourgeois stomachs who are afraid they won't be able to stand the rice and beans in the mountains," as one young university student here put it.

Objections of a different kind have come from some women and members of the Sandinista Youth over the fact that active military service in the regular army, at this time, is proposed for men only.

Angela Rosa Acevedo, the representative of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) to the Council of State, thanked Defense Minister Ortega for recognizing the outstanding participation of women in defense (the Territorial Militias are 30 percent women). However, she said, more thought should be given to assuring women a broader form of participation.

Her concern was later echoed by women outside the chambers.

On the August 18 editorial page of *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, AMNLAE General-Secretary Glenda Monterrey called attention to the Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans, which was approved in August 1979. The statute states that "there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex."

Monterrey, who is also a member of the Sandinista Assembly, the FSLN national committee, wrote: "The laws of today that have been approved by the Council of State have faithfully captured the spirit of the basic statute. The draft of the law on Patriotic Military Service, however, has aspects that come into contradiction with the rights that this society has granted us."

The following day AMNLAE held a meeting of 100 members of its working committee. Women of all ages and from many walks of life — factory workers, dairy workers, health workers, housewives, university women, women who work in cooperatives, and others — came to the Managua meeting following work.

During an initial presentation of the proposed law, AMNLAE leader Ruth Mercenaro put forward the idea that the objective limitations on massive integration of women into military combat units are economic: that the poverty of Nicaragua does not at this time allow for the dual facilities women would need. She added that two consecutive years of military training would be difficult in the case of pregnant women.

However, in the discussion period, a young member of the all-female Erlinda López Reserve Battalion reminded her sisters of the Vietnamese women who fought courageously no matter what their position was.

Furthermore, she asked, "how can we be equal if we don't receive the same training as every other soldier?"

Several women raised an objection to the age restriction for women (18-40, while for men it is 17-50).

An AMNLAE leader reminded the sisters that after 40 they were not excluded from defense efforts. They could always be in the voluntary militias. In fact, she added, in the border town of Santo Tomás, there is a 72-year-old woman who is a militia instructor!

The women applauded each other's comments and suggestions with cries of "without the participation of women, there is no revolution!" and "women with rifles — free homeland or death!"

This was but one of a series of meetings AMNLAE plans to hold in order to allow the delegates to the Council of State to represent their concerns as accurately as possible. The law will be further discussed in the Council of State in the coming weekly sessions.

Nicaraguan ambassador exposes U.S. lies

BY EDWARD JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — "The Reagan administration is on the verge of unleashing a new Vietnam in the heart of the American continent," Antonio Jarquín, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States told a crowd of over 400 here on August 19.

Jarquín exposed the U.S. government's campaign of "slogans, lies, half-truths, and slanders" against the Nicaraguan revolution, explaining that Reagan's charges that Nicaragua is sending arms to El Salvador are just a pretext to justify Washington's own policy of aggression.

He stressed that the real source of revolution in El Salvador and elsewhere in Cen-

tral America can be found in Washington, not in Managua or Havana. "It is not our fault that the U.S. supports unpopular dictatorships," he said. "We are not to be blamed if other peoples in Central America also want to be free."

The meeting, held at Detroit's Mercy College, proceeded smoothly despite an attempted disruption by a right-wing Catholic organization, Catholic Laity United.

Earlier in August, this same group pressured a church into canceling space already offered for a presentation on El Salvador by Sandy Pollack of the U.S. Peace Council. When the meeting was moved to a new location, hecklers screaming about Poland

and Afghanistan succeeded in disrupting the talk.

At Mercy College, however, the Catholic administration refused to be pressured out of supporting Jarquín's tour. Catholic Laity showed up with a noisy picket line of 30 to 40 right-wingers protesting the use of Mercy College by "communists."

Several hecklers briefly interrupted Jarquín's talk, shouting, and waving a red flag. However, the well-organized defense, involving many of the more than 30 groups endorsing the meeting, easily handled the disturbance. Sponsors of the meeting included Detroit Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, U.S. Peace Council, Socialist Workers Party, All People's Congress, and Oakland County NAACP.

The success of the Mercy College meeting was a significant victory for the right of opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America to speak out without fear of right-wing harassment.

Other highlights of Jarquín's visit included the first solidarity meeting to be held in Detroit's Latino community, a fundraiser at City Councilwoman Maryanne Mahaffey's home, and an appearance at a congressional district fundraiser hosted by U.S. Rep. George Crockett.

Francisco Campbell, former director of agrarian reform in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region, also addressed the meeting at Mercy College. He explained how the Indian and Black populations of the Atlantic Coast are learning "what it is to be free and to defend their revolution."

Referring to the recent failure of ex-Sandinista Eden Pastora's counterrevolutionary invasion of southwest Nicaragua, Campbell said, "those who think the Atlantic Coast is fertile terrain for counter-revolutionary activity are surprised to see the people of both coasts of Nicaragua present a united front to defend what they have won at such a high price."

Arrests in Dominican Republic hit

BY LOU HOWORT

NEW YORK — "If destabilization means supporting the workers, the oppressed, the unemployed, we will continue to destabilize." This statement by Radames Pérez concluded a picket line at the consulate of the Dominican Republic here on August 20.

The action was called by a coalition of Dominican groups to protest and denounce the arrest by the Dominican government of more than 100 Dominican leftists from at least 10 groups.

Among those arrested were Socialist Bloc leaders Leo Mercedes, Edgar Erickson, Wellington Peterson Pieterz, and Victor Morales; Dominican Communist Party Central Committee member Carlos Dore Cabral; and other leaders of the Dominican Left Front.

About 60 people participated in the spirited demonstration, and literature was distributed to interested passersby. The demonstration was reported prominently in the Dominican press.

In making the arrests, the Dominican administration of President Salvador Jorge Blanco claimed that the left was trying to

destabilize the country and was involved in "guerrilla training schools." Not a shred of evidence was produced to support these claims.

In his speech, Pérez explained that the government was blaming the left for its own failure to solve the massive social problems created by its policies. He also stated that the repression was an attempt to stop the growing mass movement of working people and the increasing influence of the Dominican left in it. He also emphasized that the U.S. government, through its embassy in Santo Domingo, acted as a partner with the Dominican government in carrying out the repression.

Activists in the Dominican Republic have called for an international campaign to demand that the Dominican government release the detainees and respect civil liberties. They have asked that telegrams and letters protesting the arrests be sent to: Dr. Salvador Jorge Blanco, President of the Republic, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; or to the Consul General of the Dominican Republic, 17 W. 60th St., New York, N.Y. 10023.

45th anniversary of Fourth International

How Socialist Workers Party viewed founding congress of world movement

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Forty-five years ago, on Sept. 3, 1938, the Fourth International was founded at an international congress in Perigny, France. This event registered a new stage in the continuity of revolutionary Marxism on a world scale.

The Fourth International traced its programmatic foundations to the documents of the Communist International (known as the Comintern) in its early years and to the fight to defend this program against Joseph Stalin's attempt to overturn it.

SWP helped found new international

The Socialist Workers Party had played a central role in the preparatory political discussions and work leading up to the founding of the new international.

Its newspaper, at that time called the *Socialist Appeal*, had been educating on the need to form a new world organization. With the founding congress, a special issue of the *Appeal* was printed. That issue, dated Oct. 22, 1938, explained the historical importance of the formation of the Fourth International for the workers of the world.

It was triple the usual size of the paper — 12 pages instead of 4 — and it was divided into two sections.

Section one reported on the congress and the founding of a Youth International, which held its own conference a week later.

Section two reprinted documents from the congress, including its central theses: "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," which came to be known as the Transitional Program.

The Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky had drafted the theses, which were adopted by the SWP and presented by the SWP to the congress.

At the time of the Fourth International's founding, all signs pointed to the imminent outbreak of World War II. The *Appeal* ran the congress manifesto, which called on the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world to overthrow capitalist rule as the only way to defeat fascism and end imperialist war.

Adherents from around the globe

The banner headline of the special issue of the *Appeal* declared: "World Congress Finds Fourth International." The editorial underneath began:

"The Fourth International has been founded.

"Meeting in the midst of the threatening war crisis in Europe, 30 delegates from 11 countries proclaimed the new World Party of the Socialist Revolution. A Youth International was simultaneously created.

"The delegates represented organizations in the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland, and Greece.

"Unable to send delegates because of conditions of distance, illegality, and other adverse factors, were organizations affiliated to the Fourth International in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Indochina, China, French Morocco, the Union of South Africa, Canada, a number of Latin American countries, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Palestine,

Lithuania, Rumania, and several other countries. These organizations had already signified, in advance, their adherence to the new banner."

Despite the small number of adherents in each country, it was an encouraging beginning.

Why a new international was necessary

What led to the founding of a new international?

Its forerunner, the Comintern, held its first congress in Moscow in 1919, in the wake of the victory of the first socialist revolution — the Russian revolution of October 1917.

Its central leadership was Vladimir Lenin and the team of Russian Bolshevik leaders around him, including Leon Trotsky, Grigori Zinoviev, and Karl Radek.

From 1919 to 1923, the Comintern maintained and advanced a Marxist program and succeeded in building mass revolutionary parties in many countries.

Its degeneration and the rise of the anti-Leninist bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union were a function of the defeat of the post-World War I revolutionary upsurge in Europe and the resulting isolation of the young and impoverished Russian workers state.

In the Comintern, Stalin increasingly replaced revolutionary internationalism with the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

The Bolsheviks' insistence that the democratic revolution in backward countries would be led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry was replaced by an erroneous strategy of subordinating the democratic revolution and the working class to the bourgeoisie.

Fascist victory in Germany

Trotsky was the central leader of the struggle to defend the heritage of the revolutionary years of the Comintern from revisionist Stalinism. Under his leadership the Bolshevik-Leninists functioned as a loyal faction of the individual Communist parties for as long as possible in an attempt to win over as many members as possible to Bolshevism.

In 1933, fascism triumphed in Germany — a bloody defeat that was facilitated by the German Communist Party's refusal to take the necessary steps to organize the masses of workers under its influence to combat the fascist threat.

As the lead article in the *Socialist Appeal*, quoted earlier, explained:

"Following the wretched capitulation to fascism of the only party in Germany which laid official claims to the tradition of the Russian Revolution — the Communist Party — and the cynically wholehearted endorsement of this capitulation by the entire Stalinist International, the Bolshevik-Leninists of that time, organized as the International Left Opposition, boldly proclaimed the need to organize a new, Fourth International, true heir and continuator of the great traditions of the Internationals that had preceded it, and implacable foe of the official misleaders of the working-class movement."

SWP's 10th anniversary

The October 22 *Appeal* carried a front-page article by SWP National Secretary



Front page of Oct. 22, 1938, issue of *Socialist Appeal*.

James P. Cannon on the connection between the development of the Fourth International and its U.S. section.

Cannon's article began:

"The foundation congress of the Fourth International coincided, within the span of a few weeks, with the tenth anniversary of our struggle for Bolshevism in the United States. On October 27, 1928, we raised the banner of the Russian Opposition (the Bolshevik-Leninists) in the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

"Therewith we broke all ties with Stalinism and we never once looked back. These events — the formation of the American 'Left Opposition' and the world congress — mark two steps in one and the same uninterrupted struggle on an international as well as on a national scale. Their joint celebration in this issue of our paper is appropriate.

"Our participation in the world congress which signaled the formal organization of the Fourth International was the logical outcome of our consistent adherence to the program we adopted as our own ten years ago. We have contributed something to the organization of the world movement. The Fourth International, in turn, now gives us a mighty impulse for further advances toward the American revolution."

In October and November, the SWP held rallies around the country to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International, the 21st anniversary of the Russian revolution, and the 10th anniversary of the SWP.

To the 1,500 people who jammed into the Center Hotel in New York City on October 28, Cannon explained again the roots of the new international and the SWP.

"We are not the evangelists of a new revelation. The movement of resurgent Bolshevism in America which we have created and whose anniversary we celebrate tonight is already ten years old. But at the outset of our struggle ten years ago, we said nothing new. We anchored our struggle, by its theory, its program, its methods, and its traditions, in the great world emancipation struggle of the proletariat set on foot by the Russian revolution of 1917.

"We have a full right also to say that we are celebrating our 21st anniversary, for

our roots go back directly to November 7, 1917 [Russian revolution]. Many of us adhered then to the banner of Bolshevism, the banner of struggle and victory. The program incorporated in the Russian revolution was our program twenty-one years ago. It was our program ten years ago when we began the new struggle against the betrayers. It is our program now. But neither were the Bolsheviks the inventors of new panaceas. They were the veritable continuators of Marx and Engels."

Sales campaign

Inspired by the founding of the Fourth International, the SWP went on an all-out campaign to build these meetings and sell the special issue of the *Appeal*.

The October 29 *Appeal* reported that only a few hundred of the many thousands of extra copies of the special issue were still available. "New York City has disposed of 3,000 copies of this issue, with Chicago handling 1,000 and Los Angeles close behind with 750. Practically every branch took more than double its usual quota and early reports indicate successful sales and great interest."

The passage of the reactionary Voorhies Act by the U.S. government forced the SWP to formally disaffiliate from the Fourth International in 1940. But the SWP continued, and does to this day, to fully participate in a fraternal capacity in the Fourth International.

When it was founded, the Fourth International was the only revolutionary Marxist current within the working-class movement. But that is no longer true today.

With the emergence of mass Marxist parties in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada as a result of successful revolutions in those countries, there are now tens of thousands of other revolutionists who share the goal of wiping imperialist barbarism off the face of the earth and establishing a socialist society.

Having maintained its revolutionary perspective for four and a half decades, the Fourth International can make an irreplaceable contribution to the building of a mass international communist movement, thus confirming the correctness of the course charted by its founders.

For further reading:

The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party

Minutes and Resolutions 1938-39

Edited by George Breitman. 395 pp., \$8.95.

The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

By Leon Trotsky. 269 pp., \$5.95.

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



SWP launches Party Building Fund

BY HARRY RING

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a \$125,000 Party Building Fund. Its purpose is to help finance expanded activity already under way or being projected.

Pledges and contributions to the fund are being made by members and supporters of the SWP as well as those of the Young Socialist Alliance. The aim is to meet, or exceed, the \$125,000 goal by December 1.

The basic financial needs of the organization are generally met by weekly contributions by members and friends. But continuing inflationary pressures make added fund-raising a necessity.

A year ago SWP members and supporters contributed to the Socialist Publications Fund. This \$250,000 fund was necessary to help maintain the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the face of skyrocketing inflation.

The response to that was truly impressive, with a grand total of \$320,000 collected. This went a long way in resolving financial difficulties.

So, by comparison, while still substantial, the Party Building Fund this year is relatively modest.

The present fund was launched at a rally at this August's Socialist Educational Conference in Oberlin, Ohio. Initial pledges totaled nearly \$85,000.

It now remains for SWP branches across the country to systematically canvass all members and friends who have not yet pledged and to begin the regular weekly collections essential to successful completion of the drive.

In addition we expect that many readers of the *Militant* will be helping us to achieve our goal.

Meanwhile, members of the SWP will be involved in important special projects and added activity.

For example, a number of SWP members and supporters will be participating in a major publishing project. The aim is to publish in English, for the first time, the complete available political record of the early Communist International — that is, before it degenerated under the control of Stalin and the bureaucratic formation he represented.

The work, in a number of volumes, will cover the general period 1914 to 1923. It was in 1914 that the leaders of the Second, or Socialist, International betrayed the principles of socialism by giving support to the various imperialist powers in World War I. At that time the initiative was begun to build a new, Communist International, based on genuine Marxism.

The Communist International was formally launched in 1919, following the victory of the October 1917 Russian revolution.

In those early years, the Communist International, under the leadership of figures such as Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and others, provided profoundly important direction to the authentic world forces of revolutionary communism.

Publication of the proceedings of their various conferences, their political discussion and debate, will be of extraordinary value to socialists today. Presently, only a fraction of this material is available in English, and much of that is scattered in various selections.

Another important undertaking by members of the Socialist Workers Party, along with Canadian cothinkers of the Revolutionary Workers League, is a new magazine of Marxist theory, *New Internationalist*. The first issue of this quarterly appeared in August.

Appearance of the magazine represents an important political gain. For the last few years, the necessary resources for publica-

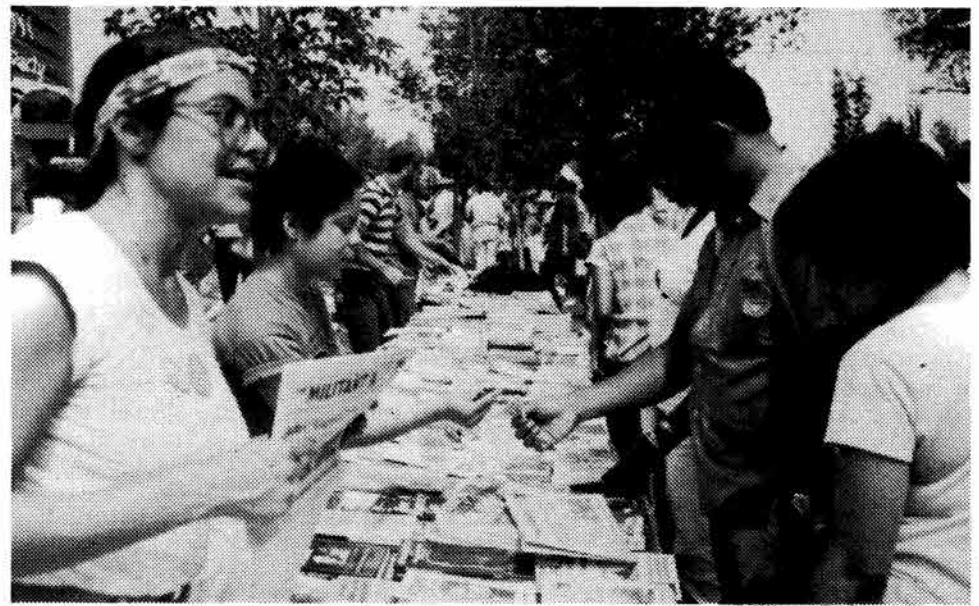
tion of a theoretical magazine of this substance were lacking. It is expected that *New Internationalist* will play an important role in offering analysis and exchange of views on the major political and theoretical issues now coming to the fore on an international scale. The advancing socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean gives even further weight to this project.

Another step forward in providing essential political information is being mapped out by the editors of *Intercontinental Press*. Now marking its 20th anniversary, the magazine projects expanding its international coverage even further, as well as increasing the amount of documentary material presenting the views and political stands of sections of the Fourth International in the various countries.

Speeches, articles, and documentary material from revolutionary leaders in Central America and the Caribbean will, of course, continue to be featured.

And members and supporters of the SWP and YSA will be escalating their efforts to boost the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. In addition to expanding the recently instituted regular weekly sales of the paper at plant gates across the country, there will be a special drive this fall to obtain 4,000 new subscribers for the *Militant*.

One special action in kicking off this drive will be the slated tour of Mississippi by a team of socialist activists who will be talking with those involved in the voter



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

SWP table sold books, pamphlets August 27. Fund will finance new literature.

registration battles there and bringing them the point of view of the *Militant*.

At the Oberlin educational conference there was a very positive response to the appearance of *New Internationalist* and the projected plan for *Intercontinental Press*.

During the conference, 324 people bought subscriptions to *New Internationalist*. Added to the 239 prepublication subscriptions, this gives the magazine an initial subscription base of 563.

Plus, 234 individual copies of the

magazine were sold.

In addition 218 people renewed their subscriptions to *Intercontinental Press* and 89 new subscribers were obtained.

All in all, it's busy days ahead for our movement and, obviously, we don't want money — or lack of it — to stand in the way of accomplishing our goals.

We hope you'll agree with us on this and confirm that agreement with a contribution to the Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Milwaukee workers resist concessions

BY DENNIS KELLN

MILWAUKEE — For the past month, members of Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 232, the Milwaukee area's largest union local, have been on strike. On July 30 they voted overwhelmingly to reject the contract proposal offered by the Briggs & Stratton Corp., a manufacturer of small gasoline engines.

With a membership of 8,200 workers (600 of them on layoff), only 534 members voted to accept the contract while 6,073 voted to strike against the company at the end of the contract period beginning August 1. John Langford, president of Local 232, pointed out in the *Milwaukee Labor Press*, "We felt that the company has left us no alternative course of action and forced this strike upon us."

Under the guise of the threat of foreign imports, the company bosses at Briggs & Stratton have declared an all-out war on the union. In a bulletin released to its employees on June 28, the company stated, "You should know that we intend to remain profitable. Only by doing so can we reinvest in the capital equipment that can provide job security for our 8,000 employees."

Yet the company's concession demands, including a three-year pay freeze, demonstrate a total lack of concern for providing job security to any of its employees. Among the worst are: an open-ended management rights clause that would allow the company to fire workers for any reason it deemed justifiable and permit unlimited use of outside contractors; elimination of the only three existing personal days; mandatory overtime; elimination of super seniority for alternative grievance representatives and stewards; wage cuts as part of disciplinary action; elimination of job postings; and wage differentials for new hires, starting them at \$4.50 per hour, about \$3.00 under the previous contract minimum.

Most of this year, Briggs has carried out a campaign to frighten workers with the threat of foreign imports from their Japanese counterpart, Honda Motors. At the same time, the company recently reported quarterly earnings of \$7.1 million. This is up from the same period of 1982 with earnings of \$4.6 million. With virtually no long-term debt and a secure financial position, Briggs & Stratton is one of the most profitable companies in the area.

One of the things that has most angered strikers is the pro-company bias of the local news media. Their coverage has tried to sway public opinion away from striking workers. The *Milwaukee Journal*, for example, concluded in an August 4 edito-

rial that "The issue then is not whether concessions should be given, but how large they should be."

As one union member on the Briggs picket line replied, "We can't afford to ever allow ourselves to become slaves again, as workers were under conditions that existed before the last contract strike in 1974."

In other contract developments around the area, Miller Brewery workers voted to return to their jobs August 1, after two months on strike. Conceding to the use of outside contracted laborers to haul Miller's

beer, 300 union jobs were lost in exchange for a modest wage increase.

Employees at A.O. Smith, on the other hand, approved a four-year contract August 3 that included wage increases and other improvements. The union — Smith Steel Workers — responded to the company's demand for concessions with a show of strength inside the plant around the slogan, "No Concessions!"

Dennis Kelln, a member of Allied Industrial Workers Local 232, is on strike against Briggs & Stratton Corp.

Ohio General Motors workers vote down new wage cuts

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Workers at General Motor's Packard Electric Division in Warren, Ohio, have decisively rejected a contract that would have cut new-hire wages and benefits to a third of their present levels.

The vote, 5,301 against to 2,084 in favor, took place August 23. The workers are members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 717.

If the contract had been accepted, new hires would have received \$4.50 an hour in wages and \$1.50 in benefits.

Under the rejected contract, 2,700 assembly jobs out of a total work force of 8,941 at present would eventually have received the cut-rate pay and benefits. Other workers, the company said, would be on a "lifetime employment" list.

But, as *Business Week* listed them, the company had several "ifs" to implementation of "lifetime employment": if "business continues good," if the attrition rate of early-retiring workers is "good enough," and if workers getting the cut rates "remain competitive."

GM-Packard threatened to move work to plants overseas if the contract was not accepted. After it was rejected, the division manager said the company "might shift work in the future to its plants in Mississippi and elsewhere if the workers in those plants accepted a similar plan."

For now, though, he said, there would be no immediate layoffs because car sales are up.

GM had won concessions worth more than \$600 million from Packard workers in the past two years, according to Robert

Sutton, president of Local 717. Sutton and IUE regional officials strongly supported the rejected contract. They echoed the company's claims that work would be transferred elsewhere unless further concessions were agreed to by the workers.

If the new contract had been accepted, new hires would have worked in separate buildings from workers getting higher pay for doing the same work.

The concessions contract had received much attention by the national news media. *Business Week* noted that a two-tier wage structure for identical work "goes counter to the union principle of equal pay for equal work," and that ratification of the agreement "undoubtedly [would] set a precedent for other GM divisions that produce auto components."

"Indeed," the magazine went on, all but licking its chops, "it could become the model for any industry" in driving down workers' wages.

The rejection by Local 717 of these concessions is a blow to the corporate rulers' attempts to force workers to sacrifice for the sake of the capitalists' profits.

The rejection is particularly significant because Local 717 and the IUE regional leadership since 1977 have agreed to corporate demands for increased concessions. These reached the point that *Business Week* described it as "the most advanced model of union-management collaboration in the U.S."

Local President Sutton said the union would seek to reopen negotiations with GM-Packard, but the division's manager vowed a tough line. "We have no intention of reopening negotiations," he said.

Grenada gets loan

A victory was scored for Grenada on August 26 when the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a \$14.1 million loan for the Caribbean island. This decision was vigorously opposed by the Reagan administration, which is trying to destabilize the revolutionary government established there in 1979.

The U.S. representatives in the IMF hold about 20 percent of the voting power, but do not have veto power.

The march of science — We're not anticomputer, but it did give us pause for thought when a letter



Harry Ring

addressed to the *Militant* enclosed a "sample ballot" urging Reagan to run again, plus a Republican campaign fund pitch. The computer assured, "I'm only sending

these ballots to truly dedicated Americans like yourself, who know how important it is that Ronald Reagan run for president again."

Dr. \$\$\$ — If you feel your doctor's fees aren't high enough, be patient. A growing number of MDs are now using PR firms to project their public image. The PR tab — part of which could possibly find its way onto your bill — ranges as high as \$150,000 a year.

Fat City — An association of plastic surgeons retained a PR outfit for a Beverly Hills media briefing on "fat suctioning," a

technique whereby hollow tubes are inserted under the skin asserted to suck out fat cells. The method is considered medically controversial and one PR person found the deal "revolting." But it did get media coverage.

Gallows-humor dep't — General Public Utilities announced the opening of a nature trail especially designed for the handicapped on the site of its world-famed Three Mile Island nuclear plant.

What better reason? — Bendectin, an antinausea drug for pregnant women, may be linked to

stomach deformities in infants, says the FDA. Merrell Dow, the drug's maker, has stopped producing it because of the growing cost of defending it against lawsuits.

Can appreciate the contrast — An Episcopal bishop in Easton, Md., responded to complaints of parishioners about the church buying him a \$195,000 waterfront home, complete with boat, car, and bar. You don't have to live in poverty, the good bishop explained, to understand the problem.

Bon appetit! — Reagan to the contrary, there are free lunches,

especially for the corporate "elite." One Wall Street free-lunch executive dining room is described as featuring cherrywood tables set with Limoges China, Baccarat crystal, and fresh flowers. Lunch may feature poached capon with curried cream sauce, artichoke timbales, lemon mousse, and freshly baked cookies.

Thought for the week — "Now is not the time for demanding democratic reforms." — South Korean ruler Chun Doo Hwan, a key "free world" ally of Washington.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

20 Years After March on Washington: Fight For a Black, Latino, Labor Alliance Today. Slideshow of August 27 marches for jobs, peace, and freedom in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. Panel discussion with participants. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 10, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore and Socialist Workers Party Headquarters: We Can Stop Reagan's Wars — A Socialist Anti-war Strategy. Speaker: Andrea González, Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 10, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Winning Jobs, Peace, and Freedom: The Example of Grenada. Speakers: Rachel Knapik and Scott Breen, visited Grenada in July 1983; slideshow. Sun., Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Toledo

Fighting for Women's Rights on the Job: Women in Industry Are Here to Stay. Speakers: Sandy Dorsey, member of United Mine Workers of America and Coal Employment Project, involved in sexual harassment lawsuit against coal company; Kipp Dawson, member of UMWA and CEP; and Janet Post, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7912, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Toledo. Sun., Sept. 11, 7 p.m. 2120 Dor St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Philippines: New Stage in the Struggle

Against the Marcos Dictatorship. Speakers: Mariana Hernandez, member of United Auto Workers Local 1056 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m. Pre-forum dinner, 6 p.m., \$3. 141 Halsey St. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Meeting to Commemorate 1st Anniversary of Sabra and Shatila Massacres. Speakers: representatives of Palestine Liberation Organization and Lebanese Progressive Forces; and cultural presentations. Sat., Sept. 17, 6 p.m. PS 41, 116 W 11th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee to Commemorate Sabra and Shatila. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

TEXAS

Dallas

After August 27: How Can We Win Jobs, Peace, and Freedom? A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2817 Live Oak. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

San Antonio

Grand Opening of Militant Labor Bookstore/Librería el Militante. Book sale, international food, and music. Spanish-language titles available. Sun., Sept. 4, 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. 2811 Guadalupe. Donation: \$3.50 for food. For more information call (512) 432-7394.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Contract Battles in Wisconsin: What Answer to Concession Demands? Speakers: Paul Blackman, president, Smith Steelworkers; representative, Local 72 United Auto Workers; representative, Local 232 Allied Industrial Workers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 10, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Washington demonstration

Continued from Page 5

1930s were the greatest advances for Blacks and other working people in the United States in the 20th century. The civil rights movement in particular facilitated the rise of other social protest movements — against the war in Vietnam, for women's and Latino rights, and around other causes.

Without the overthrow of the dual-race system in the South, which was the law of the land, the gains Blacks have made and the potential unity we now see developing would be impossible. The employers would be in a stronger position than they are.

Moreover, that victory helped to break down anticommunism in the working class and the many other divisions imposed among workers by the employers. It is why more and more white workers, as with other workers, support Black rights. They more and more see these issues as in the interests of the labor movement if it is to advance against the common enemy — the employers and their government.

That's why there was so much excitement, especially among Blacks, to see so many whites and other oppressed nationalities at the march. It is why there was so much enthusiasm for the international speakers too. The new coalition is not just of the Black groups, but it seeks to include all working people — here and abroad.

That's also a big change from the 1963 march. It bodes well for future unity. That's a point that Jackson and the other Black Democrats clearly see as they seek more legitimacy inside the capitalist parties.

The march furthermore confirmed another aspect of U.S. politics — that's the vanguard social and political role the oppressed Black nationality is playing. It was Blacks that pulled together this broad coal-

ition and raised the social demands that won it so much support.

And it's the Black civil rights leaders who are taking the lead to say that working people should have a foreign policy independent of the State Department. That's the significance of Coretta Scott King's speech and the inclusion of Arene and the South African freedom fighter on the platform.

Many of the civil rights leaders, including some of the Black elected Democratic Party officials, also made a point that reflects a deeper process of discussions in the Black nationality: "progressive" legislation can't be won without street protests. Until this march, besides leaders of SCLC and PUSH, few others talked about taking to the streets to press their demands.

The blows of the employers and government on Blacks and other workers is causing many of these Black procapitalist politicians to move in this direction of participating in and even initiating street demonstrations.

But mass protests can have their own dynamic — particularly in their impact on those in the marches. The fact that layers of Black capitalist politicians feel the need to support such actions reflects how deep the capitalist crisis is. They know most Blacks and other workers marching on August 27 did so to fight the status quo, not to improve it.

The discussions opened up by this historic march on Washington will continue as Blacks and other working people search for new strategies to win jobs, peace, and freedom.

The idea of more marching on Washington and against other seats of power can only help this process of clarification and moving toward solutions that point away from capitalist politics and toward independent Black and working-class political action.

Solidarity With Central American and Caribbean Revolutions Visit Nicaragua and Grenada

NICARAGUA

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., provides an opportunity to view the accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Participants visit factories and agricultural communities; meet with activists from the unions, women's and youth organizations; learn about economic planning, health care, education, and the arts.

Study a young revolution, striving to rebuild the country's economy while defending itself from imperialist attack.

Fall Economy Study Tour

Nov. 20-27 — 8 days — \$675
Nov. 20-Dec. 4 — 15 days — \$975

Winter Solidarity Tour

Jan. 29-Feb. 5 — 8 days — \$700
Jan. 29-Feb. 12 — 15 days — \$1,000

May Day Economy Tour

April 29-May 6 — 8 days — \$700
April 29-May 13 — 15 days — \$1,000

• Prices for Nicaragua tours are from Miami

GRENADA

This beautiful Caribbean island is the site of the first workers' revolution ever in a Black, English-speaking country.

Learn about the development of agriculture and agro-industry and the social gains of the revolution.

The fall tour will include special meetings with Grenadian trade unionists. The March tour will celebrate the 5th anniversary of the revolution and the completion of Grenada's new international airport.

Trade Union Economy Tour

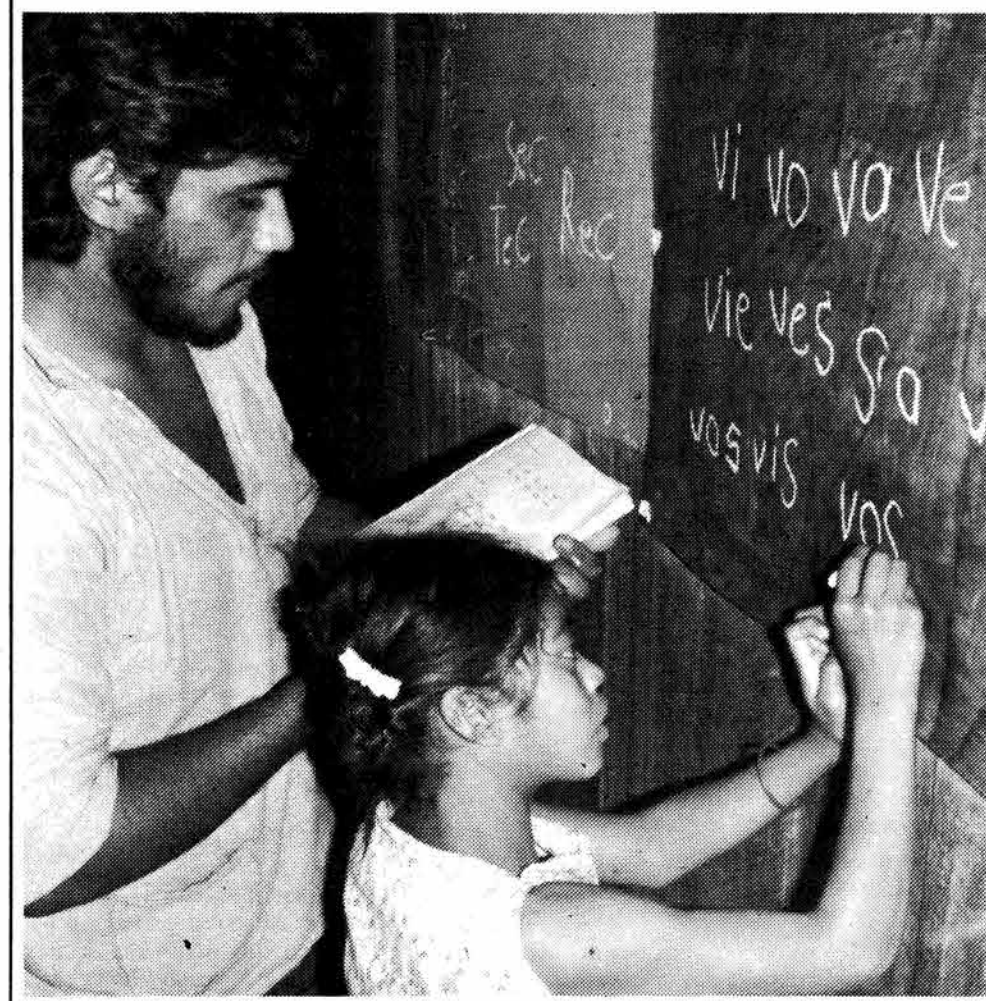
Nov. 6-13 — 8 days — \$750
(airfare, lodging, 2 meals daily)
Nov. 6-13 — 8 days — \$660
(airfare and lodging only)

Fifth Anniversary Tour

March 11-18 — 8 days — \$900
(airfare, lodging, 2 meals daily)
March 11-18 — 8 days — \$775
(airfare and lodging only)

• Prices for Grenada tours are from N.Y.

A \$150 deposit to Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., will reserve your place on any tour. The balance will be due 30 days before the date of departure. For more information write: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014; or call (212) 929-3486.



U.S. sheltering of Nazi criminals: official policy

The Belarus Secret. By John Loftus. New York, Knopf, 1982. 196 pp.

BY ED POLLACK

The U.S. Justice Department report on Klaus Barbie makes it seem that Barbie was an isolated case, which can be expunged by an admission of wrongdoing and an apology to France. This admission was necessary in view of the revelations in the European press, but it was as

BOOK REVIEW

grudging as possible, claiming that while military intelligence knew that Barbie was a Nazi leader it did not know at first that he was guilty of "crimes against humanity."

The Belarus Secret, however, reveals in a well-documented account that U.S. intelligence, beginning in 1945 when World War II was drawing to a close, recruited as spies, espionage agents, and prospective guerrilla troops thousands of Nazis and Nazi collaborators, including top war criminals of the worst sort. They were supplied with false documents and sent to the United States and South America.

In the early 1950s a number of them were parachuted into the Soviet Union with forged identity papers, radio transmitters, and money. Most were captured and executed; some became Soviet agents transmitting false information to their superiors.

John Loftus, author of *The Belarus Secret*, was in the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations in charge of investigating the smuggling into the United States of Byelorussian Nazis.

Byelorussia traditionally had had many supporters of anti-Semitism. In 1937 Byelorussian exiles founded the White Ruthenian Nazi Party, which was subsidized by Berlin.

The Byelorussian Nazis formed a fighting SS [armed units of the Nazi Party] brigade in the German army, the Belarus Brigade (Belarus is a contraction of Byelorussian), the only non-Germans so favored. Those of them who assisted the Einsatzgruppen (task forces) became civilian administrators in the conquered territory. The Einsatzgruppen were mobile killing units responsible for 2 million of the 6 million Jews murdered in the Holocaust.

Even before the war was over, preparations were made by U.S. intelligence to use the Byelorussian and other East European collaborators of the Nazis. Frank Wisner was head of the innocuously named Office of Policy Coordination, an intelligence organization which was later absorbed in the CIA. In 1945 he drew up lists of members of the fascist Rumanian Iron Guard who would serve as U.S. agents.

Shortly after the war Wisner enlisted the aid of the Nazi leaders who had supervised the activities of Eastern European collaborators. Gustav Hilger, Hitler's expert on the Soviet Union who worked with SS Intelligence, was brought to the United States.

Friedrich Buchart, chief of Emigre Affairs for the SS and formerly the commander of an Einsatzgruppe, was taken under the protection of Army intelligence and disappeared.

Reinhard Gehlen, the High Command's chief of the eastern military intelligence section, was taken to the United States, interrogated, and sent back to Germany to head West Germany's espionage against the Soviet Union, keeping his wartime staff.

The Justice Department report on Barbie would have it that the civilian authorities were not involved in the coverup on him. This was not true, however, in the case of Franz Six, the commander of an Einsatzgruppe that employed Byelorussians.

Six was recommended by Gehlen to head the recruitment and training of Eastern European emigres for guerrilla warfare at a center under his command. Six was on trial as a war criminal. Wisner asked General Clay, the military governor of the American Zone in Germany, to intercede with the Nuremberg judges.

Although all other Einsatzgruppe commanders on trial received death sentences, Six received a 20-year sentence. In 1950 John McCloy, Clay's successor, commuted his sentence to time served, and Six took his post under Gehlen.

The Byelorussian Nazis, who had enabled their mas-

ters to rule a region of 10 million people, were given preferential treatment by U.S. officials, as they had been by the German government. They virtually controlled the displaced persons camps where they were located and organized military training units disguised as veterans' social clubs. Legitimate refugees hardly survived; former Nazi collaborators employed by Gehlen got privileged jobs.

Almost every cabinet-level Byelorussian Nazi got into the United States. Officials in the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service participated in the coverup. According to an FBI file, some 3,000 members of the Byelorussian collaborationist organization were here in 1954.

Franz Kuchel, whose police rounded up Jews of the Minsk ghetto for killing by the Einsatzgruppen by the tens of thousands, died a U.S. citizen. Stanislaw Stankevich, who as mayor of Borisov directed the murder of 7,000 Jews in a massacre in which babies were buried alive in mass graves, worked for the CIA-operated Radio Liberty and died an American citizen. Emanuel Jasiuk, who as mayor of Kletsk directed the murder of 5,000 Jews, died a U.S. citizen.

The shocking Belarus secret is not merely something that happened a quarter of a century ago. At the end of his book the author, who deleted some portions of it in order to have it cleared by various intelligence agencies, informs us that "intelligence agencies are believed to be smuggling a modern band of 'war criminals' into the United States" in "significant numbers." Although he does not spell it out, saying that he is precluded from doing so because it is classified information, he asserts that these criminals were "installed in power in a Middle Eastern country by the OPC [Office of Policy Coordination] three decades ago" and were "alleged to have persecuted 200,000 innocent civilians."

We may be sure that not only has the CIA smuggled mass torturers of the Shah of Iran's Savak here but also keepers of "tiger cages" of South Vietnam. They are the fitting tools of the CIA's counterrevolutionary efforts.



Monument in South River, New Jersey. Inside cross at top is emblem of Belarus SS division, which fought with Nazis in World War II. At right is gravestone in same cemetery of top leader of pro-Nazi Byelorussian government responsible for murdering hundreds of thousands of Jews. This war criminal and others buried with him or still alive were sheltered by U.S. government.

PROF. RADASLAU ASTROŬSKI

[RADOSLAW OSTROWSKI]



BORN IN SUKICH, BYELORUSSIA, OCTOBER 21, 1907
GRADUATED UNIVERSITY OF DORTCH, ESTONIA, 1929
EDUCATOR, PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS AND
MATHEMATICS, JOURNALIST SINCE EARLY 1930S
YEARS FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE
OF BYELORUSSIA, POLITICAL LEADER IN
BYELORUSSIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, DELEGATE
TO FIRST AND SECOND ALL-BYELORUSSIAN
CONGRESSES IN MINSK (1917-1944) SECRETARY OF
EDUCATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
BYELORUSSIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
(1918), PRESIDENT OF BYELORUSSIAN CENTRAL
COUNCIL OF THE BYELORUSSIAN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC AND FOUNDER OF BYELORUSSIAN ARMED
FORCES (1944), DEATH IN BENTON HARBOR, MICHIGAN,
OCTOBER 17, 1975

SCLC convention: peace is issue for Blacks

Continued from back page

the convention, no one — even in informal discussions — defended Washington's war policies.

At the Friday, August 26, evening rally of more than 700 people, a warm welcome was also given to the Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, Dessima Williams. She said the Grenadian government backed the demands of the August 27 march, "We too share your program for jobs, peace, and freedom. We are a small country, and it is for that reason that it is such an honor to be with you."

She added, "When we speak of peace, we mean, among other things, an end to military interventions and invasions."

Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

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

This theme was repeated by a number of other speakers at the rally. Rev. James Lawson, head of the Los Angeles SCLC, stressed the need for all Blacks to oppose the "new Vietnam in Central America." He added that none of his sons were going to fight in such a war and urged that nonviolent civil disobedience be again utilized to fight the war policies of the government. His speech received the loudest cheers, including a standing ovation, during the rally.

The platform itself reflected the new unity among civil rights leaders today in the fight against the government's racist policies. It included: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Coretta Scott King, Brenda Bleiscoe, Martin Luther King, Sr., Andrew Young, Benjamin Hooks, Dick Gregory, Ralph Abernathy, and Lowery.

Discussions on political action

The other main discussion at the convention concerned how Blacks can become more involved in politics — particularly more active in the 1984 elections.

This was raised in Lowery's speech to the convention. Also two panels — one on voter registration and another involving Democratic Party presidential hopefuls — took this up.

Although all announced presidential aspirants had been invited, only Gary Hart and Reuben Askew showed. They were warmly received, unlike Bradford Reynolds, assistant U.S. attorney general and head of the Civil Rights Division of the

Justice Department, who sought to defend the Reagan administration's racist policies.

The main discussion centered on voter registration. The SCLC's perspective is to mobilize millions more Blacks to register and vote and pressure the government to enforce the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

SCLC, along with the NAACP and Operation PUSH, have been leading a campaign to register Blacks to vote. The NAACP has centered its registration drive in northern cities. Jesse Jackson and PUSH have visited Mississippi several times to help lead the campaign there. In 1982 SCLC held a five-state, 3,000 mile "Pilgrimage for jobs, peace, economic justice and a strong Voting Rights Act" in the South where voter registration drives were conducted in cities along the route.

The panelists discussed the need for the voter registration drive to be seen as part of the process of building a new coalition of Blacks, Latinos, and labor to fight the racist, antilabor policies of the government. Tony Bonilla, president of the National Hispanic Conference and former president of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said Blacks and Latinos needed to join together in an alliance so that "the hands that picked the cotton will pick the president in 1984."

Black presidential candidate?

While the discussion of voter registration was the centerpiece of proposed activity at the convention, the issue of whether a Black should seek the Democratic Party

presidential nomination did get raised.

For the past several months there has been much speculation whether Jesse Jackson, president of PUSH, or another Black Democrat would take such a step. Since Lowery is the chairman of the "Black leadership family" — now known as the 1984 Election Strategy Committee that includes a number of Black leaders — everyone expected this question to be discussed.

In his keynote speech Lowery explained that the SCLC stands by its traditional position in regards to presidential elections: no endorsement as an organization.

He then added that SCLC's main political objective in 1984 is that Ronald Reagan be defeated; and that Blacks should back the candidate that has the best chance of doing that, whether "Black, white, purple, or yellow."

At the same time, the convention adopted a resolution, with no discussion, calling on SCLC leaders to put forward a "people's platform" to judge the different presidential hopefuls based on the issues of jobs, peace, and freedom.

Lowery refused to commit himself one way or another on whether he would back Jackson or any other Black, if he or she sought the Democratic Party nomination.

But Lowery said, as did Coretta Scott King, Andrew Young, and other civil rights leaders, that the key way to make advances in 1984 is to keep the heat on the government; and if that means more marches, then that's what must happen.

What solidarity means for labor

Continued from front page

by new technology and spread the available work around, a shorter work week of 30 hours with no cut in pay is necessary. Though the employers will cry poverty, the money to fund such programs can, and should, be taken from the bloated military budget.

- Solidarity with allies of the working class such as farmers. Across the country working farmers are fighting foreclosure notices and struggling to keep their farms. Their enemies are often the same banks that evict unemployed workers who can't meet their mortgage payments. The labor movement should stand with these farmers and defend their right to make a decent living.

- Solidarity with fellow workers in other countries. The recent trip to El Salvador by a delegation of union leaders sponsored by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador is a good example of how real working-class solidarity does not stop at the borders of the United States. This idea is beginning to take deeper root in the labor movement. More workers are aware that it is in our interests to solidarize ourselves with the struggles of working people in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and to oppose the war our government is waging against them.

Workers here are learning that the U.S. government has a foreign policy that matches its anti-working-class policies at home. If we are to protect ourselves from the government's attacks at home we will also have to struggle for a new foreign policy — one based on solidarity with fellow working people.

These are but a few examples of what solidarity should mean today. Unfortunately, this is not the meaning of solidarity as applied by the top officials of the AFL-CIO.

A major theme that these officials are stressing on Solidarity Day III is "roll back imports." This has nothing in common with real solidarity. In fact it is its opposite.

The anti-imports drive turns the basic concept of working-class solidarity on its head. Rather than workers sticking together to defend *our* interests, it is based on the notion that workers and employers share *common* interests. But if that were true, there would be no need for working-class solidarity. If workers and employers *shared* common interests, we wouldn't need to stick together *against* the bosses.

We do not advance our real interests one iota by joining with the employers to blame fellow workers in other countries for the economic problems that are really caused by the capitalist economic system. Rather we should join hands with fellow workers and expose the lie that import quotas, tariffs, and other protectionist legislation are in any way a solution to our problems.

We should unite with workers in other countries on the basis of a simple basic truth. Whatever our differences, we share more in common with each other than we will ever share with any corporation, be it General Motors, Toyota, U.S. Steel, or British Steel. Moreover, despite the competition among them, these big businesses have more in common with each other than they will ever have with us.

The protectionist trade policies advocated by top AFL-CIO officials are part of a broader outlook that is a dead end for working people. At its heart are efforts to collaborate with Democratic Party officials, procapitalist economists, and other employer agents to formulate an

economic "plan" that will, allegedly, benefit both workers and corporations by "rebuilding America."

This search for an "industrial policy" is not much more than public relations hype in place of a real fight for workers interests. It boils down to convincing the banks to invest in some modernization of basic industry, which is just another variation of the idea that what's good for company profits will also be good for workers.

With this same idea in mind, the AFL-CIO executive council decided at its August meeting to make an unprecedented early endorsement of a Democratic candidate for president, sometime in October. AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland and others can be expected to boost this strategy of relying on employer politicians to represent worker interests at the Solidarity Day III activities.

Kirkland defended this class collaborationist course at a news conference during the executive council meeting. When asked by a reporter for his view on labor running its own candidate and forming its own party rather than endorsing Democrats, he responded:

"That's a formula for wandering in the political wilderness for the rest of one's natural life, and I don't have that many years left."

But if there is any formula for "wandering in the political wilderness" it is the election strategy that the labor movement has been tied to for years. Such an approach helped get us into the sad situation working people find ourselves in today. It is the political equivalent of voting for your foreman for shop steward or sticking with a company union because a real labor organization "isn't realistic now."

A policy of real solidarity among working people is incompatible with voting for the political representatives of the employers. If we are going to stand *up* to the employers on the job, on the picket line, and in the streets, we cannot stand *with* them in the political arena. This is true whether it's the Republican Ronald Reagan in the White House or the Democrat Bruce Babbitt in the Arizona state house.

Working-class solidarity means working-class independence — from all those who oppose our interests. That is why a genuine program of working-class solidarity leads logically to the formation of a new political party that is firmly committed to solidarity among working people.

Such a party — a labor party — would not mean the unions would stand alone. To the contrary, a labor party based on the unions could win support from labor's allies outside the unions just as the giant Solidarity Day I demonstration in Washington on Sept. 19, 1981, drew, in addition to unionists, tens of thousands who were not union members.

A labor party could inspire all of those who were inspired by that historic march. It could tap the same militancy and eagerness to fight back against government policies that was expressed in last week's march on Washington initiated by national civil rights leaders and endorsed by the AFL-CIO executive council.

Demonstrations like these show what can be accomplished when working people stick together. A labor party would provide a tool for working people to also stick together politically. It would be a real step forward in forging the working-class solidarity needed to wage an effective struggle against oppression and exploitation.

A missed opportunity for labor

Something unusual occurred in the recent special congressional election held in Chicago. The big majority of voters decided to send a prominent trade unionist, Charles Hayes, to the Capitol.

It is still an uncommon event when a unionist runs for high elected office — and even more exceptional when one wins. Many workers, as well as Blacks, are encouraged by the Hayes victory — won by a wide margin. And it is true that it is an important sign of the times.

Hayes, an international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), is a long-time activist in the labor movement. His record includes a leadership role in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists as well as early, outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam. Today he has spoken out against Washington's new Vietnam in Central America and also served as a Chicago coordinator for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Hayes ran as a unionist and emphasized the idea that working people need their own representatives in Congress. After winning the Democratic Party nomination in the primary, he won an overwhelming victory in the general election.

Hayes will now face the same situation that faces other progressive-minded Black leaders who have won congressional office. He has been elected as a Democrat and therefore is serving a political party whose policies are

anti-working-class and anti-Black. Unfortunately, there is no reason to assume that Hayes will be able to accomplish any more than other Black elected officials.

The fact is another alternative would have been possible. The Hayes campaign could have given tremendous impetus to the idea that labor and Blacks need to organize independently in order to wage an effective struggle.

Imagine if Hayes had run, not as a Democrat, but as an independent labor candidate. The resources and potential were certainly there. The UFCW is a large and powerful organization in Chicago. Hayes' campaign manager was Jim Wright, regional director of the United Auto Workers.

That would have really been something new. Beyond Chicago, it would have encouraged workers and Blacks all over the country, who are discussing and thinking about how to win political power, to chart an independent course. It could have inspired others to follow Hayes' example. And it would have made the point that unionists do not have to wait for the hidebound national leadership of the AFL-CIO to launch a labor party. Hayes, with the backing of his union and the Black community, could have got the ball rolling.

For the time being the opportunity has passed. But the need for independent working-class political action remains. And the discussion about how to get it started will continue.

1917: Ariz. miners vs. Phelps Dodge, government

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Striking Arizona copper miners (see story on back page) have frequently reminded *Militant* reporters that the Phelps Dodge Corp. is not a newcomer to vicious union-busting. They have a bloody precedent — the copper strike of 1917.

At a recent *Militant* forum in Phoenix, Josefina Otero told the story of 1917. Much of that story can be found in the book *We shall be all*, a history of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, also known as "Wobblies") by Melvyn Dubofsky.

Today, Phelps Dodge is one of the big six corporations that dominate the copper industry. It got its start in the 1890s, in the border town of Bisbee in the southeast corner of Arizona. Phelps Dodge built the town around its business.

As Phelps Dodge grew, it branched out to other Arizona cities like Morenci and Douglas (named after Phelps Dodge president Walter Douglas).

Its work force included immigrants from Eastern

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Europe and Mexico, as well as American Indians and U.S.-born whites.

The company kept the Mexican workers segregated and forced them into the worst living and working conditions.

At its 1916 convention, the IWW allotted several thousand dollars to a special fund to organize Arizona copper miners. Following through on this decision, the IWW raised demands for shorter hours, higher wages, and better working conditions for Arizona miners.

IWW organizers also stressed that their union "provides for the admittance . . . of every person working in the mining industry, regardless of creed, color, or nationality."

In April 1917, Congress declared war on Germany. This was followed by a sharp escalation of the war at home, against democratic rights in general and the trade union movement in particular.

The antiwar stance of the IWW — something many copper miners shared with the Wobblies — and its refusal to give up struggles to defend workers rights and living standards during the war, made the IWW a central target of ruling class repression.

This crackdown was accompanied and justified by a frenzied nationwide propaganda campaign that branded all opponents of the war as German spies and traitors.

Despite this atmosphere, by April 1917, the Metal Mine Workers Union No. 800 — an IWW affiliate — had signed up over 6,000 members and had 125 paid organizers, including Spanish-speaking organizers who distributed copies of *El Rebelde*, the Spanish-language IWW paper. By July 6, 25,000 Arizona copper miners were out on strike, including those organized by the American Federation of Labor. The strike tied up every mining camp in Arizona. The companies refused to negotiate.

The employers and their media portrayed the strike as a German plot. They turned to extralegal terrorism to crush it.

On July 3, mine owners and other local businessmen in Jerome, Arizona, organized the Jerome Loyalty League, an armed vigilante group, which threatened to arrest anybody who interfered with copper production.

A week later, these thugs rounded up and deported hundreds of copper miners to a desert in California. The Justice Department, instead of prosecuting these criminals, began investigating the deported workers, seeking to get "evidence" to bring charges against them!

Encouraged by this, the rulers offensive spread to Bisbee.

On July 11, Bisbee Sheriff Harry Wheeler, 2,000 "deputies," the mayor, city council, and top executives from Phelps Dodge and the railroad, telephone, and telegraph companies all plotted how to break the strike.

After shutting off any communication or transportation between Bisbee and the outside world, they proceeded to round up 1,200 Mexicans and strikers, let go the few who would agree to go back to work, packed the rest into the railroad company's cattle cars, and left them in the desert of Hermanas, New Mexico. Lacking adequate food, water, or shelter, they couldn't return to Bisbee, where armed thugs were ready for them.

Washington's response was to intensify its efforts to break all wartime strikes and to crush the IWW. Only 67 of the workers were ever able to return to live in the Bisbee area.

From 1917 to 1983, the struggle of the Arizona copper workers shows that this government is on the side of the employing class, not the working class. These are the kind of experiences that will help convince working people of the need to find the road to getting rid of this government and putting into power one that represents the workers and farmers.

Nicaraguan musicians

Among its other strengths, revolutionary Nicaragua is a nation of musicians, poets, and artists. One of the acute shortages it faces is a lack of guitar strings. One result is that many of its fine musical groups have been forced to become choral groups.

This shortage has resulted from the acute economic pressures facing a nation virtually under siege. Guitar strings are among the many items which must be imported. The Ministry of Culture is simply unable to purchase what is needed on the international market.

A group of people in Kansas City who are sympathetic to the Nicaraguan revolution have decided to do what they can to help to supply the 800 sets of guitar

strings that are needed this year. A supplier has been found who is willing to sell the strings at a 40 to 50 percent discount.

An account has been established for the sole purpose of funding this effort. A total of \$2,600 is needed. The committee's goal is to raise at least half that amount by mid-fall. At that time an official delegation of Kansas Citians will be traveling to Nicaragua at the invitation of the Nicaraguan government and will present the guitar strings that have been bought.

A \$25 donation is suggested (only 104 such contributions will complete the project) but any amount is appreciated. Checks can be sent to:
Guitar Strings for Nicaragua
P.O. Box 8151

Kansas City, Mo., 64131

Thank you for your help in this project.

Marty Pettit

Kansas City, Missouri

PLO answers slanders

Dr. Hatem Hussein, deputy director of the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer mission at the United Nations, spoke here in San Francisco on August 21 to a well-attended meeting of the Arab community.

During the course of his talk, Dr. Hussein challenged the slanders that the big-business media has been hurling at the PLO and its chairman, Yassir Arafat. He also used his speech to urge Palestinians in the United States to a

higher level of activity in speaking out against the new American-Israeli war moves.

At the conclusion of his presentation, Dr. Hussein referred to the warm welcome he received at the national conference of the Socialist Workers Party held in early August. He then invited Peter Buch to address the audience as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party and as an anti-Zionist activist.

Buch used the occasion to encourage the Arab community to join with American workers, Black people, Latinos, and women — "all those in this country who have had enough" — in the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom. Buch also exposed many of the Zionist organizations' attacks on the march.

Buch's suggestion of solidarity with striking telephone workers and copper miners, who, like the Palestinian people, are denounced as "terrorists" by the government, was met with enthusiasm.

Dr. Hussein ended the evening by answering questions, which centered on the current direction of the PLO and the role of Palestinian women in the struggle.

B.B.

San Francisco, Calif.

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.

Talk with head of Ariz. miners women's auxiliary

The following is a guest column by Rich Stuart. Stuart was one of the *Militant* reporters covering the strike of 3,200 copper miners in Arizona against the Phelps Dodge Corp. The strike was precipitated by the company's demand for massive concessions from the 13 unions that organize the mines.

AJO, Ariz. — Annie Jones was a cashier at the Phelps Dodge Mercantile Co. until 16 months ago. She was laid



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Margaret Jayko

off by the company store, along with a big part of the work force at the Phelps Dodge copper mine and smelter here in Ajo.

Her father is a Mexican and retired Phelps Dodge miner and her mother is a Papago Indian.

Today, Annie is the chairperson of the Women's Auxiliary of the striking copper miners.

The strike started July 1, and the women's auxiliary was organized on July 5. It now has more than 200 active members including striking women miners and women friends and relatives of strikers. Anybody who supports the striking unions is welcome in the women's auxiliary, which provides food, medical, and social services for needy strikers and their families.

Annie was proud of the role women play in the picket lines. "Phelps Dodge doesn't know how to deal with us women. We come back fighting every time they try to slap us down."

Annie is the only member of the Copper Strike Relief Fund Committee, set up by the 13 striking unions, who is not a union official. This fund helps to pay strikers' electric bills, rent, and food bills. That usually means it

goes straight to the company store, the Phelps Dodge-owned power company, or as rent to Phelps Dodge for company housing.

Although not a mine worker herself, Annie feels strongly that the union has been strengthened by women miners. Phelps Dodge was forced by a lawsuit filed in 1969 to begin hiring women.

Now, Annie said, "women are some of the staunchest members of the unions. Many of them are the sole supporters of their families. Phelps Dodge didn't want women in the mines in the first place, so they have to battle against Phelps Dodge discrimination. The only recourse they have is the union, so they are strongly proud."

Annie told me it wasn't until this year that the first woman got an apprenticeship for one of the skilled jobs. And until 8 or 10 years ago, no Mexican or Indian miners could get an apprenticeship, forcing them solely into unskilled jobs. "They only gave apprenticeships to Anglos," said Annie.

Annie feels that it is an injustice to the women miners that the layoffs hit them hardest. Since they are usually limited to unskilled jobs and hired only recently — after being kept out of the mines by Phelps Dodge — they are among the first to be laid off.

Annie says she doesn't agree with some aspects of the women's movement but she is "absolutely for equal pay for equal work" and she doesn't "agree with the idea that women should be seen and not heard."

She thinks that in Central America Reagan is "getting us ready for another Vietnam — sticking our nose where it doesn't belong."

Annie has four daughters. I asked her what she would do if they were sons and got drafted. "I'd like to be patriotic, but I wouldn't ask anyone to do something I'm not prepared to do myself."

Like a lot of the strikers, Annie has been thinking long and hard about politics. The Arizona governor, Democrat Bruce Babbitt, was elected with labor backing. Now Babbitt is using the state police to enforce Arizona's anti-union "right-to-work" law, allowing the company to bring scabs in and out of the mines.



Militant/Rich Stuart

Annie Jones —

Annie said "the working class is going to have to be served better than what we have now. I think we're going to have a group rise out of the ranks of unskilled workers in some other party."

"As the turmoil engulfs us, it's a definite eventuality that something like a labor party is going to happen. We have to change and adapt our consciousness to what's going on, and we have to come around in politics. No party around now serves our best interests. If you're a hardcore unskilled laborer, neither Democrats or Republicans are interested in your interests. They're not interested in us down here — they can get the 'boots' [cops] down here but not food to feed us."

Annie Jones may be one of the most outspoken representatives of the striking copper miners, but the thinking she is doing is not unusual. When fighters like these and their unions begin to intervene directly in politics, it will be a big step toward a government that represents not the Phelps Dodes, but the Annie Joneses.

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

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INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box

80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1026, 1400 Glenwood Ave., Greensboro. Zip: 27403. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Solidarity with copper strikers

Unions say they won't back down, map new steps to back strike

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON, Ariz. — Meeting here August 27, a conference of the National Nonferrous Industry Coordinated Bargaining Committee projected important new steps to mobilize solidarity with the embattled Phelps Dodge copper miners. The committee is a group of 28 unions led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and representing workers in the nonferrous metals industry. In the face of stepped-up company and government strike breaking aimed at busting the copper workers' unions, the union nonferrous industry conference refused to back down from its original contract demands.

Workers at Phelps Dodge have been on the picket lines since July 1. The strike began when the company refused to sign a contract modeled on one the unions had negotiated only months earlier with the Kennecott Corp. Traditionally, the Kennecott contract has been accepted as the standard in the copper industry.

"The battle line is drawn here," USWA international Secretary-Treasurer Frank McKee told the press, "on protecting the integrity of pattern bargaining. . . . [The company] want[s] the Phelps Dodge workers to make far less than anyone else. Phelps Dodge is attempting to set a new wage standard in the industry."

The company is demanding that workers accept a virtual end to their cost of living protection; a wage freeze; a new, lower wage scale for all future hires; and other takebacks.

To back up the strikers who are resisting these demands, the union industry conference voted to ask the 100,000 union members who are represented by the conference to donate a full day's pay each month to a strike relief fund.

The decisions of the conference come at an important juncture in the strike. Under the pressure of militant mass picket lines in early August, Phelps Dodge had agreed to close its largest operation, in Morenci, Arizona, for 10 days and resume negotiations with the copper workers' unions. However, the company refused to bargain in good faith and no progress toward a settlement was made.

When the 10-day moratorium expired, Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt mobilized seven units of the national guard and hundreds of state troopers to help Phelps Dodge reopen the Morenci mine. The heavily armed guardsmen and cops have been escorting increasing numbers of scabs into the mine.

This step was the latest and most important in a series that put the power of the state government squarely behind the union-busting of Phelps Dodge. Other such steps included court orders restricting the number of pickets and widespread police harassment.

Within the last two weeks, two dozen strikers were arrested in Morenci. Eleven were arrested in Ajo. Phelps Dodge issued 95 termination notices to Morenci strikers. Sixty of these workers also received notices ordering them to vacate company-owned housing by September 22. In Ajo, 75 were fired and ordered to leave their homes.

The two dozen arrested in Morenci were charged with "rioting." Ray Isner, chief steward of Operating Engineers Local 428, told the *Militant*, "We've had countless individuals arrested in their homes. The show of force is excessive. Women have been arrested in front of their children. As many as a dozen Department of Public Safety officers [state troopers] have encircled homes. Excessive bond, of \$15,000 or as much as \$20,000, is a big problem."

Most of the recent arrests in Ajo came on August 25 when Pima County Sheriff's deputies surrounded homes with shotguns

and arrested strikers for their activities on the picket lines. The cops had been hoping to arrest more workers but were unable to find everyone they were looking for.

Those arrested were handcuffed and booked into the Ajo annex of the Pima County Jail. They too were charged with "rioting" and other counts of "interfering with judicial proceedings" (violating one of the injunctions) and "obstructing a public highway."

Two more arrests followed the next day. Biviano Gonzales, the son of a striker, was charged with aggravated assault, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct after he "caused a disturbance," according to police Sgt. John Kilpatrick, when he came to visit his father, who had been arrested the previous day.

The arrested strikers were transferred to a jail in Tucson the next day. All were handcuffed and put in the back of a van with no water or air-conditioning. The temperature was over 100 degrees and the drive lasted more than two hours.

While the unions tried to arrange bail money, the strikers refused to be released one at a time as the money became available. Instead they insisted on remaining together in jail until money was available to bail them all out together. This happened on August 27 at 3:00 p.m. The released strikers came directly to the Ramada Inn, site of the nonferrous industry conference. Although the meeting had ended an hour earlier, many union representatives stayed to welcome the strikers back from jail and to hear their story.

Another strike-breaking move had occurred earlier in the week. On August 24 Frank Navarrete, director of the Arizona Criminal Intelligence Systems Agency, confirmed that his agents had been spying on the strikers. Navarrete admitted he had sent agents into the mining towns of Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas to work undercover.

"What happened during the strike doesn't fall within the definition of organized crime, but from my perspective, it's organized labor," said Navarrete in explaining the actions of his agency. "Our



Militant/Rich Stuart

Copper strikers rally at state capitol in Phoenix

main emphasis is to explore the possibility of a deep rooted criminal conspiracy with respect to the strike and the potential threat of violence," Navarrete went on.

Contributions to the strike relief defense fund will be used to defend workers who have been arrested on frame-up charges like those filed against strikers in Morenci and Ajo and future action that may be signalled by Navarrete's threats.

In addition, the funds will be used to finance legal action against state and county authorities whose strike-breaking moves, union representatives maintain, have violated workers' civil rights. A dozen Arizona lawyers have volunteered to help in this legal defense.

Furthermore, union attorney Duane Ice reported that the unions will fight all the

firings announced by Phelps Dodge through the grievance procedure, including arbitration if necessary. At the same time the unions will seek jury trials to challenge the eviction notices Phelps Dodge has issued to strikers.

The plan of action decided upon by the nonferrous industry conference is an important signal to the rest of the labor movement to come to the aid of the striking copper miners. The bigger the show of solidarity, the better the chances of beating back the joint company-government union-busting.

Contributions to the special fund can be sent to:

Copper Strike Relief Fund
606 S. Plummer St.
Tucson, Arizona 85719

SCLC: peace is issue for Blacks

BY STUART CROME
AND MALIK MIAH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "We have a right to talk about foreign policy. We, who were brought here against our will, are one of the first victims of America's foreign policy."

Those were the words of Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Lowery was speaking to an audience of 300 people attending the 26th annual convention of SCLC, which occurred here August 24-27.

The theme of the convention — "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom" — coincided with the demands of the August 27 march on Washington. SCLC was a major participant and builder of the march. Lowery was one of the national chairpersons of the demonstration and a major speaker.

SCLC was formed in 1957 by Martin Luther King, Jr., and other leaders of the fight against Jim Crow segregation in the South. King was the central figure at the 1963 March on Washington of 250,000.

Over the last several years the SCLC national and local leaders have led marches and other protests, especially in a number of southern towns. These have targeted the racist policies of city, state, and federal governments.

The convention discussed both the U.S. government's war against Blacks and other working people at home and its wars abroad. The discussion on U.S. wars in other countries was particularly noteworthy. Until recently, it was not a common theme at civil rights conventions.

Lowery in his keynote address told the assembled audience: "This foreign policy [of the Reagan government] has become bellicose and interventionist" and is focused on "supporting right-wing regimes."

Lowery added that the fight for peace abroad is completely tied to the fight for jobs and freedom at home.

Lowery criticized those who said "peace" is not a civil rights issue and that Blacks shouldn't be discussing foreign policy questions. In particular he blasted Bayard Rustin, head of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and march coordinator of the 1963 March on Washington, for making such a charge against the organizers of the August 27 march.

Nicaraguan speaks

A number of international guests spoke to the issue of linking the struggles of the oppressed and exploited abroad to the fight of Blacks in the United States for self-determination.

Francisco Campbell, the first secretary

of the Nicaraguan Embassy, for example, told the convention of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for justice and freedom.

In reference to Reagan's war policies, Campbell stated, "This policy is leading to a new Vietnam. This administration is trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua." But, he continued, "the people of Nicaragua have said 'we are not going back!'"

This was followed by a loud round of applause.

Alvaro Echeverria, son of a former president of Mexico, said Nicaragua was like a "cheerful sunrise after a long period in captivity."

Johnstone Makatini, United Nations representative of the African National Congress, and Theo-Ben Gurirab, UN representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation, received some of the strongest applause. They spoke on the struggles of the Black majorities in South Africa and Namibia.

Elvira Rocha, coordinator of the Black Consciousness Movement of Brazil, also addressed the convention.

Randall Robinson, the executive director of TransAfrica, urged everyone present to oppose the U.S.-French intervention in Chad.

Although there was limited discussion at

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