

Washington escalates wars in Lebanon and Nicaragua

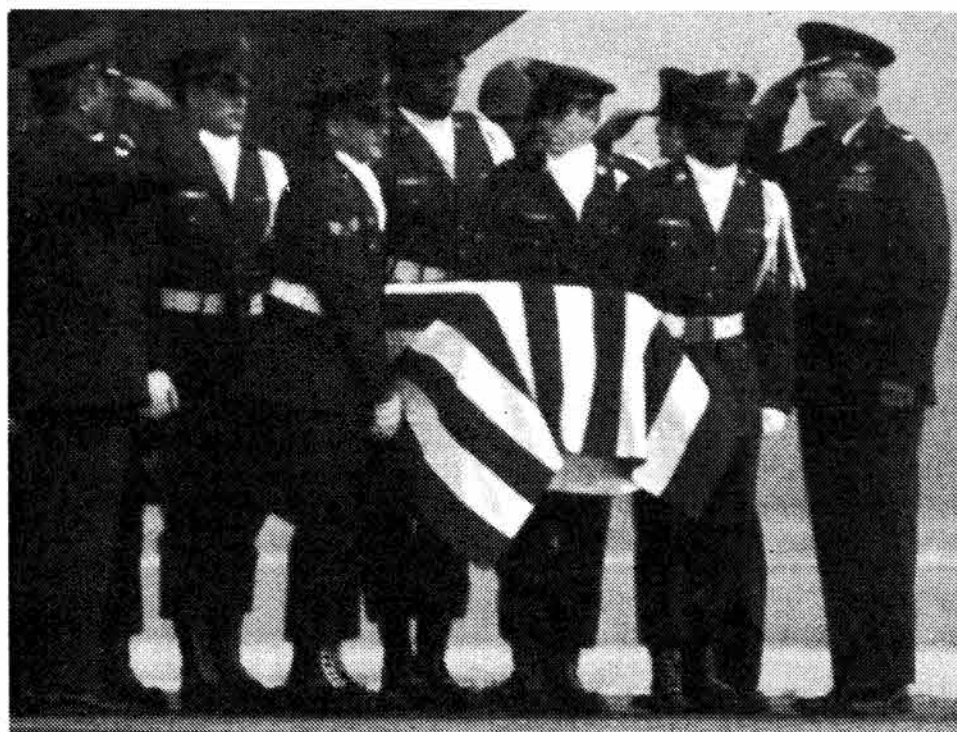
Reagan OKs shelling of Beirut

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

President Reagan has given the green light for U.S. troops to increase their direct involvement in the fighting in Lebanon's civil war. On September 13, the U.S. government authorized its ground troops in Beirut to call in naval and air support for the British, French, and Italian components of the so-called peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

Naval artillery and U.S. war planes can also be used to back the army of Lebanon's ultrarightist regime. That government has already benefited from reconnaissance missions flown by U.S. pilots in F-14 Tomcats.

This new escalation comes just one day after the arrival of a 2,000-man contingent of the U.S. Marines to reinforce the nearly 2,000 U.S. troops already in Lebanon. Besides the troops, the amphibious force is equipped with Harrier jump jets. A marine spokesman said the jets would be used "exclusively for close air support" for the troops in "forward positions," military jargon for soldiers in combat. Moreover, in addition to the U.S. aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* now stationed off the Lebanese coast, the battleship *New Jersey* is en route from the Caribbean. The total number of U.S. forces in Lebanon or off its



Coffin of slain GI is shipped home from Lebanon. Reagan's aggression ensures that, as in Vietnam, U.S. toll there will mount.

coast — counting marines and sailors — is now 14,000.

U.S. troops have already been involved in combat. In recent fighting four marines were killed. Following these deaths, the U.S. troops let loose with their howitzers and the big guns of U.S. warships against Druse positions in the Shuf Mountains.

The Druse are a religious grouping that believes in aspects of both Christianity and Islam. Druse militia have been fighting for two weeks to expel the militia of the ul-

trarightist Phalange from the Shuf Mountains. The regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, himself a Phalangist, sent government troops to back the rightist forces.

The Gemayel government was imposed on the Lebanese people by the Israeli invasion of June 1982 and the landing of troops from the United States and Europe. Lebanese opposition to the government is widespread. This opposition is deepened

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New air attacks aimed at Sandinistas

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — With the aerial bombardment of Sandino Airport September 8, and a similar attack on the northern port city of Corinto the following day, the U.S. government's undeclared war against Nicaragua has been ominously escalated another notch.

As advisers and weapons pour into Honduras to the north, with warships on station just off both of Nicaragua's coasts, counterrevolutionaries organized by the CIA have mounted airborne bombing attacks on the two central targets pointed to by President Reagan in public news conferences earlier this year.

Shortly after dawn September 8, an un-

Exclusive on-the-scene report from our news bureau in Managua, Nicaragua.

marked civilian aircraft flew in from the Pacific Ocean at tree-top level and bombed the airport. One employee was killed, three were wounded, and an estimated \$300,000 in damage was caused.

Arriving soon after the explosion, this reporter saw the extensive damage to the airport, just outside Managua. Two 500-pound bombs had been dropped. Shattered glass lay everywhere. Part of the passenger terminal was completely destroyed, and the air was thick with a mixture of smoke and the acrid smell of scorched building material.

That same morning another civilian plane bombed a residential area in southwest Managua, near the home of Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. D'Escoto is the Sandinista official who was targeted for death several months ago in a CIA poisoning plot. These bombs fortunately fell into an empty lot, and apart from shattered windows no damage was done.

Both planes had flown in from Costa Rica, whose northern border is some 80 miles south of the Nicaraguan capital. The one that attacked the airport was shot down by Sandinista anti-aircraft batteries.

Documents retrieved from the plane's wreckage showed that the pilot, Augustín Román Maradiaga, carried a U.S. "green card" identifying him as a resident of the United States. Both he and the copilot were equipped with U.S. military-issue parachutes. The counterrevolutionary organization headed by ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, a recipient of CIA funds and arms, has publicly claimed credit for the attack.

This and other evidence of direct U.S. complicity will be presented by Nicaragua in a special session of the United Nations Security Council that Managua's representative to the UN has requested.

On September 9, two more unmarked aircraft entered Nicaragua, this time from Honduras, and bombed the port facilities in

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El Salvador discussion grows in unions

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Discussion in the labor movement about the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is deepening. One reflection of this is the growing number of union newspapers that are carrying reports on developments in El Salvador and Nicaragua. This includes reports on the recent visit to El Salvador by the National Labor Committee in Support

of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

The Labor Committee has just published its report as a printed booklet (The full text appeared earlier in the September 2 and 9 *Militant*.) The very-well-written report clearly exposes the brutality of the Salvadoran dictatorship and calls for an end to U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran government. It notes that the "current rationale behind our military policy in El Salvador cannot but lead us into another Vietnam."

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

Its members include the presidents of the following unions: Graphic Arts International Union; International Chemical Workers Union; International Union of Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers; International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); International Molders and Allied Workers Union; National Education Association (NEA); Newspaper Guild; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); and United Farm Workers of America.

All but the NEA are affiliates of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO Executive Council supports U.S. government policy in Central America.

The September issue of *Labor Unity*, published by ACTWU, printed the first part of the Labor Committee's report on El

Salvador and plans to print the remainder in its next issue.

IUE News reported on the Labor Committee's fact-finding visit and its report in the paper's August issue.

The August issue of the UAW's magazine, *Solidarity*, carried an article headlined, "Will we go to war in Central America?"

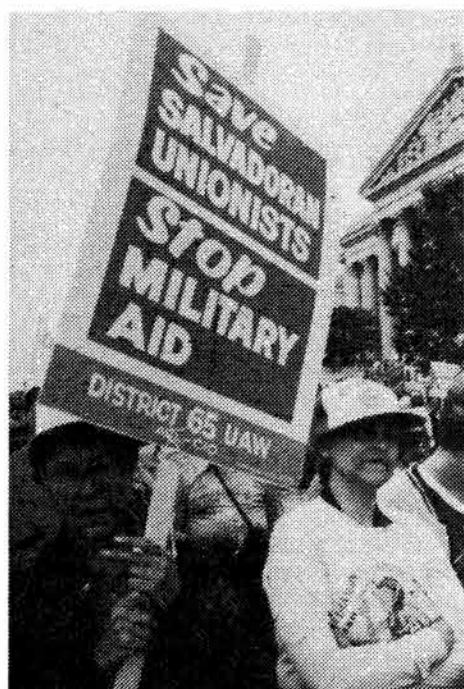
After noting U.S. war moves against Nicaragua and government lobbying for more military aid to El Salvador, *Solidarity* wrote that the government "has revived the practice of 'gunboat diplomacy' which landed Marines in Nicaragua in 1933, overthrew a democratic government in 1954, and intervened in the Dominican Republic elections in 1966. Underlying such military interventions then and now is the view that Latin America is a private preserve of U.S. business interests."

The article goes on to tell of the Labor Committee's visit and its conclusions and then asks: "Are other Central American recipients of U.S. aid any less prone to slaughter their own people?"

It then describes those recipients: the counterrevolutionary terrorists from ex-dictator Somoza's National Guards who are fighting the revolutionary government in Nicaragua; the Guatemalan regime, which has slaughtered Indians; and Honduras, where "a right-wing civilian government, installed after military-run elections, funnels U.S. aid to the Somocistas."

Citing resolutions adopted at the UAW's constitutional convention in Dallas in May, *Solidarity* writes that the union "calls for an

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Militant/Lou Howort
New York unionists in D.C. protest U.S. El Salvador intervention.

Reagan OKs shelling of Beirut

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by the discrimination against the Druse and Muslim populations. (See articles on page 3.)

U.S. imperialism's attempt to crush the revolt of the Druse and Muslim communities has thrown Lebanon into a civil war. President Reagan admitted to a Republican audience in Arizona on September 9 that there seemed to be an "out-right civil war" going on in Lebanon. Later he backtracked on that description.

Both the U.S. and Lebanese governments officially claim that there's no civil war, but, rather, Syrian meddling in Lebanese politics. Gemayel's regime actually said that the war was caused by a Syrian-backed foreign invasion.

This same lie is being used by the Israeli regime to justify its continued presence near the Shuf Mountains, which are just east of Beirut. An Israeli military patrol was spotted on the coastal highway just a few miles from the fighting in the mountains. The patrol was six miles north of the Awali River, even though Israel claimed to have moved all its forces out of the mountains and south of the Awali River.

An Israeli military official told the *Washington Post* that if Syrian troops move in force, there would be a "reassessment" of the current Israeli government stance that its troops will remain south of the Awali.

Battle in Shuf Mountains

The latest reinforcement of U.S. military support to the shaky Gemayel regime comes as the Lebanese Army and Phalangist soldiers are being routed in the Shuf Mountains. Druse spokespeople say that 80 percent of the mountain territory is now under their control.

Intense fighting is being waged for Suk al Gharb, a key town just three miles east of the United States Embassy and Gemayel's presidential palace. The Reagan administration, alarmed by the successes of the Druse militia, decided to order its troops to aid the embattled Lebanese Army.

"That's about as far as the State Department is from the Capitol," one White House official said. "I don't think we are going to stand by and let places like that, which are of such vital interest to us, be overrun," he said.

The 5,400-man multinational combat force in Beirut was sent there to shore up the government of Gemayel. Just how tenuous is Gemayel's rule was shown when the Lebanese president asked the U.S., French, Italian, and British governments to increase the size of the force to 12,000 troops on the ground.

After one year, the imperialist troops have, so far, failed to achieve a stable, right-wing regime in Lebanon. The *New York Times* reports that, privately, U.S. officials admit it will take years to accomplish this task.

But they insist it must be done.

When U.S. troops were sent to Lebanon in September 1982 they were to play a neutral, peacekeeping role. The White House

claimed that the marines would shoot only in self-defense. Reagan hoped that the U.S. government could carry out its military plans in Lebanon as it did in Korea 30 years earlier. The U.S. war against the Korean people was called a "police action." It was waged under the auspices of the United Nations charged with a "peacekeeping" task.

But now, with Lebanon's rightist regime seriously threatened by Druse and Muslim militia, U.S. troops have had to play a more open role in its defense. A debate is raging in the U.S. ruling class over whether to admit the combat role of its troops or continue to insist, like Reagan, that the marines are neutral peacekeepers. This discussion among Democratic and Republican politicians has centered around whether President Reagan should invoke the War Powers Act of 1973.

This resolution was adopted by Congress in the wake of the U.S. troop withdrawal from Vietnam. Both that war and the Korean War before it had been waged without a congressional declaration of war. Many capitalist politicians said that the fighting of long, undeclared wars showed that the president wielded too much power. The U.S. Congress adopted the War Powers Act to supposedly deal with this problem.

The act requires the president to tell Congress when U.S. troops overseas are in danger of "imminent hostilities." The president must then withdraw the troops within 60 days unless Congress approves keeping them there.

Now, the Reagan administration has argued against invoking the act. Government spokespeople continue to insist that the

U.S. troops face no hostilities — despite the deaths of four marines in recent weeks. White House officials fear that invoking the War Powers Act would restrict the U.S. government's ability to use whatever military force is needed to keep Gemayel in power.

Stabilizing the Lebanese government will take longer than 60 days. It's been in shambles since the 1975-76 civil war — eight years. The U.S. rulers know that working people in this country don't want another Vietnam War. It's possible, in the view of some capitalist politicians, that this antiwar sentiment would find an expression in the Congress. If the War Powers Act is invoked, they say, Congress could refuse to declare war and U.S. imperialism's goals in Lebanon would be unmet.

Liberal 'opposition'

Congressional Democrats have been quick to relieve these fears. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, for example, met with White House chief of staff James Baker to discuss a resolution that would extend U.S. military presence in Lebanon.

Later, O'Neill said that, "We want to work together with the White House. If Syria thinks America is divided and it can wait around until we pull out, they are wrong."

On September 12, resolutions were presented in both the Senate and the House of Representatives to authorize, under the War Powers Act, the deployment of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon for six months.



The sponsor of the bill in the Senate was Sen. Charles Mathias, a Maryland Republican. Mathias, who helped to draft the War Powers Act, said, "If the president fails to abide by the act, he runs a serious risk that the American people will not support our commitment in Lebanon."

The U.S. government is deeply concerned about the situation in Lebanon. The increased U.S. firepower dispatched to Beirut, and the escalating aggression of the French and British troops — both of whom have been flying war planes, threateningly, over Beirut — may not be enough to ensure Gemayel's rule. The Reagan administration faces a major dilemma: pull out and watch Gemayel's government crumble, or, openly commit U.S. troops in the war.

Naked U.S. aggression against the Lebanese people would be met with opposition from workers and farmers in the United States and around the world. Whether the political costs of such a war are too high is now being weighed by the U.S. capitalist class.

Cops gun down Black youth in Boston

BY MIKE GALATI

BOSTON — Elijah Pate, a 19-year-old Black, was shot and killed by city cops here on September 7, after allegedly stealing a car. City officials and the cops admitted that Pate was unarmed.

They claimed that Pate was driving a stolen Cadillac. He had been tracked by the police, trapped between two patrol cars, and then had driven back and forth between them, the officials and cops said. The report filed by the cops said that he was shot in the car, then jumped out and ran several yards before collapsing in the street.

The cop version of what happened fell apart, however, when several witnesses to the murder said that Pate had been shot after he left the car and was attempting to flee.

On September 8, as outrage in the Black community grew over this killing, city officials were forced to admit that Pate had been shot more than once, but refused to identify the location of the bullet wounds in Pate's body. They continued to claim that all of the shots were fired while Pate was still in the car.

Finally, on September 9, Eloise Pate, mother of the slain youth, invited a

licensed embalmer and a reporter from the *Boston Globe* to examine the body. They found that there were five gunshot wounds, two in the chest and three in the right leg, both above and below the knee.

Afterward, embalmer James Hadley explained that "it does not seem possible the leg wounds came while he was seated in a car. The seat would have been behind his leg."

Eloise Pate told the press, "I want them to pay for murdering my son. I want them to pay for it. I know now that my son was murdered, I saw where they shot him."

This racist killing by cops comes only three weeks after a similar attack on August 20. Then city cops shot and seriously wounded a 14-year-old Latino, Alex Valentin. The cops claim that the shooting was justified because their lives were threatened.

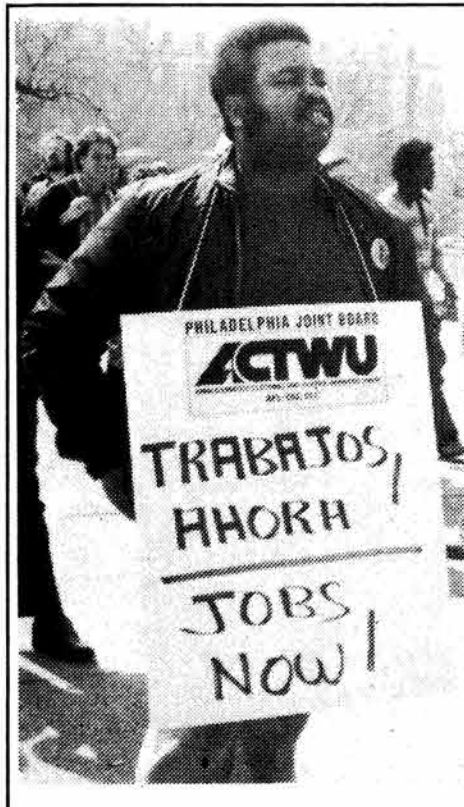
The cops say that after trying to quiet a loud party, and making one arrest, Valentin and others threw bricks from the building's rooftop as the police tried to leave. The cops say they ordered the youths to stop and that when they didn't, they fired one shot, striking Valentin in the face.

Outrage in the Latino community over this shooting led more than 100 people to stage a protest on August 31 in front of police headquarters.

Two days later, in a further attack on the community, city officials went to court charging Valentin with assaulting the cops.

In response to this cop violence, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Eloise Linger, demanded that the cops involved in the murder of Pate and the shooting of Valentin "be punished to the fullest extent of the law for their racist and murderous violence." She added that the "charges against Alex Valentin should be dropped."

While campaigning throughout the city this past week, Linger has explained that "these shootings are products of the atmosphere of racism fostered by the city government as a whole. Through its attacks on busing and affirmative action, through its failure to provide adequate jobs, housing, health care, and social services to the Black and Latino communities, the city gives the green light to the reprehensible violence against Black and Latino youth practiced by the Boston Police Department."



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Why the U.S. Marines are in Lebanon

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

President Reagan said they'd be home last Christmas. But Christmas has come and gone and the U.S. Marines are still in Lebanon. Moreover, another 2,000 have just arrived to reinforce the 1,800-man U.S. contingent already there.

President Reagan lied about something else, too. On September 20, 1982, when he ordered the marines to Beirut, Reagan said they would act "to restore peace." Instead of peace we got war. A civil war that the U.S. government is becoming more and more deeply involved in.

What is Washington's aim in intervening in this civil war?

This intervention isn't the first time that the marines have invaded Lebanon. Fourteen thousand marines landed in Lebanon in 1958. And for the same reason — to prop up the discriminatory political system that guarantees the domination of Lebanon's Maronite Christian minority. The majority of Lebanese are Muslim — some 60 percent. The Maronite Christians make up well under 25 percent of the nation and less than half of its Christian population.

This discriminatory setup was forced upon the Lebanese people by French imperialism following World War II. (See article on this page.) The U.S. and European imperialists want to maintain this system to ensure their continued dominance of the Lebanese people today.

Defending this regime foisted upon the Lebanese toilers was one of several objectives of the June, 1982, Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Since Lebanon's bloody civil war of 1975-76, the country has been in a state of political chaos. The Lebanese government and army were only nominally in power. Besides the government troops, Syrian forces occupied parts of Lebanon. In addition, there were two other principal armies in the country. One was the military forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The other was the Christian Phalangist militia.

The Phalangists, with an armed force of around 10,000, led the right-wing assault on the Lebanese Muslims and the Palestinian refugees during the 1975-76 civil war. The Phalange was founded by Pierre Gemayel in 1936. He consciously modeled it on the European fascist movements of the time.

Israeli invasion

In the framework of the extremely weak capitalist state in Lebanon, the PLO was able to organize relatively freely. This posed a big problem to the Israeli regime. Israel's 1982 invasion was aimed at crushing the PLO and stabilizing a rightist regime in Beirut that could prevent the PLO from reestablishing a base in Lebanon.

The Israeli terror smashed the PLO bases in southern Lebanon where they had strong support in the refugee camps. Further, the Israelis dealt a military blow to the PLO by forcing them out of Beirut.

But the heroic resistance of the PLO in West Beirut, and the bestiality of the Israeli siege, gave millions around the globe a new understanding of the progressive character of the Palestinian struggle. The PLO won increased sympathy and support throughout the world. And Israel's racist and imperialist nature was more clearly understood by millions.

Israel's attempt to shore up the tenuous rule of Lebanese President Bashir Gemayel, a Phalangist, deepened this process. A September 14, 1982, car bomb



U.S. Marines landing in Beirut in 1982. Two thousand more have just arrived to defend unpopular Lebanese government.

explosion killed Bashir Gemayel shortly after the PLO forces exited from the city. Israeli troops moved into West Beirut the next day. The Begin government claimed this move was a "policing" action that would bring peace to Lebanon.

But in the next several days the actual role of Israeli troops came to light before a horror-stricken world. On September 16-18, 1982, Phalangist militia slaughtered hundreds of defenseless Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut. This mass murder was carried out under the protection of Israeli troops.

U.S., European troops

The worldwide outrage at the massacre and Israel's role in it forced the Israeli regime to pull back from its objective of smashing resistance to the rightist regime carried out by West Beirut Muslims. Imperialist troops from the United States, France, Italy, and Britain were sent. The new regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, Bashir's brother and, like him, a Phalangist, had very little support in the country. Besides the challenge to Gemayel's rule in West Beirut, Syrian and PLO troops were still operating in the Bekaa Valley. For imperialism this was an intolerable situation.

Meanwhile, the massacre at Sabra and Shatila had brought international working-class consciousness of Israel's role in the Middle East to a historic turning point. There was an important shift against the Israeli colonial-settler state — above all, in Israel itself. This shift is decisive in hampering Israeli and Western imperialism's ability to achieve their goals in the Middle East.

Hundreds of thousands of Israelis took to the streets in the days after the massacre in West Beirut to protest their government's war policies. These actions marked a step forward for the class struggle in Israel. They highlight the beginning of a political process that will eventually lead Israeli working people to question the basis of the Zionist state.

The U.S. government was also concerned by these events in Israel. The settler state is Washington's central ally in the Middle East, the imperialist bulwark against the Arab revolution. In the past Israeli attacks on Arab states and the Palestinian people were accepted by most U.S. workers. Many people mistakenly saw Israel as a peace-loving, democratic, and humanitarian nation surrounded by hostile Arab neighbors.

But the myth of poor, embattled Israel took a severe thrashing last year.

Now, more working people see that the U.S. bombs, tanks, artillery, and F-16 fighters supplied to Israel are used to murder defenseless civilians. There is increasing opposition to U.S. aid to Israel — aid

that is essential to the Zionist state and the maintenance of imperialist domination in the region.

Israel alters plans

Meanwhile, Israeli opposition to Begin's war policies forced Tel Aviv to alter its plans. Following the giant protests in Israel the Begin regime felt obliged to withdraw from Beirut. The multinational "peacekeeping" force of U.S., French, Italian, and British troops moved in. They took the place of the Israeli forces, which withdrew to the outskirts of the city. Their goal was the same — to try to stabilize the rule of Gemayel's ultrarightist regime.

Israel, however, found that even withdrawing its troops to the Shuf Mountains wasn't enough to quell growing discontent at home. Israeli casualties continued to mount. Dissatisfaction at the human and material costs of the Israeli war in Lebanon was undercutting support for the Begin government.

So, the Israeli rulers retreated. Having

failed to destroy the PLO or stabilize the proimperialist Gemayel government, Israel settled for trying to get a de facto annexation of southern Lebanon. The Israeli forces withdrew from the Shuf Mountains September 3-4.

The imperialist troops — brought into Lebanon when Israel couldn't "finish the job" — are being beefed up. The Lebanese government's rule doesn't extend further than Beirut. Lebanese President Gemayel says his government's troops are no match for the Druse militia in the Shuf Mountains. He is pressing the U.S. and European governments to increase the size of their multinational combat force of 7,400 soldiers.

The redeployment of Israeli troops in Lebanon forces the U.S. and European imperialists to take more direct responsibility for backing up the Gemayel regime. More troops are being sent to fight and die in defense of an ultrarightist government dominated by the Phalangists — the same gang that carried out the massacre at Sabra and Shatila.

France's colonial legacy

Before World War I Lebanon was part of greater Syria, which was ruled by the Turkish Ottoman Empire. During the war the Arabs in Syria made an agreement with Britain to fight against Turkey, which was allied with Germany, on the condition that national independence would be granted to all of Syria after the war.

But following the war the French and British imperialists divided Syria between themselves. Britain got what became Jordan and Palestine. France got Lebanon and today's Syria. When Syrian nationalists proclaimed the independence of a united Syria in 1919-1920, French troops marched in to establish colonial rule.

The French then set up Lebanon as a separate state. It was mostly Maronite Christians who lived in the Lebanese area of greater Syria. In the new state, however, as many Muslims were included as possible while keeping a Christian majority. By granting privileges to the Maronites the French sought to use them as a battering ram against the rising Arab nationalist movement.

Besides the Maronites there were other Christian groups. There were two large groupings among the Muslims — the Sunni and the Shia. In addition, there were the Druse, who are adherents to aspects of both Christianity and Islam.

Still, nationalist sentiment against French domination continued to mount. The French imperialists tried to squelch this opposition by arranging parliamentary elections in 1943. The new parliament con-

sisted of 30 Christians and 25 Muslim and Druse members. Christian and Muslim politicians agreed to this setup in a "national pact."

However, when the new government declared independence following the elections, France dissolved it. Lebanon didn't get its formal independence until after World War II. Then, following the plan of the "national pact," the government posts were divided on a religious basis. The presidency and army chief of staff went to the Maronites, the premier's post to the Sunni Muslims, and the speaker of the Chamber was to be a Shiite Muslim.

This arrangement gave the greatest power to the Christians. This discriminatory allocation of power was justified by a French-conducted census. The accuracy of the census is suspect. In any case, now, it's clear that the Muslims are the majority in the Lebanese population.

The political system in Lebanon discriminates against Muslims and Druse. The conflicts this generates are heightened by the horrible social conditions and economic exploitation of the Lebanese workers and peasants, who in their majority are Muslim.

Fundamentally, the war in Lebanon today is a reflection of the struggle between world imperialism and the Arab revolution. Imperialism's incessant attempt to impose a discriminatory regime on Lebanon and, through it, maintain its rule over the Lebanese people has resulted in a bloody civil war in 1975-76 and in the current civil war.

Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

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U.S. gov't escalates war in Nicaragua with new air attacks

Continued from front page

the northern city of Corinto. Only heavy anti-aircraft fire from the port's defenders prevented a disaster. One of the rockets fired by the planes fell within 80 yards of two tanks filled with more than half a million gallons of highly flammable chemicals.

The attack on Corinto could have cost thousands of lives. The port city, a major fuel and chemical storage center, is located on a spit of land off Nicaragua's Pacific coast. A single bridge serves as its major connection with the mainland.

On their first pass the planes dropped two bombs that fell in the sea and did no damage. Two rockets were then fired. They landed near enough to the storage tanks to blow holes in two of them. One of the rockets struck within 50 yards of the Soviet merchant freighter *Polessk*, which was unloading cargo in the port.

Before flying back to Honduras, the planes turned and fired rockets at the city's sole bridge, causing some damage.

Had they been successful in setting fire to the chemical tanks and cutting off escape from the city, thousands of civilians could have perished in the resulting fire.

As it was, more than 400 people living near the damaged tanks had to be evacuated from their homes to escape the poisonous fumes. Small children were carried out in damp sheets to protect them from the chemical mist, which caused serious burns on contact with skin. A number of firefighters and civilian volunteers had to be hospitalized after they broke into convulsions caused by prolonged contact with escaping fumes.

U.S. hypocrisy

There is no limit to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, Commander Humberto Ortega, Sandinista minister of defense, told reporters here the day of the first attack.

"They claim to be defending humanist civilization when they cry out about the South Korean airliner that was shot down because it violated Soviet air space. Yet the reality is that it is the United States itself that is using the cover of civilian aircraft to carry out military missions."

Commander Tomás Borge, in an interview with *Militant* and other correspondents September 12, put the air attacks in the context of the extreme difficulties the *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) are having

in making headway on the ground.

"This is an escalation that is connected with the military defeats [their] 'task forces' have suffered," Borge said.

"Why are they using airborne terrorism now? Because they have no social base for carrying out other types of operations in our country."

"All their support is outside the country. That's why they have to resort to the use of planes."

In regard to the U.S. role in the attacks, Borge said: "Not so much as a leaf can stir in Central America — except in Nicaragua, of course — unless it is first authorized by the U.S. government. In the final analysis, these attacks are the responsibility of the U.S. government."

Peasants desert counterrevolution

Underscoring Borge's point about the *contras'* lack of support, the Sandinista government has announced that some 200 of the 420 Nicaraguan peasants estimated to have been recruited to the armed counterrevolution — either by force or by propaganda — have deserted and surrendered with their weapons.

The 200 who surrendered have received generous treatment from the revolution. About half have already been released and are back working their land. The other half are still being investigated. If they are cleared of any serious crimes, they too will be released. "There are many more who want to desert," one of the peasants, Elías Hernández Sánchez, told a televised news conference September 10, "but they are still afraid." They are told by the *contras* that if they surrender, they and their families will be killed by the Sandinistas.

The desertions are in part the product of a successful educational campaign that has been carried out in the northern border region by the army, cadres of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and religious figures sympathetic to the revolution.

To undercut the *contras'* lying claims that the Sandinistas intend to take away small farmers' land, army and civilian education teams have explained in detail the government's recent decree wiping out the debts of virtually all small agricultural producers. As for fear of reprisal, the best proof that there will be none has been the humane treatment already received by those who desert the counterrevolution.

New invasion

The air attacks came on the heels of an intensified invasion by counterrevolutionary ground forces in both the north and the south. In the two-week period between August 28 and September 9, more than a dozen major armed clashes have taken place.

These attacks have claimed the lives of 20 Nicaraguan soldiers and at least 22 civilians. Eighteen of the civilian casualties were unarmed peasants in La Waya, a small village in northern Matagalpa Province. On September 3, counterrevolutionaries entered the peasants' village, slit their throats, and burned their homes to the ground.

In the same two-week period, Sandinista defense forces have killed more than 95 *contras* and prevented them from setting up any permanent bases.

In a meeting with foreign correspondents September 8, Vice-minister of the Interior Luís Carrión sketched out the current stage of the ground war.

Some 1,300 counterrevolutionaries had infiltrated Nicaragua in recent weeks, he said. About a thousand entered from the north and some 250 from the south.

One "task force" from the north has penetrated as far south as southern Jinotega Province to a little more than 100 miles north of Managua. Another is located in northern Jinotega Province, and the third is in the northern part of the Atlantic coast province of Zelaya. All three units are being pursued by Sandinista troops.

Although there are some similarities to



Sandino Airport in Nicaragua after bombing by CIA-organized counter-revolutionaries. Attack plane was piloted by U.S. resident.

the massive invasion carried out last February and March, Carrión said, the *contras* appear to have given up all hope of any "immediate victories." Instead they have been reduced to carrying out a "war of attrition" — sabotage and terror. A key target is the coffee harvest, scheduled to begin in the northern areas next month with an estimated 20,000 volunteer workers.

In the south, Carrión said, Sandinista troops have struck a heavy blow at Pastora's forces. Some 250 of them had crossed the border in an effort to take the Atlantic coast port of Bluefields. But in the course of 20 days of fighting in southern Zelaya Province, most of them had been driven back to the Costa Rican side of the border. On September 9, a plane attempting to resupply the remaining forces was shot down by Sandinistas about three miles north of the Costa Rican border.

Unions discuss El Salvador

Continued from front page

end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador, the beginning of a dialogue among all parties, a halt to covert or overt aid to overthrow the Nicaraguan government, and a withdrawal of CIA and military involvement in

Copies of the report El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace, can be obtained from the 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. Enclose 20 cents per copy for up to 100 copies; call for prices on larger quantities.

Honduras aimed at harassing the people of Nicaragua."

Dave Dyson, national secretary of the Labor Committee, told the *Militant* that the NEA is also planning an extensive report on the El Salvador visit and the Labor Committee's conclusions.

Other union publications that have reported on the Labor Committee's current or earlier findings on El Salvador include those of OCAW and AFSCME, and *Racine Labor*, put out in Wisconsin.

Among other signs of the deepening discussion of the U.S. war drive among unionists is the success of tours last winter and spring by Alejandro Molina Lara, a Salvadoran trade unionist.

Molina Lara is now planning a tour this fall. Already, he is to appear at a September 30-October 2 conference in Oakland sponsored by *Labor Notes*.

The mounting opposition to Washington's policy in Central America among unionists means that there are greater opportunities to carry out educational work on this issue. The favorable initial response to the Labor Committee's report indicates that this is something that can be used by union activists. Bundles can be ordered and sold at union gatherings and to fellow unionists on the job.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

A piece of the first enemy plane shot down by Nicaragua was presented September 9 in a special ceremony to visiting Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach.

Thach said it would be placed in a museum in Vietnam, next to the remains of the first U.S. plane shot down there in 1964.

"This piece of aluminum is worth more to us than any medal of gold," he said. "Vietnam and Nicaragua will be competing with each other to see who can obtain the most aluminum medals like these."

If the United States invades Nicaragua, Thach warned, "It won't be just a second Vietnam they face but many new Vietnams."

"And the defeat the United States will suffer will be a thousand times worse than the defeat they suffered in Vietnam."



ACTWU's secretary-treasurer Sheikman talking to Salvadoran refugees during tour organized by U.S. unions.

Jobless benefits hit new low in 1982

A smaller percentage of jobless workers received unemployment benefits last year than in any recession year since World War II. This conclusion comes from a Brookings Institute study soon to be published.

Although the most recent recession was more severe than any since the war, the study noted that in 1982 only 45 percent of unemployed workers were paid regular, extended, or supplemental unemployment insurance. In 1975 more than 78 percent of unemployed workers were covered.

In 1982, the official unemployment figures showed 10 million out of work, compared with 7.6 million in 1975. Figures in the study show how much less the government is spending on unemployment benefits. In 1982, federal, state, and local governments paid out \$24 billion; in 1982 dollars, unemployment payments totalled \$31 billion in 1976.

The author of the report, Gary Burtless, said that in the 1974-1976 recession, about 40 weeks of extra eligibility was added by the government to the regular 26 weeks. But in the recent recession, Congress and the White House added only about 10 extra weeks, he noted.

Canadian unionists talk with Nicaragua's Tomás Borge

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Nicaraguan dock workers move forward

BY JANE HARRIS

CORINTO, Nicaragua — The U.S. big-business press has come up with a new slander to discredit the Nicaraguan revolution in the eyes of working people in the United States. Nicaraguan authorities are charged with jailing the leadership of the longshoremen's union at Corinto, the country's main port, as part of a crackdown on trade union freedoms.

This same charge was repeated by President Reagan in a speech July 18 to the International Longshoremen's Association meeting in Florida. "What kind of freedom have the Sandinistas established?" Reagan asked. "Just ask the 1,300 stevedores at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto. Last month their union assembly was packed with Sandinistas and six union leaders were arrested. Their presumed crime was trying to develop ties with independent trade unions, including some affiliated with the AFL-CIO."

The newly elected officials of the dock workers, however, tell quite a different story. In interviews with the *Militant*, they state that there has been no curtailment of union freedom. What is involved is a step forward in the transformation of this union into an effective instrument of the workers. In this process, several former union officials have been jailed for embezzlement of union funds.

Workers explained that the longshoremen's union, founded in 1936, is one of the oldest in Nicaragua today. Prior to the triumph of the revolution in 1979, it was affiliated to the Council on Trade Union Unification. This federation closely collaborates with the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the United States and the U.S. embassy in Managua. Its members were given courses in "free trade unionism" offered by the CIA-financed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Somoza's crackdown

In 1963, the government cracked down hard against a strike in Corinto of longshoremen belonging to the Nicaraguan Socialist Party. The workers involved were jailed by the Somoza dictatorship and blacklisted from working in the port.

Freddy Catín, a member of the union's executive board, explained that in the following years it was not possible for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to develop a strong base in Corinto.

Corinto, consequently, did not play a major role in the FSLN-led insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship in 1979. In fact, the central leaders of the longshore workers union were supporters of the dictatorship. In 1978 they even offered to go to the mountains to fight against the "Sandino-communists."

Following the victory of the revolution the union affiliated with the newly-founded Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). But many of the old leaders retained their posts.

Changes began to occur in the union, but the big difference came after 268 workers, nearly a quarter of the port's work force, returned earlier this year from a stint in the reserve battalions.

Several union members told the *Militant* how, after fighting counterrevolutionary Somozaists, they returned far more combative and politically conscious. They were ready to take on the union misleaders.

This changed the relationship of forces considerably. Previously the conservative union leaders would organize thugs to physically intimidate and silence the handful of rebellious workers.

At the time these members returned to work at the port a fight was brewing in the union. The year before the union president and another member of the executive board had fled the country. They took thousands of córdobas in union funds with them and joined counterrevolutionary groups abroad.

After negotiations with the Ministry of Labor, the remaining officials agreed to hold elections for the vacant posts. They were scheduled for mid-May of this year. However, they were canceled when the union officials refused to allow the returning dock workers, who they claimed weren't members of the union, to participate.

Following negotiations between two representatives of the rank and file and the union executive board, it was agreed that these workers would be allowed to join and elections held at the end of May.

Walkout staged

But, upon seeing the large turnout for the voting, the executive board reneged on the agreement and led a walkout by about 80 workers who proceeded to hold a rump session at another place. More than 450 workers remained at the official meeting, where elections were held without further incident.

The former leaders justified their actions by claiming that many of those at the meeting weren't technically members of the union. "We have been criticized for being very bureaucratic in the procedure for joining [the union] but those are the rules laid down in our bylaws and we will abide by them," Luis Felipe Duarte, a leader of the rump group told the FSLN daily *Barricada*.

"What the others are trying to do is to take the reins of the union away from us. We know that. That's why we have to see who we're going to allow into membership."

The leaders of the rump meeting also said their intention was to disaffiliate from the CST and join the right-wing Council on Trade Union Unification (CUS).

Since a two-thirds vote by the membership is required before the union can change affiliation, and most revolutionary workers view the CUS as an instrument of their capitalist enemies, such a change is unlikely.

"We are conscious workers" said the new legally-elected union president, "and we will never accept CUS influence."

Following these events, the union authorized an audit of its funds, which has shown that at least 40,000 córdobas have been embezzled. Six people have been charged with the crime and four are in jail awaiting trial.

Fernando Aráuz, a leader of the FSLN in Corinto, told *Barricada* that the real problem was the narrow business unionist outlook of the old leaders.

"The union is politically discredited," *Barricada* said, summarizing Aráuz's comments. "Two leaders stole more than



Barricada

New officers in longshoremen's union are sworn in. When dock workers returned from battle against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, they moved to make union work in their interests.

40,000 córdobas and joined the counter-revolutionaries. Others have threatened to carry out a work stoppage . . . and others within the same leadership had already begun to take steps to affiliate to the CUS."

False rumors

In addition, dock workers told the *Militant* that the old leaders tried to turn workers against the revolution by spreading false rumors. For example, last year they claimed that Nicaragua's sugar shortage was due to exports to Cuba (even though Cuba is the biggest sugar exporter in the world). After a boat docked in Corinto with 12,000 tons of sugar donated by Cuba to Nicaragua to help alleviate the shortage, the right wingers lost credibility.

Gilberto Siles Sánchez, the new union president, said the incoming leadership will draft a program to better the conditions for the workers. A key point will be to initiate a literacy campaign, "since 40 percent of the workers can't read or write." He said this was important "above all to prepare them to join in carrying out the tasks

of the revolution."

Siles told the *Militant* he was concerned about the 14,000 tons of molasses waiting to be unloaded on the docks. The molasses is badly needed for Nicaragua's cattle, he explained.

"Corruption is definitely ended here," he said. Getting back to the molasses, he explained that cranes are desperately needed to unload shipments like this, but they are very expensive. Most loading and unloading is dependent on sheer muscle power.

Another longshoreman piped in with the problems they were having unloading an important fertilizer shipment.

The new leadership, which includes old-timers and young workers, like the president, realize the critical role they play in the economy as dock workers.

They are concerned about doing a good job. After four years of seeing the difference the Sandinista revolution has made, a substantial majority has been won over to it and are doing what they can, as longshoremen, to make sure it succeeds.

Nicaragua scores baseball victory over U.S.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The cartoon in *Barricada* summed it up. The drawing on the front page of the Sandinista daily showed Uncle Sam lying dazed on the ground. Standing on the winner's platform, wielding baseball bats, were Cuba and Nicaragua: "Not even in baseball, old man."

To the delight of sports fans and nearly everybody else in Latin America, Cuba and Nicaragua trounced the United States in the Panamerican baseball competition that concluded in Caracas, Venezuela, August 26.

Cuba, which had not lost a single baseball game in the Panamerican competition since 1967, took first place; Nicaragua, second; the U.S. team had to settle for third.

Five thousand people gathered at Sandino airport here to greet the homecoming team. Thousands more lined the streets between the airport and the city.

It was difficult to tell whether the crowd was more pleased that Nicaragua had won its first international medal in the country's favorite sport, or that it had done so by beating the U.S. team in one of the most crucial games.

On hand at the airport to greet the victors were three of the revolution's leaders: commanders Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Tomás Borge. They delivered a special message of congratulations from the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Each of the team's games was broadcast live here over the radio. Following the final out in Nicaragua's next-to-last game, a 9 to 5 victory over the United States August 25, you could hear the audience in Caracas chant, "¡Viva Nicaragua! ¡Viva Sandino!" and "¡No pasarán!" (They shall not pass!)

More than sports enthusiasm was involved. For the Venezuelan audience, Nicaragua's victory over the United States sank the home team's chances for a medal of their own. But, as *Barricada* sports columnist Edgard Tijerino pointed out, any victory over the United States is something to cheer.

"The United States is the common enemy of all of Latin America," Tijerino said, "and the public enjoys seeing any defeat of the North Americans."

Victory in the Panamerican games entitles both Cuba and Nicaragua to one of the six slots in the baseball exhibition that will be part of the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles. The United States, as the home team, is also guaranteed a slot.

All of Latin America will be rooting for another Cuban-Nicaraguan victory.



Barricada

"Not even in baseball, old man."

Petition to oust Pol Pot from UN seat

Committees in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Dorchester, Massachusetts, have announced a campaign to oust Pol Pot's representative from Kampuchea's United Nations seat.

The murderous Pol Pot forces, who were responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampuchean people before they were overthrown in January 1979, continue to hold the UN seat with the backing of the U.S. government.

Washington and Peking are also providing Pol Pot's forces with supplies and weapons that are used to mount raids on Kampuchea from bases in neighboring Thailand.

The committees are circulating a petition

addressed to President Reagan and members of Congress, calling on them to end their "support for the Pol Pot coalition in the UN and [to] vote to seat the legitimate, elected government of the Kampuchean people: the People's Republic of Kampuchea."

Copies of the petition can be ordered from the Committee in Solidarity With Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, 135 W. 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

The UN will vote on Kampuchea's representation sometime in September.

Subscribe to the Militant

BY MALIK MIAH

Good sales occurred at the September 5 Labor Day parades around the country. In Atlanta, for example, 80 *Militants* were sold to the 5,000 participants. Salespeople report that workers from throughout the South came to the march. There were unionists from Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, as well as Georgia. Many workers wore T-shirts and carried signs from the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom and from the Sept. 19, 1981, AFL-CIO-initiated march on Washington for jobs.

A number of papers were sold in Detroit too. The march of 20,000 was more than one-third Black. The United Auto Workers (UAW) contingent was the largest. Significantly, Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley reports, no speaker sought to whip up prowar and anti-Soviet sentiment over the shooting down of the Korean airliner.

The main theme of the march was anti-Reagan and for jobs. The anti-imports stance of the top union leadership was muted — another significant and unexpected aspect of the parade.

The Phoenix and Tucson branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Al-

liance sold 100 papers at the Labor Day rally of 2,500 in Tucson. This included selling 20 *Young Socialists*, the paper distributed by the YSA.

A campaign statement issued by Barry Fatland and Eduardo Quintana, SWP candidates for mayor of Phoenix and Tucson, expressed strong support for the copper miners strike. It hit the strikebreaking role of both the Democratic and Republican politicians in relation to the strike. The statement was warmly received by many marchers, including by some secondary union officials.

Seventeen papers were also sold at the Labor Day parade in Kansas City. And at the Indianapolis Labor Day parade, the SWP candidate for mayor, Bill Warrick, was warmly greeted by members of the Communications Workers of America contingent. Many of the CWA members shook his hand and said they would vote for him in the election.

The successful sales at the Labor Day parades marked a continuation of the great sales we had at the August 27 march.

For example, 45 UAW Local 31 workers from the General Motors plant at Fairfax in Kansas City, Kansas, bought the issue of the *Militant* sold at the Washington,

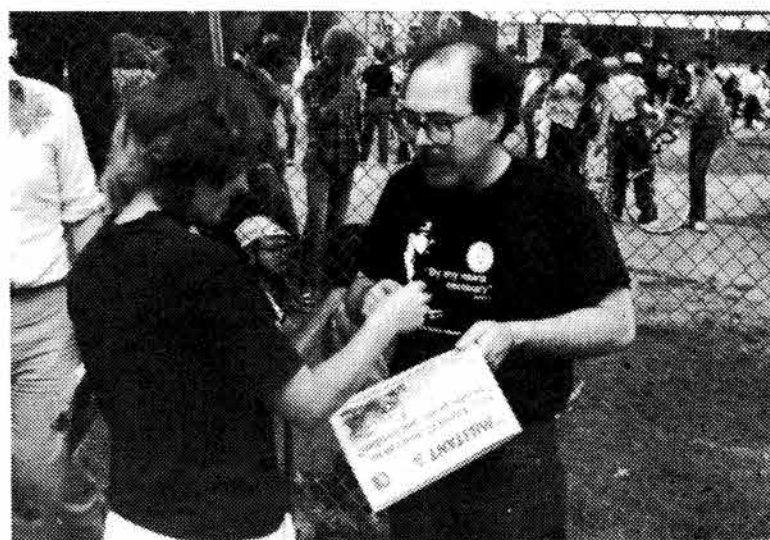
D.C. march. Thirty-two *Militants* were sold inside the plant by socialist auto workers during the week after the march, and five were sold on the UAW Local 31-organized bus returning from the demonstration. Eight more papers were sold at the plant gate.

The socialists in the plant say there were two reasons for their success. First, was the fact that the march generated an upsurge of interest in the ideas presented by the *Militant*. There were more discussions about the employers' and government's attacks on working people and on what to do to fight back.

Second, socialist auto workers had been very active in building the national march as well as the Kansas City support march for those who couldn't attend the action in Washington. Thus, there was widespread knowledge in the plant of these efforts by the socialists and the fact they went to the demonstrations.

A total of 28 union members from the Fairfax plant attended the D.C. march with a significant number more joining the 2,000 demonstrators at the local action.

Of the socialists in the plant, several went on the bus to the



Militant/Jim Levitt

Selling *Militant* at August 27 rally in Seattle

D.C. march and several more participated in the Kansas City demonstration. A number of workers who had never read the *Militant* bought a copy or a subscription.

Socialists in UAW Local 31 are also using sales of the paper to increase solidarity with the striking copper miners in Arizona. They see this as helping to make the union members more aware of the stakes involved for the entire labor movement in this important strike. They are hoping that this broader

understanding within the membership will get the local leadership to organize some active solidarity.

Likewise the socialists hope to sell a few more subscriptions of the *Militant* to workers currently at Fairfax who are now being called back to GM's Leeds plant in Kansas City, Missouri. The national subscription drive begins September 24 and the socialist auto workers expect to use this effort to expand the number of workers with subscriptions at both plants.

'Militant' subscription drive begins September 24

BY MALIK MIAH

Beginning Saturday, September 24, members and active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and other readers and distributors of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will start a campaign to sell 4,000 subscriptions. Introductory subscriptions will cost \$3 for 12 weeks of the *Militant* and \$2.50 for six issues of the biweekly Spanish-language *PM*.

The main objective of the drive is to reach out to tens of thousands of working people. As a result of stepped-up antilabor attacks at home and the war drive abroad many workers are discussing politics in a new way.

The drive follows the successful sales effort organized at the massive August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. In Washington, as in San Francisco, Seattle, Kansas City, and a few other cities where local actions took place, more than 1,700 *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions were sold. Those subscribing received it at the special price of \$1 for four issues of the *Militant* or three issues of *PM*. These new subscribers can now renew at a special rate (see ad on this page). Also, 2,500 single copies were sold.

Scores of \$3 subscriptions, along with hundreds of single copies, were sold as well at the September 5 Labor Day parades organized in many cities by the AFL-CIO.

For the eight-week drive this fall branches and chapters of the SWP and YSA will each take goals. Active supporters of the SWP are also being encouraged to participate on a weekly basis.

Plant-gate sales key

The drive comes in the framework of the important gain made the past nine months of establishing regular weekly plant-gate sales. Plant-gate sales have been essential for socialist auto, steel, electrical, and other workers to discuss U.S. and world

politics with workers they don't regularly see in their own plants as well as with workers in other factories. Sales at steel mills, rail yards, and auto plants have been the main opportunity socialists have had to talk with these workers.

The recent upturn in the economy, however, is leading more socialists to be called back or newly hired into some of these key basic factories around the country. The plant-gate sales will continue to offer opportunities for reaching out to these and other workers.

During the past spring, 53 percent of the SWP membership participated regularly in plant-gate sales teams. Taking into account the fact that in any given week a few members were sick or otherwise unable to make their sale, this figure represented a beginning from which improvement can be made.

One aim during the sales drive is to continue regular plant-gate sales and to move towards reaching the goal of 100 percent participation by all SWP and YSA members.

Selling 'PM'

It is known from our experience over the past six months how important it is to get new readers, including Spanish-speaking readers. In the spring *PM* sales were 11 percent of the total papers reported sold at plant gates.

Going hand-in-hand with plant-gate subscription and single-issue sales will be sales to coworkers on the job and at union meetings.

More and more young workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women who were pushed out of industry during the economic downturn are returning to work. We especially want to get the *Militant* and *PM* into their hands.

Our press will have week-by-week reports on the discussions initiated by Black leaders on political action and how to achieve more political power for Blacks,

and other working people.

We will continue to discuss, from a revolutionary socialist standpoint, the significance of Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago and Jesse Jackson's proposal that a Black Democrat run for president.

First-hand reporting from our bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, will continue to give our readers regular news about the revolution there and the U.S.-backed threats to overturn it.

Auto, steel, electrical, and other industrial workers will be getting together and setting goals for the subscription campaign. We will be reporting the progress of these plantwide and industrial subscription sales over the course of the drive.

Working-class communities

Another important aspect of the drive is to organize big subscription efforts in working-class communities — especially among Blacks and Latinos and immigrant workers. These sales, usually held on Saturday, can be a key way to talk to workers in addition to plant-gate and on-the-job sales.

One way of doing this is by organizing door-to-door sales in these communities. These should be centered among workers

who generally work in the plants that socialists are employed at or have regular plant-gate sales teams.

There will also be opportunities this fall to take the *Militant* and *PM* to activists in organizations such as the National Organization for Women, NAACP, PUSH, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, League for United Latin American Citizens, and other groups.

Big kickoff Saturday

In order to get the subscription drive off to a success, we are urging readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, to turn out for a big mobilization on the first day of the drive. We are urging you to go out several times that week — to plant gates, door-to-door in working-class communities, shopping centers, colleges, etc.

Some SWP branches are planning special *Militant* forums that evening to discuss the current stage of U.S. and world politics.

Through these efforts we are confident that we will be able to build on the success we've had this past spring and our success at the August 27 march on Washington.

We are confident that a successful drive this fall will build up the readership for the papers as well as strengthen the political influence of socialists active in the unions.

Socialist team going to Mississippi

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are organizing a special reporting and subscription team to Mississippi and other southern states where the major Black civil rights organizations are leading a voter registration drive.

Four socialists will begin traveling in Mississippi the third week of September. They are Tony Dutrow, a former garment worker from St. Louis; Rohima Miah, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in Seaside, California; Dywond Belle, a former dock worker and YSA leader from New Orleans; and Ellen Kerr, a leader of the YSA from Chicago.

The team will go to plant gates, shopping centers, and universities to discuss U.S. and world politics. They will send articles to the *Militant* about the political developments there and the response they get to the paper. They will be building support for the case of YSA leader Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist facing deportation, and urging working people and students they meet to attend the upcoming YSA convention, which will be in St. Louis, December 28-January 1.

Some Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters are

also planning to field regional subscription teams to sell at plants and in working-class communities that are normally too far to drive to.

The potential of regional sales has been shown already by socialists in Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona. Over the past several months they have regularly traveled three and four hours to the small mining towns in the state where copper workers — the majority of whom are Chicanos, Mexicanos, and Native Americans — have been on strike.

Literally hundreds of papers have been sold to the miners and their supporters — getting a good reception. The *Militant* and *PM* are among the few newspapers supporting these workers and their current strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp.

During the recent telephone workers' strike, similar success in sales was reported.

Socialists in Nebraska and Iowa have also found success in selling the paper to striking meatpacking and rail workers. The *Militant* was a welcome sight to workers used to reading the distorted accounts of their struggles in the procompany dailies.

Special offer for Aug. 27 subscribers

Special for August 27 march subscribers: you can continue to receive the *Militant* for three more months for just \$3 — that's only 25 cents a copy, 1/3 of the newsstand price.

If you renew now, we'll send you a free copy of the pamphlet, *Socialist View of the Chicago Election*, which examines the victory of Harold Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, and its meaning for working people.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks
- ☐ Enclosed is \$15 for 6 months
- ☐ Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year
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Socialists launch new election campaigns

Seattle unionist in Senate race condemns Washington's war moves

BY LISA HICKLER

SEATTLE — The Socialist Workers Party here has announced it will run Dean Peoples, a shipyard worker, for the U.S. Senate seat vacated by the death of Henry Jackson. Peoples's union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 46, is one of 11 unions currently on strike against 9 West Coast shipyards.

A primary election is scheduled for October 11. The top candidates from the Democratic and Republican parties and all independents who receive 2 percent of the vote will be eligible to run in the November 8 general election.

The chief Republican contender is Daniel Evans. A former governor, he has been appointed by the present governor to fill Jackson's seat until the election. The leading Democratic hopefuls are Seattle Mayor Charles Royer and Congressman Michael Lowery.

Peoples explained his reasons for running: "We feel that working people have no voice in politics. What has been shown by the use of police and National Guard troops to break the copper strike in Arizona, or the injunctions handed down against picketing during the metal trades strike here in Seattle, is that the government is on the side of the employers, never on the side of the workers."

"To defend the gains won in past labor struggles and move forward," Peoples said, "we need a government that acts in our interests — we need a workers and farmers government in this country."

Peoples' supporters plan to campaign at a mass meeting September 19 of Boeing aircraft workers who will be discussing their contract. About 50,000 workers, most of them members of International Association of Machinists District Lodge 1751, will be present. The late Senator Jackson, who had close ties with the powerful aircraft company and defended its interests in Congress, was often referred to as the senator from Boeing. "But he was the employer's senator, not the workers'," Peoples stated.

Peoples explained that in February of this year, "I traveled to Nicaragua and was

greatly inspired by the big gains working people have made there. "The Sandinista government is not one that bends to the pressures of high finance or war threats from the U.S. State Department. It is a government that is composed in its majority of representatives of trade unions and mass organizations of women and small farmers. In Nicaragua they have a government that truly represents the interests of the majority, not the privileged minority like we have here in the United States."

Peoples says the impressive turnout of 10,000 at the August 27 demonstration in Seattle for jobs, peace, and freedom was an indication that working people in Washington are thinking about what it will take to actually win these demands. "I heard chants of 'Run, Jesse, Run' raised a number of times during the march in Seattle. I think it reflects the fact that Black people — who have been hardest hit by unemployment and racist attacks — are taking the lead in a discussion on how to win political power," the socialist candidate noted. "Our campaign believes," Peoples continued, "that working people and our allies need our own party, a party of labor. A party that won't look over its shoulder to see if the banks and corporations approve its program and candidates."

One clear indication that both the Democrats and Republicans serve the ruling rich was the universal outrage expressed by leaders of both parties when it appeared that the November 8 election might actually be opened to anyone who wished to run. State Senate Democratic majority leader Ted Bottinger said he feared a "well-financed fringe candidate" could walk away with a Senate seat.

Responding with lightning speed to this threat, the state assembly met on September 10 and passed a law that would limit spots on the November ballot to the Democrats and Republicans and any other candidate who receives 2 percent or more of the vote in the October primary. To be eligible to run in the October 11 primary, Peoples' supporters are required to hold a convention with at least 200 people present.

N.Y. protests mark Chile coup

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — Marking the 10th anniversary of the bloody coup that toppled the government of Salvador Allende in Chile, more than 500 protesters took to the streets here September 10.

The march and rally, called by the Secretariat of Solidarity with Chile, was endorsed by a wide range of political, community and solidarity organizations, as well as labor leaders.

The marchers denounced the Pinochet regime and expressed their solidarity with the Chilean people in their fight against this repressive government. The demonstration

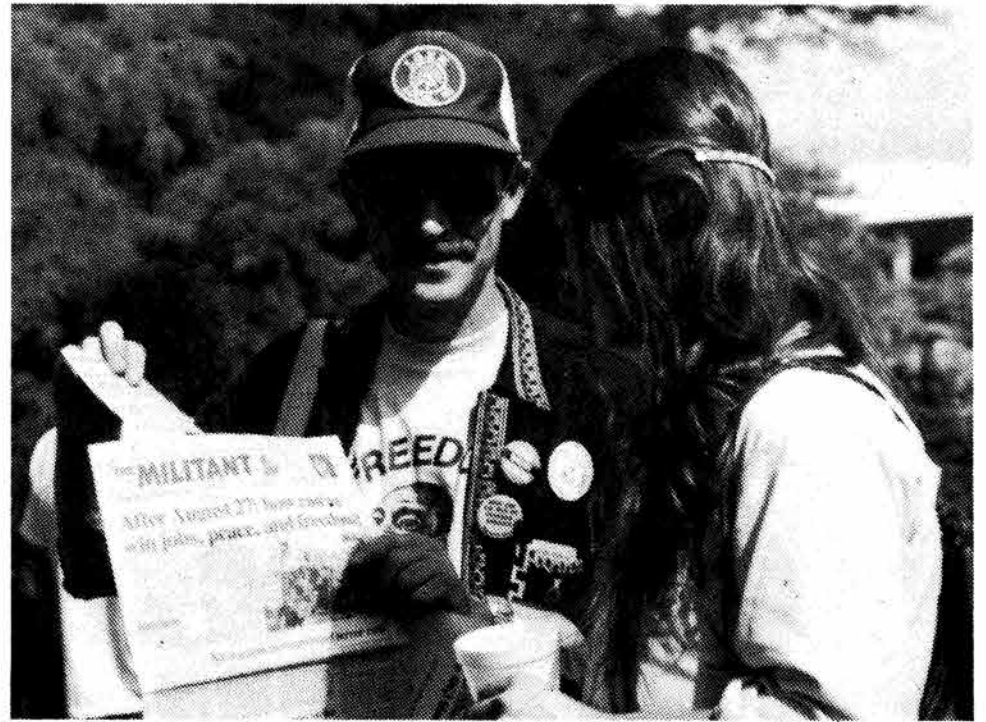
also clearly expressed solidarity with the fighting people of El Salvador against the dictatorship there and with the people of Nicaragua in their fight against the U.S.-sponsored war. The demonstration called for an end to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Many of the banners and signs represented the support won for this march. These included banners from Casa El Salvador Farabundo Martí, Comité Roque Dalton, Committee of Interns and Residents, People's Anti-War Mobilization, Dominican Liberation Party, and Comité Lares. One sign read, "Peruvians Support Chile's Struggle."

Chanting "Chile Sí, Junta No" and banging pots and pans as the demonstrators in Chile do, the march wove its way from Herald Square in Midtown Manhattan to a rally in Union Square on 14th Street.

Speaking at the rally under a banner that read, "Chile: Democracy Now, U.S. Out of Central America," and "We Want Jobs Not War," were Michael Harrington, national leader of the Democratic Socialists of America; Rep. Ted Weiss; Sam Meyers, president of UAW Local 259; and Ernesto Joffe, leader of the sponsoring organization and a staff person for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

The featured speaker was Arnoldo Ramos from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front, who called for an end to U.S. domination of Central America and urged the crowd to support the November 12 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. He ended his talk by leading the crowd in a chant of "Money for jobs, not for war."



Militant/Jim Levitt
Dean Peoples talking with workers at Seattle Aug. 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Ga. garment worker runs for Congress, takes campaign to Lockheed workers

BY JAMES CAMPBELL

ATLANTA — The Socialist Workers Party here has announced that it is running a candidate for Congress in Georgia's 7th Congressional District. This seat was made vacant by the death of Rep. Larry McDonald, who was aboard the Korean jetliner downed over the Soviet Union on September 1.

Sara Jean Johnston, a garment worker and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365, will be the SWP candidate in the October 18 special election.

Kathryn McDonald, the late congressman's wife, says she is considering running in the special election "to carry on his work."

Larry McDonald was the national president of the John Birch Society and an ultrareactionary opponent of unions and of

Black and women's rights. The Georgia Democrat was a proponent of U.S. military intervention around the world. He had a close relationship with the management of the Lockheed-Georgia aircraft plant based in Marietta, Georgia. His last act in the House of Representatives was to give a speech opposing making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday. McDonald claimed that King was a communist and shouldn't be honored.

Others who have publicly stated interest in running for the vacant seat are Juanelle Edwards, a former national Democratic party committeewoman, and Lester Maddox, the ultraracist former governor of Georgia.

The focus of Johnston's campaign will be to continue the struggle begun by the massive August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. She will campaign against the war by the U.S. government in Central America and Lebanon. Johnston also intends to expose the hypocrisy of the Reagan administration's use of the Korean airliner incident to divert attention from the fact that it is the U.S. government that is causing the deaths of scores of innocent people in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.

An important group of workers that the SWP campaign will be reaching out to are the thousands who work at Lockheed-Georgia, which is in the 7th C.D. The SWP Campaign Committee will hold an open house on Sunday, Sept. 18, at 504 Flat Shoals, SE, in Atlanta. Also, there will be a campaign rally on Sunday, Sept. 25, 4 p.m. at the same location. Featured speakers at the rally will be Johnston and Jackie Floyd, the SWP candidate for mayor of Miami. For more information call (404) 577-4065.



Militant/Lynn Henderson
Sara Jean Johnston

Ballot victory won in Indianapolis

BY DAVE CAHALANE

INDIANAPOLIS — On September 13 the Socialist Workers Party won its year-long fight with the Marion County Election Board to place its candidate for mayor and three candidates for City-County Council on the November 8 ballot.

"This victory for the SWP is a victory for independent working-class political action," said Bill Warrick, SWP candidate for mayor, following the election board's vote to place his party on the ballot.

After submitting more than 10,000 signatures in January 1983, the election board claimed that the socialists had failed to meet the requirement of 5,323 signatures of registered voters on nominating petitions. The SWP then filed a lawsuit in federal court with the help of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union.

On September 6 federal judge S.U. Dillon granted the socialists additional time to

gather the 415 signatures that the election board claimed they needed.

Dillon also ruled unconstitutional an Indiana requirement that independent candidates submit nominating petitions before a deadline in February when elections are scheduled in November. He ruled that such an early deadline, which didn't apply to Democrats and Republicans, was burdensome to independent candidates.

By September 12 the socialists submitted 1,107 additional signatures to the election board following an intense effort by campaign supporters, which received extensive media attention.

This will be the first time SWP candidates will appear on the ballot for mayor or city-county council in Indianapolis.

A rally featuring the socialist candidates will be held on September 24 at 7:30 p.m. at 4850 North College Ave. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

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U.S. bases: noose around USSR

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 7 by a Soviet plane has given rise to a spate of articles in the big-business press that attempt to blame the incident on an alleged "paranoia" on the part of the Soviet leadership.

"The Politics of Fear" was the title of one such article, which appeared in the September 7 *New York Times*. It was an op-ed column by veteran staff writer James Reston.

It began, "The tragedy of the downed South Korean airliner is a reminder of the politics of fear." Reston claims that the "motivation [for the downing of the plane] goes back into Russian history" and then proceeds to list things like "fear of freedom," and "the fear of invasion by Napoleon."

Reston then scoffed:

"If the leaders of the Soviet Union . . . tell the people every day that the United States is the enemy and is trying to spy on its strategic areas and overthrow its Government, it's scarcely surprising that its air command and pilots shoot first and learn the facts later."

Reston fails to mention that Napoleon wasn't the only one who invaded Russia. The U.S. imperialists, along with more than a dozen other countries, sent troops into the Soviet Union right after the 1917 Russian revolution ended capitalist rule in that country.

Reston also fails to mention something else that is not generally reported in the press in this country.

Since World War II, the U.S. government has built a giant noose of military bases around the Soviet Union. From these bases spy flights and other provocations against Moscow are carried out. They also function as launching pads to strangle upsurges against U.S.-backed regimes in the semicolonial world.

As of 1980, the U.S. government had 300 land, air, and naval bases around the world, as well as approximately 2,000 more military facilities in areas under its control or influence on all continents.

These installations are staffed by 502,000 troops, one-fourth of the total U.S. armed forces.

A look at a map of these bases shows that a large number of them are in countries bordering or near the USSR or on islands in the western part of the Pacific, not far away.

As of 1980, 110 countries had U.S. military bases.

The Nov. 13, 1980, issue of the *New York Times* said that behind this massive expansion was a "new strategic document" according to which no region of the world is outside the reach of U.S. imperialist interests.

The United States, said the *Times*, "must be capable of using force alone on many occasions." This required, to a larger extent than before, "a system of overseas bases and rights of access to foreign bases in order to assist ground, air and naval forces in support of U.S. interests all over the world."

What prompted this "new strategic document" was the post-World War II upsurge in the colonial revolution and the formation of new workers states in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Cuba.

Great Britain, West Germany, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Canada, Italy, Turkey, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, Israel, Egypt, South Korea, Japan, and east Africa, not to mention many small islands — all serve as outposts for U.S. military might.

And, of course, there's the plans to put Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe later this year, which will add to the arsenal of land and sea-based nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union.

In the face of these facts, Reston's — and others — talk about an "excessively suspicious atmosphere" in the Soviet Union is not simply hypocritical. It's also a conscious cover-up of the daily threats against the Soviet Union, other workers states, and the peoples of the semicolonial world that is stock-in-trade for the warmakers in Washington.

Big actions in Chile hit junta

For the fifth time in as many months, massive numbers of Chileans took part September 8 in a National Day of Protest against the dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Throughout the day, thousands took to the streets in Santiago and other major cities, confronting police who wielded clubs, fired tear gas, and aimed water cannon against the protesters.

At noon some 1,000 people, including leaders of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), attempted to hold a sit-in at a major square in the center of the capital. The action was immediately attacked by the police with tear gas and water cannon.

The crowd refused to disperse and fought back against the cops until dispersed with tear gas.

The protests spread throughout the poor and working-class neighborhoods of Santiago during the evening. Youths built barricades to keep out the police, while motorists sounded their horns in rhythm with a jingle sung by protesters: "It's going to fall, it's going to fall, the military dictatorship is going to fall."

Not only was participation on September 8 as extensive as in previous protests in July and August, but this time the actions continued for days afterward. One of these was described in a September 10 Associated Press dispatch from the Chilean capital:

"Riot police battled rock-throwing demonstrators tonight as tens of thousands of Chileans turned out for a funeral for one of the people killed during the recent antigovernment protests. . . .

"Police armed with clubs, tear gas and shotguns fought with many of the 6,000 chanting people who accompanied the funeral cortege along a nine-mile route from a Santiago slum to the municipal cemetery. An estimated 30,000 people lined the

streets and highways as the mourners passed in what appeared to be the largest single gathering of antigovernment demonstrators in a decade of military rule."

As of September 12, Pinochet's police had reportedly killed 10 persons, bringing the death toll in the antidictatorial upsurge that began in May to nearly 50.

Pinochet attempted twice during the protests to launch counterdemonstrations of the regime's supporters. Some 20,000 government employees, schoolchildren, and troops were summoned for a march in downtown Santiago on September 9. Public workers were threatened with firings if they failed to attend.

On September 11, the 10th anniversary of Pinochet's bloody coup against the elected government of President Salvador Allende, the authorities attempted to hold another such rally in the neighborhood of Pudahuel. But the 5,000 persons rounded up for that action began chanting antigovernment slogans instead and had to be dispersed with tear gas.

The breadth and prolonged character of the September protests came despite some halfhearted concessions offered by the dictatorship in preceding weeks. Some 2,000 of the more than 10,000 exiles officially banned from the country have been allowed to return, and on August 28 the state of emergency in effect ever since the 1973 coup was allowed to expire.

While the latter move means local commanders can no longer declare curfews, ban meetings, or censor publications, a state of "risk of disturbance to internal order" remains in force. Under this, Pinochet can still order people detained for up to 20 days without informing anyone, exile or banish individuals to internal exile without going through the courts, and ban meetings or publications by issuing special decrees.



High-altitude U.S. SR-71 spy planes (above) snoop on Russians from bases circling USSR. Washington has 500,000 troops stationed at 300 overseas bases with nuclear missiles, bombers, warships, and tanks.

Workers' doubts grow over Reagan's story on plane

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

How are workers in the United States responding to Washington's campaign to whip up hysteria over the downing of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet plane?

Socialist workers in a number of cities have reported to the *Militant* about the reactions of their coworkers.

The first two days after the plane was shot down, Thursday and Friday (September 1-2), the government's hysteria campaign had its biggest impact. This was when very few facts were publicly known about the incident, and the media were echoing and expanding every lurid charge from the White House.

Many workers, while highly concerned or even outraged that civilian lives had been lost, from the start were suspicious of the government's claims and motives.

A Detroit auto worker said, "Since when does the U.S. care about Koreans getting killed? How many Koreans did we kill during the war there?"

A miner in the Pittsburgh area said, "I think it was a CIA plane."

A New York transit worker, an older white, began by blaming the Russians for the plane's destruction, but then noted the inconsistencies and unanswered questions. He said it was likely that the CIA was involved, and noted that the Tonkin Gulf "incident" had been fabricated and then used by the U.S. government to justify bombing North Vietnam.

An older Black transit worker also blamed the Soviet Union, but was reading about the shooting down of the plane with intense interest. He wanted more facts before finally making up his mind about what happened.

At a few plants, the discussion was hot and heavy. At the FMC plant in San Jose, California, which makes armored personnel carriers for the U.S. and foreign armed forces, there was some initial red-baiting of socialists. A number of workers sought out socialists; some were hostile, the majority not.

By the second day, though, socialists at FMC said that when they pointed out the U.S. government's silence about civilians killed by the Salvadoran government, right-wingers in the plant lost some of their steam, although the discussion continued to rage.

At the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, the discussion was also intense. One worker saw a copy of the *Militant* and refused to speak to the socialist who had it.

Nonetheless, at both the Massachusetts and California plants, as was true everywhere, almost all workers thought Washington should not go to war over this.

A former marine at FMC said, "One guy [the Korean pilot] makes a mistake. Another guy [a Russian pilot] makes a bigger mistake. I hope Reagan won't make the biggest mistake of all, and start a war over this."

Three veterans at a soap factory in Kansas City decided they were glad they had already served, so they wouldn't have to now. A fourth was glad he was turning 26 that week, because he thought then he couldn't be drafted.

Next week, after workers returned from the Labor Day weekend, saw a dramatic shift of opinion as more facts emerged, especially when Washington admitted it had a spy plane in the area.

The Lynn worker who had been outraged by the *Militant* now told the socialist the U.S. government was using the plane's downing to whip up war sentiment.

Another Lynn worker who had at first said Washington should bomb the Soviet Union now thought that the Pentagon had probably plotted the incident.

Garment workers at the West Mill shop in Manhattan also thought Reagan was trying to take us into war. Several Puerto Rican workers there said they weren't going, no way.

The Black transit worker in New York hadn't decided yet what attitude to take, but he remembered CIA and FBI involvement in the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

A Soviet ship was berthed at Long Beach, near Los Angeles. After about 200 South Koreans held a demonstration at the pier, the media tried to create a "rank-and-file" refusal of longshoremen to unload the ship.

While many workers favored a boycott, reports longshoreman Mike Downs from Long Beach, others were willing to work. But they feared that a right-wing terrorist might plant a bomb on the ship (the Coast Guard had reported a bomb threat).

Some union officials wouldn't let him sign to work the ship, which he requested, Downs said.

Downs also noted the absence of anti-Soviet speeches at Labor Day celebrations in Los Angeles. This was true elsewhere, as well. The second week also saw many workers who were suspicious from the start begin to speak out.

U.S. anti-Soviet campaign unraveling

Facts, unanswered questions about S. Korean air liner undermine U.S. credibility

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The Reagan administration's campaign to whip up an anti-Soviet, prowar hysteria around the downing of the South Korean 747 jet liner has been seriously eroded.

The facts — both the ones that are known and the ones that Washington is covering up — have undermined the credibility of the U.S. version of events of September 1 that led to a Soviet pilot shooting down the plane.

Starting bright and early on September 2, screaming headlines — and blustering newscasters — repeated President Reagan's vitriolic denunciations of the "horrible act of violence" by the Soviet "murderers."

The U.S. version was as simple as it was illogical: a commercial Korean air liner carrying 269 passengers accidentally strayed into Soviet air space. Moscow proceeded to stalk the plane for over two hours, and then, without any warning to the crew, shot it down in an act of cold-blooded, premeditated murder.

This story, not backed by any proof, was belligerently followed by demands for a full explanation and apology from the Soviet government.

But the more that Moscow has explained, the more the imperialist campaign has unraveled.

The announcement of the results of Moscow's investigation of the incident at a news conference held by the chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal Nikolai Ogorkov, highlighted the inconsistencies in Washington's version and raised pertinent — and mostly yet unanswered — questions.

Right from day one there were many discrepancies between what Reagan was saying and the few facts that were available.

The most obvious question is: what was this plane doing 313 miles into USSR airspace over top-secret Soviet military installations for two-and-a-half hours? U.S. Federal Aviation Agency maps of this area print a warning on top of them, which says in large letters: "Aircraft infringing upon this territory may be fired on without warning."

Washington stonewalls

The Reagan administration has stonewalled, saying that the answer to why the plane flew there can never be known.

The Soviet government says that based on its investigation, the jet was being used as a spy plane.

There are some facts that can be weighed.

The jet's state-of-the-art navigation equipment has led most aviation experts to dismiss as unlikely the idea that the plane accidentally went off course for such a long period of time.

The Soviet fact-finding commission said the jet entered Soviet air space "specifically at the point" where U.S. spy planes "regularly operate."

This occurred on a day when the Soviet Union was scheduled to conduct a missile test, which the U.S. wanted information on.

Washington, after being forced to admit that there was an RC-135 (a reconstructed Boeing 707) in the area on September 1, then claimed that it never went anywhere near the Korean jet liner.

Proof of that assertion has not been forthcoming from the Pentagon.

Moscow charges that the RC-135 flew side by side with the 747 for 10 minutes, and that the RC-135 was monitoring the flight of the Korean plane.

Moscow has also reported that the Korean plane was emitting short radio signals of the type used to transmit intelligence information.

Japanese national 'security'

Another big question for which no solid answers have been offered is why didn't Japanese and U.S. air controllers notify Soviet authorities that this plane was in trouble and had accidentally strayed into high-security Soviet air space?

The Japanese government has talked out of both sides of its mouth on this issue.

According to a *New York Times* report



Soviet Marshal Nikolai Ogorkov (left) at Moscow news conference. Soviet response raised questions about Reagan's version of Korean jet downing.



from Tokyo on September 11, "For 75 minutes before the plane was shot down, it was in sporadic radio contact with controllers at Narita airport outside Tokyo. For part of that time — 17 minutes before it disappeared — it had been picked up by military radar in Wakkanai."

The Japanese government claims that the plane's discussions with Narita didn't indicate anything was amiss, and military radar, which showed the plane to be well off course, had no way of knowing the blip on its screen was a passenger plane.

This explanation has met with a lot of suspicion in Japan. It raises the question: why doesn't the Japanese government release tapes of its ground-to-air communications with the plane as well as the Soviet's ground-to-air communications?

Tokyo's response was that releasing the tapes would endanger national security.

U.S. denial

The U.S. government at first flat-out denied that it was monitoring the Korean

flight. But that was hard to swallow given the sheer volume of U.S. spying in that area of the globe and the amount of commotion on the ground once the Soviet military became aware of the intrusion.

So, on September 13, Washington changed its story to say that it was aware of the sudden increase in Soviet air defense activity but that it "had no way of knowing at the time that a commercial airliner had entered Soviet airspace and was the object of the maneuvers."

This statement from U.S. intelligence, which claims to know every move the Soviet military makes; is not very credible.

Even the one tangible piece of "evidence" Washington kept using as its trump card — alleged tape recordings of discussions between the Soviet pilots who were pursuing the intruder — has now undermined the White House's version of events.

Washington's assertion that Moscow fired on the Korean plane without warning was supposedly proved by the fact that

Washington's first transcript of the tape didn't include any attempts by the Soviet pilots to contact the plane.

However, Washington then released a revised translation, which has the Soviet pilots saying that they fired a burst of cannon shots at the plane, shots which would have warned the pilot to land.

The new tape translation lends credence to the Soviet government's contention that it took every possible measure over a prolonged period of time to let this plane know that it was off course and should land.

Logic also backs up this version: if the Soviet Union had simply wanted to shoot the plane down from the beginning, why didn't it do so right away? Why wait for more than two hours?

A key part of Moscow's conclusion that this was a spy plane is based on the plane's refusal to respond to any of the Soviet warning signals.

Role of South Korea

The least discussed aspect of this whole affair is the possible role of the U.S.-puppet regime in South Korea, whose hostility to the Soviet Union knows no bounds — or boundaries.

Ernest Volkman, the national security editor for *Defense Science Magazine* told the Canadian Broadcasting Company that Korean Air Lines planes regularly overfly Soviet air space to gather military intelligence. And Korean airline cockpit crews are usually active members of the South Korean military, reported the September 4 *San Francisco Examiner*. The pilot of the plane in question was a former member of the South Korean Air Force.

Each day brings new questions and new contradictions for the U.S. version of what happened. The idea that it was the U.S. government, and not Moscow, that bears full responsibility for whatever deaths occurred is a truth that is becoming more obvious each day.

Where was U.S. hue & cry in 1973 when Israel shot down air liner?

BY PAUL SIEGEL

On Feb. 21, 1973, Israeli fighter planes shot down a Libyan passenger jetliner over the Israeli-occupied Sinai peninsula. One hundred and eight men, women, and children, including a U.S. citizen, were killed.

The Israeli government admitted that its air force shot down the plane, stating that it had done so only as a "last resort." It leaked statements to the press hinting that the pilot of the plane might have been engaged in a suicidal terror mission.

The contrast between the tone of judicial evenhandedness with which the U.S. government and press responded on that occasion and the storm of hypocritical indignation they launched in response to the downing of the South Korean passenger plane is instructive about how they operate.

The Nixon administration, reported the Feb. 23, 1973, *New York Times*, "refused to comment on the shooting." And it never did issue an official statement. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights sent a message to the Israeli government denouncing the shooting as a "massacre of the innocents" and "cruel and unjustifiable." This message, according to the February 28 *Times*, "was decided upon without a formal vote after the United States and some Western and Latin American members of the 32-nation commission had expressed reservations over the terms and propriety of it."

A tape recording of conversations between the pilot and the Cairo control tower were retrieved showing that the plane had lost its way because of instrument failure. The crew believed that the plane was over Egyptian territory west of the Suez Canal and was being followed by Egyptian MIGs.

In the face of this evidence Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said that a mistake had been made; but he continued to insist "that does not put us on the guilty

side." Still Washington felt it could not vote for a message of protest to Israel.

The news media followed the lead of the government. The *New York Times* did not have a six-column front-page headline with page after page of stories following the front-page story, as it did with the South Korean plane. Very soon the event became an inside-page item and then was dropped.

The *Times* background story on international law on the first day tended to exonerate Israel.

"Specialists in international aviation," according to the article, "said that there were no clearly established principles of international behavior defining the degree of force a country may use if a pilot refuses to land. . . . Regarding commercial planes, Prof. Oliver Lissitzyn of Columbia University School of Law said . . . he personally believed that a nation had the right under some circumstances to shoot down a foreign airliner over its territory if it refused to land and if there existed a 'state of hostilities or tension' between the two countries. There would have to be a 'reasonable' suspicion that the plane was being used for some military purpose, he said."

In the case of the South Korean plane the *Times* also had a story on international law. This one, dated September 2, however, did not begin by saying that "there were no clearly established principles of international behavior" as to the force that may be used if the pilot of an intrusive plane refuses to land. Rather, it began with the categorical statement: "Although nations have complete control of the airspace over their land and territorial waters, they may shoot down intruders during peacetime under only the most extraordinary circumstances, authorities on international law said yesterday."

The same Prof. Lissitzyn is quoted, but he does not now give his personal opinion that a nation has "the right under some cir-

cumstances to shoot down a foreign airliner over its territory" (incidentally, the Sinai peninsula was not part of Israel but was territory occupied by it). Instead, he is quoted as saying the matter is "controversial."

But in any event, the Russians "have to show that the plane was embarked on a hostile mission" for it to claim that right. "Reasonable suspicion," it seems, is no longer enough.

In its own voice the *Times* September 2 editorial on the South Korean plane, headlined, "Murder in the Air," concluded "no circumstance whatever justifies attacking an innocent plane." But its editorial on the shooting down of the Libyan plane was entitled, "Tragic Blunder," and concluded by saying, "The probability is that there simply was a series of dreadful blunders, for the fatal culmination of which Israel must accept ultimate responsibility." In short, Israel only blundered and was not alone in making blunders — somewhat different from the phrase "cold-blooded mass murder" which the *Times* now uses.

By March 1, 1973, the *Times* was saying editorially: "No useful purpose is served by an acrimonious debate over the assignment of blame. . . . The basic fact illustrated by this tragic incident is that clashes . . . are going inevitably to occur . . . as long as the two sides remain locked into the rigid stand-off which has produced such a sterile stalemate all these years."

In other words, if the Arab countries do not want their planes shot down, they should come to terms with Israel.

This contrast between the way the 1973 incident and the downing of the Korean airliner were treated underlines that fact that it's not innocent lives that motivates Washington's outrage today, but the opportunity to whip up an anti-Soviet campaign — a campaign which serves to cover up its own aggressive moves in Lebanon and Central America.

Women launch fight against Canada's antiabortion laws

Women, labor, Quebecois have big stake in struggle

We are printing below major excerpts of a report adopted by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada at its meeting July 23-26. The Revolutionary Workers League is the sister party of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

The section of the report we are publishing is on the important fight over abortion rights taking place in Canada today. This struggle and its outcome will also have a big impact on the fight for abortion rights in the United States.

The text is taken from the Sept. 5, 1983, issue of *Socialist Voice*, published in Montreal.

The report was presented by Joan Newbigging.

BY JOAN NEWBIGGING

A confrontation of historic proportions is unfolding in Canada today over the right of women to access to abortion.

It is a struggle that is pitting women and their allies against the state — its reactionary laws, police, and courts. It is a struggle on a crucial issue for women — the right of women to decide for themselves whether or not to bear a child.

It's a struggle in which we see reflected the profound advances in consciousness on women's rights that have occurred over the past 15 years, and the deepgoing changes that have taken place within the labor movement.

It's a struggle that holds out the potential to become a binational fight — to link together abortion rights activists in English Canada and Quebec.

Furthermore it's around this confrontation that a fighting wing of the women's movement is coming together.

What I want to do in this report is describe this struggle and sketch out its significance in the context of the class struggle as a whole.

* * *

This struggle is unfolding in defense of the abortion clinics that have been established in Toronto and Winnipeg. Three events sum up its scope.

- The demonstration that took place in Toronto on July 6 in response to the police raid on the clinic there. Some 5,000 people — mainly women — participated on one day's notice. It was the largest demonstration ever in English Canada in support of a woman's right to abortion.

- The debate on abortion rights that took place at the Ontario Federation of Labor convention last year. An excellent policy on abortion rights was adopted calling for repeal of the federal abortion law and for support for abortion clinics.

- The discussion that took place at the recent federal NDP [New Democratic Party, Canada's union-based labor party] convention in Winnipeg. After a full de-

bate, 95 percent of the delegates adopted resolutions reaffirming NDP policy in support of the right of women to abortion and condemning the police raids and use of conspiracy charges in Manitoba.

These examples show the widespread support that exists for this struggle. They point to the profound change in consciousness that has taken place in relation to women's rights, and to the deepgoing impact the feminist radicalization has had on the labor movement, the NDP, and on society at large.

The coalitions that are leading this struggle — the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC) and the Coalition for Reproductive Choice in Winnipeg — enjoy enormous backing. Some 80 organizations have declared their support for the goals of OCAC.

The entire women's movement has come behind this campaign. All the major labor federations — in Quebec and in English Canada — have taken positions in favor of repeal. A Gallup poll taken in June 1982 showed that 72 percent of Canadians support a woman's right to decide on abortion.

In the few short months since the campaign has been underway, a whole series of different activities have been held — demonstrations, rallies, petitions (10,000 names were collected by OCAC), newspaper advertisements, and so on. The next major event will be the October 1 Day of Action for Choice on Abortion, a day of crosscountry actions backed by the major prochoice groups throughout English Canada.

All this gives us a taste of the tremendous potential that this campaign offers to take the women's movement forward, to draw in the labor movement as an active participant, and to score an important victory.

Clinics pose challenge to laws

The current campaign is being built in defense of the clinics established in Toronto and Winnipeg by Dr. Henry Morgentaler. These clinics provide women with abortions on request, and thus pose a head-on challenge to the abortion laws.

Under Canadian law, abortions are illegal except under certain highly restricted circumstances. They can only be performed if, in the opinion of a therapeutic abortion committee, continuation of the pregnancy would endanger the woman's life or health. And they must be performed in an accredited hospital.

Only 237 hospitals have abortion committees and even fewer perform abortions. In 1981, 73 percent of abortions were performed in 15 percent of the hospitals. There are whole areas of the country where it is simply impossible for a woman to obtain an abortion.

And the situation is getting worse, according to a Statistics Canada study published this June. Statistics Canada attributed the decline in legal abortions being performed to a stricter interpretation of the law, lack of facilities, and pressure from antiabortion groups.

Women's right to choose

So this is what the clinics struggle is all about: it's over the right of women to access to abortion.

For women this is a crucial issue. To lead full and equal lives, women must be able to control their reproductive capacities; they must be able to decide for themselves whether or not to have children.

Otherwise our ability to exercise all our other rights is in jeopardy. How can women play an equal role in society, how can we achieve equality in the workplace,

if we are constantly burdened down with pregnancies we do not want?

Today there is no 100 percent safe and effective birth control. Birth control information in the schools is pitifully inadequate. In this situation women must have access to abortions. This is their only recourse if they become pregnant and do not want to bear a child.

It's for these reasons that the right to abortion is fundamental to the entire struggle for women's liberation. It is a precondition for women's liberation.

It's not some narrow "women's issue." In fact, there are no exclusively women's issues. It's an important question for the working class as a whole. Without access to abortion, working class families — women and men — live with the constant uncertainty and fear of having to cope with children they do not want.

Women's susceptibility to pregnancy is something the ruling class has always exploited to lock women into their oppressed status, to keep women in their place. They use it to trap women within the family, tied down to the role of housewife and mother. They use it to justify discrimination against women in the work force. We've all heard the argument: it's not worth training her for a better job; she'll only go and get pregnant.

The clinics pose a fundamental challenge to all this. They cut across all the roadblocks, delays, bureaucratic hassles, and red tape imposed by the abortion laws. They enable women who want them to have abortions in safety and dignity, free of the humiliation and emotional strain associated with trying to obtain legal abortions today. That's why this struggle is so important.

Women take the offensive

There's something else important we should take note of around this struggle. It's an offensive struggle at a time when the ruling class has forced us onto the defensive. Right now the ruling class is trying to take away our rights. Take Bill 157 to set up the new police spy agency; or the vicious moves by the provincial government in British Columbia [B.C.] to simply obliterate human rights; the antilabor legislation imposed in Quebec and now in Saskatchewan; or the federal government's attacks on hard-won legislation protecting French-language rights in Quebec. At a time when the rulers are trying to take away our democratic rights, women are fighting to establish a right currently denied us.

This fight is also taking place in the context of an erosion of the gains women have made over the past 15 or more years. This has been a central part of the ruling class's response to the economic crisis.

What's happening in B.C. today is the most dramatic and far-reaching example. But the same process of attacking the gains



Thousands marched in Toronto July 6 to abortion clinic staff. Clinic fight is biggest

women have made is at work in other areas.

Women workers have been hard-hit by unemployment. In 1981 women made up 40.8 percent of the work force and 45.9 percent of the unemployed. Even more devastating are the underemployed figures: women make up 72 percent of part-time workers, a growing sector of the work force and one that is faced with lower wages and fewer benefits.

As the lowest paid workers, women are hit the hardest by wage controls and high inflation rates. In 1979 women earned 58 percent of what male workers earned. They make up two thirds of minimum wage workers.

The gains women have made in breaking into nontraditional jobs have been set back. Layoffs have virtually wiped out the female workers in big industrial centers such as Inco [International Nickel Company] in Sudbury and Stelco in Hamilton.

Furthermore, cutbacks in social services are having a devastating effect on women's lives, considerably increasing the responsibilities they bear within the home. In Saskatchewan the Tories [Progressive Conservative Party] have cut back child care by 30 percent. In Quebec it is estimated that childcare facilities are adequate to meet 10 percent of the need. And the list could go on.

All this underlines how the clinics struggle runs counter to everything the ruling class is trying to do right now.

The stakes are enormously high in this fight. If the Winnipeg and Toronto clinics are able to function free from state harassment, this will deal a death blow to the abortion laws. Other abortion clinics will be opened. The present laws will be seen to be unworkable. This won't mark the end of the battle. An adequate network of state-financed abortion facilities will still need to be won, and we will still have to establish that abortions will be covered by medicare. But a decisive step forward will have been taken.

It's important to understand that Quebec women too have a stake in this fight. In Quebec it is possible for abortion clinics to function without government harassment.



In the 1970s Dr. Henry Morgentaler (left) was jailed for setting up abortion clinic in Quebec. That solidarity is needed now as Canadian women launch a new fight for an



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Lutte Ouvriere photos by Jude Keast

test police raid on abortion clinic there and demand that Ontario government drop charges against Dr. Morgentaler and other struggle around abortion rights in North America for a decade.

Abortions are also performed in community health centers. These gains were won as a result of the long and bitter struggle waged in defense of Dr. Morgentaler's Montreal clinic during the 1970s. The current fight around the Toronto and Winnipeg clinics is, in fact, a continuation of the Quebec struggle.

Quebec is an oppressed nation within Canada. The health care and educational systems have traditionally been dominated by the Catholic church. As a result, very few abortions are performed in Quebec hospitals, particularly in the French-speaking community.

According to a Statistics Canada study, only 9,055 legal abortions were performed in Quebec in 1981, compared to 30,579 in Ontario. A 1979 study, issued by the Quebec Ministry of Social Affairs, showed that between 1976 and 1979, 95.1 percent of abortions performed in Quebec were done in the Montreal area and 84.6 percent of them in the anglophone community.

But these statistics don't reflect the abortions performed in community health centers, public clinics, and half a dozen private ones such as Dr. Morgentaler's. It's impossible to find out how many abortions are performed in these clinics.

The point here is that the problem is by no means solved in Quebec and the gains that have been made are tenuous. A recent editorial in the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* pointed out how the clinics in Quebec are still illegal and how all that is needed is for a zealously antiabortion government to be elected for the police raids and harassment to start anew.

Let's not forget that it was the Quebec Liberals — who may well be elected in the next provincial elections — who conducted the crusade against Morgentaler during the 70s, and who were readying to bring a fourth charge against him when they were thrown out of office, despite the fact that he had been acquitted three times.

The only way to ensure the gains in Quebec are secure is by getting the federal abortion laws wiped off the books. That's why in Quebec women have such a big stake in the struggle now unfolding in Toronto and Winnipeg. If these clinics are

shut down, it will open the door to an attack on the clinics now functioning in Quebec.

It's because of this that the clinics campaign has the potential to become a binational campaign, uniting women in both Quebec and English Canada in a common struggle against these unjust laws.

Ruling class response

The stakes in this fight are well understood by the ruling class, and their response has been vicious. They are bringing the entire weight of the courts and the police to bear against the clinics.

The police have raided the Winnipeg clinic on two occasions, laying charges against the entire staff and confiscating the equipment. As a result the clinic is not able to perform abortions although it is open for consultations. They have raided the Toronto clinic and seized its equipment so that it too is not able to perform abortions at this time.

They have leveled charges of both performing abortions and conspiring to perform abortions against the operators of the clinic. All these charges carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment.

The conspiracy charge is a particularly insidious weapon. It can be used against anyone who promotes the clinics; you don't have to be involved in actually performing abortions. It's a weapon the ruling class has used throughout history, against the labor movement in particular. Conspiracy charges can be laid not only against the clinic staff but also against the movement that stands behind them, to intimidate and silence this movement.

It's clear the ruling class is out to tie up Morgentaler and his associates in lengthy and costly legal proceedings which will break them financially. Already legal costs are estimated to go over \$500,000.

They're going all out to create an atmosphere that the clinic and its operators are fair game for any reactionary yahoo. Several weeks ago Morgentaler was physically attacked by a man brandishing garden shears.

We shouldn't forget the obscenity they staged in Regina earlier this year, when the Supreme Court gave a platform to anti-choice leader Joe Borowski and financed him in his antiabortion crusade. A Saskatchewan judge is now deciding whether or not a fetus is a human being and should therefore be protected under the Charter of Rights. If he so rules, an abortion would thereby be tantamount to murder.

Now the Saskatchewan government has given the Right to Life a \$60,000 grant so that they can visit schools promoting the idea that the fetus is a human being from conception and encouraging chastity.

This is all part of the social polarization that is unfolding today. It takes place in the context of the rulers' overall offensive against our rights and living standards. They're out to block the struggle for women's rights and to build popular resistance to it. They're raising all this rank superstition and religious bigotry around

the fetus's right to life in order to confuse people and weaken this struggle.

Manitoba NDP government caves in

This enormous pressure from the ruling class has had its desired effect on the NDP leadership. The NDP government in Manitoba has led the way in attacking the clinics.

The action of the Manitoba NDP government constitutes one of the darkest chapters in the history of Canadian social democracy. It is the NDP's greatest betrayal since party leader Ed Broadbent supported [Canadian Prime Minister] Trudeau's attack on the rights of the Québécois during the constitution fight.

But the NDP government's crime is even worse when you consider that they have the power to declare the clinic legal. As the provincial government of Manitoba, they have the power to designate the clinic a hospital. They don't even have to take the step of condoning the violation of an unjust and oppressive law.

This is what makes their action so rank. They are riding roughshod over party policy and the party membership. They are enforcing a law that has caused untold hardship and suffering to women.

It is a supreme example of their political gutlessness, of their complete lack of confidence in the labor movement and the women's movement.

The fight that is unfolding within the NDP against the actions of the Manitoba government is a very important one. An echo of that same fight is taking place within the Ontario NDP to get the provincial caucus to support the struggle for the

legalization of the Toronto clinic.

The Manitoba provincial council, representing NDPers from across the province, passed a resolution in June reaffirming party policy in support of abortion rights and clinics and "regretting" the raids on the Winnipeg clinic. Organized pressure from labor and NDP activists persuaded ONDP [Ontario NDP] leader Bob Rae to take the platform at the rally following the raid on the Toronto clinic. At the recent federal convention, the overwhelming majority of delegates voted to condemn the police raids.

The NDP women's committees have played the key role in this fight. This reflects the growing weight of women within the party. Struggles like this which bring the weight of the oppressed to bear will be a key factor in the struggle to build a class struggle current within the NDP.

This fight gets to the heart of what sort of party the NDP should be. Should it accommodate itself to the laws and trappings of the bourgeois state? Should it be the main instrument in enforcing these laws regardless of how unjust they are? Or should it rather lead a fight on behalf of the oppressed and exploited and seek to mobilize the forces with the clout to actually change society?

Challenge for women and labor

The high stakes in the fight over the abortion clinics and the heavy-handed response they have generated from the ruling class means we should be preparing ourselves for a long, hard battle. The fight in defense of Morgentaler during the 70s dragged on over more than three years. It took a tremendous effort to maintain the momentum of the fight and raise the funds to cover the gargantuan legal bills.

What will be decisive in determining the outcome of the current struggle will be the extent to which the women's movement drives this struggle forward as a united force; the extent to which the labor movement brings its weight to bear; and the extent to which this becomes a truly united struggle bringing together women's rights supporters from both English Canada and Quebec.

That's the challenge before the women's movement and the labor movement today. It's a challenge we in the Revolutionary Workers League want to do everything in our power to help them meet.

Oct. 1: abortion rights action day

BY KAREN DOLAN
AND PATI HABERMAN

TORONTO — On October 1, thousands of people across Canada will be participating in a day of action for choice on abortion, organized around these demands: defend a woman's right to choose, legalize free-standing abortion clinics, and remove abortion from the Criminal Code.

This action was called by the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League following their annual convention this year. The day is cosponsored by Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, Concerned Citizens for Choice on Abortion in Vancouver, and the Coalition for Reproductive Choice in Winnipeg. In addition endorsements have come from the Canadian Labor Congress, B.C. (British Columbia) Federation of Labor, and the Ontario Federation of Labor.

In Ontario, actions are being planned in Ottawa, Kitchener, and Toronto. Other demonstrations and rallies will be held from Victoria to Halifax.

This action comes at a time when anti-choice activists are stepping up their cam-

paign against the Toronto and Winnipeg clinics. An arson attack was carried out against the Toronto clinic on July 29, resulting in the destruction of the Toronto Women's bookstore housed in the same building.

Petitions have been circulated in the neighborhood of the Toronto clinic demanding it be closed. Anti-choice groups are organizing a mass rally in Toronto on October 1 and plan to bring people in from across the province.

In Winnipeg a provincial court judge has refused to return the equipment seized in a raid on the abortion clinic there. Police in that city are using files seized in the raid in order to question patients.

The British Columbia government has served notice that it will cut all grants to the Planned Parenthood Association of B.C.

This stepped-up offensive by anti-choice elements gives an added importance to the October 1 Day of Action for Choice on Abortion. Every effort must be made to build support for it within the labor movement, and to reach out to the majority of Canadians who support a woman's right to choose on abortion.



bec. He is threatened with prison again ended Dr. Morgentaler's previous battle abortion rights.

What proposed 'industrial policy' would mean for workers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

There is growing talk, in both the big business and labor press, about the need for an "industrial policy" in the United States. The *New York Times* has carried articles and editorials on the subject. It's a frequent topic in the *AFL-CIO News*. Other union papers such as the United Auto Workers' *Solidarity* and the International Association of Machinists' the *Machinist* have devoted many pages to it. Union officials like Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America, talk about it often in their public speeches. And it's becoming an issue in the 1984 presidential race.

What does it mean for workers? Is it a viable plan for dealing with unemployment? Will it help workers who have been displaced by new technology obtain job retraining? Is it part of a strategy that will strengthen the labor movement? These are some of the questions that are posed.

"In its barest essentials," the *New York Times* explained in a recent editorial, "industrial policy means a coordinated Federal strategy to reinvigorate the economy. The aim is to revitalize struggling old industries and promote promising new ones, create jobs and, not incidentally, win elections."

Most proponents of an industrial policy would accept all or part of this definition. However, the term itself is purposely vague and allows various supporters of the concept to define it the way they like. Consequently, for some the term also includes a federal policy of more restrictions on imports. Others use the term to refer to reorienting economic policy to favor new "high tech" industries at the expense of older "smokestack" industries.

The fundamental idea as defined by the *Times* is not a new one. One of its earliest and most vigorous advocates is Felix Rohatyn, a New York investment banker. Today Rohatyn co-chairs the Industrial Policy Study Group — along with the retired head of the DuPont Company, Irving Shapiro, and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland.

For almost 10 years Rohatyn has proposed the establishment of a Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). He envisions it as a federal agency with the authority and resources to provide substantial loans to big business. The RFC would target particular industries and make large sums of money — capital — available for modernization and expansion.

One possible target, for instance, might be the steel industry. This industry is not drawing much investment these days because the capitalists do not believe it returns a high enough rate of profit. An RFC, in Rohatyn's plan, would allow the government to intervene, make the necessary capital available through guaranteed, low-interest loans, and thereby revitalize the industry.

To some workers these ideas may sound, at first, as if they will do some good. But, if nothing else, the company Kirkland is

keeping in the "study group" (one among many formulating these proposals) should be enough to make one suspicious. Shapiro, for instance, as the head of DuPont for many years, fought efforts by the steelworkers and other unions to organize its workers.

Rohatyn, as many New York City workers can testify, is no friend of labor either. In the mid-1970s he presided over the attacks on New York's municipal unions during the city's fiscal crisis. As the chairman of a localized RFC, the Municipal Assistance Corporation (known as "Big MAC") he imposed cutbacks that led to massive layoffs. In addition he pushed through concessions in wages and work rules on city workers as a means of persuading the banks to loan money to bail the city government out of the crisis.

Yet despite the antilabor record of Rohatyn, Shapiro, and other industrial policy advocates from the ranks of business, top AFL-CIO officials are quite eager to get on the industrial policy bandwagon.

In congressional testimony supporting the creation of an RFC, AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald explained that the RFC's main purpose would be "to insure the revitalization of the nation's sick industries and decaying communities, while at the same time encouraging the development of new industries with promise for the future."

What Oswald, and other AFL-CIO officials leave out is the catch for workers. All the various industrial policy proposals include big concessions on the part of the unions.

Industrial policy at Chrysler

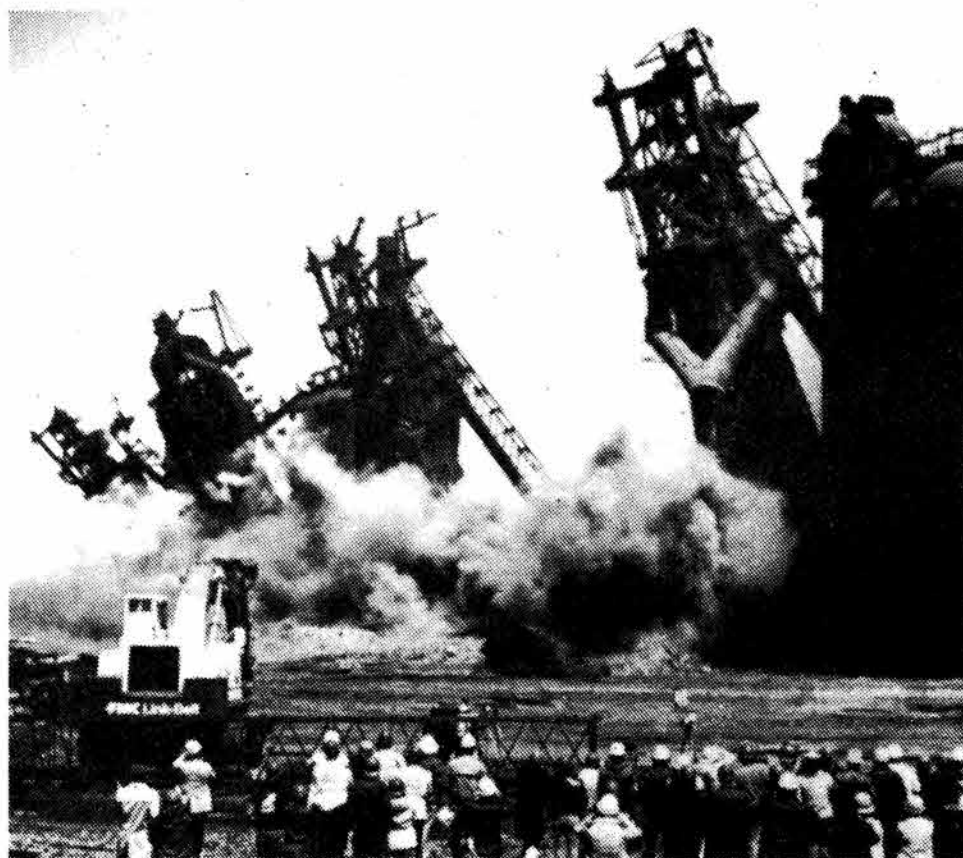
For an example of what this would mean, one need only look at the experience of Chrysler workers. In fact, the federal government and the banks carried out an industrial policy-type approach during the "Chrysler crisis" of 1979.

At that time the company claimed it was losing tens of millions of dollars. It began closing some plants and threatened to shut down more. It claimed that without special help, it would have to go out of business altogether.

To bail the company out, Congress agreed to make hundreds of millions of dollars available in guaranteed, low interest loans. Chrysler could then retool and produce a new line of cars to increase its sales. As part of the deal for the loans, Chrysler and the banks (with the vigorous agreement of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress) insisted on big concessions from the United Auto Workers.

What was the result of this industrial policy carried out by the government in cooperation with Chrysler's owners?

The slashing cuts in wages and benefits wound up costing Chrysler workers over \$1 billion dollars. While the militant determination of Chrysler workers in Canada and the United States has forced the company to restore much of the wage cuts, that



U.S. Steel destroys blast furnace in Youngstown, Ohio. "New industrial policy" calls for huge subsidies to rebuild and automate "smokestack" industries. While workers are to sacrifice, capitalists would make higher profits.

billion dollars is gone for good.

Even more devastating was the loss of jobs — despite promises at the time that workers too would benefit from the concession deal because jobs would be saved. In 1979, Chrysler workers numbered 130,000. Today the figure is about 65,000. While Chrysler claims it has plans to recall as many as 25,000 workers, that would still leave some 40,000 jobs that are also gone for good.

To this price can be added the speedup, worse work rules, and job combinations that were also imposed in the wake of the concession agreement. Furthermore, the implementation of this industrial policy at Chrysler paved the way for similar concessions being made to the other auto companies and in many other industries across the country.

This is the approach that the top labor officials, big-business figures, and any number of Democratic Party politicians now want to establish as the national industrial policy.

In fact, most Democratic presidential contenders see it as a catch word that can be offered to workers as an alternative to "Reaganomics" and a means of winning votes in the 1984 elections. According to the *Times*, for instance, Walter Mondale remarked, after reading a new book outlining a version of the industrial policy by Harvard economist Ronald Reich, "This should do it for the Democrats in 1984."

Wolf in sheep's clothing

Of course no candidate is liable to pick up many votes by trying to sell workers a national version of the Chrysler policy. So, although that is what the "new" industrial policy really boils down to, it is being packaged and sold to workers as something else.

The main claim that the Democratic Party industrial-policy backers and their supporters in the union officialdom make is that the policy will help reduce unemployment. Despite the upturn in the business cycle and the recall of workers in some industries, the national jobless rate remains above 9 percent. Optimistic big-business economists forecast a drop to only 6 percent at best. Many workers wonder how long the upturn itself will last. So it is no wonder that unemployment remains uppermost in the minds of many workers.

But joblessness will not be solved through adopting a pro-capitalist industrial policy. Let's go back to the example of the steel industry. Even if an RFC were set up and money was made available for modernization of the industry, there is no reason to assume that this would lead to more jobs. In fact, the key modernization steps

which have long been projected for the steel industry revolve around new technology that will enable more steel to be produced more efficiently by fewer workers.

This does not mean that workers should oppose modernization. But it does mean that the unions should fight for the workers' right to benefit from modernization and the increased productivity it leads to. Industrial policy would do nothing to guarantee that. To the contrary — the purpose of industrial policy is to improve profits for big business, not create jobs or better working conditions for workers. It is on that basis, and that basis only, that loans would be made available to ailing industries.

Retraining for workers

What about worker retraining? This is a worthy goal for the labor movement to strive for. It is unquestionable that as technology advances some jobs are made obsolete. At the same time new jobs are created. The labor movement has an interest in fighting to insure that workers are retrained for these jobs.

But once again the same question is posed. Who should benefit from the new technology? Workers do not benefit by being retrained for new jobs at lower wages and with fewer benefits than those they were laid off from. Yet that is precisely the result envisioned by proponents of an industrial policy.

Their idea of helping workers is illustrated by the case of Ron Bricker, the steelworker who handed President Reagan a job résumé during Reagan's trip to Pittsburgh earlier this year. The "help" Bricker got was a job at Radio Shack where he was trained to work with computers. His pay turned out to be less than he received from unemployment compensation.

Why officials back it

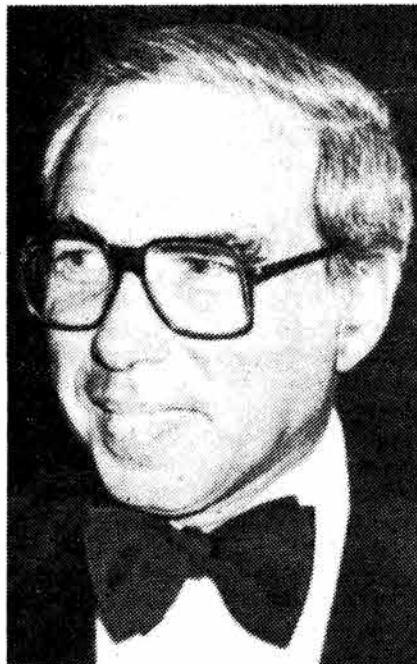
Labor union officials' support for an industrial policy is based on the very same reasoning that led them to pressure workers to vote for concession contracts at Chrysler and other major companies. This line of thinking was bluntly explained by a top Steelworker official, international Vice-president Joe Odorich, who explained that in his view "to have a union you have to have a company and that company has to make bucks."

This is just another version of the worn-out idea that what is good for the company is good for the workers. It is based on the assumption that the capitalist economic system, which puts profits first, is fundamentally good for workers despite some shortcomings. The idea of an industrial

Continued on next page



Militant/Lou Howort



AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (left) eagerly joined financier Felix Rohatyn to cochair Industrial Policy Study Group. Rohatyn's robbing of workers to pay off bankers in New York is model for "industrial policy."

Colorado farmers win first round



Militant Joe Walters
Doug Goodpaster (right), defendant in frame-up of activist farmers, talks to supporter in front of Baca County, Colorado, courthouse during trial. In front of same courthouse in January, police attacked farmers at auction of AAM member's farm.

BY JOE WALTERS
AND MAUREEN McDOUGALL

SPRINGFIELD, Colorado — The American Agriculture Movement (AAM) scored a partial victory here September 1 when a trial of three farmer activists ended in a hung jury.

The trial stemmed from a police attack on January 4, when 300 farmers and members and supporters of the AAM came to Baca County Courthouse in Springfield for what was billed as the public auction of a farm belonging to Jerry Wright, an AAM activist.

They came to support Wright, bid on the land for him, and to protest the foreclosure.

What they found was something very different. Police, armed with M-16 assault rifles and tear gas, were stationed on the roofs of the courthouse and the bank across the street.

When the "auction" began, Sheriff Goff, who was conducting the proceedings, accepted no bids from anyone there. Instead, he opened an envelope with a bid from the Federal Land Bank and declared the "auction" over.

Police then charged from the courthouse and attacked the crowd with riot sticks and mace. During the attack three farmers were arrested. Jim and Doug Goodpaster and Kinan Burk were charged with second-degree assault of a policeman and disruption of a policeman in performance of his duty. These charges carry penalties of two to eight years.

The trial took place August 23-September 1. The prosecution did not produce one witness who could testify to having seen any of the defendants assault the police.

While the court and a standing-room-only crowd of supporters watched, the defense played video tapes of newscasts of the cop attack. The tapes confirmed the testimony of defense witnesses who say Jim Goodpaster and Burk were grabbed and pulled inside the courthouse by cops (Doug Goodpaster followed when he saw his

father, Jim, being attacked.) The three were then beaten and arrested.

Denial of their rights did not end there. In an interview at the courthouse, Doug Goodpaster told the *Militant* what happened next: "They had us upstairs in a room. They kept us there from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. It was a cold, unheated room, in the middle of January. The officers were switched every 20 minutes."

The cops "wouldn't give us any food or water," he said. "When I asked if I could go to the bathroom, Sheriff Goff told me to piss on the floor. They tried to make us sign something. We refused."

After hearing the evidence, the jury deliberated a day and a half before informing the judge they could not come to a decision. The defendants and their supporters were relieved, despite the fact that Baca County has until November 9 to decide whether to hold a second trial.

If the Goodpasters are imprisoned, they'll lose their farm, which is in Villas. They grow milo and barley on 640 acres there.

Many farmers here feel that the police attack of January 4 and the trial of Burk and the Goodpasters are links in a chain of attacks on the AAM. The AAM has been fighting for the rights of working farmers against the banks, corporations, and the government for six years. Burk told the *Militant*, "They were obviously trying [in the trial] to use the tactic, 'If you knock down a leader you get the army.'"

Doug Goodpaster explained, "Activists' farms are the ones that get foreclosed. Some farmers are up to five years behind on their payments and don't get foreclosed, but Jerry Wright was only two payments behind. The bank told us [the Goodpasters] that we were excellent customers a few weeks before we were arrested. Now we can't get any loans."

This is certainly not the first time an attempt has been made to slander the AAM as violent. The star witness for the prosecution, *Denver Post* reporter William Ritz,

wrote an article implying that the AAM was training its members in terrorist tactics, specifically in the use of explosives.

Alvin Jenkins, a founder and leader of AAM, has filed a court suit against Ritz for slander. Jenkins explained in an earlier interview with the *Militant* that at one meeting a farmer showed Jenkins and other farmers a way to make black powder, an explosive readily available commercially that is used by many hunters, and by farmers for clearing tree stumps and opening up clogged water holes.

Many AAM activists are angered by these slanders, which include attempts by the big-business media to portray them as anti-Semites and racists. Doug Goodpaster pointed out, "The newspapers say we're racists. When that story came out, we were working on saving a Black farmer's farm."

The defendants said they have gotten supportive phone calls from all over the country and from Canada. Farmers attended their trial from Nebraska and Louisiana.

A campaign has also been initiated here to recall Sheriff Goff.

All the farmers here who spoke with us stressed the need for unity. "We're not going to stop foreclosures by ourselves," Doug Goodpaster said. "It takes masses. The government listens to its pocket. Well, we don't control their pocketbook, but we do control the food. They can eat their money."

The AAM has a history of reaching out to other groups fighting for their rights. They sent money to the coal miners during their 110-day strike in 1979. Alvin Jenkins has had discussions with leaders of the civil rights movement, including Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Jenkins related plans that the AAM is discussing for what he called a "national farmers' revolt" to start November 1. He said it would have four demands: for 100 percent parity; to stop all foreclosures, stop food imports; and set the banks' prime rate at 1.5 percent and the discount rate at 1 percent.

Other farmers' organizations have been contacted, and the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) has agreed to cosponsor the action, Jenkins said.

Jenkins noted that a NAFA leader, Merle Hansen, is in Washington, D.C., having discussions with union leaders. Jenkins said AAM wants to speak before union meetings.

"Thousands of people," he said, "have to know that what we are fighting for is for working farmers to be able to continue their livelihoods and against America becoming one big corporate farm."

What 'industrial policy' means for workers

Continued from preceding page
policy is to try to make things much better for business and thereby make things a little better for workers. Meanwhile, labor should accept pay cuts, speed-up, and cuts in safety and health standards to insure the well-being of industry.

Once this approach is accepted, as it is by all top union officials today, the logical consequence is that workers should campaign on behalf of those candidates who support such a policy. Thus a Democratic presidential candidate's stand on industrial policy will, in part, determine whether they get the early endorsement by the AFL-CIO, which is expected in October.

Workers can expect that this candidate, whether it be Walter Mondale or someone else, will be heralded by Kirkland and company as a supporter of a "compassionate" industrial policy as opposed to Ronald Reagan's "brutal" supply-side economics. But underneath all the rhetoric there is a basic similarity between Reagan's trickle-down policies and the new industrial policy espoused by Mondale and other Democrats.

A different road

However, there is an alternative to the labor officials' course that could be pursued by the labor movement in order to fight for jobs and to defend workers from the effects of the capitalists' drive for profits. Such a course would involve a serious fight against the employers and the government to shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay. This would spread the available work around.

A good example of this approach is being offered by European workers today, who face many of the same problems as workers in the United States. In Europe, especially in France and Germany, workers have been demanding a 35-hour workweek. They have forced the Democratic French Confederation of Labor and IG Metal, the largest union in Germany, to back this demand.

However, such an alternative is rejected out of hand by most U.S. labor officials

today as "unrealistic." They prefer to forget that the same thing was said about the fight to win the 40-hour week when it was first undertaken by workers many years ago.

At least one national union official has taken a different position on this matter, however. William Bywater, president of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers (IUE) expressed his support for the idea of a shorter workweek in his Labor Day Message in the pages of the union's newspaper. (The message was reprinted by the *Militant* in its September 16 issue.)

As Bywater points out, it took a long and determined struggle by the labor movement to win the 40-hour week. Not that long ago, in steel mills, garment shops and other workplaces, many workers labored for 50, 60, or more hours at straight-time pay. It was only in 1938, under pressure from the historic battles of the CIO, that Congress enacted legislation setting a 40-hour week and mandating overtime pay for extra hours.

Furthermore, as most workers are painfully aware, it is a constant struggle to attempt to maintain the 40-hour week. And it still remains a promise for many workers, especially those not in unions. Today, as the employers try to squeeze the greatest possible profits out of the upturn in the business cycle, forced overtime is again the order of the day in many industries. The employers prefer to lengthen the workweek for those on the job rather than recall those laid off, in many cases.

This well-known attitude on the part of the bosses is a reminder that renewed and determined struggle would be called for to win any new measures shortening the workweek.

No easy fight

No thinking unionist would argue that such a fight would be an easy one. It would immediately pose questions of national priorities and government policy. The em-

ployers would insist that the money is not available and the government and both political parties could be expected to back them up.

For these reasons, such a struggle could not be mounted on the level of a single plant or even a single union. It is a political demand that would require a fight against the government regardless of whether the Democrats or Republicans control the Congress or sit in the White House.

This is one of the reasons the pro-Democratic Party officials of the labor movement are opposed to making such a fight. It would mean challenging their proemployer friends in the Democratic Party. While all the Democratic presidential contenders have flocked to support of industrial policy, none are proponents of a shorter workweek.

The shorter workweek would be a step that would advance workers' interests at the expense of corporate profits. And, it would pose other questions concerning labor's political strategy. If the labor movement were to launch a serious campaign for a shorter workweek it would become readily apparent to many workers that the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party are hostile to it. As an obviously political question involving national legislation on wages and hours, it would also pose the question of how workers can create a political party that would help lead the fight. It would make more immediate and concrete the need for a labor party based on the trade unions.

This is clearly not the direction that Kirkland, McBride, and other labor tops are headed in. They prefer to continue a policy of class collaboration, dressed up in the new rhetoric of "industrial policy." To them this is realistic labor leadership. While the result of this approach may be a Democrat in the White House in 1984, it will not lead to any fundamental changes in the problems facing working people. That will require a fight for a shorter workweek and other pro-working class measures that would really constitute an industrial policy in the interests of working people.

Steelworkers Under Attack

How to fight back and defend jobs



Geoff Mirelowitz

Steelworkers Under Attack:
How to fight back and defend jobs

by Geoff Mirelowitz, \$.95, 40 pp.

The bosses and their government are pushing the line that only big concessions from steelworkers can "save" the ailing steel industry — and workers' jobs. In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis. He outlines a fight-back course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement.

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

Polish workers back Solidarity with big demonstrations

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Tens of thousands of Polish workers and their supporters demonstrated in cities across Poland August 31. They came out to mark the third anniversary of the accords that led to the rise of the Solidarity union movement.

The rallies and marches — held in face of government opposition and police repression — symbolized the continued support for the ideas of Solidarity among wide layers of the Polish working class, more than a year and a half after the union was suppressed with the imposition of martial law in December 1981.

"No freedom without Solidarity!" demonstrators chanted in Gdansk, the Baltic port city that has been a bastion of union support since the historic August 1980 strike at the Lenin Shipyard.

Although police allowed Lech Walesa, the central leader of Solidarity, to place a wreath at a monument to slain workers just outside the shipyard gates, they barred others from approaching the monument. Later in the evening, nearly 10,000 Poles left a commemorative mass shouting, "Solidarity!" and flashing V-for-victory signs. They were charged by police with truncations.

The largest reported anniversary action took place in Nowa Huta, east of Krakow. Some 10,000 workers from the Lenin steelworks, one of the largest plants in the country, attempted to march from the factory gates into the town. They were attacked by ZOMO, Poland's militarized riot police, who fired tear gas, concussion grenades, and water cannon into the crowds of workers. Some of the demonstrators responded by throwing back stones, leading to several hours of street fighting. Scores of protesters were detained, and some injured.

In Warsaw, many residents heeded a call by the Solidarity underground to boycott public transportation during the afternoon rush hour. Several thousand people gathered in Constitution Square. They marched several blocks, chanting, "Solidarity!" and, "Lech Walesa!", before they were dispersed by riot police.

According to initial reports, actions were also held in Wroclaw, Poznan, Czeszochowa, Lubin, and Gdynia.

The next day, the official press portrayed the anniversary actions as a flop, reporting on the demonstrations simply as "unsuccessful attempts to disturb order in some Polish cities."

While the authorities consistently underplay the size and extent of antigovernment actions, it is clear that the August 31 demonstrations were significantly smaller than similar ones a year ago, when several hundred thousand people took to the streets in more than 60 cities.

This reflects the blows the workers movement has suffered since then. In October 1982, the government formally outlawed Solidarity, shattering the widespread hopes that the union would be able to resume its legal functioning. This, combined with the lack of a clear political perspective on the part of those who sought to lead the underground Solidarity committees, led to demoralization among a layer of union activists and supporters.

The repression also took a heavy toll. While clandestine union committees still exist and function in many factories and cities around the country (and still publish hundreds of underground bulletins), they have been weakened by the arrests of key activists. Coordination among them remains haphazard, and the authority of the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK), the leading underground Solidarity body, is limited.

Just days before the August 31 actions, Wladyslaw Hardek, the TKK representative from Krakow, fell into the hands of the police and was persuaded to make a televised recantation.

In this context, the bureaucrats who govern Poland felt secure enough to announce the formal lifting of martial law on July 22.

Most of the remaining political prisoners were released, or had their sentences reduced. However, several dozen leading Solidarity officials and supporters remain in prison or detention, including Andrzej Gwiazda, Marian Jurczyk, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, and Zbigniew Romaszewski.

In lifting martial law and proclaiming a partial amnesty, the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski hopes to defuse some of the opposition to bureaucratic rule. But, to prevent Solidarity supporters from taking advantage of this move to reorganize the union, new repressive restrictions were written into the regular penal code (giving the authorities many of the same powers they had under martial law). These include:

- Penalties of up to three years in jail for circulating "false information" or participating in banned organizations, like Solidarity.
- Expanded censorship rules.
- A curbing of the prerogatives of workers self-management councils in the factories.
- Powers to forbid any assemblies deemed "threats to public order."
- A curb on enterprises awarding new material benefits to workers.
- An arbitrary extension of the work-week.
- Powers to dismiss or expell teachers and students for breaching "public order" or acting against "the interests of the People's Republic of Poland."

Just a few weeks after the adoption of these measures, the authorities officially dissolved the Polish Writers Union, one of the country's most prestigious cultural organizations, which had been sympathetic to Solidarity.

Such continued controls and repression expose the bureaucrats' nervousness over the lifting of martial law. They know that



Despite police repression, tens of thousands of Polish workers rallied August 31 for their banned union, Solidarity. Above, union leader Lech Walesa at Gdansk shipyards.

an ebb in *organized* opposition does not mean that workers have given up their support for the struggle against bureaucratic privilege and mismanagement that was waged by Solidarity.

That is evident in the continued popularity of the union and its leaders — and the unpopularity of the government.

On August 25, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski went to the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to address a group of about 500 workers. He sought to justify the crackdown on Solidarity, using the same slanderous accusations the bureaucrats have long employed to cover up their anti-working-class policies.

"Solidarity was not a trade union," Rakowski claimed, "but a political organization aimed at the destruction of socialism in Poland."

According to the official Polish press agency, "Every three to four minutes his speech was interrupted and booed with tasteless shouts and epithets. . . ."

At one point Rakowski declared, "Solidarity no longer exists in the life of this country."

The crowd responded, "It exists right here!"

Lech Walesa, who was among the workers in the hall, took the floor during the discussion period to answer some of Rakowski's charges.

"I am of the opinion," Walesa declared, "that there were mistakes on the part of Solidarity, but there were still greater ones, in my view, on the part of the Government."

"Instead of understanding us, you insult us, dissolve everything and send over tanks and batons against us."

"We do not want to ruin socialism, we do not want to take over power, we are not undermining alliances. We would like you to be seated at a table with us to have talks on errors. We will jointly find solutions and safeguard ourselves against more distortions for the benefit of a better future of our fatherland."

After the meeting, the workers enthusiastically hoisted Walesa on their shoulders. About 2,000 then marched to the monument outside the shipyard gates for a brief rally, amid chants of "Solidarity! Solidarity!"

From Intercontinental Press

INS can't bar gays, court affirms

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A 1982 court ruling that prevented the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from barring noncitizen homosexuals from entry into the United States was upheld September 8 by a federal appeals court.

The decision, which is a victory for democratic rights, was made by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco against an appeal by the INS to reverse the 1982 ruling.

The 1982 decision was the result of a

suit filed by the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Freedom Day Committee. This legal action was taken after the INS tried to exclude Carl Hill, a British citizen, from visiting the United States in 1980. Hill was wearing a gay pride T-shirt when he arrived.

In the 1982 ruling, federal Judge Robert Aguilar wrote that INS rules violated constitutional rights of free speech and association. He ruled that homosexuals could not be barred from entering the U.S. on the sole grounds that they are gay.

U.S. immigration law has long prohibited homosexuals from entry. In 1917 they were defined as "persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority"; in 1952 as "psychopathic personalities."

Amendments in 1965 provided for exclusion of homosexuals as persons with a "sexual deviation." INS practice was to refer suspected homosexuals to an examination by doctors of the Public Health Service for diagnosis as "deviant" or "mentally defective."

In the 1970s, as part of the radicalization that resulted from the civil rights movement, opposition to the Vietnam War, and the women's liberation movement, gay people also launched a struggle for their rights. As a result they won acceptance by big layers of the medical profession that they were not "deviant" or "mentally defective."

In 1974, the American Psychiatric Association ended the listing of homosexuality as a deviation and mental disorder.

It still took the Public Health Service 5 more years to instruct its doctors not to accept INS-ordered examinations to establish grounds for exclusion because of homosexuality.

But the INS, undaunted, continued its policy of excluding homosexuals if they admitted being such to an INS cop or were fingered by a fellow applicant for entry.

It was all "noncoercive." The entrant had only to sign a statement that he or she was a homosexual, and be deported, or sign that they were not, and then pass.

When Hill arrived in the United States, he told the INS he was gay. He was then ordered to appear at a deportation hearing two days later. The judge ruled that without medical certification he could not be excluded.

The INS appealed and was upheld by the Board of Immigration Appeals, which led to the suit.

Ariz. strikers win support

Continued from back page

Strikers have been encouraged and re-inspired by the solid support of the union National Nonferrous Industry Conference held in Tucson, August 27. The 204 delegates voted to back the demands of the strikers and pledged to ask each of their 100,000 members who work in the extraction and processing of nonferrous metals to give a day's pay per month for the duration of the strike. With this support, the unions have increased financial assistance for the strikers. Strike benefits have increased from \$55 to \$60 a week.

The August 31 *Strike Bulletin* reports that several civil rights suits have also been filed against the company, the sheriff departments, the state police, and the governor. The unions charge "violation by Phelps Dodge of existing safety and health laws, disregard of law in hiring strike-breakers, and evicting tenants of the company housing without due process."

In one suit the unions are demanding that Phelps Dodge, the DPS, and Pima County Sheriff pay \$5 million in compensatory damages and \$20 million in punitive damages.

These steps taken by the unions are

bolstering the morale of the strikers. The September 6 *Arizona Republic* reports that workers remain determined to win the strike.

Victor Urquidi, a welder, said, "Phelps Dodge understands fully well what's at stake. They have drawn the line. This is union-busting and they want it all. If we let the company win, big corporations will follow in their steps."

The copper miners understand what is at stake for them and for all working people in this strike. In small, isolated towns in Arizona, the big majority of workers are Chicanos, Mexicanos, and Native Americans with a long history of struggle against Phelps Dodge and the other copper employers. Phelps Dodge's property in Ajo, for example, is adjacent to the Papago Indian reservation.

The strike is winning support from Chicanos and Indians. During the Labor Day weekend, for example, a popular Chicano dance hall in Phoenix was used to raise funds for the strike. The outcome of the strike will have ramifications on the struggles of these oppressed nationalities for equality as well as the entire labor movement.

Cuba registers big gains in all fields

Industry, farming, education, health care all advance

BY HARRY RING

In his speech July 27 at the opening of the Celia Sánchez textile mill in Santiago de Cuba (see story below), Fidel Castro cited data demonstrating the general gains of the revolution, which will celebrate its 25th anniversary this coming January 1.

Because the politicians and media in this country lie so shamelessly about Cuba, it's worth noting that Cuba's gains are confirmed by a source not likely to be tabbed as biased toward the revolution.

The source is the Overseas Development Council, which is headed by Robert McNamara, ex-president of the World Bank who served as secretary of war under Kennedy and Johnson.

Collating data on such factors as life span, infant mortality, and literacy, the council has developed a Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) as a measure of social progress.

In 1982, according to the council, Cuba's PQLI was 93. With that score, it led all 143 countries oppressed by imperialism listed, including every other Latin American country.

Cuba's 93 was right behind the U.S. score of 96.

Moreover, when the council studied 67 countries for PQLI improvement from 1960 to 1980, Cuba's gains were topped only by those of Japan.

The figures offered by Fidel confirm what can be accomplished by a former subjugated colony when the working people replace capitalism by a rational system of planned production for use and the people are actively involved in the decision-making process.

Perhaps Cuba's most striking gains have been made in the field of agriculture.

Fidel reports that in 1958, the year prior to the revolution, there were but 9,000 tractors in all of Cuba. In 1982, there were 80,000.

Harvesting sugar cane by hand, in tropical heat, is brutal, backbreaking work. Today, 50 percent of Cuba's cane is harvested mechanically.

Rice, which was also previously harvested by hand, is now totally machine harvested. The total yield, as well as the yield



Prensa Latina

Harvesting sugar has traditionally been huge drain on Cuba's labor power. Now 50 percent of crop is harvested mechanically.

per acre, has doubled since the revolution.

In the past 20 years, vegetable production has doubled and dairy production tripled.

Since the revolution, Cuba has been busy building.

Construction program

In 1958 there were 83,000 construction workers on the island, none working year round.

Today there are 240,000 full-time construction workers building homes, schools, medical centers, factories, and more.

Since the revolution, Fidel proudly noted, 1,100 industrial plants have been built.

Prior to the revolution, a few U.S.-owned refineries processed less than half a million tons of crude oil a year. By 1980, an expanded number of nationalized refineries upped that figure to 6.5 million tons.

Because Cuba is totally dependent on imported oil and would find a possible U.S. blockade particularly difficult in this respect, a large nuclear energy plant is

being built in Cienfuegos.

In operation, Fidel pointed out, the plant will save a full half billion dollars a year of oil.

Light industry has made gratifying headway in Cuba.

Diet has been made healthier and tastier.

In 1958, 60 percent of Havana's milk was unpasteurized (and often adulterated). In Santiago, only 20 percent was pasteurized.

Today, 99 percent of all Cuban milk is pasteurized.

Yogurt has been introduced, on a broad scale since the revolution. And revolutionary Cuba's ice cream is justly celebrated.

Even critics of the Cuban revolution are compelled to concede the revolution's gains in health care and education. And the gains are indeed spectacular.

When the revolution came to power, there were 6,000 doctors in all of Cuba.

Three thousand of them split for Miami.

Today, Fidel said, there are 17,000 doctors in Cuba and when this year's graduating classes are included it will be 19,000.

And they're not doctors who see \$\$\$\$

when you walk in the office. Medical care is free and applicants for medical school are judged for motivation as well as scientific potential.

"We are graduating doctors," Fidel declared, "who are interested in people, who have good training; a great sense of solidarity, a great revolutionary awareness."

And their accomplishments have been impressive indeed.

A Cuban born in 1953 had a life expectancy of 60 years. For one born in 1982, it was 73.5 years.

In 1953, of every 1,000 children born, 70 died. In 1982, the infant mortality rate was down to 17.3 per thousand.

By 1967, malaria was eliminated in Cuba. There hasn't been a case of polio since 1963. In 1980, diphtheria was eliminated.

With the gains in health care and the resulting added longevity, Fidel said, the revolution must now pay greater attention to the needs of the elderly. He said a network of 107 facilities for seniors are now functioning and more will be needed.

Unemployment as a social phenomenon no longer exists in Cuba. Children are no longer exploited, and racial discrimination in work and salary has been eliminated.

Women, he said, are now in all branches of industry. They constitute 34 percent of the work force and 53 percent of the technicians.

Educational explosion

Cuba's educational explosion has been astonishing.

Education is free through the university level.

In 1953, there were 711 college and university professors in Cuba. Today there are 10,960!

Since the revolution, more than 170,000 Cubans have graduated from the universities.

Summarizing the educational accomplishments, Fidel declared that "this treasure of intellectual wealth, this technical wealth created in the last 25 years, is of prime importance. It comprises, in my opinion, the most valuable achievement of the revolution."

Returning to the accomplishment represented by the opening of the Celia Sánchez textile mill, Fidel made an added important political point. He said:

"This plant would have been impossible without cooperation from the Soviet Union. I think we have something to learn from that, too, something that makes us wiser."

"When we express our recognition and gratitude to our Soviet comrades, this is based on practical, palpable solidarity."

"This is not only so as far as their help for our defense is concerned . . . but also in cooperation in the economic field and in terms of training cadres."

"In the USSR, there must be about 9,000 Cuban university students specializing in those fields in which we have little experience. The cooperation given us in terms of technology and industrial development is for everyone to see."

Castro dedicates major textile mill

A huge, ultramodern textile mill was opened in Santiago de Cuba July 27. At peak operation, the plant will produce nearly 100 million square yards of fabric annually and nearly 17,000 tons of thread. This is practically as much as was produced by all the textile mills in Cuba when the revolution won in 1959.

The huge complex is named the Celia Sánchez Manduley textile mill.

Sánchez was an outstanding leader of the Cuban revolution who died in 1980. She was a founding organizer of the underground July 26 Movement, who functioned mainly in the area in and around Santiago. In 1957 she was the first woman to join the rebel army in the mountains.

The significance for Cuba of the comple-

tion of the mill was marked with a speech by Fidel Castro, who had made another major address only the day previous on the occasion of Cuba's revolutionary holiday, July 26.

Also participating in the celebration of completion of the mill was the prime minister of revolutionary Grenada, Maurice Bishop. Bishop presented Fidel with a rifle captured by Grenadian revolutionaries on March 13, 1979, when the New Jewel Movement won power.

Fidel accepted the rifle as "a priceless gift," declaring it would be displayed in a museum. If Cuba were attacked, he said, it would be used in defense of the revolution.

Completion of the Celia Sánchez mill marks a new stride forward for the Cuban revolution, which had inherited a legacy of typical colonial underdevelopment.

Since its revolution, Cuba has made a priority of lessening its dependency on foreign imports of basic commodities and consumer goods. The trade embargo imposed by Washington shortly after the revolution gave added urgency to this project.

The new mill is a mark of how much Cuba has accomplished in this respect.

Built with the aid of Soviet technicians, the mill represents an investment of more than 200 million pesos (a peso is roughly equivalent to a dollar). It occupies more than 100 acres of land.

The mill will have two production lines — one turning out more than 43 million square yards of cotton fabric annually — the other an equal amount of polyester and rayon synthetic.

Along with the mills, a special machine shop has been built, which will make all or most of the spare parts needed in the highly mechanized plant. The machine shop alone

will employ 650 workers.

A special power station was constructed in Santiago to assure the mill a full, steady supply of electric power. Air conditioning will help assure proper functioning of the machinery.

When it reaches full capacity, over a period of several years, the mill will employ 7,661 women and men.

Of the 4,089 workers already at the mill, 44 percent are women. Of the total work force, 59 percent are less than 26 years old. Seven hundred young workers received special technical training in Czechoslovakia.

In giving the essential data about the plant, Fidel included what had been done to meet the needs of the mill workers.

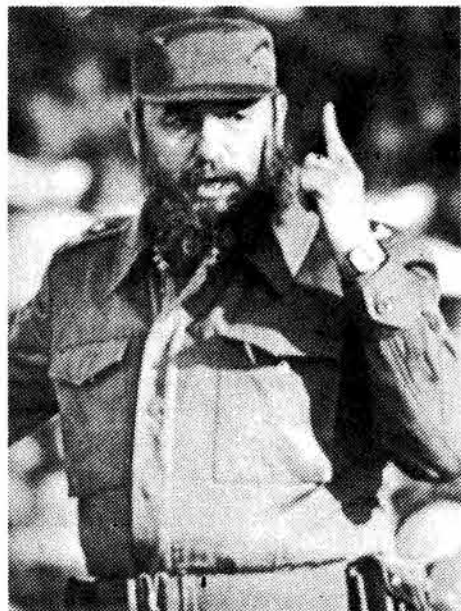
Many of the workers will live in a recently completed 18-story apartment building near the mill in Santiago. (Rent in Cuba is a maximum of 10 percent of the earnings of the head of the family.)

At the mill, there is a kitchen, several dining rooms, a snack kitchen, a theater, a history room, a library, a barbershop, and a hairdresser's salon. A sports area is planned.

A polyclinic will provide the mill workers' medical care. Its staff will include three doctors, four nurses, two dentists, and six technicians. (In Cuba all medical care is free.)

The mill polyclinic will provide preemployment exams, regular checkups, occupation health care, and related services.

Fidel declared that completion of the Celia Sánchez mill and development of its full productive capacity will be homage to the revolutionary fighters who died in the July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago.



Castro

And, incidentally, make a few more — The University Arcade in Austin, Texas, has added several video games allowing students



Harry Ring

there to shoot down "aggressive Soviet planes." The arcade management said this allowed them to "get in our two bits" about the de-

mise of the South Korean plane.

Business before pleasure — According to a *Harvard Business Review* article "Managers and Love," personal relationships between corporate execs should be viewed as conflicts of interest which disrupt effective corporate functioning. The editor of the mag, Eliza Collins, suggests that the less valuable of the two leave the company. In most cases, she says without elaboration, that means the woman.

Skeptics — A research study on the "work ethic" found most U.S.

workers saw little connection between how hard they work and the remuneration they receive. A reported 22 percent said they did see such a relationship, but only 13 percent felt they would be the prime beneficiaries if they worked harder.

The influentials — The FBI may not have much brainpower, but it still has suction. Clarence Gaines, a municipal judge in Cleveland, has been forced to advertise trying to find a lawyer ready to sue the FBI for him. The agency tried to entrap Gaines as a bribe-taker but found they were paying off someone posing as the judge.

Nevertheless he feels his name was sullied.

That's if they really organize — A right-wing outfit announced a new organization, "Blacks for Reagan." Johnny Carson commented it could hold its national meeting in a Fotomat booth.

But theirs was a royal screwdriver — To indicate their concern about overcharging by suppliers, the Pentagon sent Westinghouse a \$1.14 screwdriver which, they asserted, was almost identical to one for which the company billed them \$58.

Catch-22 — A marine corporal was forced to testify against her ex-spouse, a lieutenant, confirming they had dated prior to their marriage in violation of the unwritten ban on fraternization between officers and enlisted personnel. Officials explained that dating is a violation of the rule, but marriage is not.

The silver lining — "If the recovery had continued at such a pace, the eventual collapse would have just been that much worse." — Michael Evans, an economist, commenting on the slowdown of the current economic upturn.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

U.S. Out of Lebanon! Presentations and discussion. Sat., Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Battleship Potemkin. Film about Russian revolution with discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

Korean Airliner Tragedy: Who Is Responsible? A discussion of the history of anti-Soviet provocations by the U.S. and its Far Eastern allies as well as Washington's current war drive in Central America and Middle East. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 24, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

Seaside

U.S. Out of Central America: Eyewitness Report From Nicaragua and Slide Show. Speaker: Linda Joyce. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 18, 12:30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Seaside Public Library, 550 Harcourt Ave. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (408) 899-4732.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally — Elect a Garment Worker to Congress. Speakers: Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 7th C.D.; Jackie Floyd, SWP candidate for mayor of Miami; others. Sun., Sept. 25, rally, 4 p.m.; reception to follow. 504 Flat Shoals, SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Crisis in the Philippines: Made In USA. Speakers: Boone Schirmer, founding member of Friends of the Filipino People, author of *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War*; Kip Hedges, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201. Sun., Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore T stop). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

How to End Violence Against Women: A Working Class Perspective. Speaker: Andrea Morell, member, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore T stop). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The War in Chad and the Struggle Against Imperialism in Africa Today. Speakers: Er-

nest Harsch, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m. Pre-forum dinner at 6 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (cor. Raymond). Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Chad: What's the War About? A Discussion. Speakers: Bacari Koné, former member, African Student Association; Ray Murphy, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 16, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

In Defense of Charles Andrews. Speakers: Kasiah Edmunds, cochair, Charles Andrews Defense Committee; Mary Mercer, president, Albany NOW. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Brooklyn

Puerto Rico and the U.S. War Drive in Central America. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Commemorate the Anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila Massacres. Hear visiting representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese Progressive Forces. Cultural presentations. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W 11 St. (btw. 6th and 7th Aves.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Ad Hoc Committee to Commemorate Sabra and Shatila. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

OREGON

Portland

U.S. Out of Lebanon! A panel discussion with Faiz Muhammad, General Union of Palestinian Students; others. Sun., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Mili-

tant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Jobs, Peace, Freedom — From Grenada to August 27 March on Washington. Speakers: Nat Gadsden, National Alliance of Third World Journalists, president of Central Pennsylvania chapter of Black Social Workers; Marcia Reeves, Harrisburg community activist, toured Grenada; Doug Cooper, assembly-line worker and member Socialist Workers Party, participant in August 27 march. Sun., Sept. 25, 4 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

Philadelphia

How to Fight for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom. A panel discussion. Speakers: Kelly Miller, civil rights activist and outreach coordinator for August 27 march on Washington coalition; Margarite Morrison, Women's Rights Commission of Pennsylvania AFL-CIO; Don Mackle, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 143 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 24, 7 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Pittsburgh

Who Is the Real Threat to Peace: Washington or Moscow? Speaker: Fred Feldman, member, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

The War in Lebanon: U.S. Out Now! Speaker: Kathy Mickells, member, United Mine Workers of America, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Washington County commissioner. Sat., Sept. 24, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For

more information call (412) 362-6767.

Eyewitness Report from Nicaragua. Speaker: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

Soviet Union or United States: Which Is a Threat to Peace? Speaker, Fred Stanton, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

Houston

Why the U.S. Capitalists Need War. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Campaign Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

San Antonio

Should Jesse Jackson Run for U.S. President? Speakers: president, Trinity University Young Democrats; member of San Antonio NAACP; Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 2811 Guadalupe. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7394.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Civil War in Lebanon: Why Is the U.S. Intervening? Georges Sayad, member, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, traveled in Middle East earlier this year. Fri., Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E, 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

How Can We Stop Reagan's War Drive? A panel discussion. Sun., Sept. 25, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 380-0133.

Teachers resist union-busting

Continued from back page

schools in the city and to rehire 700 laid-off teachers, which the board has so far not done. The board was a defendant in the original desegregation suit filed more than 10 years ago and has been dragging its feet ever since.

When the firing threat came teachers explained that the board had not even followed its own regulations but was merely trying to further terrorize them. At a meeting of 2,000 teachers and supporters on September 11 the strikers signed letters to the board saying they hadn't "abandoned" their jobs and promising to return to work "when conditions permit."

Nevertheless, under the pressure of the propaganda campaign by the school board

and the big-business media, support for the strike among the teachers did begin to erode. An added pressure was the fact that they had not gotten a paycheck during the summer months. By the fourth day of the strike, September 12, some 1,000 of the 3,100 teachers had returned to work.

That night the board and the union announced they had reached an agreement under which all the strikers would return at least for the time being. The teachers voted to return after receiving a promise from the school board that they would resume negotiations "as soon as possible" on all issues including those the board wouldn't discuss earlier; that the board would carry out no reprisals against any strikers; and that the teachers would not lose any pay for the days missed.

One of the striking teachers was Helen Savio, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city school board in the last election. Savio told the *Militant* that "It is outrageous for the school board, the courts, and Democratic and Republican politicians to blame the teachers' union for the deplorable and segregated school system. It was not the union that stalled for 10 years in implementing desegregation."

Savio added, "A victory for the teachers will aid the fight for school desegregation and for real quality education. All St. Louis labor should stand with the teachers and the Black community in our fight for a better learning situation for the children and working conditions for teachers."

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Two Black groups missed opportunity August 27

The massive August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom was the largest Black-initiated march in the history of the United States. Its demands forged a broad coalition of Black, Latino, women's, union, and farmers' organizations. Its focus was against the anti-worker policies of the government both here and abroad.

Moreover, it opened up a broad discussion on political action and how radical change can be brought about.

This discussion is providing an opportunity for revolutionary nationalists, radical-minded workers, and



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Malik Miah

socialists to present their perspectives to advance the fight for Black self-determination and working-class emancipation.

But such an opportunity was unfortunately missed by two radical political formations in the Black community: the National Black United Front (NBUF) and the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

Neither group actively built or participated in the march. NBUF endorsed the march, but at the last minute its chairman, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, withdrew as a speaker. Instead, Daughtry led an NBUF rally in Brooklyn on the same day.

NBIPP never endorsed the march, and only a few members joined the demonstration.

Why did NBUF and NBIPP take this course of action — a course, in my opinion, that marked a political default in leadership?

Daughtry explained his reasoning prior to the march in a letter to Washington, D.C., Rep. Walter Fauntroy, national coordinator of the coalition.

"It would seem by now that the lesson would have been learned," Daughtry wrote, "that bourgeois Black leaders aligned with a handful of so-called white liberals cannot produce substantial lasting change or the 'radical redistribution of political and economic power' of which Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke. The fact of the matter is that when the dust had cleared from the march, the economic state of the masses of our people was pretty much what it had always been and still is today. Even the relatively few who had gained something from the civil rights marches and thought they were secure have now been pushed by Ronald Reagan's Administration into the same boat as the masses."

The NBIPP leadership likewise was critical of the Black liberals leading the march. At its June Central Committee (CC) meeting it voted to limit its participation in the march to a modest contingent. But it decided not to endorse or build the march.

The CC also voted to organize a Saturday night forum in Washington after the march on "The State of Black America — Where Do We Go From Here?"

The two-sided leaflet for the forum, however, failed to mention that the mass protest was against the racist, pro-war policies of the government and was organized by a broad alliance of the oppressed and exploited, under the

leadership of Blacks.

The leaflet did explain, correctly, that the Democrats and Republicans are parties that "have betrayed the masses of Black and poor peoples." But it offered only anti-capitalist rhetoric to bring about fundamental radical change.

Instead of using the powerful example of the march to explain the need for independent Black and working-class political action, NBIPP offered no perspectives to tap the political potential shown at the march.

NBUF's and NBIPP's error was to confuse the leadership of the coalition and its objectives with the hundreds of thousands of marchers and who they represented. The marchers were mostly working people seeking a way to fight back against the U.S. war drive and attacks on their democratic rights and working conditions.

That's why Daughtry's decision not to speak at the rally in Washington was a leadership default. He could have explained NBUF's opposition to U.S. intervention in Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba and its support for the revolutions there.

The NBIPP leadership default was just as great. Unlike NBUF which at times supports "progressive" Democrats, NBIPP's program clearly opposes the Democratic and Republican parties. It favors the building of a mass Black political party.

If NBIPP had actively built and participated in the march, it would have received a favorable hearing from Blacks and other marchers who are fed up with the current perspectives of the traditional leaders of the Black, Latino, women's, and union movements.

It takes two parties to slash social service funds

The Coalition on Women and the Budget has published an 82-page booklet titled, "Inequality of Sacrifice: The Impact of the Reagan Budget on Women."

It is full of statistics on where women are at economically in the wake of the big round of federal budget cuts in 1982 and 1983. And it outlines the implications of Reagan's proposed 1984 budget for women.

Fifty-five organizations belong to this coalition, including the National Organization for Women (NOW);

grams for poor people. *Ninety-four percent* of its beneficiaries are women and children. Reagan is proposing to cut this program by 10 percent or \$1.2 billion.

- About 60 percent of the 26 million people in this country who are age 65 or older are women. Of these, 18.6 percent live below the poverty line. *Almost half of all older Black women (43.5 percent) live below the poverty level.* Yet from 1982-1984, the government has projected "saving" \$9.1 billion on Social Security. How? By cutting the already grossly inadequate benefits further.

- Three out of every five women workers earn less than \$10,000 a year. Yet funds for food stamps, Medicaid, job training, child care, and enforcement of laws against discrimination are all slated to be slashed in 1984, despite already deep cuts in 1982 and 1983.

A bipartisan body — Congress — is responsible for the cuts that have happened so far. Democrats and Republicans have voted together — under both the Carter and Reagan administrations — to cut vital social programs.

The culprit is not simply Reagan, but *both* capitalist parties, who administer this system in the interests of the ruling rich.

The conclusion drawn by the Coalition on Women and the Budget is:

"A workable budget must be developed for 1984 which does not ask so much of some and so little of others. Women are willing to sacrifice for their country, but the burden of that sacrifice must be equally shared."

I would draw a different conclusion.

All the money in the budget originates with the labor

of working people, who create *all* the wealth in this society. We are the majority. The goal of the budget should be meeting the human needs of every individual, starting with the most oppressed, a category that includes women.

One thing this means is dismantling the military budget and putting that money into a public works program to provide jobs through building housing, schools, hospitals, daycare centers, parks, and other desperately needed facilities.

What about demanding "equality of sacrifice" for women?

In a sexist, racist, class-divided society, there can be no such thing as "equality of sacrifice," because there is no equality.

When the ruling class and their media use this term, they mean that all *working people* should be forced to sacrifice for the interests of "their" (the ruling class) country.

The fact that women, like Blacks, are hit especially hard by austerity measures doesn't logically lead to demanding that we "only" sacrifice as much as our brothers. We're not fighting for "equal" cutbacks with men; or an "equal" chance to be unemployed and poor; or an "equal" chance to be drafted into Washington's counterrevolutionary army.

We're fighting for *equal rights*, for liberation from *all* oppression, want, and exploitation. This is a fight that puts us on the same side as Blacks, Latinos, unionists, and farmers, and on the opposite side as the ruling class, its government, and its two parties.



WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

Coalition of Labor Union Women; Coal Employment Project; League of United Latin American Citizens; National Education Association; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Because of women's second-class status in this society, women make up a large percentage of social service recipients. Thus cutbacks have the biggest effect on women and their children.

The statistics presented in this study speak for themselves. A few examples:

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is one of the largest federally-funded cash assistance pro-

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Anti-Soviet lies cloak war moves

One fact stands out above all others after two weeks of Reagan's pronouncements on the downing of the South Korean jet: the U.S. government is using its anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to advance Washington's war drive.

How?

By pouring on the time-worn charge that the "evil empire" of communism is the main threat to peace and freedom in the world today.

To defend ourselves against this scourge, the story goes, we need U.S. troops combating "communist aggression" in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Lebanon.

We must build the MX. We must station Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles in Europe. And we must further jack up the already massive military budget.

The U.S. "free press" has done its part by giving the U.S. slanders against the Soviet Union top billing, while the U.S.-organized bombings of Nicaragua have been played down.

The September 6 statement by the Soviet government pointed to the hypocrisy of Washington's condemnations of the Soviet Union and its expressions of sorrow at the deaths of those who were on the plane:

"Can the statesmen of the country which deprived millions of people in Indochina of their lives in a most brutal manner, which, at one with Israeli aggressors, are killing the Lebanese and Palestinians, and whose conscience is burdened with tens of thousands of deaths of Chilean and Salvadoran patriots speak of morality and humanism? The list of crimes committed by American imperialism is a long one and can be continued."

The fact is that imperialism is the source — the only source — of war in the world today. That's because imperialism is a parasitic, expansionist system.

Any challenge to this system is punished with economic, political, and military aggression. The United States rulers, as the most powerful imperialists in the world, are the most belligerent.

They attempt to drown in blood any and every challenge to their "right" to domination. The ultimate challenge is when working people smash imperialist economic and political domination of their country and embark on the path of socialist revolution. When the workers and farmers take over, they put an end to the production-for-private-profit system. They replace it with a social system that prioritizes human needs.

Chrysler pact: a step forward

The new contract between the United Auto Workers (UAW) union and the Chrysler Corp. is a step forward and a victory for the workers.

Moreover it will encourage other workers who are fighting the employers' attacks, such as the copper miners in Arizona and the airline mechanics at Continental Airlines.

On Sept. 13, 70 percent of Chrysler workers voted to ratify a new two-year contract. The settlement contains no new concessions to the company. It gives the workers an immediate \$1-an-hour wage increase effective Aug. 15, 1983, an additional \$1.42 wage increase over the last year of the contract (known as "backloading"), restoration of the quarterly cost-of-living adjustments (COLA), and other benefits.

This is a remarkable turnabout for the workers. Since 1979 they had lost over \$1 billion in wage and benefits due to imposed concessions.

The new contract places the Chrysler workers in a stronger position to improve their working conditions, which worsened over the last four years. It can help lay the basis for a struggle to eventually win wage and benefit parity with their counterparts at General Motors and Ford who now get an average of \$2 an hour more than they do.

At the same time most workers are not pleased with the contract. They feel correctly that Chrysler's new wealth is a direct result of their concessions. Most wanted an immediate \$2 wage increase for parity and additional increases when Ford and GM negotiate new contracts with the UAW in September 1984.

This dissatisfaction was so great that 30 percent of the workers voted "no" on the proposal. Marc Stepp, the head of the UAW's Chrysler Department, admitted the opposition vote was "a message that Chrysler workers are not completely satisfied with the conditions of their employment."

Four years of concessions and the company's record profits the first half of 1983 led to a new mood of worker militancy and determination.

In 1979 the company, government, and the top union leadership "convinced" the membership to accept gigantic contract concessions to "save" Chrysler from bankruptcy.

But the workers learned some lessons from that bitter experience. They discovered that concessions do not save jobs. In 1979 there were 130,000 workers. Today 65,000 work for Chrysler in the United States and Canada.

Plants continued to be shut down after the concessions. Work rules detrimental to the workers were imposed al-

That's why Washington is so hell-bent on turning back the Nicaraguan revolution. That popular revolution sent the U.S. exploiters packing and has already brought important material and moral benefits to the majority of its people.

The Soviet Union, which is not a profit-making enterprise, doesn't share Washington's innate need to go to war. It is a victim of the Pentagon, not a co-conspirator.

Defense of imperialist interests is not simply a Reagan or Republican proposition.

The congressional liberals have lined up behind Reagan's anti-Soviet campaign. They're falling all over each other to see who can put forward the most anti-Soviet statement for Congress to ratify.

And they're sending up fake howls about how they will now be "forced" to vote for the MX and an escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America and Lebanon because their "constituents" will demand it.

That simply reveals who their constituents really are.

Certainly not working people, not the majority of people in this country. The majority *opposes* more aid to the Salvadoran butcher regime, or to the murderous Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

The majority doesn't want to send their youth to fight and die to defend the profits of Big Oil in the Middle East.

The Democrats and Republicans have a common "constituent" — the U.S. owners of the banks, mines, mills, and railroads. That's whose interests they serve in both their foreign and domestic policies.

Events like the downing of the Korean jet and the bombings in Nicaragua help make it clear just how little difference there is between a Democrat and a Republican, between a liberal capitalist politician and a conservative capitalist politician.

When push comes to shove, they all serve the owning class, not the working class.

But working people have no interest in going to war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people.

We have no interest in pouring bombs onto the Palestinian and Lebanese people to protect the interests of the right-wing Lebanese government.

And we have no interest in supporting Reagan's sanctions against the Soviet Union's air liner, Aeroflot.

Instead we should turn our anger on our real enemy, who resides in Washington and Wall Street.

most at will by the company. The bosses knew that the UAW leadership's proconcessions stance made it easier to speed up the line and victimize workers without fear of serious resistance.

Workers also learned that the top UAW officials' argument that "what's good for the company, is good for workers" is a lie.

In 1980, for example, then-UAW president Douglas Fraser "won" the right to serve on Chrysler's Board of Directors as the workers' representative. But the workers soon learned that this was no help to them. Fraser's position did not slow down layoffs or plant shutdowns, it only served to further legitimize sacrifices by the workers.

In July Chrysler agreed to the UAW's demand for an immediate \$1-an-hour wage increase, but only if the union accepted benefit concessions such as increased health care payments.

Chrysler's arrogant demand came the same week it announced that the company was repaying a government-backed bank loan of \$800 million seven years early.

The UAW leadership, feeling pressure from the rank-and-file, immediately rejected the takeback contract proposal.

The workers' mood was clear: take a strike if need be to win wage parity.

On August 11 the UAW top leadership sanctioned a strike by 400 model makers, members of Local 412, mainly over health and safety issues. These workers had been without a contract since 1979.

Using the strike as a lever against Chrysler, the UAW leadership organized a support rally of 1,250 at Chrysler headquarters on August 22. As one demonstrator commented, "This woke Iacocca up."

On September 2 Local 412 came away with a new contract in their favor.

On Labor Day, 20,000 workers rallied in Detroit. The largest contingent was made up of UAW members, including defiant Chrysler workers.

One hour after that parade Iacocca telephoned Bieber and requested a new round of negotiations. Six hours later a new settlement was reached.

Although most Chrysler workers feel they could have gotten more if they kept the heat on the company, including striking in January, the fact is that the company had to reverse gears and give a significant wage increase. That's not what Chrysler or the banks backing it wanted to see. It goes against the employers' drive to impose concession contracts on all sectors of the working class today.

The gov't record: spying, lying and the U-2 plane

BY HARRY RING

In the exchange over the downing of a Korean airliner in Soviet territory, the Soviet Union charged Washington with "lies" and "a crude, brazen distortion of facts."

Certainly there are enough holes in the U.S. story to justify the charge. And a look back at past U.S. history gives the charge added credibility.

Consider the famous U-2 incident of 1960.

On May 5 of that year, the late Nikita Khrushchev, then Soviet premier, reported that a U.S. plane had been shot down deep in Soviet territory.

U.S. response was immediate. The National Aeronautical and Space Administration issued a formal

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

statement that one of its civilian weather exploration planes — a U-2 leased from Lockheed and flown by a Lockheed employee — had been missing since May 1.

The plane was described as flying at a height of some 55,000 feet over the Lake Van area of Turkey as part of a worldwide weather research program.

It was unarmed, the report emphasized, and bore highly visible NASA markings.

It added that about an hour after takeoff, the civilian pilot, Gary Powers, had reported by emergency radio that he was having oxygen difficulty and this was the last heard from him. If the plane had gone on automatic pilot when Powers blacked out, the report speculated, it might have crossed the nearby Soviet border.

The following day, Lincoln White, a State Department spokesperson, confirmed the NASA story.

He said it was assumed Powers lost consciousness as a result of the failure of oxygen equipment.

"There was no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space," White emphasized, "and there never has been."

But Washington had put its tail in a mousetrap. While White was briefing reporters in Washington, Khrushchev spoke again in Moscow, exploding the U.S. story.

In his initial account of the shooting down of the plane, Khrushchev explained, he had decided to omit a single fact.

Gary Powers was alive and well, and being held by the Soviet Union.

He also gave a full confession.

Powers was employed, not by Lockheed, but by the CIA.

When his plane was hit he chose not to use the automatic eject which would have simultaneously blown up the plane, but chose to parachute from another exit that gave him a greater chance of not being blown up with the plane.

He landed in a Russian village and was taken into custody by local peasants. He had a poison suicide needle, which he had neglected to use, as spy "morality" dictates, plus a gun with a silencer. His stash included 7,500 Russian rubles, French gold francs, plus several gold watches and rings.

His mission was to photograph Soviet industrial and military installations, and gather data on the country's radar and radio system.

It was a mighty big egg in the U.S. eye. As one press account put it: "WASHINGTON, May 8 — This was a sad and perplexed capital tonight, caught in a swirl of charges of clumsy administration, bad judgment and bad faith."

"It was depressed and humiliated by the United States having been caught spying over the Soviet Union and trying to cover up its activities. . . ."

Official stories switched rapidly.

The day after Khrushchev's bombshell, a statement was issued after being cleared by Pres. Dwight Eisenhower. It said that "in endeavoring to obtain information now concealed behind the Iron Curtain a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane."

The following day it was decided to just bull it through and brazenly assert the U.S. right to violate Soviet territory.

Christian Herter, then secretary of state, demagogically asserted that "it is unacceptable that the Soviet political system should be given an opportunity to make secret preparations to face the free world with the choice of abject surrender or nuclear destruction."

Herter defiantly asserted the United States had been conducting such spy provocations against the Soviet Union since 1947.

The Democrats closed ranks. Then presidential candidate John Kennedy assailed Khrushchev's announcement as "extreme, belligerent and menacing."

Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee Farrell Dobbs, to the contrary, declared, "The foreign policy of this country is one of deceit, lying, spying and general misleading of the public."

Still a timely statement.

Oil worker talks to striking Ariz. copper workers

BY ED BERGER

Recently I had the opportunity to speak to Arizona copper miners striking against Phelps Dodge, one of the nation's largest copper producers.

As a laid-off copper miner and now a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), I wanted to find out first hand about the strike and bring back this

UNION TALK

information to my coworkers and my local union.

The oil workers contract expires at the end of the year and we may face another strike situation like the three-month strike in 1980. So the interest in the copper strike among my coworkers is high.

What I learned in Morenci, Arizona, was that these copper miners are an angry and determined work force striking against one of the most antiunion companies. One striker told me that Phelps Dodge would like to return to 1917 when it deported 1,200 copper strikers to New Mexico. Those strikers were loaded into boxcars and dumped in the desert.

From the beginning of the strike, Phelps Dodge tried

to keep all of its mine operations running with scab labor. But the militancy and combativity of the strikers forced it to at least close its Morenci open-pit mine for 10 days. As the *Militant* headline proclaimed: "Copper miners stand up to company-cop union-busting."

The strikers were jubilant after their victory at Morenci in shutting down the mine. But the mood turned to one of frustration on August 20 when "friend of labor" Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt called out the National Guard and a beefed-up force of Arizona Department of Public Safety troops to reopen the mine.

When helicopters appeared over the rim of the mine at 5:30 a.m., it reminded me of the helicopter scenes in *Apocalypse Now*. Many of strikers were Vietnam vets and they told me of reliving some of their Vietnam experiences after seeing the helicopters.

More to the point was the comment of one woman striker, who realized, of course, that the troops would be used against them, that she would kill her sons before she allowed them to fight for the United States in a war like the one in Vietnam.

Right now negotiations have broken off. Phelps Dodge has less reason to talk with troops protecting its mine operation in Morenci. The strike is at a crucial point. This class confrontation reminded me of the militancy and

combativity of the coal miners who were out on strike a couple of years ago. All these strikers want is to keep their union together and get a contract guaranteeing them a good wage, good working conditions, and the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) won in the last strike.

All unions across the country have a stake in the outcome of this struggle. Real labor solidarity is needed now. Messages of support, union resolutions backing the strikers, and financial aid is urgently needed.

But solidarity also extends beyond these measures. Copper miners from Arizona and New Mexico are showing the way to class solidarity. They have been organizing miners to go to Morenci to help on the picket lines and in whatever other ways they can. Other workers should call on their unions to also offer assistance.

When I returned to work my coworkers were interested in knowing about the situation and also in the kind of response socialists got from the miners. I was able to talk about the strike and show them the coverage in the *Militant*.

Ed Berger was laid off from Kennecott Copper's Bingham Mine in Utah in 1981. He is presently an oil worker in California and a member of OCAW Local 1-128.

LETTERS

Rose Kuehn

On August 18, Rose C. Kuehn died at the age 85. Rose spent many years of her life as a fighter against the injustices of the capitalist system.

In her youth, she was active in the suffrage movement as a teenager in high school. As a garment worker and a good trade unionist, she helped to organize the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and remained in the industry until 1968 when she retired.

As a socialist, Rose was inspired by the Russian revolution in 1917 and became involved in various workers parties. In 1938 when the Socialist Workers Party was founded, Rose joined and remained in the party until 1963.

Her husband, Karl Kuehn was also in the Socialist Workers Party. Karl was among the 18 union and SWP leaders who were tried and sent to prison in 1943 for opposing the imperialist World War II.

In her life, Rose made many contributions to the socialist movement, and will be remembered as a working-class fighter.

William Rosen

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

including on May 9 to speak at a rally that UMWA District 5 helped Local 2350 organize. More than 100 UMWA members were present.

A militant contingent of women UMWA members gave considerable support on the picket line.

Expressions of solidarity came from the 20 UMWA locals visited by Local 2350 members to explain the issues in the strike, and from other UMWA bodies.

The local also appeared before a conference of women coal miners to explain the strike, and gained their backing.

And the members of Local 2350 held together, maintaining picket lines and refusing to break ranks, despite the strains this long strike imposed on underpaid workers.

Gains were made in pay: 20-25 percent over three years. Sickness and accident coverage was improved, and worker contributions to the medical plan were reduced.

The contract mandates that job bids will be decided by seniority. New-hire probation is reduced from 90 to 60 calendar days.

However, the union had to give up 7 of 12 paid sick and personal days.

Overall, this small local scored some gains in a difficult fight, at a time when all workers face the bosses' aggressive drive to force concessions and bust unions.

Trumka said at the May 9 rally that UMWA members would take "no backward steps." With UMWA support, the members of Local 2350 kept that promise.

Fred Feldman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Consistent coverage

Please excuse the delay in renewing, I have been broke.

I love the paper and miss it when I don't get it. I read lots of stuff published by the so-called American left. For consistent coverage of events from the workers' point of view, nobody approaches the *Militant*.

D.C.
South Carolina

Michael O'Rourke

I am writing this letter on behalf of a very close comrade of mine. He is Michael O'Rourke. This November will mark his fourth year in prison. He is held without bail and at times in solitary confinement. The charge is "overstaying his visa," a non-criminal charge about the severity of a parking ticket.

Michael was a member of the Irish Republican Army fighting to

free his country of British tyranny and colonialism. But good old imperialist England still has strong political pressure here in America. We in the Irish community in Philadelphia are well aware of British agents working here in this area.

The incident with Judge Hupp is just one of many injustices Michael has received. The Immigration and Naturalization Services were so upset that Judge Hupp might find in Michael's favor that they intimidated him to the point of his withdrawing from the case.

Tom O'Leary
Collegeville, Pennsylvania

Fighting Phelps Dodge

"Phelps Dodge has always been a hard company to deal with. They will fight the union to no end, and this is one of the hardest fights we've had. We need help on the picket line."

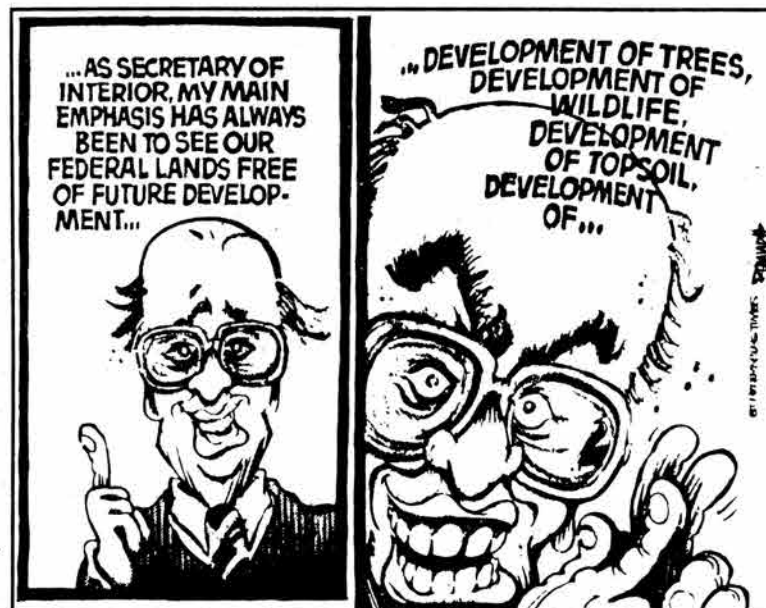
This is how Eugene Debs Birchfield opened his remarks to the August 28 Militant Forum. It was the first held in the new headquarters of the Phoenix Socialist Workers Party.

Eugene Debs Birchfield and Maybelle Birchfield have 35 years of experience working for Phelps Dodge and living in Phelps Dodge towns. He was an electrician and a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. He retired from Phelps Dodge's Ajo operation in 1975.

"All the time that I worked for them they were real tough. They were famous for giving warning slips. If you took a day or two off sick, they would say, 'You weren't in the hospital' and give you five or six or seven or more days off without pay."

Eugene commented on the 'right to work' law and the way it undermines the fight for better conditions for all working people. "These scabs say they don't understand why organized labor wants to prevent their right to work. Well, when any of these scabs goes to work under a union contract, I've never seen one of them go the office to say, 'I don't want any of these benefits because I'm not a union man'. These scabs that are rushing to take these good jobs with all these benefits — things we fought for for 35 years, sometimes in blood up to our necks, so to speak — once the company gets through with vacations and pensions and wages, they're not going to have anything!"

He described what it is like to live in a company town, "where you can't even buy a birthday card except at the company



store. . . . Sometimes when we would go out on strike, they wouldn't fight us too hard. Then after the settlement they would raise the house rent and everything else would go up. There was always something not covered by the medical plan, ambulance or drugs, and that would go up. In the last six years they have more than doubled house rent and utilities."

Karen Kopperud, helping to cover the strike for the *Militant* also spoke. She called for a vigorous nationwide support campaign. "The strong initiative taken by the Utah State AFL-CIO convention and the support voted by the [union] Nonferrous Industry Conference in Tucson lay the basis for such a campaign. The strikers need money, resolutions of support, help on the picket lines, rallies of support around the country, invitations for speaking tours, food and clothing drives.

"The commitments of financial support and the legal challenges launched by the unions against Phelps Dodge and the State of Arizona can be combined with a giant public solidarity campaign to get out the truth about this deadly union-busting attempt, and to help this strike win."

Elen Lauper
Phoenix, Arizona

Maintaining truth

Hopefully these few lines will find all of you in strong spirits and in good health. I'm writing you from one of the most suppressed dungeons in the state of California, known as Folsom Prison. I'm totally without funds and entirely without proper reading material for my needs in maintaining truth and a clear understanding of the world we live in.

I thought I'd send my name and address in hopes that you would put me on your mailing list to receive your newspaper so that I will

be able to learn more about the revolutionary movements in the Third World and in Africa and Asia. So if you are able to do this for me, it would be greatly appreciated.

A prisoner
California

From India

I have seen a few issues of the journal, *International Socialist Review*, which I understand is now incorporated with the *Militant*. Does your journal have coverage of Third World women?

I liked the old copies of the *ISR* very much. I am a free lance journalist writing mainly on feminist and socio-medical topics for various Indian papers and journals. It occurred to me that your journal would be good source material for features in local papers and for activist feminist groups.

Towards this end I would like to receive your journal. I am in touch with other feminist groups. Looking forward to an early response.

V.B.
Secunderabad, India

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

Dowty strike victory

Members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2350 approved a new contract August 12. The vote, 42-14, ended a six-month strike imposed on the small local by the Dowty Corp.

Dowty is a British-based corporation with operations in South Africa, China, and elsewhere. Dowty USA, located in Warrendale, Pennsylvania, assembles and repairs longwall roof supports and conveyors for coal mines.

The contract includes a number of modest but important gains for Local 2350. The company's decision to settle with the union signaled the failure of its efforts to wear down, divide, and ultimately break the local.

The antiunion operation included frequent police harassment of pickets, arrests, court injunctions, physical attacks on peaceful pickets, and the contracting out of struck work to scab companies. These attacks accompanied nearly six months of stonewalling by company negotiators.

Before the strike, Dowty workers averaged \$5.58 an hour.

The odds facing the small local, which was up against a billion-dollar international corporation, were made more even by the support of Local 2350 got.

UMWA President Richard Trumka came to Warrendale twice,

Ariz. strikers win broad support

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — Chants of "Union! Union!" echoed in the narrow streets here as the September 5 Labor Day parade of several hundred copper miners marched through town. Contingents from the striking unions carried banners and placards. The Morenci Miners' Women's Auxiliary and the Junior Auxiliary sang choruses of "Solidarity Forever" and distributed candy to strikers' families lining the march route. Many people joined the march, or cheered as it went by.

Arizona's major newspapers and television stations picked up the Labor Day news that the unionists of Clifton-Morenci have not been defeated by the governor, National Guard, Department of Public Safety (DPS), or Phelps Dodge. They remain united and willing to defend their right to a union and a decent contract.

On August 31, a new organization, Citizens for Justice, made its appearance at the Phelps Dodge afternoon shift change. It is an organization of women relatives of strikers. Their purpose is to organize public opinion in favor of the strike. The wife of a steelworker said, "Things had gotten too quiet. We wanted to let the scabs know that we are still out here and that we support our husbands."

TV cameras filmed some 100 women gathered along the public highway leading to Phelps Dodge's main gate, demonstrating their vigorous support for the strike.



Militant/Dan Fein

Workers at Labor Day parade in Tucson (above) solidarized with copper strikers, who marched in Clifton-Morenci the same day with strengthened support from community, strikers' relatives.

A week later, the group demonstrated again. Standing on public property, 75 women chanted and greeted scabs by name.

Another new development that shows the depth of community support for the strike is the organization of the Junior Auxiliary. About a dozen children of strikers

and their supporters marched with their own banner in the Labor Day parade.

These children are feeling the pressure directly. Students at the Morenci Elementary School are being asked whether their parents are striking or not. This information is going on their permanent school record. Children of strike leaders have found

themselves besieged by carloads of DPS officers with warrants for the arrest of their parents. They have seen their homes invaded and their fathers or mothers dragged off in handcuffs by squads of police.

The unions have been finding ways to keep people together and to keep morale up. The Women's Auxiliary has played an outstanding role in this. They were key organizers of several picnics; one of 500 people occurred September 4.

The Women's Auxiliary is also responsible for distributing much of the financial aid to hard-pressed strikers. One woman said, "Every week there are new people at our regular meetings. We have helped a lot of people. We don't refuse anyone. We have paid for schoolbooks, shoes, food, medicine, mortgage payments, utility bills, whatever people need."

She was particularly upset by Gov. Bruce Babbitt's much-publicized request that Phelps Dodge be "compassionate" as it moves to evict strikers from their company-owned homes to make way for scabs.

The first evictions in Morenci are scheduled for September 23. In Ajo evictions are expected to begin sooner. It is still unclear whether the company intends to move only against strikers they termed "fired" for alleged picket line "misconduct" or all strikers. Phelps Dodge is facing several civil rights violation suits filed by the unions in support of victimized members.

Phelps Dodge initiated three eight-hour shifts on September 6, claiming it is returning to near normal production. The strikers are skeptical. Workers who had returned to work but were unable to stomach the nonunion working conditions agree this is not so.

The September 8 *Copper Workers Strike Bulletin*, put out by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), quotes several of those who returned to the picket line: "What is happening is that the workers are discovering that Phelps Dodge is pushing workers around and that some company-favorite scabs are getting bossy," one worker stated, saying that there is no procedure for handling complaints. . . . Many more suspect that if Phelps Dodge has its way by busting the unions, the place 'will be hell to work in.'"

The September 7 *Arizona Republic* reported that 22 workers had walked out of the Ajo operation and that an estimated 30 had done so in Morenci.

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Unionists set example of solidarity

BY SHERRY TURNER

PHOENIX — Workers at the Palo Verde nuclear generating station now under construction 50 miles west of Phoenix have set an inspiring example for the rest of the labor movement.

Two rank-and-file members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 640, George Amos and Eric Copland, are leading the effort to get out the truth about the copper miners' strike in Arizona and the strikers' fight against Phelps Dodge Corp.

Militant reporters first encountered Amos and Copland in Clifton, Arizona, where the two electricians had come to deliver the first of many checks to the strike relief fund. They had been to Ajo, another Arizona mining town, earlier in the day to deliver donations there also.

It all started when they began to talk about the copper strike one day at work. This is the beginning of what Copland and Amos call "organizing an unorganized collection" among the 1,500 Palo Verde workers.

The two electricians drafted and circulated a petition as well as collecting funds. This activity in the plant reached every union, including the pipefitters, ironworkers, boilermakers, laborers, carpenters, cement masons, and others.

They distributed petitions on all three shifts and in one week collected \$5,600 for the copper strike relief fund. The money is being used to cover utility, housing, and food bills and medical supplies for the strikers. Since that first week, the collections from Palo Verde unionists has risen to \$8,227.65, and more money is still coming in.

At a meeting of IBEW Local 640, the approximately 120 unionists present voted overwhelmingly to match the original \$5,600 collection. Copland and Amos are hoping that the local will project an even higher goal. The pipefitters local also contributed, giving \$5,000.

The membership of Local 640 voted to send a letter to all other IBEW union business agents in Arizona informing them about the copper strike relief fund and the urgency of the miners' situation. As

George Amos put it, "You know they got to be hungry."

At a recent \$1 lottery at Palo Verde a 50-50 collection was established. One half of all money collected was to have gone to the copper strike relief fund and the other half to the winner. Not surprisingly, the worker who won the lottery decided to donate his winnings to the strike relief fund as well.

So far 1,190 workers out of 1,500 have donated money to the strikers. Eric Copland found that "everyone in Palo Verde agrees that Phelps Dodge's activity was union-busting. We could all see that we were next. They got to the air traffic controllers. Are we going to see the same thing happening to copper miners and then us?"

At a Labor Day rally in Tucson spon-

sored by the Arizona AFL-CIO, Eric Copland spoke about the money collected from and by his coworkers.

George Amos looks beyond their current solidarity efforts. "I would like to see a fund that continues so that this union-busting never happens again. Donations from other locals on a national level would help the cause."

Both electricians know that what they have initiated has strengthened solidarity among the workers at Palo Verde. Copland added, "What we were doing felt so good. I like to go to work every day."

Contributions to the special strike relief fund can be sent to: Copper Strike Relief Fund, 606 S. Plummer St., Tucson, Arizona 85719.

Teachers in St. Louis resist union-busting

BY DEAN ELDER

ST. LOUIS — In the face of a huge campaign of threats and lies waged by the St. Louis School Board, striking teachers here voted September 12 to suspend their four-day walkout.

Members of American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 420 had decided to strike on the first day of classes when the school board refused to negotiate in good faith on wages, classroom size, and working conditions. The local includes classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, and secretaries.

From the moment the job action began the board conducted a drive to intimidate the teachers and force them back to work without a contract.

The board tried to use students as pawns against the teachers. They claimed they could keep the schools open and functioning despite the lack of trained personnel. But all they succeeded in doing was to victimize the small number of students who did show up for classes.

Then the board got a federal district judge to issue a temporary restraining order against the strike and ordering teachers back to work. The supposed basis for this order was the school board's claim that the

strike was interfering with the court-mandated city-county school desegregation plan begun this school year. In addition, teachers' strikes are illegal in Missouri.

The St. Louis city school system is almost 80 percent Black, while the surrounding county school systems are overwhelmingly white.

U.S. District Court Judge William Hungate ruled that busing and countywide participation was necessary to upgrade the city schools and end the racially imbalanced system of unequal education.

The main points in the plan are: within 5 years 18 county school districts must accept 15,000 Black city students — the percentage of Black students in the district is to be between 15 and 25 percent. Another 8,000 to 10,000 Black students in the city and county are to attend integrated magnet schools.

Finally, the board threatened to fire all the strikers and hire replacements if the strike continued. The board went so far as to spend \$8,000 for a full-page ad in the September 11 *Post-Dispatch* and put out the word on national television that it was inviting applications from would-be strikebreakers. Reportedly 60 scab applications were received.

The public architect of this campaign is the recently appointed district school superintendent, Jerome Jones.

Evelyn Battle White, who is the president of Local 420, said, "He's carrying out a mission agreed to before he got here: to destroy the union."

The teachers have responded to each of the school board's attacks.

First, they pointed out that the board can't run the school system without teachers and it's a fraud to claim that they can. The strike was forced on the teachers by the board's refusal to bargain on wages or even to discuss class sizes. Most teachers now have classes of 35 to 50 students, which is intolerable for all concerned.

After the charge was made that the strike was hurting desegregation, teachers pointed out that this was a fake issue too. In fact, if the teachers' union, which is majority Black, is successful in winning its demands for smaller classes and better conditions in the schools, this will improve education in the city and help to advance the desegregation process, not hurt it.

Furthermore, the plan already includes orders for the school board to upgrade

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